1987

The Danish Cadastral Survey of St. Croix, 1733-1754 (Virgin Islands).

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

An American-Scandinavian Foundation fellowship allowed the archival research on which this thesis is based. The fellowship was supported by the Danish Bicentennial Fund, provided by Mærsk Mc-Kinney Møller; by the Henrik Kauffman Fund; and by the Helen Lee and Emil Lassen Fund. I am extremely grateful for this support. I wish to thank Delores Di Paola and the staff of the Exchange Division of the American-Scandinavian Foundation.

My doctoral studies at Louisiana State University were supported by an Alumni Federation Fellowship. I thank the Federation and the University for this honor, and the Department of Geography and Anthropology for nominating me for it.

Professor Roland Chardon, of the Department of Geography and Anthropology, supervised this study and encouraged and helped me at every turn. I am very grateful for his thorough reading of the drafts and for his thoughtful, sensible, and subtle criticism. The project could never have been undertaken without the advice and support of Professor Sidney Cohen, of the Department of History. His expertise in Danish history and culture and his willingness to oversee my reading on the Danish West Indies were crucial.

I also wish to thank my other committee-members, professors Milton B. Newton, Jr., Sam B. Hilliard, and Robert A. Muller, of the Department of Geography and Anthropology; and Professor James F. Cruise, of the Civil Engineering Department. Professor Newton, in particular, was a great source of inspiration to me. Professor Miles Richardson, the acting chairman of the Department of Geography and Anthropology.
was most supportive. I am also grateful to Joyce Nelson, Librarian of the Cartographic Information Center, for her assistance in obtaining maps.

Access to the vast resources and to the expertise of the staff of the Danish State Archive in Copenhagen is open to all. I am glad to have had the pleasure of working there. I wish to thank the entire reading room staff and the staff of the photographic studio for their cordial assistance. Archivist Erik Gøbel has been especially helpful; I am very grateful for the interest he has shown in my work. Archivist Poul Olsen directed me to a number of particularly interesting documents.

The staff of the Royal Library Map Collection was very helpful, as were the Library's photographic experts. I must also thank the Royal Danish Administration of Navigation and Hydrography. At the Danish Matrikeldirektorat, Hans Ejner Jensen provided me with a great deal of information and with an introduction to Harald Heering, who very kindly made available to me a collection of his father's papers concerning a land dispute on St. Croix in the 1960s.

My debt to Berit Lebger for her hospitality, support, and patience during my stay in Denmark cannot be adequately expressed. I also wish to thank her parents, Bent and Lisa Lebger, for many kindnesses. I also thank Ebbe Munk and Susanne Neve for their hospitality and friendly reception.

I wish to thank the following individuals who shared with me some of their experience, expertise, and hospitality when I visited St. Croix in the summer of 1984: Martin Gerbens, Alfredo Figueredo, and William Cissel. The staff of the National Park Service at Christiansted very kindly allowed access to their rather special collections of books and documents. The same is true of Barbara Hagan-Smith, Director of the St. Croix Landmarks Society's elegant museum at Whim.
I wish to thank my parents, Mary Jane and Orval Hopkins, for their support and encouragement. I am also grateful to Elizabeth M. Larson.

Above all, I thank Marty Ross.
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation presents the history of the original cadastral survey of St. Croix by the Danish West India and Guinea Company in the early eighteenth century. St. Croix, the largest of the United States Virgin Islands, is distinguished by a remarkably regular and rectangular pattern of roads and properties, which appears to have had no parallel in the Lesser Antilles or Denmark. This is a case study of how colonial administrators approached the problem of the orderly alienation and demarcation of previously undivided land. The study is based mainly on original manuscript Company records in the Danish State Archive in Copenhagen.

The study treats the Company's initial deliberations, the original orders for the distribution of land on St. Croix, the tentative laying out of a survey pattern, the vicissitudes of the work, resistance to the unfamiliar notion of wholesale survey prior to conveyance, revisions of the original orders, the difficulties encountered in creating and maintaining reliable land registers, the errors committed, the negligence and fraud that compromised a great deal of the work, the mapping of the island, and the progress of conveyance and settlement. The contributions and failures of individuals are central to the story. The essay is concerned as much with cadastral and cartographic imagination and communication as with the geometric details of the pattern established.

The rectangular survey of St. Croix was the result of a special financial accommodation according to which uniform plots were to be allocated to Company stockholders in proportion to their investments. The scheme was incompletely visualized, and it was not carried to its logical conclusion. Although the survey was not very well executed in the field, its failure was primarily administrative: the necessary record-keeping was neglected. The essential cadastral connection between

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the land - the topography - and the documents of allocation and demarcation was not properly established. The Company scarcely realized how promising a start had been made until it was too late. When the island reverted to the Danish crown in 1754, the cadastral records remained in a confused and corrupt state. The survey had failed.
INTRODUCTION

St. Croix, the largest of the United States Virgin Islands, is distinguished by a remarkably regular and rectangular pattern of roads and properties that was established in the time of Danish colonial control. The cadastral pattern is reminiscent of that laid out on the public lands of the United States after 1785, but it predates the Federal survey by half a century. This study presents the history of the original cadastral survey of St. Croix by the Danish West India and Guinea Company, the proprietor of the island from 1734 to 1754.

Cadastral systems - the delineation on the land and on paper of men's and groups' claims to land - are fundamental tools of man's control over and use of land. It has been stated that "the ownership of land, being the ownership of the source and scene of all property and all life, must necessarily be of a complex and in some aspects purely notional character".1 Cadastral systems are an attempt to formally describe and regulate part of that complexity. They are an essential part of geography - of man's understanding, representation, and informed manipulation of his surroundings. Landscapes are characterized, altered, and defined in part by survey systems, and many

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American historical geographers (for cadastres by their nature record and perpetuate historic geographic situations and developments), have been attracted to their study.2

Cadastres are not as old as life itself, but they are probably nearly as old as sedentary agriculture,3 and they are naturally closely bound up with the notion of private ownership of land.4 They are an indispensable tool of organized social existence. Francis Marschner quotes a high-minded manifesto adopted at the first International Statistical Conference in 1853: "we do not wish the cadaster to be a purely fiscal instrument; we do wish its mission to be more elevated; we wish the cadaster to be an inventory of the landed property of a country, the great book where every proprietor can find the title to his property; we wish the cadaster to be the foundation of statistics pertaining to the land, of the statistics of agriculture, of the mortgage system, of farm credit, in short, to be the source that contains the answers to all questions concerning real property".5 For the purposes of this essay, the term will be taken to refer mainly to the record of ownership of land.


The creation and maintenance of useful cadastres is not theoretically perplexing, but the task has historically presented difficulties. Really accurate cadastral surveys on the national scale have not been technically possible until fairly recently, but the main impediments to the establishment of adequate cadastres have probably been administrative, and at the local level. A British treatise states:

it seems a basic necessity in the construction and working of any dependable land record that the units of land to which entries relate shall be defined so that they can be located readily, surely and unambiguously at any time on the ground.

This simple ideal can only be achieved by diligent and well-organized application to the task. It will be seen that the original survey of St. Croix was plagued by failure in this respect.

Francis Marschner, speaking of what he regarded as a tremendously confused cadastral situation on the Eastern Seaboard of the United States, saw no quick solution:

"defining and marking boundaries in the field, surveying and measuring the areal components quantitatively and qualitatively, and keeping records of the results obtained was and is the only reliable method available".

In the construction of a new cadastral system, problems arise when excessive reliance is placed on a scheme of survey - a numbered grid, for example. The relationships among such a plan, the marks on the ground, and the records kept cannot be taken for

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8 Francis J. Marschner, *op. cit.*, p. 3. Sam Hilliard has taken the view that geometric and clerical precision have been relatively insignificant for rural communities, in which a "sense of order" rests on tradition, stability, and "trust and faith" among neighbors: "Headright Grants and Surveying in Northeastern Georgia", *Geographical Review*, Vol. 72, No. 4 (October, 1982), p. 428-29.
granted; but the cadastral authorities on St. Croix failed to consistently distinguish between and to reconcile the easily visualized plan of the survey and the actual pattern they were creating on the island.

This history was extracted mainly from the original records of the Danish West India and Guinea Company, which are preserved at the Rigsarkiv - the Danish State Archive - in Copenhagen. The pertinent documents include the regular official correspondence between the Danish West Indies and the Company headquarters in Copenhagen over a period of two decades, a number of maps prepared in the course of the original survey, land registers and censuses or tax lists prepared for St. Croix, but, unfortunately, no original surveyor’s records or field note books. The study presents the record of the establishment of the cadastre chronologically, just as the story emerges from the correspondence; in fact, the original wording of most of the pertinent passages is incorporated here. The study treats the initial deliberations and resolutions of the Directors and stockholders of the Company, the original orders for the distribution of land on St. Croix, early reconnaissance, the tentative laying out of a survey pattern on paper and on the ground, the vicissitudes of the work, resistance to the unfamiliar notion of wholesale survey prior to conveyance, the gradual abandonment of many of the principles of the original orders, the great difficulties encountered in creating and maintaining a reliable series of land registers, the errors that cropped up, the negligence and fraud that compromised a great deal of the work, early cartographic efforts, and the steady progress of conveyance and settlement on the island. By the time of the dissolution of the Danish West India and Guinea Company and the reversion of St. Croix to the Danish crown in 1754, most of the land on the island had been alienated. The completion of the original cadastral survey thus coincided quite closely with the change in administration, and reasonably complete and accurate maps of the entire island were produced at about that time. This discussion
ends there, but all subsequent tenure, transaction, and subdivision has depended on
the cadastre - however flawed - established in the Company's time.

Beyond a generalized rationalism that may be thought to have characterized the
age, the survey cannot be traced back to European antecedents; nor should it be
supposed that this cadastral experiment on a small and isolated island served as a model
for rectangular surveys elsewhere. This is thus a case study - an example - of how
eighteenth-century administrators approached the problem of the alienation,
demarcation, and description and depiction in maps and land registers of tracts of
previously undivided land. The essay is concerned as much with cadastral and
cartographic imagination and communication as with the pattern actually established.

The rectangular survey of St. Croix was probably more of a departure from
established practice than the American Federal survey, which seems to have had its
roots in colonial experience and experiment.9 The confused and irregular cadastres of
St. Thomas and St. John, the other islands of the Danish West Indies, which were settled
before St. Croix, set only a negative example. It is unlikely that any of the other islands
in the Lesser Antilles was laid out in a rectangular grid. Richard Pares has stressed the
prevalence and importance of the coastal long lot in the Antilles:

Any student of a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century map or plat book of the
British or French West Indies will be struck by the way all the plantations start
at the shore and run up a definite or indefinite distance into the mountains.10

9 Amelia C. Ford, Colonial precedents of our national land system as it existed in 1800,
Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 352, "History Series", Vol. 2, No. 2 (Madison,
57-66.
10 Richard Pares, Merchants and planters (Cambridge: University Press, 1960), pp. 61-
62, note 46; Richard Sheridan, Sugar and slavery: an economic history of the British
The Ligon map of Barbados of 1657 suggests such a pattern, although it shows no actual property lines, and a modern *terrier* drawn to reconstruct the cadastral situation in 1671 shows that Martinique was characterized by long lots along the coast, short side to the sea. On a map of Marie-Galante published by Du Tertre, the settled area appears to be divided for the most part into coastal long lots. A 1775 map of Grenada in Jeffery's *West India Atlas* shows a most irregular cadastral pattern. Certainly there is no documentary evidence that the St. Croix cadastre was deliberately patterned on any Caribbean example. Such a scheme was not so exotic as to be beyond imagining, however: a British administrator wrote from Nevis in 1717 concerning St. Christopher, portions of which had lately been taken from the French:

I must observe that most of the French plantations had very irregular bounds, and therefore it would be necessary that whenever there be directions from H. M. for the settling that part of the Island, that orders should be given to the Surveyor that an East and West and North and South line should be struck thro' the two former French parts (they being the East and West end of the Island), that from theme all plantations might be laid out in such square tracts or quantity of acres; ... this would not only make the Island look like a garden, but prevent in time to come any vexations law suits or wrongdoing which must otherwise of necessity ensue ...  

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He thus alluded to an ideal of order and tranquility, not to the plantation layout of any other island within his purview.

Clearly, colonial enterprise on virgin land need not result in a rectangular survey system. Such a system has disadvantages (depending especially on terrain), and it requires a certain degree of organization and administrative control. Colonial settlement was indiscriminate in many - perhaps most - areas of the New World. Nevertheless, the grid pattern is easy to work with: a student of grid-pattern towns has stated that “if an equitable distribution of property is desirable, there is hardly any other plan conceivable.” This is not necessarily true; still, this thinking was ultimately crucial to the design for the original survey of St. Croix.

The rectangular survey of St. Croix was not derived from any Danish tradition. The Danish cadastre is rich and complex, but it never incorporated rectangularity except perhaps to a limited degree after the formal introduction of organized consolidation of fields and enclosure - udskiftningen - in 1781. The circumstances of the survey of St. Croix bore no relation to Danish experience: instead of land that had been occupied and cultivated for centuries, the Danish West India and Guinea Company undertook the division and development of unoccupied territory. There were squatters on the island, and settlement may have been influenced by existing paths or roads and

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certain other relics of the French occupation that had ended forty years before, but on the whole the Company was free to impose whatever pattern it chose on the land.

This essay examines first the development of plans for the division of the island into sugar plantation lots and for the quick and profitable alienation of these lots. The proposed pattern was linked to the Company's financial structure. Land was to be divided primarily for the equal benefit of a limited number of investors in stock, and it was necessary that the properties received for each unit of stock should be of equal value. It will be seen that this was impossible to guarantee, although the Company refused at first to acknowledge this. It was found sensible, at any rate, to lay out a certain number of lots of equal size. The orderly, rational, prior survey of the entire island, however, and the imposition on it of a uniform grid, was apparently never contemplated at all. It was thought that there would be a great deal of land left over when the Company participants had received their due. Although this was not the case, the very regular cadastral pattern that was imposed on most of the best sugar cane land on St. Croix was only almost incidentally, and then incompletely, extended into other parts of the island, when the advantages of such a pattern were appreciated.

The scheme for the survey of St. Croix, imperfectly visualized and still less well expressed, was embodied in the original orders of November 1733 for the establishment of Danish administration on the island. These orders amounted to a constitution of sorts. They were repeatedly reiterated and referred to through the whole period of Company administration. Many of the strengths and weaknesses of the cadastre can be traced to this document, and it will be examined in some detail.

Various of the provisions in the 1733 orders were found to be impractical in the execution. Perhaps the most important of these was the requirement that the stockholders' plantation lots, most of which were to be offered for sale immediately, were all to be surveyed and marked and deeded to their owners in Copenhagen prior to
further sale of any of them. The correspondence concerning this order is very revealing of the Company's and local administrators' views of the survey, of the relative importance of land sales and the establishment of a sound cadastre, and of the difficulties involved in the actual work in the field. Naturally, the execution of the survey was governed and conditioned by a great number of local constraints, including shortages of both skilled and slave labor, lack of funds, terrain, prior settlement, fraud and incompetence, shortsightedness, disease, and general remissness and lassitude.

This study addresses the original cadastral survey of St. Croix as a whole: it is not intended that it should be possible to extract the proprietary history of any given lot on the island from this discussion. The pertinent groups of documents are identified, and their qualities and failings are examined. However, the shortcomings of the Company land registers, for example, are not analyzed exhaustively - these deficiencies are immediately apparent and were the subject of much recrimination at the time. The maps prepared between 1733 and 1734 are central to the study, but they have not been subjected to detailed quantitative or geometric scrutiny. Like the cadastre itself, they have been taken as wholes. No single property, no cultural or topographic feature, no line or angle on them has been selected for special attention. No new, revised map of the original alienation of the Company's land is presented. No attempt has been made to mine the long, voluminous, and detailed cadastral records of St. Croix for the history of settlement. It is the establishment and general validity of the cadastre that is described and assessed here.

This study, based as it is almost entirely on the official correspondence, addresses the nature of geographic—specifically, cadastral—communication concerning St. Croix. Much is made of what the men of the time had to say about the survey: how they represented what they were doing to one another and to their superiors, how instructions were couched, how maps were used and made.
Entabulations in registers of the results of their work are of no less interest, but the
registers have not been found to be a great deal more informative, for various reasons,
than the prose reports - less so, in fact, on the vicissitudes of the work and on men's
attitudes toward it. The relationship between the pattern that was incised on the land by
the surveyors' parties, slowly and painfully cutting their way through St. Croix's
forests and bush, and the information conveyed about that pattern in letters, censuses
and registers, and maps is by no means straightforward. Cadastre is part abstraction,
part creation of marks and lines on the ground. Both demand thought, application, and
a certain preciseness of approach. Communication in both directions across the
Atlantic depended not only on men's ability to visualize what they were doing or what
needed to be done and to express their concepts in writing, but, on the part of the St.
Croix administration, on their willingness to render honest accounts of the progress of
the work.

The extreme slowness of communication was itself a factor in the progress of
the survey. It might take years for the Company to impose its will on its local
administrators, even when no special resistance was encountered. Reports and other
documents demanded by the Company Directors in Copenhagen were always being
promised with the next ship. Instructions would arrive in the Indies dealing with
forgotten problems, and addressed to men who had been dead for months.

The survey of St. Croix, which it had been thought could be quickly performed,
took twenty years, and at the end of that time, only an adumbration of the cadastral
pattern had been achieved. The famed economic survey of the whole of Denmark,
Christian V's survey of 1688, produced a fairly detailed land tax register within a few
years.20 The difficulties and delays involved in the St. Croix survey have not always

20 V. Hansen, "A Danish land survey from the seventeenth century", Period and place,
been recognized by historians, especially those writing in English. Although most
general histories have had no reason to concern themselves in any depth with it,
failure to understand how protracted the survey was has distorted some accounts of the
settlement and economic development of the island. For example, Luther K. Zabriskie's
account, which has no pretentions to scholarship, runs as follows:

Some time after the Danish purchase was effected, the land was parcelled
out into plantations, or oblong squares for plantations, measuring in length
three thousand ... and in breadth two thousand [Danish feet]. This having been
done, an invitation was extended to planters of other islands to come and occupy
the lands on easy and attractive terms.21

Waldemar Westergaard, whose book The Danish West Indies under Company rule,
published in 1917, is the only work in English to date based on archival research in
Denmark, handled the formulation of the plan for the division of St. Croix into estates
for the Company stockholders well enough,22 but stated that “the surveying of sugar
and cotton plantations neared its completion in the summer of 1733”, at which time the
story was in fact just beginning.23 The entry for St. Croix in James McGuire’s
Geographic dictionary of the Virgin Islands of the United States paraphrases Zabriskie
on the survey,24 but the entry dealing with the “Great Centerline” is quite informative:

Base line of the St. Croix land survey, begun in 1734 by Governor Frederik Moth.
Line runs S. 72° 06' W. true. At intervals of 2,000 feet (Rhenish or Danish.

23 Ibid. p. 216.
equivalent to 2,059.376 English feet), perpendicular offsets were taken, N. 17° 34' W. true, or reverse, to mark the sides of the "Plantagegrunde" (estate tracts); which, after the completion of the survey, in 1731 were disposed of to homesteaders... 25

The information about the lines themselves is accurate: the dating of the conveyance of the plantations is not. McGuire cites no source.

A generation after Westergaard, J. O. Bro-Jørgensen's volume of Vore gamle tropelkolonier, the standard Danish work on the kingdom's tropical colonies in the Caribbean, in the East Indies, and on the Guinea Coast, covered approximately the same period. 26 Bro-Jørgensen's treatment of the survey was necessarily brief, but accurate.

Florence Lewisohn's handling of the survey, in St. Croix under seven flags, is the most detailed available in English to date. Barring some inaccuracies and anachronisms, her brief account was adequate for the purposes of her very broad history. As she put it,

One of the first tasks was to begin surveys, a job which went on from 1733 to 1734 before all the boundaries were finally set. And set they were, logically and mathematically with rows of Estates laid out neatly in a plan which prevails today. 27

It will be seen just how logically the task was actually approached. Lewisohn's documentation is a little sketchy, but she apparently had access to some original Danish documents.

25 Ibid. p.86.
The most detailed history of the survey available until now is in Helle B. Christensen’s unpublished 1982 thesis on the Danish West India and Guinea Company’s colonization of St. Croix between 1732 and 1731. The survey was only one of her concerns, but her discussions of the original planning for the purchase of St. Croix, of mistaken ideas of the island’s size at the time of the purchase and of the economic implications of these misconceptions, of the origins of the dimensions of the standard plantation, and of the origins of the design of the survey are all thoughtful. The present study relied heavily on her work with the pertinent archival material: her thesis was indispensable as an introduction to the documents. Christensen placed a little too much faith in official deed books: she prepared an interesting map based on the dates of conveyance of the island’s plantations, but it will be seen what reality and legitimacy those deeds had, since the bulk of them were issued for unsurveyed land, and since the connection between conveyance and actual settlement and cultivation was so tenuous. Christensen mapped a scheme, just as the original surveyors and cartographers of the Company period had. A companion work, upon which Christensen drew, was Leif Calundann Larsen’s 1980 thesis on the colonization of St. John between 1718 and 1733.

In the 1960s, a dispute arose between St. Croix’s two major industrial concerns over rights to Krause Lagoon and the reefs and spits enclosing it in connection with a deep-water terminal that was blasted and dredged out of the lagoon. One of the parties to the dispute engaged H. T. Heering and Poul Lanken, both Danish Chartered Land Surveyors, to prepare an opinion on the original conveyance of the land in question from the Danish Crown to Gottfried Krause in 1766. Heering’s and Lanken’s investigation carried them over much of the same archival ground covered in this

study, and their capsule history of the survey of St. Croix, scattered through various drafts of opinions and letters, is generally excellent. They concentrated on the properties in dispute, however, and on local cadastral and geomorphological developments after the date of the conveyance. Their work revealed the existence of some rather obscurely registered documents in the Danish Rigsarkiv. Most important, they found in the archives of the Danish Administration of Navigation and Hydrography the oldest Danish map of the entire island, that by Cronenberg and Jægersberg, which had apparently been overlooked by administrators as well as historians since it was made in about 1750.\textsuperscript{30}

The rectangular survey draws notice in a couple of less formal works by popular Danish writers. Thorkild Hansen’s well done fictional reconstruction, \textit{Slavernes Øer}, which is solidly based on the documents, dealt with the survey as follows:

Danish surveyors went to work on laying their survey lines through the primeval woods. . . . It was in the great period of rationalism, when people believed in the straight line and the right angle: without regard to the difficulties the jungle was cut up and parcelled into rectangles of equal size.\textsuperscript{31}

Palle Lauring’s highly personal and generally irresponsible treatment, in his recent work on the Danish West Indies, includes the statement that “the boundaries are nearly all straight-lined, a map as dreary as of the North American states”. He correctly infers

\textsuperscript{30} (The Krause Lagoon dispute was eventually settled before Heering and Lanken had an opportunity to testify as experts in court. Heering’s son Harald Heering was kind enough to make a great deal of the two surveyors’ correspondence, notes, and maps available for study: none of the material was ever published.)

\textsuperscript{31} Thorkild Hansen, \textit{Slavernes Øer} (Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1970), pp. 187-188.
that it was the relatively level terrain, in contrast to that of St. Thomas and St. John, that permitted this arrangement.\(^32\)

A number of bibliographies should be consulted for the history of St. Croix and the Danish West Indies in general. The most ambitious of these is Charles Frederick Reid's *Bibliography of the Virgin Islands of the United States*, published in 1941.\(^33\) Erik Gøbel's recent critical review of the literature on the Danish overseas trading companies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is very useful.\(^34\) Westergaard's wide-ranging annotated bibliography is now a little dated but remains indispensable. Bro-Jørgensen's minimal annotation includes, among predominantly manuscript sources, a few references to secondary material. Lewisohn's bibliography is very good, especially for certain unique material - typescript translations and extracts from archival sources, for example - in Virgin Island collections. The bibliographic notes to Isaac Dookhan's broad history of the Virgin Islands bear perusal.\(^35\) Ove Hornby's recent one-volume history of the Danish West Indies includes an adequate list of major references.\(^36\)

The record being as fragmentary as it is, each snippet that can be extracted from the documents has considerable weight. The search for pertinent archival material for this study ranged wide, but it could never be claimed that everything bearing on the story had been found and examined, and much evidence that is known to have existed is gone. Much detail could doubtless be added, particularly if missing


\(^{33}\) Charles Frederick Reid (ed.), *Bibliography of the Virgin Islands of the United States* (New York: H. H. Wilson, 1941).


\(^{36}\) Ove Hornby, *Kolonierne i vestindien* (Copenhagen: Politikens Forlag, 1980).
maps were recovered, and the balance of judgement altered somewhat, but the history of the survey is essentially complete. Many of the gaps were written into the original correspondence and are thus part of the story.

Here is the archival situation from which the survey of St. Croix is to be reconstructed. The field notes are lost, as are all field sketches. Many of the maps drawn in the period are lost, but the surviving examples are extremely suggestive. These include two fairly large-scale maps of the entire island, both drawn around 1750, toward the end of Company administration. Local and inter-island correspondence dealing with the survey - orders and periodic reports - is largely lost: again, what survives is extremely interesting. Most if not all of the official Company correspondence between the colony and the metropolis is preserved. Copies of all of the cadastral lists and registers prepared in the period appear to have survived. A certain amount of private correspondence may possibly have survived besides that in the 'private archives' in the Rigsarkiv: such material remains to be ferreted out.

The archive of the Danish West India and Guinea Company is vast. The letters are difficult to read: the greater the physical and social remove from the Company headquarters and the Royal Court, the more difficult the script and the more abstruse the syntax. The correspondence of two decades was scanned for various pertinent words, such as 'survey', 'measure', 'line', 'barricade', 'plantation', '2000 feet', '3000 feet', 'map', 'drawing', 'compass', 'astrolabe', 'chain', 'quarter', 'census', and 'land list', as well as for place names and the names of the individuals working with the survey. The official missives were normally broken down into numbered sections, which makes this procedure feasible. The various published and unpublished archival guides and registers and slip catalogues of the Danish Rigsarkiv, whose quality and currency vary widely, were heavily relied on. A great deal of information about the collections is carried in the heads of the archivists, whence it can be extracted sometimes only with
some difficulty. The notes and bibliographies of published and unpublished studies of Danish West Indian history were indispensable as guides and introductions to archival material: the most valuable of these were Helle B. Christensen’s thesis, Bro-Jørgensen’s section of Vore gamle tropekolonier, and Westergaard’s Danish West Indies under Company rule.

The search for maps relied on similar guides and sources. In the case of the Map and Drawing Collection of the Rigsarkiv, where the maps are not normally available for inspection, the search had to depend on catalogues and lists. Many maps, however, have not been separated from their original archival context, and little effort has been made to catalogue their locations. Helle B. Christensen’s study identified a number of these: others, which were mentioned in the correspondence but not preserved with the letters, and which appear in no listing, were traced to court records. A number of maps were found more or less by chance in the course of perusing promising archival files. Several maps mentioned in the official letters have not been found and might turn up at any time, in almost any archival context. At the Royal Library, the files of the Map Collection are open to the public: access to the Danish West Indian material is gained by direct application to the Collection staff. The Nautical Charts Archive at the Royal Danish Administration of Navigation and Hydrography preserves a number of useful manuscript maps relevant to the Danish West Indies, including one jewel of a map of St. Croix. A shelf list provides access to the collection. The otherwise excellent collection of the Maritime Museum at Helsinger yielded no pertinent map.

Perusal of the collections of the St. Croix Historical Society and of the Flora A. Williams Public Library on St. Croix turned up no original maps dating to the eighteenth century. Officials of the Departments of Public Works on both St. Croix and St. Thomas and the Recorder of Deeds in the office of the Lieutenant Governor on St. Croix disclaim any knowledge of maps or other cadastral materials dating to the
Company's time. Problems of preservation make it most unlikely that copies of any of the maps mentioned in the correspondence but missing from Danish collections have survived in the islands. The map collection of the Library of Congress includes nothing that falls within the scope of this study. The holdings of the National Archives in Washington have not been inspected, but there is no indication in the sketchy registration available for the Danish period that Records Group 55 contains manuscript maps dating to the Company's time.37

Field work for this study was conducted from behind the wheel of a car in the summer of 1984. Nothing more specific than a reconnaissance was attempted. Naturally, the impressions received of scale, relief, climate, and vegetation were of great value in the visualization of the survey work, and the presence everywhere of the ruins of boiling houses, plantation houses, and cane-grinding windmills powerfully evoke the era of prosperity, not to say opulence, that had its beginnings at the time of the original survey.

St. Croix [Figure 11] lies about sixty-four degrees and forty-five minutes west of Greenwich and seventeen degrees and forty-five minutes north of the equator. The island is no more than twenty-three statute miles long and six miles wide and has an area of a little over eighty square miles. The terrain is rugged, though not extremely so. The highest point on the island, Mount Eagle, is 1,163 feet high. Most of the East End is quite hilly and steep, as is the North Side from Christiansted west. From the North Side hills a fairly even plain slopes down to the south coast: this was the prime sugar land

on the island. The trade wind blows more or less along the length of the island, and the hills of the western part of the island receive a good deal more rain than the East End. Annual rainfall is on the whole extremely variable, averaging perhaps forty inches a year. Fairly severe and extended drought has always been a problem.38

Columbus is generally held to have landed at Salt River, on the north side of St. Croix, in 1493, on his second voyage. Beginning about 1625, English, Dutch, French, and Spanish settlements or forces succeeded one another in a series of violent descents and expulsions, with interludes of relatively peaceful coexistence on the island. In 1651, the French established the colony that survived and at times thrived until 1693, when the island was abandoned and the colonists were moved to Santo Domingo.39 Forty miles north of St. Croix, Denmark had established a colony on St. Thomas in 1672. St. John, the next island down the Lesser Antilles, was occupied in 1716.40 St. Croix itself was purchased from France in 1733. The islands remained in Danish hands until 1917, when they were sold to the United States.41

40 Waldemar Westergaard, op. cit., p. 2.
41 Ibid., p. 261.
Note on archival sources

This study relies almost exclusively on the archive of the Danish West India and Guinea Company, preserved at the Danish Rigsarkiv. All archival material cited here, unless it is otherwise noted, is held by the Rigsarkiv. The collections of the Rigsarkiv, and its registers and finding aids, are listed and described in *Rigsarkivet og hjælpemidlerne til dets benyttelse*.1 “Guiden” ("the Guide"), as it is known informally, is simply indispensable. The Danish West India and Guinea Company’s archive is registered in: *Asiatiske, vestindiske og guineiske handelskompagnier* (Number XIV of the Rigsarkiv’s "Vejledende Arkivregistraturer"), by J. O. Bro-Jørgensen and Aa. Rasch. Bro-Jørgensen prepared the section on the West India and Guinea Company.2

The Company’s orders concerning St. Croix are preserved in copybooks of missives from the Company headquarters in Copenhagen to the West Indies and the Guinea coast: the nine volumes of these copybooks numbered, in Bro-Jørgensen’s registration, *Vestindisk-guineisk Kompagni* (hereafter “Vgk.”) 56 through 64 cover the years of the Company’s control of St. Croix.3 Administrative letters and other documents from the West Indies to the head office are registered as Vgk. 89 through 117;4 of these, Vgk. 96 through 117 are cited here. Documents concerning the purchase of St. Croix and plans for its occupation are preserved in Vgk. 179.5 Printed royal decrees and Company resolutions can be found in Vgk. 5.6 A very valuable but unfortunately

5 Vgk. 179: "Dokumenter vedk. sen St. Croix og dens erhvervelse". VA XIV, p. 186.
6 Vgk. 5: "De ved trykken bekendtgjorte sager". VA XIV, pp. 165-66.

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incomplete set of copybooks of local West Indian letters, orders, and placards is preserved as Vgk. 528.\textsuperscript{7} Vgk. 529 consists of copies of two deed protocol-books for St. Croix for the years 1734 to 1735.\textsuperscript{8} More use is made in this study of the heterogeneous set of lists, censuses, and plantation registers archived as Vgk. 862.\textsuperscript{9} By 1741, these lists, or \textit{matriculs}, had been pretty well standardized; the registers for the years through the end of the Company’s administration are preserved as Vgk. 863-865.\textsuperscript{10} Another set of lists, Vgk. 849-861, recorded the planters’ tax obligation, which was based on the size of each lot, its classification as sugar or cotton land, and slave holdings; these lists were found less useful in the present connection than the matriculs.\textsuperscript{11} A seventeenth-century land register from St. Thomas is preserved in Vgk. 484,\textsuperscript{12} and a cadastral map dating to the 1720s of a portion of St. Thomas repose in the record of a land dispute in Vgk. 236.\textsuperscript{13} The record of an important land dispute, and three interesting maps used in the case, as well as the record of a case involving an important St. Croix cartographer, are to be found among depositions and verdicts in Vgk. 284.\textsuperscript{14} Finally, Vgk. 180 contains the record of a public lottery of St. Croix plantation lots upon which the Company wasted a great deal of time and ink, but which never took place.\textsuperscript{15}

Access to the Company’s correspondence with the colony is relatively straightforward. Other collections can be more difficult to exploit. The King of Denmark had a personal interest in St. Croix during the period of Company rule, and a number of useful documents, mostly concerning the royal plantations, are preserved in the files.

\textsuperscript{9} Vgk. 862: “Mandtal o. a. dokumenter vedk. plantagernes optagelse på St. Croix”. VA XIV, p. 249.
\textsuperscript{10} Vgk. 863-865: “Mandtalslister og matrikler for St. Croix”. VA XIV, p. 249.
\textsuperscript{12} Vgk. 484: “Landets protokoller”. VA XIV, pp. 222-23.
\textsuperscript{13} Vgk. 256: “Kompagnirettens domssager”, 1728-36. VA XIV, p. 199.
\textsuperscript{14} Vgk. 284: “Forhørs- og domsakter m. v. fra Vestindien II”. VA XIV, p. 205.
\textsuperscript{15} Vgk. 180: “Et mislykket lotteri på plantagegrunde på St. Croix”. VA XIV, p. 186.
of the Exchequer - Rentekammeret. These include some important maps. Various letters and other documents concerning the Royal sugar plantations are registered in Rentekammeret (Number XII of the Rigsarkiv’s “Vejledende Arkivregistraturer”) as Rentekammeret (Rtk.) 2249.32-36; the file numbered Rtk. 2249.12 contains extracts of letters from the West Indies in the years immediately following the end of Company rule.

A large amount of material at the Rigsarkiv is classified as West Indian local archives. These include the archive of the St. Croix Municipal Clerk and Surveyor and some important placard- and order- copybooks. A number of recent but preliminary registers provide access to these archives; these are listed in the Rigsarkiv’s "Guide".

Christian Martfeldt’s extraordinary assemblage of documents on and from the Danish West Indies is preserved as part of the archive of the Board of Customs, or Generaltoldkammeret. Material from this collection is cited here simply as located in Chr. Martfeldt’s collection: the volume which was found to be of greatest use is labelled “Om Vestindien” on the spine but is not clearly numbered.

The Rigsarkiv maintains a number of archives associated with the names of individuals. A few of these privatarkiver were examined. J. G. Moltke’s archive includes an important “Account of the Danish sugar islands”, which appears to have

17 Rtk. 2249.12: “Ekstrakter af indkomne vestindiske breve”, for the years 1735-1738. VA XII, p. 93.
20 Generaltoldkammeret, “Vestindiske og guinesiske sager, diverse dokumenter 1754-1848 (65), Christian Martfeldts Samlinger om Dansk Vestindien”.

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been written by Christian Martfeldt, and P. L. Oxholm’s archive contains some material that was found to be of use.\textsuperscript{21}

A small amount of material registered in Koloniernes Centralbestyrelse\textsuperscript{22}, the introduction to which has been translated into English and published as The central management of the colonies\textsuperscript{23}—has been used here. Most of the papers in this archive date to after the Company period, however.

In addition to these, two manuscripts held by the Royal Library in Copenhagen have been quoted here. The more important of these is the short historical account of the Company period prepared in 1733 by Peder Mariager, the Company’s head bookkeeper in Copenhagen.\textsuperscript{24} The other is a private letter from the West Indies describing St. Thomas and St. Croix.\textsuperscript{25}

The Bancroft Library at the University of California at Berkeley has a collection of Danish West Indian documents, including some inter-island correspondence. One of these letters is used here. This material is available on microfilm.\textsuperscript{26} Finally, use was made of documents published in the British Public Record Office’s Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series.\textsuperscript{27}

\textsuperscript{21} J. G. Moltke’s arkiv, No. 5979/14; P. L. Oxholm’s arkiv, No. 6087.
\textsuperscript{22} Koloniernes Centralbestyrelse (“Vejledende Arkivregistraturer”, XX; Copenhagen: Rigsarkivet, 1973).
\textsuperscript{23} The central management of the colonies, Introduction to Vejledende Arkivregistratur XX, trans. Inge N. Ovesen (Copenhagen: Rigsarkivet, 1979).
\textsuperscript{24} Peder Mariager, “Een saavidt mueligt fuldstændig Historisk Efterretning extraheret af Det Vestindiske og Guineiske Compagnies Archiv, Bøger og Protocoller, angaaende bemalte Compagnies Etablissemente udi Vestindien og Guinea. . . .”, 1753; Kongelige Bibliotek, Ny kgl. Samling no. 426 A(2*).
\textsuperscript{25} Søren Sommer, “En kort Beskrivelse om St. Thomas og St. Croix udi Vestindien”, St. Thomas, April 29, 1738. Kongelige Bibliotek, Ny kgl. Samling no. 764 (4*).
\textsuperscript{26} Bancroft Library, “Documents relating to the Danish West Indies, 1635-1832”, Z-A 1 (on four reels of film).
\textsuperscript{27} Great Britain, Public Record Office, Calendar of State Papers, op. cit., Vols. 29 (1716-17) and 41 (1734-35).
Manuscript maps consulted in this study, aside from those found within archival files at the Rigsarkiv, are preserved in the Rigsarkiv's Map and Drawing Collection, in the Royal Library Map Collection, in the Nautical Charts Archive at the Royal Danish Administration of Navigation and Hydrography, at the Danish Geodetic Institute, and in the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress.
Note on measures

The plantation lots established by the Danes on St. Croix were usually measured and recorded in Danish feet. The Danish foot is equivalent to 0.3138 metre, 2.97 per cent longer than the English foot.¹ King Christian V of Denmark decreed the adoption of the *Rhinlandske fod* of two to the *alen* as the Danish standard on May 1, 1683.² The Danish *miile* consisted of twenty-four thousand Danish feet, or 4.6808 English statute miles, or 7.5325 kilometers.³ The *miile* was divided into four *fjording vej*, but this term is rarely encountered in records from St. Croix. The British planters on St. Croix were accustomed to measuring land in acres, and this led to some confusion. A proposal to establish an acre, apparently unique to St. Croix, of forty thousand square Danish feet, will be discussed in its place in the narrative.

Table of equivalences for some measures used in connection with the Danish West India and Guinea Company's survey of St. Croix:⁴

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure (Danish)</th>
<th>Conversion to English</th>
<th>Conversion to Metric</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Danish <em>fod</em></td>
<td>1.297 English foot</td>
<td>0.3138 metre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danish <em>miile</em></td>
<td>4.6808 English statute miles</td>
<td>7.5325 kilometers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch <em>miil</em></td>
<td>3.4527 English statute miles</td>
<td>5.3566 kilometers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French <em>lieue</em></td>
<td>2.7617 English statute miles</td>
<td>4.4443 kilometers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁴ See Roland Chardon, *loc. cit.*
Note on the translations

The history presented here is based on original documents that are almost completely inaccessible to most native speakers of English. The competence to read the papers of the Danish West India Company, written in the Gothic script characteristic of eighteenth century Danish letters, resides almost exclusively in the hands of Danish historians. The scope and topic of this study have demanded the quotation of a great deal of material directly from the records. Most of the material presented has never before been rendered into English. The selection of passages is necessarily narrow; nevertheless, the documents are powerfully evocative. The translations have therefore been approached with some care.

The documents are not so old, nor are Danish and English so distantly related as to make it difficult or inappropriate to render the passages into plain modern English. English archaisms have not been sought out in the interest of tone or flavor, but they have not been avoided where they were found to be useful. Words of West Indian origin and application, such as the word "barricade", used for a property line or marker, have not been translated. The word order in many passages has retained a Danish feel. It is hoped that this is not found to read awkwardly: the alternative was usually a drastic rearrangement of the writer’s presentation, and the result tended to be rather bland. Rambling or incoherent passages in the original have been translated, not rewritten.

Not only does Danish punctuation differ from that of English in various respects, but the writers quoted here make extremely erratic and inconsistent use of marks, spacing, and capitalization. Where the intent is obvious, standard English punctuation has been incorporated in the translation. Complex or ambiguous passages had to be treated with more circumspection: it was deemed wiser not to add punctuation called for by English norms where to do so would be to render a passage unjustifiably
clear. Proper names are spelled as in the original passages, which is to say that the same name may be spelled several ways in the same sentence.

So as to present the documentary basis of the study as directly and as literally as possible, a transcription is provided of every quoted passage of any length. The transcript often presents a more complete context than the translated quotation. Spelling, punctuation, and capitalization have been reproduced as accurately as the idiosyncracies of the writers, the condition of the documents, and the skill of the translator permit: an occasional 'i' may inadvertently have been used in place of the archaic 'j', and the Danish word for 'after' has been rendered in its modern form 'efter'. The characters 'ch' and 'ck' are often indistinguishable and tend to be used interchangeably. Diacritical marks and abbreviations have been modified: in particular, the Danish character 'ø', which tends even in modern hands to be rendered as a dotted 'o', was usually written in lower case as 'o'. It is here rendered as 'ø'. The old-fashioned umlaut over 'y' and the various marks over 'u', which bear no meaning, have been omitted. Double 'm's were commonly abbreviated to a single 'm' with a line above it: this has been spelled out, as in the word 'smme'. The conventions of the Gothic script called for the frequent use of italic script, particularly for words borrowed from other languages; the scribes often used both scripts within the same word. No effort has been made here to reproduce this effect, except in cases in which a Latin word or phrase was used.

The following rules have been adopted. Words which supply meaning within the quoted material are enclosed in brackets: [ ]. Orthographic uncertainty is expressed by a question mark within braces following the suspect word: (?). Illegible but surmised words, and the translations of these, are followed by a question mark and placed within braces: (thus?). Undecipherable words and actual lacunae are replaced
with (____). A small square - □ - was used in some passages to signify "square", "quadrate", or "quarter". This symbol is reproduced here.
CHAPTER ONE - THE PRELIMINARIES

1. Background to the allocation

In the early 1730s, Denmark found itself in a position to acquire, through the agency of the Danish West India and Guinea Company, a relatively large and fertile West Indian island, namely St. Croix, whose settlement it was hoped would revitalize the stagnating economy of the Danish West Indies. The European (and Atlantic) political background of the purchase, and the details of the negotiations with France, are discussed in most of the standard histories, and that ground will not be gone over again here.\(^1\) The various papers preserved in the Danish Rigsarkiv concerning the acquisition of St. Croix\(^2\) contain a great deal of geographic information and speculation, some provided by the French vendors, some by sources in the West Indies, and some puzzled out of the maps of the day. Estimates of the size and area of the island varied widely. Some notion of the ideal size of sugar plantations had currency by this time, or was at any rate being bandied about, but no one in Copenhagen had much idea how many plantations could be carved out of the island. The Company had only the most limited knowledge of the shape and topography of the island. Mountain ranges, climatic variation, soils, vegetation, anchorages, roads, streams, wild animals: on all of these important matters, the people concerned with the purchase - the King of

\(^2\) Vgk. 3, Vgk. 179.
Denmark, the Directors of the Company, and the stockholders - could come to only the broadest conclusions. These were serious handicaps.3

One of the individuals most closely involved in the scheme to purchase St. Croix was Frederik Holmsted, who had been associated with or employed by the West India Company for twenty-five years or so, and was one of the 'chief participants' in the Company.4 On February 22, 1732, King Christian VI gave Holmsted permission to negotiate the purchase from the French. Holmsted's collaborator (and superior, after his assumption of the presidency of the Company in April of the following year) was Charles Adolph von Plessen, one of Christian's privy councillors.5 Their superior, naturally, and an interested party in the proceedings, was the King himself, who also happened to be one of the major stockholders in the Company. The King's geographic analysis of the possibilities of St. Croix is unknown, nor is his posture towards the proposed expansion of the colony likely to have been based solely upon such an estimate, but the positive royal attitude to the venture may be thought to have outweighed and overruled any misgivings on the part of the other stockholders about the goods being purchased.

Geographical information about St. Croix, including a matter of such importance as the size of the island, was very limited, and estimates and descriptions presented to the stockholders by Holmsted and von Plessen might be regarded equally well as

3 Vestergaard, op. cit., pp. 203–04, is willing to believe that “it was assumed by those who had begun the negotiations that the island was well worth buying”. The material in Vgk. 179 provides a certain range of estimates of the size and capacity of St. croix, and it may be that all of this material was in fact available in Copenhagen at the time of the purchase. However, an archivist's note enclosed with this material warns that an unspecified portion of the material was filed in other administrative archives before it was assigned to Vgk. 179. Certainly the file contains material dating to well after the purchase, so it is not possible to be absolutely certain what estimates were available for the consideration of the stockholders.
5 Vgk. 179, “Bevilling til Fr. Holmsted”, February 22, 1732, signed Christian R.

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legitimate or inflated. However that may be, the financial reorganization of the Company that permitted the purchase and led ultimately to the systematic rectangular survey of most of the island was pretty well forced on the stockholders, who were obliged to advance cash against as yet unsurveyed and unspecified properties of absolutely unknown value on a remote and virtually unknown tropical island. The stockholders attempted to protect themselves by reserving the right to sell their "plantations" before the Company itself was allowed to dispose of whatever properties remained to it upon the initial distribution of land on the island. This reservation, though it was ultimately abrogated, was to be a matter of discussion when the island was actually being laid out and settled.

A protocol-book of copies of correspondence and other significant documents concerning the St. Croix "affair" contains an unsigned and undated proposal for the purchase. It is presumably by Holmsted and dates to sometime in 1732 or very early 1733 and runs in part as follows:

There is among the Caribbean Islands in America about 7 miles from St. Thomas an island called St. Croix of considerable size, which is described as 9 to 10 French miles in length and just as much in breadth in some places.

Holmsted presumably translated the French "lieue" as the Danish "miile", but the equivalence in length is really not even close. He may have obtained the figure "9 to 10" from Du Tertre, who quoted this estimate from De Rochefort but himself maintained that the island was 22 leagues long. If Holmsted had access to a copy of Du Tertre and

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7 Westergaard, op. cit., pp. 204-205; Christensen, op. cit., p. 23, and her note 82; Hornby, op. cit., pp. 99-100.
8 Vgk. 179, "Protokol angående den St. Croix affaire".
the map of St. Croix bound therein\(^{11}\) (which cartographic evidence to be discussed later suggests, and which is likely enough in any case), he was in a position to dismiss the figure of 22 leagues, if he had any faith in the map. [Map 1] He at any rate arrived at the conclusion that there was land enough on St. Croix for eight hundred sugar plantations of ideal - *fuldkomne* - size, namely two thousand by three thousand Danish feet. He predicted that these plantations would come to be worked by 24,000 slaves.

The protocol book also contains a more detailed proposal for the division and disposition of land on St. Croix: “Such plantations should, according to the number of participants [in the Company], be surveyed and numbered, and lots drawn to determine which numbers may fall to each”.\(^{12}\) The plan allowed for the creation of smaller plantations as well, 1500 or 1000 feet wide and 1500 or 2000 feet long, the prices to be adjusted accordingly. The author of this document (again, presumably Holmsted) thus came very close to proposing a rational and complete survey and division of the whole island into tracts of uniform size, but fell short of this cadastral ideal: the concept in fact called only for the survey of the requisite number of plantations - far fewer than the eight hundred that the island was supposed to be able to accommodate - and allowed for the creation of lots of several sizes. The scheme also provided for the future confusion of surveyors and appraisers by providing that the value of even the standard-sized lots might vary according to the quality - *bonitet* - of the land.

Holmsted did have the foresight to stress the importance of surveying, numbering, and appraising the plantations before they were disposed of. It was recommended that the Governor of the Danish West Indies should be personally responsible for the “immediate” execution of this task, as soon as the island was taken over.

\(^{12}\) Vtgk. 179, "Preliminaire observationer til Accordter om Landets afstaaelse".
A letter from St. Thomas of unknown authorship, dated April 10, 1733, contained a "project for the island St. Croix". This scheme for the settlement of St. Croix placed the island twelve Danish miles south of St. Thomas and stated that it was according to most accounts 36 English miles long from East to West, and 7 to 10 ditto miles wide and could at the absolute least be divided into two thousand sugar plantations each plantation 2 thousand feet long and three thousand feet wide, and that beside 1000 cotton plantations...\(^{13}\)

The letter proposed a price of two hundred rigsdaler for each sugar plantation and an initial six-year period of relief from taxation. To attract foreign settlers, religious freedom on the island was recommended. The writer was convinced that St. Croix could supply all Denmark, Norway, and Holstein - the entire Baltic, in fact - with sugar, cotton, coffee, and chocolate.

Estimates of the size of the island continued to be revised for some time, as will be seen. Various people in Copenhagen and in the West Indies may have thought they knew how big the island was, but the fact is that the Company was buying a pig in a poke. The geographical information required for a rational decision was simply not available. It may be wondered whether the Directors of the Company were bothered by this ignorance, or even much struck by it.\(^{14}\)

\(^{13}\) Vgk. 179, "Project ovver Ejlandet Ste. Chrutze". This document was enclosed in a piece of domestic Danish correspondence, whose sender concealed the authorship of the "project" from the recipient by cutting the signature out of the letter from St. Thomas. Except insofar as it may be representative of ideas conveyed earlier, it will not have had any weight in deliberations in Copenhagen, for it can scarcely have arrived in Denmark before von Plessen formally presented his and Holmsted's own scheme to a general assembly of Company stockholders on May 8, 1733 (See Westergaard, op. cit., p. 202, for this date).

\(^{14}\) Helle B. Christensen, op. cit., p. 34, points out the Company's difficulty with calculating the rate of return on the purchase price when they really didn't know how many plantations they would end up with.
Certainly the Danes had little to go on. A French position paper without date, heading, or signature, in a copy book in this same archival file, explains France's abandonment of St. Croix and France's willingness to sell the island.\(^{15}\) It was held to have been too remote from the other French islands to be supplied, or relieved in times of war. The colonists had also been needed elsewhere, namely on Saint Domingue. Furthermore, St. Croix was "little, mountainous and sterile, without harbor or port suitable for anything larger than barques". The island was a haven for pirates and rascals of every description. Finally, "les Anglois etc. y ont presque coupé tous le bois, et coupent encore journellement le reste". It appears from another document in French, of uncertain provenance, but dating to shortly before the transfer, that there were sixteen or seventeen English families on the island, besides which "environs 120. hommes de la même Nation y vont continuellellement pour y couper des Bois".\(^{16}\)

An English document available in a manuscript copy in Copenhagen by May of 1733, if not earlier, is labeled: "Description of the Island of Santa Cruz by John Barbot in his Collections of Voyages and Travels, Tom. 5 pag. 662 & 663".\(^{17}\) The Danes must have been quite encouraged by this informative article:

[The island consists] altogether of small hills; of good access even for carts, and proper to produce all things of American growth. The soil in some places is nitrous, [making the water unfit to drink, in places. ... There are] cisterns for the use of mankind, the cattel drinking that of the wells, which serves also for other common uses. It has been observed, that the deeper they dig the wells, the sweeter the water is. That of several rivulets is also very good. ... Several of the little rivers stagnate towards their mouths, for want of a descent. They abound in fish.

\(^{15}\) Vgk. 179, Akter vedr. Erhvervelse af St. Croix. 1733.
\(^{16}\) Vgk. 179.
\(^{17}\) Vgk. 179. Labeled in a corner: Copenh. 1733 5/15.
but the standing water gave rise to unhealthy vapors. Barbot related that the French
have there a little colony. The air was reckoned bad for many years, but it has
been observed to grow more wholesome as the woods are cut down, and the
inhabitants live pretty well in it, and have good provisions, which makes the
number of people increase; and it is likely to become a considerable colony,
there being several sugar mills on it already. The soil produces plenty of
tobacco, sugar and indigo, and there is good pasture ground for feeding horses,
cows, and sheep. In the year 1680, it was reckoned to contain 800 inhabitants. . . .
There are tree ports in it, the best in all the Caribbee islands, especially one of
them which is a very safe harbour, but somewhat difficult to get in, having two
very narrow channels among the rocks, not above six fathom broad, and the
one fifteen, the other sixteen foot water. Within those narrow channels the
depth increases to four and five fathom, all within the port very close to the
shore the ships commonly lying so near a small island there is within it, that
they make use of the trees growing on it, to bring them down on a side and
careen.

There is a little fort, mounted with cannons; besides which the
inhabitants have a save retreat, in cause of being attacked by too great a power,
which they provided in the midts of the woods, in the year 1666, when they
apprehended being attacked by the English; the place being big enough to
breed and maintain cattle, with other conveniences for themselves, their
families and effects. That natural fortress is secured on all sides either by
thickness of the trees standing, or by many others cut down and lay'd athwart
to stop up the avenues, so that 20 men who were well acquainted with the place,
may keep off 500 in those parts which are easiest of access.
Barbot ended with a few sour words on the island's insect life. His description of the harbor fits that of what was to become Christiansted, but his enthusiastic characterization of the three harbors (the other two being, presumably, Salt River Bay and the open road at the West End), is without justification. Conceivably he confused St. Croix with St. Thomas, which does indeed have one of the best harbors in the Lesser Antilles. The natural retreat in the woods could have been almost anywhere in the hills. Barbot stated that the island was "about thirty leagues in compass".

Barbot is the only traveller, geographer, or chronicler named in the documents preserved in the Rigsarkiv concerning the Danish acquisition of St. Croix. If, as has been suggested, Company officials had a copy of Du Tertre's Histoire, or any other published source of information on St. Croix, there is no mention of it. It will be seen that the Directors took a mild interest in serviceable French ruins, especially those of forts and batteries, but it is not documented that their planning was affected by anything they learned from Du Tertre's text.

It was originally planned that the holder of each share would receive two of these six-million-square-foot lots on St. Croix for his reinvestment in the Company. This was later changed to four lots per share, which might be accepted as an equitable recalculation on the part of the Company, except that the land in question might almost have existed in a dream world as far as most of the shareholders were concerned: it was unsettled, uncultivated, and in fact almost completely unknown. The value of such plantations might as well have been drawn out of a hat: their size was not pegged to the value of the stock.

18 Barbot was no doubt an accomplished travel writer, but, aside from this slip, there is no basis for doubting that he actually visited St. Croix.
How the *fuldkommen* plantation in the Danish West Indies came by its dimensions is a bit of a puzzle. The shape may be akin to the long lot, which was suitable for equitable and efficient settlement along a coast in a context and setting in which access to sea transport was essential. However, Leif Calundann Larsen, in his study of the Danish colonization of St. John, which began in 1718, found that of thirty-nine plantations on the coast, only seventeen are known to have had their short side to the sea. Ten plantations were oriented lengthwise along the shore, and the orientation of twelve others could not be determined. Furthermore, the coastal stretches were not always settled before inland areas. Land on St. John was taken up by metes and bounds, using compass bearings. Larsen found plantations of all sizes, in rectangles, parallelograms, trapezoids, and triangles. Some boundary lines, not being straight, were simply not recorded. Larsen attempted no cartographic reconstruction but called the pattern a regular jigsaw puzzle.

It is the more remarkable, then, that Friderich Moth, at that time the governor of the Danish West Indies for the first time and responsible for the Company’s plantations on St. John as well as on St. Thomas, and a substantial and experienced planter in his own right, referred in 1727, in rather a matter of fact manner, to the properness or suitability - "*fuldkommenhed*" - of lots two thousand by three thousand feet. Suggesting a size for the Company’s plantation on St. John, he recommended a lot (or possibly two) three thousand feet on a side: “for otherwise a full sugar work is 2000 feet wide and 3000 feet long”. Calundann Larsen’s tabulation of the areas of plantations on St. John in 1730, by which time all the land on the island had been taken up, indicated that three sizes of lot predominated: three thousand feet by
two thousand, three thousand by fifteen hundred, and two thousand by fifteen hundred.23

A 1688 cadastral list for St. Thomas recorded properties of various widths: 150 feet, 216 feet, 376 feet, 400 feet, 444 feet, and 708 feet, for example. Most of the properties, however, were described as three thousand feet long, or, failing that standard, as running "from the sea side to the top of the high mountain", or "from the sea up".24 Some of the plantations were listed as three thousand feet long to the top of the mountain, and some as three thousand feet long and to the top of the mountain. One plantation was only fifteen hundred feet long; otherwise the plantations were three thousand feet long or of unspecified length or both. Naturally, it cannot be thought that the distance from the sea straight up to the top of the nearest mountain is uniformly three thousand feet on St. Thomas. These grants reflect indifference at the time of settlement to the depth of the lots. The figure of three thousand feet may have been prescribed in some administrative formula, but its use in conjunction with the unspecified distance to the top of the ridge suggests rather a convention, and not a very rigid one. It was argued in a land dispute adjudicated in St. Thomas in 1735, in response to one party's claim to land running all the way to the top of a mountain - a distance greater than three thousand feet - that "the commonly recognized custom [is] that the plantations are not conveyed longer than 3000 feet".25 No reference was made in the case record to Danish law or local ordinances.

The standard figure of three thousand feet may have originated anywhere. It may have been derived from some specific key lot on St. Thomas. It may have struck one governor or surveyor or another as a nice round number. It may even be the

23 Calundann Larsen, op. cit., pp. 68-69. Calundann Larsen presented the areas of the plantations, rather than the dimensions: 146, 109.5, and 73 acres, respectively.
24 Vgk. 57, a copy of the St. Thomas land list for 1688, returned to the West Indies with the general missive of March 26, 1735.
25 Vgk. 101, September 9, 1735.
distance from the sea to the top of one of St. Thomas's mountains. It is seventy-five times the length of a surveyor's chain listed in an inventory of the Company's property on St. Croix taken in 1740. It might be derived from some European convention, or it may be purely West Indian. Whatever the case, by 1733, when the survey and settlement of St. Croix was getting under way, this dimension was not only customary (or at any rate claimed to be so) but "fuldkommea".

The width of the standard plantation will have been another such convention. Moth and his peers could as easily have favored a square plantation, but it is possible that the planters of the time and place found that nine million square feet was a little too large, a little unwieldy. It is equally conceivable that the proportion of two to three seemed somehow more fitting, more aesthetically or intellectually serviceable.

It is difficult to imagine that any real and operative consensus on the ideal size of sugar plantations could have prevailed in the West Indies, or even on any given island, even if, as Pares stated, "there is some reason to think that the planters [of Barbados] recognized quite early that there was a limit beyond which no plantation could profitably extend". This limit was set by the exigencies of transport of the cut cane to the mill and boiling house. Variability of terrain, of mill, of boiling house, of climate, of cane, of soil, of labor, and of managerial acumen, however, combined to render the idea of an ideal plantation size unrealistic. Nevertheless, Moth tossed off the statement that two by three thousand feet was the best size, and the idea was picked up without question in Copenhagen and used as the basis of calculation in a major international land transfer, as well as of the reorganization of one of the Kingdom's largest financial concerns. These dimensions were incorporated in the planning for

26 VGK. 105, "Inventarium" of the Company's "estat" on St. Croix, 1740.
27 Pares, op. cit., pp. 24-25.
the settlement of St. Croix, and a grid based fairly consistently on lots of this size was imposed on most of the island's area, where it remains, rooted to the spot in fence lines, cemented down under the road net, and guarded by property owners, to this day.

Perhaps because of the size of the investment, the Danes demanded indisputable title to St. Croix. This concern was in itself rather unusual for the time and place. Land transfers in the Caribbean tended to take place at the point of a sword, or when nobody was home, and the Danes had obtained both St. Thomas and St. John in this way. France provided the Danes with documentary proof of the legitimacy of the French crown's title to St. Croix and furthermore undertook to guarantee the new Danish claim against foreign pretensions and attacks. The Danes found these assurances satisfactory, and the sale went through. The treaty was signed in Copenhagen on June 15, 1733.

In September of 1733, the Danish West India and Guinea Company adopted a "convention" governing the details of the take-over of St. Croix. The convention called for the survey of the island, without elaboration. Such plantations as did not fall

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29 Westergaard, op. cit., pp. 41-42 and 127-130; Christensen, op. cit., p. 24.
30 Documents made available to the British Council of Trade and Plantations include "a copy of the contract made between France and the Danish West India Company, for the sale of the Island of Sta. Cruz" and "a copy of the Specification of the acts and titles, relating to that Island, which the French put in the hands of the Danes upon the signing of that contract". Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, op. cit., Vol. 41 (1734-35), documents 388 and 388 ii. Copies of some of the documents listed in this specification are preserved in Vgk. 179, under "Akter vedr. Frankrigs Besiddelse af St. Croix".
31 Vgk. 179. Copy of a letter from Louis XV to M. le Marquis de Champigny, governor of the French Windward Islands, dated June 26, 1733, which confirmed the sale of St. Croix, required the evacuation of any French settlers that might remain on the island, and ordered Champigny to do everything in his power to protect the Danes from the claims of other nations. The deed of sale itself includes this commitment. Calendar of State Papers, op. cit., Volume 41, document 388 iii.
32 Westergaard, op. cit., p. 206.
33 Vgk. 5, Det Kongel. Danske West-Indiske og Guineiske Compagnies Participanter vedtagne convention, reglement og forening indgaaet og slutet den 16 September, Ao. 1733.
to individual shareholders were to be held by the Company on behalf of the participants in common. Plantations two thousand by three thousand feet were to be offered at the rate of two for one thousand rigsdaler, but allowance was made for modification of the price at the discretion of the Company Directors, "to promote the land's quicker settlement". It was declared that St. Thomas would remain the colony's capital for the time being, but there was a clear hint that the government might in time be moved to St. Croix. This detail alone brought the whole project out of the realm of frontier speculation and into the urbane world of the Copenhagen bureaucracy: the wilderness of St. Croix was suddenly transformed by a resolution and the scratching of a pen into the suitable seat of a colonial government, and this at the expense of St. Thomas itself, with its magnificent harbor and commercial establishment. It conveys some of the hope that was held for the new island. For the time being, however, St. Croix was placed under the authority of a "chief" - opperhoved - subordinate to the governor on St. Thomas.

A new octroi of February 5, 1734 granted the Company full ownership, control, enjoyment, and use of St. Croix, subject to such provisions of Danish law as might be applicable and were not expressly countermanded by this octroi, American colonial law, and the dictates of local use and custom.34 Certainly the notion of use and custom in newly acquired and unoccupied territory would be bound to require judicial interpretation sooner or later. The King also granted the Company the right to its own system of weights and measures, with the reservation that these conform to those officially sanctioned elsewhere in his realm.35 The question of the discrepancies between Danish and English linear and areal measures will come up later in this discussion (the largest part of the white population of St. Croix was to be of British extraction), but it can be noted here that the Danish government was trying to enforce

34 Vgk. 5. octroi of February 5, 1734. p. 39.
35 Vgk. 5. octroi of February 5, 1734. p. 27.
the use of Danish measure in the West Indies as late as 1912: a letter from the
government in St. Thomas to the Finance Ministry in Copenhagen indicated that the
chance of imposing Danish or metric weights was small: "nor has older Danish measure
been used here on the islands as far back as can be remembered".36

(Chapter One is continued on the next page. The sequence of footnotes recommences
with the numeral 1.)

36 Koloniernes Centralbestyrelse 1010, "Maal og Vægt", St. Thomas, December 3, 1912.
CHAPTER ONE (Continued)

2. The orders of November 16, 1733

With 750,000 livres down\(^1\) and title and royal ratifications in hand, the Company Directors drew up detailed orders for the takeover and settlement of St. Croix. These orders, more than the "Convention" of September, 1733, are the founding document of the Danish establishment on St. Croix.\(^2\) Although the Directors could not think of everything, the orders can be called comprehensive. Ten years after the initial establishment of the colony, an exact copy of the original orders was given to a new governor of the islands being sent out from Copenhagen.\(^3\) Reference was made to them in official correspondence through the years, and their exact wording was subject to close scrutiny in, for example, a major legal dispute in the 1740s over lands allocated and surveyed under their provisions.\(^4\)

The orders opened the long geographical dialogue between the Company headquarters in Copenhagen and its operators on St. Croix. At a time when no Dane had yet set official foot on the island, and on the basis of very sketchy information indeed, the establishment of a cadastral system was called for: the Commandant and Privy Council of St. Croix, and Friderich Moth, who was appointed "chief" of the St. Croix operation, "or another in his place", were instructed on how the newly acquired island was to be "taken into possession, surveyed, divided, and settled".\(^5\) It will be seen how well and how quickly these orders were carried out.

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1 Hornby, op. cit., p. 98.
2 Vgk. 56, Ordre og Anstalt, Copenhagen, November 16, 1733.
3 Vgk. 28, copy of the original orders of November 16, 1733.
4 Vgk. 284.
5 Vgk. 56, orders, November 16, 1733.
There are thirty-five pages of the orders: doubtless Moth and the other officials on St. Thomas found much in them to think about. The discussion here will be confined mainly to the points dealing with survey and subdivision, and with the island's topography in general.

The orders' fifth section named Moth chief of St. Croix. Moth's orders were made out with the name left blank to allow for the possibility that he might be dead when the orders arrived or, less likely, that he might refuse the commission. This is an example of the handicap imposed by the extreme slowness and uncertainty of communication between the capital and the colony. These orders took half a year to reach their destination. By comparison, correspondence between St. Croix and St. Thomas, of which, unfortunately, relatively little of pertinence to this study is preserved, moved at quite a clip. Responses to urgent questions were received in a matter of days, whereas in the correspondence with Denmark, all sense of urgency, and possibly all interest, might be lost before the questions reached their destination. The answers, when they arrived, might be thought to have excited the kind of mild interest generated by the recovery of some item lost for months under a piece of furniture. This lack of immediate supervision may have had some effect on discipline. With so much time between accountings, the execution of orders might well be deferred, especially if the orders were in any way ambiguous or demonstrated a lack of appreciation of local conditions. The executive independence of senior colonial officials was thus almost absolute. A man of Friderich Moth's standing and experience, for instance, would be hard to replace, and his replacement might be dead before he (or his orders) arrived.

Many important decisions were made locally, and precedents established, in the absence of timely advice from the home office, if indeed that advice was found in the colony to be of much use. The Directors' letters at times conveyed a tone of astonished

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6 Ibid. section 5.
indignation, but their impotence is confirmed by the reiteration of orders and demands, as will be seen, especially in connection with St. Croix land registers in the 1740s and 1750s.

Following a great deal of material apprising the West Indian officials of the purchase of St. Croix, the position of the French, and the arrangements to be made for the takeover (including a suggestion that each of the planters on St. Thomas might be willing to "lend" the Company one or two slaves to help with the initial work of establishing the Danish presence), the orders came, in their sixth section, to the first concrete order, which called for the erection of a modest defensive work, a place of "refuge and security", in case the Danish acquisition of the island was opposed by some neighboring power. The selection of the site for this fort was to be in the hands of an engineer sent out from Denmark with the orders, a man named Stahlman.

Advantageous terrain was to be exploited as much as possible in the siting of the fort, so as to make it "that much less costly", and such ruins of the old French fort as might still be serviceable were to be taken advantage of. There is no reference to Bassin, the harbor on the north side of the island. The orders made no explicit statement about where the initial foothold was to be sought: it is possible that a great deal of amplification of this and other questions was conveyed orally through Stahlman. The orders referred to an enclosed English "relation", with a Danish translation, and called attention to the "impreaable" retreat in the woods mentioned therein. The other information in the Barbot piece - on the water, harbors, and agricultural promise of the island - elicited no remark. Finally, it was ordered that lookouts were to be established in "the high mountains on the East and West ends", to provide notice of approaching or passing vessels. The management may have been guessing, but the

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7 Ibid. section 5.
8 Ibid. section 6.
9 Ibid. section 7.
definite article used implies definite knowledge, or at any rate confidence in their maps.

The orders called, in the sparsest terms, for the creation of a "regulier" plan for a town to be called Christiansted, with regular building lots "to be allotted and conveyed against a reasonable fee in proportion to the plantation lots". This last ambiguously worded provision may conceivably have had its basis in a vague vision of a traditional Danish rural settlement pattern, with the agriculturists' homes clustered in a village or town surrounded by the fields. This order had no bearing on actual developments. The orders then took up the survey and division of plantations:

When the forementioned sites for fort, building plan, and harbor and lookouts and so on which are required for defense and building sites either there or in other quarters are selected, surveyed, delineated, and reserved, the land is to be, the sooner the better, and in fact as soon as can possibly be, taken up and surveyed by the engineer and his assistants or those assigned him into convenient divisions and quarters and each quarter into its own convenient and the most regular plantations possible, viz. large sugar works plantations 2000 feet in breadth and 3000 feet in length, where this can be and the situation and terrain permit it, and into smaller sugar and cotton plantations where situation and the conditions do not permit larger.11

The word quarter was used in two slightly different ways, neither of which was carefully defined. The plan, such as it was, allowed for variation depending on situation, terrain, conditions, and convenience or suitability. How the distinction between sugar and cotton land was to be made was not explained. The size of the

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10 Ibid, section 8. 
surveyor's crew was not specified. At this point in the establishment of the cadastre of St. Croix, the original orders were open to local interpretation. The orders continued:

First of all a sufficient and convenient plot near the fort is to be measured off which is to be reserved to the Company, the size of at least 3 plantations, viz. 6/m feet in breadth and 3/m feet in length. Then, when the 300 plantations mentioned in section 11 below are surveyed, in the very best and most convenient places, in the rest of the land belonging to the Company, the noblest and best woods, in which the most useful and largest trees are to be found, are to be reserved for the Company and not divided into plantations pending further and more particular arrangements, of which woods no one may make use, far less cut and remove anything, besides the Company alone, without orders and permission; in fact they shall be altogether saved and conserved and nothing therein be cut for the Company or others for market or for building or for any other use, as long as there is wood for building and such in the places destined for plantations.12

However, the Company stated that it would allow access to its own woods, at least at the start, and at no cost, to anyone whose plantation lacked the necessary wood for building. It is not clear whether the directors intended that these wood lots should be set aside before or after the three hundred plantations for the participants had been surveyed. In any event, no specific reservation of wooded land was ever made. The Directors' generous provision for the settlers, phrased so vaguely, reflects their almost total ignorance, at this point, of the size of the island, of the terrain, of the vegetation, and of the problems of transport from one part of the island to another. The preoccupation with woods probably reflects traditional Danish concerns as well as a

12 Ibid, section 10.
sharp awareness of the heavy demand for lumber in the Lesser Antilles and for fine hardwoods and dyewoods in European markets.

A certain amount of ambiguity, if not disorder, was introduced by the use of the phrase "at least" regarding the dimensions of the Company's plantation. How was a plot to be surveyed to be at least a given size? This failure to grasp and make use of the specific delimiting and defining function of survey vitiated the instructions, at least where these dealt with the Company's own plantations. The Directors appear to have thought they were dealing with a limitless American frontier there on St. Croix - to have thought there was plenty of land. They failed to think the matter through. They did not look ahead to the time when the Company's plantation, so conveniently situated, might have neighbors. In the 1740s, a messy court case between the Company and Moth revolved around this imprecise wording.13

In section 11 of the orders, the Directors again listed the various lots and tracts that were to be reserved for the Company's purposes and then ordered that

300 large sugar works plantations, each of 2000 feet breadth and 3000 feet length, are then to be surveyed out of the lands which are considered to lie most conveniently, to be most fruitful, and are of equal terrain, which shall be numbered either No. 1 to 300, or if it is thought better and the plantations fall in more than one quarter, then Quarter A. No. 1 up through the numbers of the rest of the plantations falling therein, Quarter B. No. 1 to No. and so forth.

But it is wished most preferably that these 300 plantation lots as far as possible were by one another in one quarter if it is practicable.14

13 Vgk. 284.
14 Vgk. 56, orders, November 16, 1733, section 11.
As soon as the three hundred lots were "in this way" surveyed and numbered, Captain Moth was to send of list of these to St. Thomas, where at a public assembly,

in the presence of the Company's highest officers and as many of the land's inhabitants [as care to attend], all the participants' names, according to the enclosed list Letter D., shall be written on slips of equal size, each participant's name on its own slip, which slips shall be folded into the same shape, put into a chest or box and shuffled up and thereafter pulled out unopened by a child, slip by slip, in the above named (____) assembly and delivered into the Commandant's hand to be opened.

The first participant whose name appears takes plantation No. 1 in Quarter A. and so forth by number up to as many plantations as, according to the list, are due him. The 2nd participant that emerges takes the next number where the first's left off and so on,

each name out of the hat being thus linked with the next number on the list of lots, one after the other. The orders continued, with some understatement:

From which circumstances will be seen how necessary it is that all of the prescribed 300 plantation lots be as far as is possible equal to one another, both in quality and convenient situation and in size, wherefor you are again most expressly reminded and ordered that the lots are to be chosen and surveyed to be of equal quality and situation and of the very best and most fruitful terrain to be found on the whole island.

The Directors' wish that the plantations should if possible fall together in one quarter notwithstanding, nothing could have been farther from a plan for a rational survey system of the type imposed on the American federal lands. The orders allowed for the location of the participants' sugar plantations anywhere on the island. The size and
shape of the quarters, which were assigned no administrative function, was to be contingent entirely upon terrain. It was not required that the lots should be contiguous. Situation and convenience were not defined, and the ordered valuation of virgin land might in less formally regulated situations be the work of years or generations.

The allocation of the lots by lottery seems a fair enough solution, but the Directors were obviously well aware of the difficulty of laying out three hundred large lots of equal size and value. They tried to dispose of the problem by decree: all the lots, it was sternly reiterated, were to be equal. It was to be some time before the weaknesses of this plan were pointed out, and much longer before the market for land on St. Croix developed to the degree that most standard sugar lots, at the price set by the Company, became almost equally attractive.

The suggestions for a numbering system were trivial, particularly since there was no recommendation concerning the orientation of the numbers: the Directors were more concerned at this point with the mechanics of the ordered drawing for plantations than with designing a survey. A numbering system like the second one proposed by the Directors was eventually established on St. Croix, but it will be seen that its usefulness depended entirely on the real progress of surveying and mapping, on proper recordkeeping, and on the willingness of the public and the administration, even when a more or less adequate cartographic and cadastral basis had been created, to use the numbers rather than the plantations' or their owners' names.

The orders next provided that when the drawing of lots was concluded, and
the numbers of every participant's plantations are known, then immediately and without delay but not before, the plantations of those participants who wish to dispose of them and not themselves cultivate may be sold.\textsuperscript{15}

The Company undertook to handle these sales for the individual participants, delegating this responsibility to the St. Thomas government, for not many applications for land were expected from Denmark itself; apparently, the market would be West Indian. It was provided that the lots might be sold whole or as half or quarter plantations, but the original plantation numbering system was to be preserved. None of the plantations was to be sold for less than one thousand rigsdaler or the appropriate fraction thereof (and although allowance had been made only for subdivision into half and quarter plantations, the fractional price was calculated in the orders down to the price per ten thousand square feet).

It was ordered in Section 13 that land held in common by the Company was not to be put on the market before all the participants' lots had been sold. For their part, the participants agreed to notify the Company of their intention to sell prior to the departure of the ship carrying these orders.\textsuperscript{16} Furthermore, Company land comparable in quality to the participants' lots was not to be sold for less than one thousand rigsdaler per plantation. However, provision was made for discounts of up to fifty per cent for cotton plantations and other land of lesser value.

Section 14 ordered that

all plantations and surveyed places shall be correctly and distinctly separated and distinguished one from another with barricades of immortal wood or other

\textsuperscript{15}\textit{Ibid.} section 12.

\textsuperscript{16}\textit{Ibid.} section 13.
barricade woods, which barricades or boundary marks no one, under the highest penalties, may remove or disturb.\textsuperscript{17}

The use of the word 'barricade' in this sense is not Danish but had been in use in the Danish West Indies at least since the late seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{18}

In Section 15 of the orders, it was directed that

The engineer and his assistants shall as soon as possible draft an accurate map of the land in general of such large scale that not only the land's extent and all the coves and harbors but every (plain?), wooded ground, and plantation can be distinguished with number, length, and breadth, as well as indicated by means of characters whether it is a sugar or cotton plantation, of which map, for whose correct and prompt execution the Chief will take all care and pains, 3 copies are to be made, and of these one will remain with the Chief on St. Croix, one at the office on St. Thomas, and one will be sent home with the first ship; indeed, another copy is to be sent home at the first following opportunity in case the first, God forbid, fails to arrive.\textsuperscript{19}

What the Directors seem to have been mainly interested in was a cadastral map with some economic symbolism. If the map were to be produced in the manner required, it would provide no information on relief, streams, roads, reefs, or anchorages, most of which was available on maps of the ilk of that published in Du Tertre.\textsuperscript{20} The demand for cartographic representation of the island's extent - \textit{strekning} - does not necessarily indicate that the Directors had any serious doubts about the accuracy of the French map, although they will naturally have been aware

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid, section 14.
\textsuperscript{18} See Vgk. 484.
\textsuperscript{19} Vgk. 56, orders, November 16, 1733, section 15.
\textsuperscript{20} Du Tertre, \textit{op. cit.}, Vol. 3, facing p. 114.
that this simple matter of the island's length and breadth had a crucial bearing on their investment. The relationship between the maps is not so puzzling: with all the faith in the world in the Du Tertre map, the Directors will have been interested in their own new, modern map, cadastral developments aside. Their failure to mention roads was an inexplicable omission. This is, after all, one of the major deficiencies of the French map. The lack of precision about the scale of the map might be due to a lack of cartographic experience, for scaled maps of the island were available to the Directors; or it may merely be that they did not care to concern themselves with such things: they simply wanted the map to be large enough to show the desired detail.

The 16th and last section of the orders was divided into thirty articles, which listed the "conditions granted the inhabitants", of which only a few are of direct interest here. Subsection 1 guaranteed that the plantations were conveyed in perpetuity as the absolute property of the buyers and their heirs and successors to do with and enjoy as they saw fit. If a plantation was subdivided and sold, it was to

retain that number in the land register that it is given at its first occupation,
such that if the main plantation was No. 10, then when it is divided, the other parts that are split off become No. 10 1/4 or No. 10 1/2 or No. 10 3/4.21

The Directors's instinct to avoid the introduction of an indefinite series of new numbers upon subdivision of the original plantations was sound, but the use of fractions was not a good idea, especially in the case of repeated subdivision. The main argument against the system is the possible confusion of the numbers and sizes of the subdivided lots. For example, if a plantation was to be divided into numbers 10 and 10 1/2 and both halves later halved again, one of the resulting quarter lots would be incongruously labeled number 10 1/2. The fourth, presumably, would have to be listed

21 Vgk. 56, orders, November 16, 1733, section 16, subsection 1.
as 10 4/4. Here, as elsewhere, the Company's plans were not well wrought. Eventually the use of letters for the subdivisions was adopted.

The second subsection of Section 16 stated that blank deeds to properties on St. Croix were being sent out, signed by the Directors and bearing the Company seal. These are to be endorsed by the Chief on St. Croix as having been allotted and delivered, as well as by the Commandant on St. Thomas, after they have actually been surveyed, allotted, and registered.22

The language of each deed specifically mentioned the plantation’s "barricades and boundaries", its correct number, and its dimensions, and indicated that this information should already at the time of the delivery of the deed have been recorded at the Company's office on St. Thomas.

The rest of the orders dealt with such things as discounts for immediate or prompt payment for plantations, religious freedom, an oath of allegiance to the Danish monarch to be demanded of all foreign settlers, tax freedom for seven years from the date of purchase of a plantation, military obligations, trading rights and restrictions, and various administrative matters. The only other provision that was linked directly to the ownership of land required the residence on each full-sized plantation of two armed white overseers; only one was required for half plantations. The requirement was stated in terms of the length and breadth of the lots.23

Besides the Barbot relation, enclosures with the orders included the engineer Stahlman's commission.24 This contained no clue to how he was to proceed with the survey of St. Croix. No reference was made in the body of the orders or elsewhere in the

22 Ibid. section 16, subsection 2.
23 Ibid. section 16, subsection 19.
24 Vkg. 24, November 5, 1733.
correspondence to any special instructions for Stahlman: there is no documentary indication that the Directors' scheme for the survey was any more developed than appears from the main orders of November 16, 1733. A cargo manifest for the "Eenighed", the ship that carried the orders (and Stahlman) out to the West Indies, listed "mathematical and engineer instruments" in the engineer's keeping; no further detail was provided.25

The list of plantations needed to meet the obligation to the stockholders showed that 293 3/4 full sugar plantations, all of equal size, quality, and value, would have to be laid out on St. Croix.26 About a dozen stockholders expressed an interest in cultivating or at any rate keeping some of their plantations. The King and the Queen received twenty-six and eight plantations respectively and would keep all of them; all four of Princess Sophie Hedevig's lots were to be sold; Holmsted chose to cultivate thirteen of his twenty-five lots and sell the rest; and Von Plessen was listed as receiving thirty-seven lots, of which he would cultivate ten. A few other "voting participants" would cultivate or keep one or two plantations each. Laurents Carsten, a St. Thomas resident, was the only investor besides the Royal pair who kept all of the four lots due him. Thus a core of seventy-eight plantations actually controlled and worked by Company investors was envisioned. The other 215 3/4 plantations were to be put on the market as soon as the Directors' instructions for their demarcation had been carried out.

The investors holding the remaining three quarters of the stock chose to rid themselves as soon as possible of what must have been viewed as a liability. To establish and work a St. Croix sugar plantation would have required large expenditures, and these burghers were not West India planters, but investors caught in a bind. Many of the provisions for the survey were designed to protect these men, or to quiet their

26 Vgk. 56, Specification, November 12, 1733.
protests, but they had no personal interest in the land of St. Croix, and only a passing interest in the forms of tenure to be established there.

Finally, the Directors enclosed with the orders of November 16, 1733, a map of St. Croix. This map is apparently lost. It was not discussed in the orders: the Directors saw no need to account for its provenance or sources, to remark on any of its detail, or to assess its reliability. It is possible that it was covered with annotations and instructions, but this seems extremely unlikely. Were these moderns of the early eighteenth century on the whole sceptical of the seventeenth-century map, or was the topography shown on this map in fact taken so seriously that the idea of a rectangular survey of the whole island was thought to be precluded? Was it assumed that the plantations would have to fall where they might, in such plains and valleys as presented themselves? If so, the orders would appear less irresponsible, but there is no such indication. These politicians and merchants and their bookkeepers were faced with a radically new problem: the rationally planned and recorded alienation of wild and remote land. They appear to have made no use of the only tool at hand. The Directors seem not to have known quite what to make of the connection between the map and the island - to have been in fact geographically and cartographically naive. An opportunity to exercise control over the survey was let slip.

The map sent out is likely to have been very similar to two manuscript maps of St. Croix preserved in the map collections of the Royal Library and the Rigsarkiv in Copenhagen.27 [See Maps 2 and 3] These are copies or versions either of the 1671 map engraved by La Pointe and published by Du Tertre or of Gerard van Keulen’s map, itself presumably based on the La Pointe map and published in Amsterdam in the early eighteenth century. Both of these published maps are held by the Royal Library, the

27 In the Rigsarkiv's Map and Drawing Collection, no. 337, 9 (security negative number 62): "L'Isle de Ste. Croix"; and in the Royal Library Map Collection, acquisition number 1909 Nr. 445: "Carte de L'Isle de Sainte Croix Danoise".

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one in Du Tertre's *Histoire* and the other in a van Keulen *Zee-fakkel*, and although the date of acquisition of these tomes cannot be determined, and the provenance of the two manuscript maps is unknown, the La Pointe map at any rate had been available in print sixty years before the Danes bought St. Croix. It is very likely that the map sent to the West Indies in 1733 closely resembled the manuscripts in the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

It can thus be assumed that there was available in the Danish West Indies at the time of the takeover of St. Croix a fairly detailed and not entirely inaccurate map of the island, showing relief, anchorages, reefs, the position of seventeenth-century fortifications and habitations, and, above all, the general size and shape of the island. Although this map was subsequently mentioned in the correspondence, no reference was ever made to its content. It may or may not have been in constant use on St. Croix, but it was never used by the Danish West India and Guinea Company as an aid to geographic communication across the Atlantic.

Taken all in all, the orders of November 16, 1733, did not contain a comprehensive plan for the rational survey of the whole of St. Croix. Survey prior to conveyance was adopted, but it was derived from the peculiar exigencies of the Company's finances: an obligation to provide "equal" lots of land to the stockholders had to be discharged as quickly and as easily as possible. It was obviously simplest to make the lots all of the same size and shape: even though this could not guarantee the desired result, any other approach to surveying and appraising estates of equal value would be impracticable. Although the orders required attention to the quality of the land to be laid out, the dimensions of the lots would inevitably be the focus of the survey. At that, certain regular deviations were allowed from the standard plantation.

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28 J. B. Du Tertre, *loc. cit.*
29 Johannes van Keulan, *De Nieuwe Groote Lichtende Zee-fakkel, 't Vierde Deel* ([Amsterdam?): [1734?]).
unit, which was not derived from European practice, nor from any very firmly established West Indian tradition. It is only because the island was able to accommodate a relatively large number of adjoining full-sized plantation lots on suitable ground that the establishment of a strikingly regular cadastral pattern was possible. The orders called for convenience and regularity, and provided the dimensions of the preferred unit of subdivision. The details of execution were left to the Company's servants on the ground.

(Chapter One is continued on the next page. The sequence of footnotes recommences with the numeral 1.)
CHAPTER ONE (Continued)

3.1734

The Company's orders regarding St. Croix arrived at St. Thomas on June 11, 1734.1 Captain Moth was happy to accept the commission as chief of the new island with pleasure and within ten days sailed over to St. Croix "to take the land in view and choose where the first foothold should be".2 Moth and his party, which included Stahlman the engineer, sailed first to the West End of St. Croix, "where the French had had a small battery, whose walls stand yet, but the cannons were removed some years since". Neither he nor Stahlman saw any way to fortify the bay at the West End, "which is over 1/2 a Danish mile wide, with fewer than 3 fortifications", and even then pirates or privateers could snap ships up at night without the forts' being able to prevent it. (The bay at the West End is actually more than four miles across, or double Moth's estimate.) "Furthermore the ships lie open to north, south, and west winds; wherefore I left same and beat up to the north harbor called Bazin". Without pausing for punctuation, Moth went on:

I found the land on the West End quite lovely and walked about a mile inland to take a look at the famous plantation Le Grand, which is accounted to be the best in the land. The walls of all the buildings are still visible and in part sound, a fine river runs by all through the year, and numerous fruit trees of lemons, oranges, some (cacao?) trees, etc. The same plantations (?) I intend to reserve for the Company to cultivate when the land is sufficiently taken up that a town will have to be built on the West End, which in time absolutely must happen.

1 J. O. Bro-Jørgensen, op. cit., p. 244.
2 Vtg. 99, Moth, St. Thomas, July 17, 1734. See Lewisohn, op. cit., pp. 83-84; and Bro-Jørgensen, op. cit., pp. 244-46.
Moth's foresight on the subject of this town was remarkable. He was apparently relying on and quoting local report on the preeminence of La Prade as well as on the reliability of the stream nearby, but his informant, if Moth was in fact accompanied by someone familiar with the ground, was never mentioned. He may have taken the presence of British squatters and woodcutters so much for granted that he omitted to mention them except generally, later in his letter, or he may have brought someone with local experience with him from St. Thomas.

Moth arrived at Bassin on June 22. His description of the harbor and the surrounding area and his plans for defensive works referred to an "enclosed map, which was made while I was there". He stated that he would rely on this map and on the verbal report of Captain Bagge (who was apparently the captain of the party's vessel, the Eenighed) to convey the necessary details about fortifications and the harbor, but he related that "between the island A and where the town had stood is about 150 to 200 feet", and that on the south side of that island the largest ship the Company owned could be careened more comfortably than at St. Thomas. A map answering to the description, entitled "Accurater Geometrischer Grundriss (?) von dem Norder Haven auf St. Crux", and signed O. F. Stahlman, is preserved in the Map Collection of the Royal Library in Copenhagen.³ [See Map 4] This map is not very accurate or detailed, but it conveys a fair impression of the harbor, its reefs, and Protestant Cay. It had no direct bearing on the proposed cadastral survey, but it was the first Danish cartographic production from St. Croix - the first attempt to convey graphically something of the reality of the place to interested parties at an ocean's remove. Certainly Moth was glad of the little island drawn in the harbor, marked with its 'A'. As he himself said, the map conveyed more than he could with a copious description.

³ Royal Library, Map Collection, acquisition number 1925 No. 43. There is a similar map in the Map and Drawing Collection of the Rigsarkiv, number 337, 223.
Near the harbor, Moth wrote, "I have found in the town the walls of the French church, which at small cost can be repaired and a roof put on". The walls would need a little work, he thought, but he was able to get only an impression of the building, since "the land there is so overgrown with . . . thorn and whatnot that a dog can with difficulty pass there". "The place where the town stood seems to be quite level and large enough to set a town the size of Copenhagen on". This rather fanciful suggestion was characteristic of Moth: he was a dedicated Company servant and a reasonable man of large and open view. He was very pleased with the plans for St. Croix, and expressed his satisfaction and interest in suitable hyperbole. His description of the impenetrable scrub covering the site of the old settlement was probably no exaggeration at all.

There being some concern about the reaction of the English settlers on the island to the Danish occupation, Moth

resolved to march inland to visit them, and the way fell through a plantation which in former days had belonged to the Paters. This is the most convenient and best so near the town and the fortification [and] is good sugar land, with lovely running water, of which I have myself drunk. The walls of the buildings are said to be still serviceable, but I couldn't get to them to see."

This plantation was to be reserved for the Company.

In all of this, Moth was relying heavily on local knowledge. Also, he was proceeding along an existing road or path: there is no indication that he was cutting his way through the bush. He did not state which direction he was going in, but the area that was later set aside for and worked by the Company, the plantation Princess, lies northwest of the site of Christiansted. A 1738 map of Princess shows both an old and a new road running up through the plantation more or less parallel to the coast, and

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4 Lewisohn, op. cit., p. 84, gives a different reading.
veering west off the map. This road cannot be connected to anything on the old La Pointe map, which shows no roads or paths, except perhaps to the settlement pattern, but Moth was clearly on some avenue which allowed him to proceed fairly briskly in an area in which the bush could impede the progress of a dog.

He carried on: "from there I went further into the country about 6 or 7 English miles, when fatigue forbade my going farther. The settlers there all received me well", especially those that had served under him on St. Thomas, and they all expressed willingness to swear their allegiance to the King of Denmark. By their own account there were about a hundred and fifty of them bearing arms, and about two hundred slaves "capable of using rifles". They promised him a list of all "willing to accept rifles and swear [to] the King, which list is expected daily". It will be seen that lists of settlers on St. Croix tended to be a long time coming.

It has been suggested that Moth's tour brought him as far as the area around what is now Slob and Fredensborg, but there is no way to be sure where he went. If he stayed on an established thoroughfare, and if that road was the same as the one shown running west and then southwest on later maps – now Route 73, the North Side Road – six miles would have brought him a couple of miles beyond Slob and Fredensborg, but he may have made many detours to meet the English settlers. His way also may have led him more directly south from Princess, in the direction of Limetree bay.

Moth then saw fit to "report a little more on the character of the land". There were mounains a little way from the coast all along the north side from the northwest cape to Salt River, but these were

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5 Vgk. 284, Jens Friis's map of Princess, August 8, 1738. [See Map 9]
6 Lewisohn, op. cit., p. 84. She assumed that there was a "squatter settlement" there, but the report leaves the impression that Moth was accompanied by English guides and met settlers along the way. A large settlement would surely have merited some notice.
all fertile and reported to be suitable for sugar planting and not so steep as here on St. Thomas. The base of the mountains I reckon to be about 1/2 Danish mile wide. From there to the sea the land is completely level but for a little hill here and there suitable to set buildings on, and on these there are some stones suitable for building. Otherwise found no rocks the whole way along except here and there by the rivers and a rock outcrop near the end of the Company’s plantation close to a gut. I was so far that I saw the coast on the south side, and everything as far as I could see quite level.

Moth’s report on the land southwest of the ridge behind Princess is correct as far as it goes. His estimate of the width of the range is accurate, but he provided no guess about the distance to the south coast. How he knew when he had come to the end of the Company’s plantation is a mystery. Leaving aside the possibility of an old fence line or a cleared and cultivated area, he was probably judging by the point at which the road began to rise into the hills.

The Captain further related that he had attempted to find out about the sanctuary in the woods mentioned in Barbot’s relation but had found no one who knew anything about it. He promised to pursue the matter, but stated that “the fort, town, harbor, etc. cannot be anywhere else than as mentioned before in the Bazin”. Other possibilities were rejected without consideration, or at any rate without discussion in this letter. The West End had been inspected and ruled out, at least for the time being.

The reefs at Salt River Bay would have made it even less suitable than the West End for the site of a new colonial port. Bassin was the obvious choice, but possibilities on the South Side, particularly Limetree Bay, had apparently not been explored. Moth was undoubtedly influenced by information provided him by local residents and by the experience of the French (and possibly of that of the Dutch, Spanish, and English before them). The ruins proved that others had favored the site. The harbor was...
sheltered, defensible, and fairly well situated on the island and relative to St. Thomas. The place was picturesque and impressive. In every way, it must have appealed to Moth. Nevertheless, his decision was not based on a comprehensive reconnaissance of the island’s topography, for no such reconnaissance had yet been undertaken.

Addressing the division of the land and the requirement that the participants’ sugar plantations be of equal size, quality, and value, Moth wrote that none of the . . . Company’s participants will be given any reason to complain that the plantations are not of equal quality, but the provision with water and bush will assuredly be unequal.

The tone was reassuring and obedient, but Moth was in fact pointing out that compliance with these orders would be impossible. He went on:

They will be surveyed in the core of the land, and I will not only be there myself when I can but also, if nothing else, then for money, persuade those who are most familiar with the land to be there daily to point out the best lots.

The suggestion is that the participants’ lots would all fall in one area, but the contiguity of the lots is not implied: quite the opposite, in fact. He promised, "since the land is certainly large enough", that plenty of wooded land would be set aside "near every place where it is thought a town shall be set, and similarly a plantation there for the Company, and also other woods out in the midst of the country".

Moth then weighed in with his estimate of the number of plantations the island could accommodate:

one concludes that in the country of St. Croix there should be good land for 1000 sugar plantation[s] of 2000 and 3000 feet and just as many cotton plantations. The best lands begin about 1/2 mile from where the town will stand, and then
straight to Le Grand plantation on the West End, of which I myself have seen a part, and there are the largest trees and best running waters, but close to the town, except the abovementioned plantation for the Company, there is mostly cotton land or poor sugar land with frightful scrub bush and some large trees here and there for building timbers.

Moth’s analysis of water and vegetation was accurate, but his estimate of the number of plantation lots that could be laid out on the island was very rough. (The area of St. Croix as given in McGuire’s *Geographic Dictionary of the United States* is 52,432 acres, not counting nearby cays. A plantation two thousand by three thousand Danish feet has an area of about 146 English acres. A maximum of about three hundred and fifty such lots could have been laid out on St. Croix.)

He then launched into a rambling complaint about the fact that the final conveyance of the plantations would be the responsibility of the St. Thomas government rather than his. Not only was his honor and authority diminished thereby, but he stood to lose the “small customary honorarium associated with the endorsement of the deeds”, which would have helped defray some of the expense and trouble he was put to in allotting the plantations and promoting the sales. He refrained from demanding this right in connection with the participants’ own properties, although he suggested that they could make it up to him “in other instances”, but he certainly expected to be allowed to enjoy this prerogative upon disposing of the Company’s commonly held land, “not just for the perquisite, but for the honor”.

Moth then suggested that the Directors’ relax the requirement that all the participants’ lots be sold before any other land could be disposed of. This article of the orders, he said, would delay the settlement of the island, and “it is the many poorer

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7 James McGuire, *op. cit.* p. 163.
8 Ibid. p. 6.
[people] who may own 1-2-3 or more slaves that will make a land strong". He suggested that such folk "immediately be allowed lots to live on, either for payment, for rent, or for nothing". Otherwise they would be obliged to leave the land and the Company would be forced to maintain a larger garrison. These people should be settled, "ad interim", on cotton plantations close to and east of the town, which is all cotton land, and which can in no way prejudice the sale of the participants' plantations, since they all must be sugar works. However, no one will be given a letter of concession before [the Directors'] orders on this matter arrive.

The principle of survey prior to settlement was thus reasonably and insidiously undermined, largely on behalf of a squatter population. Moth provided no estimate of the contemplated number or size of these concessions, but if the measure were approved in Copenhagen, at least some of the regularity of the island's survey would almost inevitably be lost.

Moth then rather gently scoffed at the prices set in the orders for plantations. There was no doubt, he wrote, that the price could be got in the beginning and perhaps even later if the plantations lay "not too far from the water". However, he said, there was general agreement in St. Thomas that the proposed land and poll taxes were altogether too high. In fact, if land taxes were paid anywhere else in the West Indies, he was not aware of it.

Moth also noted that although the land registers for St. Croix had been ordered kept on St. Thomas, registers would also be needed for use on St. Croix: "without this, a Governor is blind in the division of plantations and cannot hold those concerned to their obligations". He also complained of a shortage of manpower and of funds to hire
people even if they were available. He ended his letter with a request for fifty per cent more in salary than the Company had offered him.

Philip Gardelin, the Governor of the Danish West Indies, in his response to the Directors' orders concerning St. Croix, took a sober view of the project. He warned the Directors that the market would not bear the proposed land taxes and expressed some doubt that even the sugar plantations would sell for the proposed thousand rigsdaler each. To prevent the abandonment of land on St. Thomas and St. John, with the consequent loss of tax revenues, he suggested that no St. Croix plantations should be sold to planters from those islands unless they owned slaves enough to maintain their old plantations while they established new ones on St. Croix; he did not know of many with the capital to manage this. He expected that the development of the new island would depend on settlers from other islands where the land was exhausted. He found it all very well that the English settlers already on St. Croix were willing to stay and to buy properties, which would be a help at the start,

but it will take far more to people such an island as St. Croix, which by accounts is 8 Engl. miles broad and 36 Engl. miles long, which by calculation can add up to 132/3 full plantations, which could support 30 to 40,000 Negroes and 3 to 4000 whites. . . . But as it is surely to be expected that the survey will not yield so many, on account of morasses and rivers, I would only envision the half, or 66 1/2 plantations.

Gardelin's scepticism was sensible and well placed, but his calculation was crude. If his figures are taken as they stand, each of 132 or 133 plantations would cover more than two square miles, or about eight times the size prescribed by the Directors. On the other hand, a rectangular island of the dimensions he used would contain about twelve

9 Vgk. 99, Gardelin, St. Thomas, July 16, 1734.
10 See J. O. Bro-Jørgensen, op. cit., p. 249.
hundred plantations of the ordered size, so it is difficult to account for Gardelin's estimate.

Another document of about this date, forwarded to the Royal government by Carl Horn, the King’s agent for his St. Croix plantations, indicates that the ideal two-thousand-by-three-thousand-foot lot, which was to be so indelibly imposed on large parts of St. Croix, may have had no real economic basis. The document was a "short scheme for the establishment of a sugar plantation" provided Horn by Moth. It stated that if the ground was level, one boiling house and two horse mills (or one windmill) could serve "3000 quadrate feet", or nine million square feet, or a plantation lot and a half. However, Moth then confused the matter by stating that such a lot might be four thousand feet wide and three or four thousand feet long. Any way it is counted - nine, twelve, or sixteen million square feet - it appears that, in Moth’s estimation, a standard plantation lot two thousand by three thousand feet would be too small to supply a sugar works.11

It had been agreed with the French authorities on Martinique to postpone the formal transfer until after the hurricane season, but the French authorized the Danes to proceed as they saw fit with the colonization of St. Croix in the meantime.12 Moth was eager to get on with it, but was held up on St. Thomas for lack of a ship at a reasonable price. He also complained, in his letter of August 8, 1734, that Governor Gardelin was being less than forthcoming with slaves and material for the undertaking.13 Foreseeing similar resistance in the future, Moth recommended that ships arriving in

11 Rtk. 2249.33, "Korte beretning over et Sucherverchs Indrettelse paa Eilandet St. Croix, apparently enclosed with Carl Horn’s letter of July 24, 1734, from St. Thomas, in which Horn argued against the expense and risk of erecting a windmill on the King’s estate. Moth’s scheme also called for five to seven kettles and six pairs of horses or five pairs of mules for the mills and claimed that a windmill could grind as much cane in an hour as a horse mill in twenty-four.
13 Vgk. 99, Moth, St. Thomas, August 8, 1734.
the colony from Europe should stop first at Bassin and unload St. Croix cargoes before proceeding to St. Thomas, because from Bassin to St. Thomas was a matter of six hours' sailing, whereas the same trip in the other direction and into the wind might take two or three days. However, the inter-island passage was probably insignificant beside the time a ship might spend in port. The main difficulty was in arranging to have cargoes, especially slaves, forwarded once they had been landed; it was important to get first crack at the goods. He also asked for instructions regarding the exact size and location of the fort planned for Bassin, making reference to Stahlman’s map. Moth expressed a great deal of enthusiasm for the establishment of a Danish presence on St. Croix, but events on St. John, where the great slave rising of 1733 and 1734 was approaching its bloody denoument, were of at least as much interest as the plans for St. Croix.14

Three weeks later, on August 31, 1734, Moth’s colonizing expedition,

with 2 barks and 2 other small vessels, all well laden with ammunition, the civil and military officers sent out for this, including his Excellency von Plessen’s folk, as well as negroes and provisions, sailed from St. Thomas and arrived on the first of September at St. Croix.15

On September 5, after a considerable work of clearing, guns were placed, the Danish flag was raised and other formalities observed, and the colony was planted.16

It was a scene which bears some contemplation: the heat; the vertical sun; the brightness of the light; the cool green water of the harbor; the line of gentle surf along the reef; the stiff breeze, if the trade wind had not failed, as it can at that season; the low and driving sky; the sparkling showers falling through the blue; the encircling green hills; the Danes, with their peculiar language, spoken by so few, so

15 Mariager, op. cit., pp. 157-158.
far from the gentle domesticated landscape and temperate greenery of their homeland, dressed for the occasion but probably not for the climate; the slaves, perhaps smitten by the excitement of the undertaking, perhaps speculating about the wild heights to the west and about refuges to leeward; piles of supplies; tents and screens of sailcloth; smouldering heaps of brush; the tremendous crash of the guns; the anomalous juxtaposition of the red and white national symbol fluttering on its spar and the massive latency of the surrounding land and of the human and topographic scales, soon to be brought into register.

Moth reported on the establishment of Danish authority on St. Croix on November 2, 1734. His letter included the distressing news that the engineer Stahlman had died on October 11, which would seriously delay the survey. He brought up the possibility of hiring surveyors from Martinique, and asked that three or four surveyors be sent out from Denmark, for it would be impossible for him to accomplish the task himself.

By November, the Directors in Copenhagen were in receipt of Moth's report on his reconnaissance in June and of Stahlman's map of the harbor at Bassin. Their letter of November 13, 1734, a full year after their original instructions had been sent out, granted Moth special authority to issue orders on St. Croix without prior approval or instructions. Moth's discretion had been broad before: it was now practically absolute, subject only to countermanding orders, months after the event, from Copenhagen. The implication for surveyed lines, cut and marked and linked to one another across the terrain, can be imagined: the work, once done, could scarcely, or only at great trouble and expense, be undone. At the same time, the Directors refused to place full authority for the final conveyance of deeds to plantations in Moth's hands,

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17 Vgk. 99, Moth, St. Thomas, November 2, 1734.
18 Vgk. 56, general missive to St. Thomas, November 13, 1734.
"as we at this time (?) have found best to await information from you on the said plantations' survey on St. Croix as well as further report on their sale" before granting such authority. They suggested that the buyers might be given a temporary proof of purchase, or that, if absolutely necessary, Gardelin could execute the deeds.

The Directors cannot be faulted for their caution, although it might be thought that the local authority's incapacity to make over full and immediate title to the land might frighten off some prospective buyers. The Directors' reluctance to relinquish authority over the final disposal of the land may be attributable to a desire to protect the stockholders with an orderly survey and to a fear of fraud on the part either of their local agents or of speculators.

The Directors agreed to allow the sale or settlement of such land as would not compete on the market with the participants' 290 sugar plantations: "the poorer plots such as are useful and serviceable for cotton plantations alone may be let go and sold as well as rented", in whatever way was found best to attract settlers to the island. The question of the size of these lots was not addressed. The price for sugar plantations was to stand fast, but Moth was instructed to set prices as he saw fit for cotton land, especially the poorer cotton land.

By late in December of 1734, it was reported that Moth had found a man to survey the participants' three hundred lots for three rigsdaler per plantation.19 The government on St. Thomas, however, was in favor of deferring the work and the expenditure until St. Croix had actually been transferred from French jurisdiction. This want of confidence on Gardelin's part could hardly have been more complete: a year after the orders had been issued and four months after a Danish party had been dispatched to occupy the island, the Danish West Indian government was effectively transferred.

19 Vgk. 99, Generalbrev, St. Thomas, December 28, 1734.
calling a halt to the whole undertaking by attempting to postpone a central element in
the scheme for settlement, the survey of the land prior to its disposal. Gardelin’s
position is difficult to understand. He had in hand copies of the documents of
ratification of the sale exchanged by his monarch and the King of France, of orders to
the local French authorities to effect the transfer, and of assurances from Martinique
that the formalities would be observed as soon as was convenient. The only thing he
had to fear, it might be thought, was the rise of a rival to St. Thomas. This fear was quite
justified: the rivalry between the islands is as hot today as ever. It is at any rate clear
from Gardelin’s opposition to hiring a surveyor and from the pessimism, expressed
elsewhere in the letter, instilled by the death of Stahlman, that no progress had yet
been made on the survey.

The letter of December 28 also announced the death of Carl Horn, the Royal
inspector. Sickness on St. Croix had been so serious that some of the English families
there had retired to Spanishtown and Tortola in the British Virgins. Furthermore, nine
slaves had escaped in a boat while fetching limestone (probably coral cut from the
reefs). The runaways included two carpenters, as well as two women. At this stage of the
settlement of St. Croix, this was not a small loss.

Such were the preliminaries to the survey of St. Croix. The Danish West India
Company’s internal financial situation had required the survey prior to conveyance of
a substantial number of plots of equal size. The dimensions of these plots and the terms
of tenure had been settled on. Instructions for the planting of the colony and the
creation of an administrative apparatus had been drafted. The orders also dealt with the
survey in some detail, but their provisions did not constitute a careful design of a
survey system: intentionally or not, the orders left a great deal of latitude for local
decisions. Governor Moth had reconnoitred parts of the island, and in the summer of
1734, a permanent Danish presence had been established at Bassin on the north side of
St. Croix. By the end of the year, arrangements for the survey had been made with a British contractor, but no properties had yet been laid out.
CHAPTER TWO - THE BEGINNINGS OF THE SURVEY. 1735-36

1. 1735

The formal transfer of St. Croix from French to Danish ownership took place on January 10, 1735. Before many witnesses, cannon salutes were fired and flags were lowered and raised, candles [were] extinguished, fire kindled, plants uprooted from the earth, branches cut from the trees, the water from the river tasted, stones taken up and thrown, as well as all acts suitable to a free, perpetual and true possession of St. Croix.

One Danish writer has found all this inexplicable except as a wry Danish spoof of pomp. Perhaps the rituals were performed self-consciously, but they should not be dismissed so lightly: serious business was being conducted in an age-old manner. As Vernon Carstensen has put it,

rights could be established, if not enforced, by ceremonial acts and loud proclamations. . . . [A claimant might be required] to turn a clod, fire a gun, cut some grass, irrigate, and shout . . . Monuments set upon the land and words pronounced upon the air, written on a piece of paper, or set down in a book of public record, provided the means of establishing and registering title and perpetuating a right to a given piece of land.

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1 Mariager, op.cit., p. 158. See also Westergaard, op. cit., pp. 210-211.
2 Palle Laurinc, op. cit., p. 78.
One of the first links in the chain of title to all land on St. Croix was thus forged.

Three days later, Moth sent a report to Copenhagen:

To date almost 40 [of the English settlers already resident on St. Croix] have sworn their oath of allegiance. . . . They shall on Monday begin, with all their and the Company's slaves, to cut the main roads for the beginning of the survey. 4

He had hired

a surveyor named Thomas Hares (?), who is a Criol from Antigo, to survey the 300 sugar works and to begin therewith on Monday 14 days together with his mate, each with his chain.

The terms were to be three rigsdaler per plantation, plus room, board, light, a horse and saddle, and assistants. If the Directors found these arrangements satisfactory, Moth wrote, then they need not send out the surveyor requested earlier, although an engineer would still be useful for construction work.

Moth had not received the Directors' letter of November 13, 1734, and he again urged the laying out and sale of cotton plantations on the land east of Bassin, which was even poorer than he had thought. To the west, however, the land was better than he had ever seen: it was there that the participants' sugar plantations would be located. He wrote:

4 Vgk. 100, Moth, St. Croix, January 13, 1735. H. B. Christensen, op. cit., p. 36, read "Konge Veiene" as a singular "King's Road" and identifies it with Centerline Road, which has been labeled "Konge Vej" - on Oxholm's 1799 map, for example; but Moth definitely used the plural and thus generic form, and there is no reason to suppose on this evidence alone that he was referring to what became Centerline. P. L. Oxholm, Charte over den danske Øf St. Croix i America (Copenhagen: G. N. Angelo, 1799).

5 Westergaard, op. cit., p. 216, note 20, read it as "Haves" and suggested "Howes". "Harris" is better.
I have been circa 10 English miles into the country but *in statu quo* it was impossible, on account of the thickness of the bush in most places, for me to examine the quality of the land everywhere... [As the Directors] must know, there will be differences in the quality of the plantations in one way and another because of situation and the like... so it would be useful if it was allowed, so as not to impede the quick peopling of the land, to make (if it was seen necessary) changes in the price pro rata depending on the quality and the situation, for what might be lost in the price would be made up again in a short time in poll and land tax, which would come in that much quicker.

Moth was gently and cautiously pointing out to the Directors that what he was charged with selling was not little squares on paper but land. Uniformity of size might be possible, but the plantations could not be equal in value. He was concerned with the need not merely to market the land but to get it settled, to establish an economy. The position was reasonable, but it could not be made to jibe with the original idea of a set minimum return on the stockholders' investment. Thus, before the survey had begun, it was clear that something would have to be sacrificed: either the regular survey or the regular price, perhaps both. The outcome of this conflict was by no means obvious: all previous experience in the Danish West Indies allowed for lots of irregular size and shape.

Moth suggested that the 213 lots for the non-cultivating participants could be laid out in one undivided block, the individual lots to be surveyed only as a market developed for them rather than surveyed in advance and conveyed each to its owner in Copenhagen. Proceeds from sales could be pooled and divided equally among the participants, discrepancies in value and price being thereby fairly distributed. This also was reasonable, except that Moth concluded: "for this would spare 1/2 the trouble of the survey". It would save trouble for the time being, but the lots would have to be

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surveyed sooner or later, upon sale. The need to issue deeds for the interim to each owner in Denmark would be eliminated, and a certain amount of acrimony among the stockholders over the fairness of the allocation might be avoided. On the other hand, the benefit to be derived from surveying large tracts all at once would be lost. Moth may have been counting on being able to sell at least some of the land in blocks of several plantations, which would save some surveying, although this would imply that the two-by-three-thousand-foot plantation lot was a meaningless standard. However, Moth did not question the unit of land, at any rate not as far as sugar land was concerned. It was the priority of survey that was being attacked. A week later, in fact, Moth announced that he had begun the allocation, piecemeal, of cotton land.6

On January 15, 1735, Moth entered into a formal contract with the British surveyor from Antigua.7 Although various surveyors from outside the Company’s ranks were hired from time to time, this is the only written contract ever mentioned in the official correspondence. The surveyor may himself have demanded the security of a contract, but the idea is more likely to have been Moth’s. Perhaps he hoped, by the execution of this document, to rid himself of the problem of the survey more or less at a stroke. It was not to be so simple.

The contract was in English and ran in part as follows:

I Thomas Harres do oblige me by the help of God to Run out rightly for the Danish West Indies Compagny three hundred plantations on the island aforesaid, of two thousand foot Broad and three thousand feet long Danish measure.

Further I the said Thomas Harres do oblige myself to Beguin to run out

6 Vgk. 100, Moth, January 22, 1735. It should not be supposed that Moth dispatched a report to Copenhagen once a week. Several letters of various dates, lengths, and degrees of formality might go on a given ship.
7 Vgk. 179, contract dated January 15, 1735.
the plantations aforesaid as Soon as the Said Frederick Moth Esq. is Ready with
the King’s Road which is to be in this present month before it is expired and to
follow the Same until I have accomplished the Running out the three hundred
plantations, Except Sickness, Rain’y weather ... or other matter prevent it.

I do oblige myself to Run all the Divideing lines betwixt the three
hundred plantaglions before mentioned, and to puet such marks on Every
Corner of Each plantation, as the Hon. Mr. Governor Moth Esq. shall think proper
and I oblige myself to begin to run out the land at the place where the said
Governor Moth shall direct me and after proceed according to his directions and
follow the best and leuelest Land for the Run of the plantations....

In Case that the Gover. shall think proper to Make Use of two Chains for
the Dispatching of the work, I do oblige myself, to find if possible to be got a
man [to work the second chain], on my own expense.

He also undertook to survey the Company’s own plantation and the town at no charge.

For his part, Moth agreed

to finde to Each chain that shall be employed in the Running of the said Land
Six able negroe men for cutting the way before the Chain, and two white men or
one white man and one sensible negroe to Carry the Chain.

The terms were: one third in cash, the rest in cotton or "other merchantable Goods as
the Said Thomas Harres shall think proper", with advances to be made if necessary
against work already done.

All that can be gleaned from this about the design of the survey is that Harres
was to be provided with a base line of sorts - the King’s Road - along which to work, and
even this was not unambiguously stated. There was no word on where this road would
lie, in what direction it would run, how long it would be, or how it would respond to the
terrain. Moth may have had a scheme for the survey in mind, which he could impart to the surveyor when the time came, or he may not have. If he believed there was more than enough land for the three hundred sugar plantations, he might not have given much thought to how they might fall on the island. If a detailed plan was thought necessary at this stage, it was not mentioned in Moth's correspondence.

However, there exists a remarkable clue to local ideas about the survey at this time. In mid-February, two of the agents for some of the cultivating participants complained to the government on St. Thomas about having to wait until all three hundred lots had been surveyed before they could receive land to cultivate. They apparently wanted the lottery to take place immediately, before the land was surveyed, and submitted in support of their argument an extraordinary sketch: this was simply a rectangle divided into forty-eight smaller numbered rectangles. [See Map 5] The names of the forty-seven participants were inserted, one to a rectangle, with the number of plantation lots due each. The rectangle assigned to the king, with his thirty-four lots, was the same size as that assigned to Holmsted, with twenty-five lots, and as those of participants with four. The rectangles therefore cannot be thought of as scaled depictions of tracts of land, and the drawing can scarcely be legitimately called a map. Nevertheless, the left side of the sketch was labeled "north", the right side "south", the top "west", and the bottom "east". That east and west were reversed simply confirms that the thinking behind the sketch was confused. As a cartographic effort, this drawing verged on the demented, but it was the first documented proposal to lay the plantations out in a single rectangular block, rather than here and there on the island where conditions were most favorable. The idea appears to have been that if some such pattern (for the arrangement of the names in the rectangles was apparently haphazard and hypothetical, except that the King's thirty-four lots are placed in the

8 Vgk. 100, La Fosse and Lorentzen, St. Thomas, February 15, 1735.
lower left or north-east corner) were adapted as a guide, the lottery could take place immediately and the results could be pegged to a scheme on paper, which could then serve to expedite the survey of the cultivating participants' lots.

The government's response a few days later referred to the original orders of November, 1733, and appealed to common sense: a lottery prior to survey was unthinkable. They pointed out that the orders required that the plantations be surveyed and marked off on the best available sugar land: no lottery could determine where those lands lay. Marshy, rocky, or otherwise unsuitable land could only be found by survey; it was not even certain that the island could encompass three hundred full-sized sugar plantations. While it was understood that the survey was a huge task that might consume many months, no alternative was seen. The government agreed that it would be a good idea to set aside land in large blocks for the major cultivating participants, if only to avoid the possibility that the Royal lots, for example, might as a result of the lottery fall in an unwieldy strip a plantation wide and thirty-four plantations long. They pointed out, however, that the orders had made no such provision. Here then was a reading of the orders that saw no requirement that the plantations were to be laid out in a single grid. The entire matter was referred to Moth.

On March 14, 1735, Moth reported from St. Thomas that "in the name of Jesus" he had commenced the survey of St. Croix on February 15, and that the work was advancing "rather" well. He complained of a shortage of help: Governor Gardelin had refused to provide him with slaves from the Company's plantations on St. Thomas, saying it would be the "total ruin" of the latter to do so. Still, Moth hoped to "see an end to it this year, early enough that each can occupy his [lot] before the planting season is

9 Vgk. 100, Resolution, February 19, 1735, signed Gardelin, etc. La Fosse's and Lorentzen's sketch is reproduced in this resolution. Karolien Debusschere, Erik Gøbel, and James Schimizzi contributed to the interpretation of this document.
10 Vgk. 100, Moth, St. Thomas, March 14, 1735.
past". He reported that "several have let me know from St. Christophel that they, when
the survey is at an end, will come to buy sugar plantations".

On March 19, Moth wrote rather more expansively. Referring to the original
orders to make whatever use was feasible of French ruins, he said he had seen none
except those of the battery at the West End and of the old church at Bassin. However, he
then went on to mention the foundations of a large house at Bassin, fifty feet long and
thirty feet wide, which he assumed to have been the French governor's town residence.
Normally, he wrote, the governor would have lived out at Princess, where there were
ruins of the old boiling house as well as of rain-cisterns. Furthermore, he was working
on the old battery (presumably at Bassin), making use of "the negroes and negresses
who are not fit for the survey".

In discussing a possible site for a fort on a hill, Moth again referred to the King's
roads in the plural, which makes the single King's road mentioned in the contract with
Harres no easier to identify. Moth also remarked that he had obtained the distance to
the hill in question by taking a bearing. Perhaps he had performed a quick
triangulation, but the distance was only about five hundred feet.

Moth promised to lay out the town "as soon as the survey allows it". The survey
was doubtless consuming a great deal of energy, but it was also serving well as an
excuse for postponing other work. He wrote of twelve-foot masonry walls at Princess
and a well which could easily be repaired; given slaves, he was confident that Princess
could be showing a profit within two years. He also mentioned another old sugar
plantation, "lying next to" Princess but too overgrown to allow of inspection.

His next passage sowed confusion:

11 Vgk. 100, Moth, [St. Thomas?], March 19, 1734; one of two letters from Moth of this
date.
both of these are presumed to make up the ordered size 600 feet long and 1000 feet broad, if you will keep so much land in one (?) place, besides Le Grans plantation on the West End, which will probably be around 1000 feet □. which is a large sugar works.

The figures given must be errors in this copy of the letter: the figures in another copy were apparently read as 6000 by 4000, 12 although the original orders had called for a lot six by three thousand feet. This confusion was to cause a great deal of trouble. There was no indication of the orientation of the proposed lot. As for Le Grand, the size given was far too small: one thousand feet on a side was only a sixth of a normal plantation. La Grange, as it came to be called, was eventually laid out to be at least four times as large as a regular plantation.

Between Princess and the neighboring sugar plantation and the town,

it is assumed that there will be 2 or 3 cotton plantations. Of these I have, pending approval, chosen one for myself, and the rest of the land will be reserved until the Company's is surveyed.

Moth's choice of "one" cotton plantation suggests a known, discrete area of land, but his uncertainty about the number of plantations that would fit between Princess and the town belies this. All he had really reserved to himself was first choice of the land in the area or, at best, the core of a plantation whose boundaries were yet to be determined. He called the land he claimed a cotton plantation, thereby assuring himself a lower purchase price and perhaps greater flexibility in the size of the lot, but it seems unlikely that he had actually and honestly appraised this land, hard by the sugar land reserved for the Company, as suitable only for the cultivation of cotton. Probably he was simply squeezing the Company for one of the perquisites of his position.

12 Chr. Martfeldt's collection, P. Mariager, Copenhagen, December 24, 1744.
Moth went on:

As far as the survey is concerned, it is not going as strongly as I would have wished, but it is advancing well enough considering the small force I have to work with. I am first having laid out square whole quarters of 10-12 or more plantations depending on the land’s situation so that when a plan can be prepared, the lottery can immediately be begun and the quarters, if necessary, can thereafter be divided into smaller parts, which more clearly within a short time shall be demonstrated on paper.

All the paragraph conveyed is that Moth had very little progress to report. The ten or twelve or more plantations per block - and this is a new use of the word “quarter” - might be an extremely imprecise clue to the scheme or a pure fabrication. Moth promised to put the plan on paper, but he was still unable or unwilling to do so. It would not be unreasonable to conclude that at this point no plan existed. Moth’s “if necessary” has a plaintive ring to it, and obviously the proposed lottery would allocate plantations to the participants in only the most general terms, and only on paper.

The letter continued: “I will strive with all my power to come to an end with the survey before the rainy season arrives”. There would be no doubt of this result. Moth complained, if he received enough support from St. Thomas. He also saw fit to enclose in this letter a copy of the contract with Harres, perhaps to impress the Directors.

He went on to discuss experiments with a local clay:

On St. Croix close to the town there is a fine clay for pots (?) and bricks. I have had an attempt made to fire bricks of it, and as far as I can see, it is very serviceable for that purpose, if we had a person who rightly understood it.
He also asked that a couple of work wagons be sent out, he having lent his own to the Company.

In a letter from Copenhagen of April 5, 1735, the Directors congratulated Moth on the planting of the Danish flag on St. Croix and were pleased, in so doing, to make rather gratuitous reference to one of the locations marked on Stahiman's map of the harbor.13 [Map 4] On the subject of the survey, "on which everything at the start depends", they suggested that anybody who might be right for the job should be taken on. They were sending out an engineer named Warnech, as well as two gardners, who have learned their art and drawing and know how to deal with the survey chain. And therefore can be of service with the survey of the plantations, when they are duly instructed in it.

Another reference was made to Stahiman's map, which the Directors appear to have found rather useful, in connection with a large broken anchor being sent out to St. Croix. It was suggested that this be placed on the reef bisecting the channel into Bassin (‘E’, on the map), to be used for warping ships in and out of the harbor. Finally, they recommended experiments with planting coffee and cacao.

The management in Copenhagen apparently did not consider itself to be in a position to contribute much, beyond general exhortation, to the survey. Their next letters, four months later, merely acknowledged Moth's claim that the survey would be completed before the rainy season.14 They complained of a lack of information from Moth but did not press him for specifics; nor did they expand on their original instructions. There was some talk of clays and a mention of another map of Bassin. This

13 Vgk. 57, general missive to St. Thomas, April 5, 1735.
14 Vgk. 57, to St. Thomas, July 30, 1735; to Moth personally, same date.
map (reproduced in Vore Gamle Tropekolonier) was a version of Stahlman's and provided no more information on the survey of the island.15

Moth's next report, dated May 2, 1735, stated that the survey was progressing satisfactorily.16 He expected to be ready for the lottery in July at the latest, when "each cultivating [participant] can be allotted his place". The distinction between the cultivating participants and the rest of the stockholders was unequivocal. He went on:

On the sale of the plantations nothing can be reported before the survey is finished, for no-one can know which lots are for sale, before the lottery has taken place. There are many who have taken up cotton plantations, but as we do not have the forces to survey them before the sugar plantations are surveyed, no accord on the price can be reached, before the plantations' extent and quality are seen.

Moth was caught in a difficult position. He had abandoned the idea of surveying all four sides of each of three hundred lots, but he could not know where to concentrate the energies of his survey party. It was imperative to know where in an area that might encompass three hundred plantations the crucial seventy-eight that were to be cultivated, some by the Company's highest officials, including the King himself, would fall. The results of the lottery, based on a scheme on paper, would guide his field work, but it would have to be acknowledged in advance that the resulting allocation had little reality in the terrain. On the actual progress of the work on the ground Moth's report was singularly uninformative.

Moth had no such difficulties with the cotton lands. The area lying generally to the east of Bassin had been opened up to settlement prior to survey, to judge from this

15 J. O. Bro-Jørgensen, op. cit., p. 247, attributes the map to Peter Lorentzen Stibolt, a seaman.
16 Vgk. 100, Moth, St. Thomas, May 2, 1735.
report. Ultimately, Moth imposed a fairly regular rectangular cadastral pattern on the East End: were the settlers there warned that they might be displaced or displeased by subsequent survey? The establishments are not likely to have been very substantial, although it will be seen that there was a fair number of them. This irregular settlement was at any rate apparently not viewed as a major problem, if the possibility of cadastral difficulties in the future were considered at all.

The letter of May 2 also reported that 'the Porto Ricans have taken two English barks anchored on the South Side of St. Croix', setting the crews ashore and threatening further visitations. It is characteristic that Moth provided no more specific geographic information in connection with this incident. The ships were probably loading wood for export to the British Leeward Islands, but what their presence may have indicated about the settlement pattern is uncertain. It is possible that the term 'South Side' denoted a specific area or cluster of settlement: at Limetree Bay, for example, where there was good shelter. It was further reported that building lots in the town were already being taken up in modest numbers and built upon. Moth promised a map as soon as he found time.

On June 13, 1733, Moth reported that

the head surveyor has been sick for four weeks, and the second ditto was very seriously wounded on the hand and head by a falling tree. I had to hire a third ditto besides, who fortunately came from [among] the English, so the work would not come to a stop, so that now there are at work 6 whites, 32 blacks of the King's, the Company's, His Excellence Plessen's, and my slaves, and had I more there would be work enough for 100.17

17 Vgk. 100, Moth, June 13, 1735.
What exactly this large crew was doing was not related. Moth intended to put the gardners, when they arrived, to work on surveying the cotton plantations. Speaking of cotton land, he wrote that "as far as the price goes, it is impossible to get more than 30 [rigsdaler per] 1000 feet in □, which is 300 [per] full plantation". This was the price on paper: none of the dimensions of these cotton plantations was yet known. The letter also mentioned the fires of runaway slaves at night in the hills of the northwest. The runaways were quite safe from recapture for the time being because of the roughness and wildness of the terrain: the island is small, but the landscape was still very large.

In his next letter, dated July 8, 1735, Moth reported that

Engineer Warneh fell immediately ill and lies quite weak, similarly the gardners and the last-hired English 3rd surveyor, who has also therefore gone away. These and the other surveyors' illness sets the survey back greatly, for one day they are laid up, another they work, sometimes the whole and sometimes 1/2 the day.18

No more detailed account of progress was offered, and it is doubtful that much was being made. Moth wrote of the sugar plantation lots

that no certain rate or price can be set on them, partly for the situation's, partly for the buyers' sake, for there are as the proverb goes Qvot homines tot sententias: the one wants to be on the coast, the other out in the country, the 3rd on a mountain, and so on, besides which there is on one plantation running water, on the other old buildings, on the 3rd great woods, on the 4th the wood cleared and full of thistle, and so on, although the quality of the lots is as much as possible equal, and to date [1] have not seen any difference among them.

18 Vgk. 100, Moth, St. Croix, July 8, 1735.
He believed that a market existed for the sugar plantations at about half the price
demanded by the Company, "but not much can be said about it before the survey allows
them to be sold". At the price of fifty rigsdaler per million square feet of cotton land,
twenty-one prospective buyers had come forward and were waiting the land's survey
and conveyance; "more are expected daily".

Moth mentioned a drawing of the planned fort, done by Warnech, which he said
had not been made earlier because the site had not until recently been properly
cleared "and the view clear for the astrolabium". Actual work on the fort was being
defered in favor of "more important matters such as the survey".

Apparently in response to earlier talk of sending out settlers from Europe, Moth
remarked that poor settlers without slaves would have little place or chance in the
plantation economy. He also pointed out that Europeans were much more liable to
illness than "the Americans". In other business, Moth promised to place warping
anchors and buoys and to personally map their positions and those of reefs and banks
as soon as the hurricane season was past. The excuse makes a refreshing change from
"as soon as the work with the survey allows", and had behind it the weight of West
Indian experience and tradition, but seems to have had little bearing on the task
postponed. He complained that carpenters sent out to St. Croix from Denmark had been
drafted into service on St. Thomas. He also sent in a list of the official books he intended
to keep, including a "Matricul" or land register; a marginal note indicated that the
latter was "not begun". It can be concluded that nothing at all recording the progress
of the survey and conveyance of property had been put to official paper.

Finally, Moth described a fascinating distraction that had arisen: "It is reported
to me that there is supposed to be a fine copper mine here. I have to date not been able
to get to see it". He had already laid out money for information about it and was awaiting
favorable weather to visit it. He was keeping very quiet about it, he said, for fear of the
Spanish, "for according to the account, the mine is richer than copper, but how great is not known".

A couple of weeks later, on July 25, 1735, Moth gave vent to his disenchantment with the task of surveying, prior to sale, three hundred sugar plantation lots of equal size and value.\(^\text{19}\) His tone was all but defiant: he wanted to scrap the entire plan. The Directors, he wrote,

order so strictly that no sugar plantations may be sold before the 300 first are sold, that I have formerly not dared to respond to this article until now that I can do it with some basis, after having personally examined everything and pumped others of their opinion in daily discourse. I take herewith the liberty, therefore, of making this well meant proposal.

1. In my last I demonstrated what the plantations' inequality could consist of.

2. The different sentiments of the buyers, which also makes a difference in the price. I refer you to this.

3. When now these 300 plantations are surveyed, there will be many, as I know from experience, who would rather buy one of those left over, which might lie on the coast, than one of those surveyed, even if the land was not as good, expressly for fishery or some other reason.

4. Such plantations cannot be included in the survey, for one is obliged to go in a straight line, and it is impossible in the bush to see the spread of the land everywhere.

(Chapter Two is continued on the next page. The sequence of footnotes recomences with the numeral 1.)

\(^{19}\) Vgk. 100, Moth, St. Thomas, July 25, 1735.
Moth appears to have been referring here to two difficulties. First, it was impossible to survey lots exactly two by three thousand feet along an irregular coastline. Second, for lack of a clear view, the surveyors could not be certain in advance whether a given section of line would reach the coast. Moth seems to suggest that to avoid surveying a long stretch only to discover that there was not enough room, they stayed well away from the coasts. What was needed was an accurate map upon which to base the survey. As it was, they were operating blind, working from the inside out, leaving an irregular strip of land around the edges of the surveyed area. Moth went on:

3. When now these 300 plantations are surveyed as they should be, which \textit{in statu quo} will not happen in three years, then the first line, where the survey was begun, is quite overgrown with bush before the last is begun, and is thus double work when they are to be conveyed to clear again.

6. This survey will cost far more than 10000 [rigsdaler] besides the waste of time which is two times more.

It appears from Moth's next point that his plan for an abbreviated survey - a broad framework for subsequent subdivision - was running into resistance from the authorities on St. Thomas, who were charged with carrying out the lottery according to the Directors' instructions and did not much sympathize with Moth's views on the survey:

\textit{I know well from daily discourse that when I am sufficiently ready with the \textbullet{} line and some cross lines that I can on paper demonstrate how all the numbers then shall individually be cut, which I believe should be, without special delay on account of lasting illness and weather that will not permit work}
such as rain and such, late in August, that the Government, who are ignorant of
the geometric matters, still will not wish to begin the lottery, so that I can
reach my goal, namely to show thereafter in just a few days each of the
cultivating [participants] who have made arrangements, namely His Majesty,
his Excelleece Plessen, Justice Councillor Jacobi, Mayor Holmsted, Mons. Kræl's
principals, and Mons. Carstensen, where their lots should fall, to which end
they each with all their slaves would gladly help so as that much sooner to be
put in full possession; and I myself am forbidden to begin the drawing.
8. I am informed . . . that the proceeds from the sold plantations shall be placed
in one fund and then divided equally among all the participants that own same,
whether the one's sells higher than the other's or not.

His ninth point referred to a report that had reached him that if the return on sold
plantations was insufficient, more land would simply be allotted to the participants. The
effect of this provision for revisions and adjustments, as Moth interpreted it, should
have been to relieve him of the immediate burden of accurately surveying and
appraising the participants' land:

All of these points taken into consideration, and if what is reported to me
(in the 8th and 9th points) is true, then I would as afore mentioned most humbly
propose that it would be better if the drawing without delay took place
immediately and applied only to the cultivating [participants]. . . .

Each of the cultivating [participants] could through their agents, in the
drawing's order of preference, be allowed to choose the plantations, next to each
other, that he wished to have cultivated wherever he desired on the already
surveyed land and to go as far toward the sea as they themselves wished, for
even if the lots by the sea are poorer, many would take them if they lay next to
their other plantations instead of other better land for the sake of one or
another amenity such as pasture, ease of the sugars' shipping and several other such concerns; and the cultivating [participants] could then immediately be put in possession, and they would be all in one quarter, which is the closest one to the fort and easiest for the sugar's transport, good bush, good water, good fertile, level land in Summa all the amenities which, in my poor judgment, is more due to such as will themselves spend money to establish the land than to them who seek only to sell. The other participants could then enjoy the returns from the first sugar plantations sold in as high a number as was due them, whereby they could in no way suffer harm, for those who buy first ordinarily pay most dearly and choose the best and most convenient. Prospective buyers will thus come forward more quickly and the land will sooner be settled by the coasts.

What Moth's arguments lacked in cogency was made up in urgency: he advanced every argument he could think of. His suggestion that the non-cultivating participants would not be injured by his proposal, for instance, would scarcely have been found reasonable by the stockholders.

Returning to the question of the price set by the Company, Moth advised the Directors not to "bend the bow too tight": they were pricing themselves out of the market. Land was to be had for nothing on Marie-Galante, St. Martin, and Jamaica, he stated: forty families that had come to St. Croix from Barbados to establish themselves had been frightened off by the price of land and had settled instead on St. Martin. Forty is a large and very round number: this has the air of prevarication about it.

He continued hopefully:

When this [proposal] is accepted, a beginning can be made on the Company's plantation, for thereby we will be spared this expensive survey, as each, when
he buys and wishes to take possession of his plantation, will provide some negroes to help clear where the surveyor shall pass, the same way I do with the cotton plantations when they are surveyed, for otherwise there would be no end to it with the small force I have.

I would never have imagined that this survey would demand so much work, and in Europe many, though sensible, would hold it to be incredible, but I can assure from experience that it is true that many weeks the clearing for the chain to pass advances scarcely 3000 feet. If then the whole survey, which is over 1500000, had to be regulated, then many years would be needed for it. On the other hand, following the above plan, such a number of plantations can be surveyed in a short time, when only there are customers to buy them.

He asked for approval of his proposals as soon as possible but promised to continue with the survey in the meantime.

The area of the island to be covered by an orderly survey prior to settlement would thus be reduced still further. Only about about a quarter of the full-sized sugar plantations - those for the cultivating participants - would be surveyed immediately. The lottery would not allocate parcels but merely an order of precedence of choice. The common stockholders were to be left to their own devices for the time being, always on the assumption that there was enough land available to guarantee their return. As a plan of procedure, the proposal expressed in this letter was so vague as to be almost worthless. The language regarding the coasts threw the dimensions of some lots into doubt, and the term "quarter" had no distinct meaning. On the other hand, his preoccupation with settlement and cultivation was quite legitimate, as was his appreciation of the importance of the coastal areas. He had a clear grasp of the significance of marginal land - for pasture, especially, but also for wood and for provisions - to the economy of the sugar plantation.
Shortsightedly, perhaps, but faced with an enormous task, and with at least the beginnings of a survey grid in hand, Moth opted for a system of piecemeal survey upon demand, although he did not question the utility of uniform rectangular lots. Moth's main concern was to rearrange and redistribute the expenditure of labor, for it was labor that was in the shortest supply. The difficulty of the survey had been grossly underestimated; as a result, it was hopelessly understaffed.

A letter from the government on St. Thomas of August 29, 1735, endorsed Moth's proposals for making the bare outline of a survey so as to be able to provide access for the cultivating participants as soon as possible:

no-one can be prejudiced thereby, if those who wish to cultivate take up their plantations first, which lie closest at hand and men can reach to survey, and which later, with their numbers, can be set aside for the drawing. Regarding differences in lots as well as access to rivers, which might turn out better for the one than for the other, such cannot be of the importance or set in comparison against the harm caused them who will cultivate on account of the delay for the survey of such a number of plantations and their drawing by lots.¹

A month later, on August 31, 1735, Moth sent the Directors an unusually informative but confusing letter on the progress of the survey.² He related that the engineer, Warnech, was still sick, as was the English surveyor, but that the second English surveyor was making a little progress with clearing for the chain. A line N. N. W and S. S. E. has been cut across the island and awaits the surveyor's recovery to be measured. A line E. N. E. and W. S. W. the length of the plantations has been cut and measured 15 plantations in

¹ Vgg. 100, generalbrev, St. Thomas, August 29, 1735.
² Vgg. 100, Moth, St. Thomas, August 31, 1735.
length or 45000 feet. Four plantations' width from this, another line has been begun to be cut in the same direction but has not yet been completed. There has also been cut, at the west end of these 15 plantations, a line N. W. and S. E. from the coast on the south side to the highest mountain, about in the middle of the land, called Blue (?) Mountain, which prevented us from going further with the line; the latter is the width of ten plantations and from there they are now at work cutting E. N. E. to the other line at the east end of these 15 plantations. Probably another N. W. has been cut in the middle 20000 feet long, so when the E. N. E. line is ready, it will be possible to allot quickly and without much trouble 150 plantations inside the □ and around the edge of the □ 4 plantations in □ in several places, which will make circa 200 plantations which can within a short time be allotted. Now I am extending the □ westward in order to avoid the high mountains in the north. . . . All this work's progress depends on the health of the surveyors.

The whole passage is puzzling. How had Moth arrived at the overall orientation of the scheme, and how were the plantations to be oriented within it? Where on the island did the plan begin and end, and why? Had maps played any part in his decisions? [Figure 2]

The first line Moth mentions crossed the island, running N N W  and S S E . A manuscript map depicting Queen's, King's, and Prince's quarters and dating to the late 1730s states that the the east boundary of Queen's Quarter, which fits the description given here, was "the first line cleared for the survey".3 On maps published by Beck in 17544 and by Oxholm in 1799,5 this quarter line is shown to run from the point north of Judith's Fancy to Vagthus Point on the south side of the island. The United States

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3 Rtk. 2249.33, untitled, unsigned, undated manuscript map of Queen's, King's, and Prince's quarters. [Map 8]
4 J. M. Beck, Tilforladelig Kort over Eylandet St. Croix udi America (Copenhagen, 1754). [Map 17]
5 P. L. Oxholm, op. cit.
"A line 15 plantations in length or 45,000 feet."

FIGURE 2

Geological Survey 7 1/2 minute topographic sheet for Christiansted\(^6\) has this line running to a point on the south coast about six hundred feet west of Vagthus Point. It is assumed here that this latter was indeed the first line laid down, and that Moth had intended it to connect the two landmarks. It is further assumed that Beck and Oxholm oriented their maps (or their compass roses) to make the line run north-northwest and south-southeast. Judging by the modern topographic sheet, it may not be possible to see the two points of land from anywhere along a line joining them, and Moth may have obtained his bearing by faulty triangulation from some vantage point to one side.

A line running at right angles to this one down the length of the island to the West End with plenty of level ground to either side, namely the Center Line, is visible along almost its entire length from Evening Hill,\(^7\) a 590-foot peak west of Bassin. It is possible that the point at Judith's Fancy and Vagthus Point are both visible from this hill. If so, the orientation of Moth's first lines is not much of a puzzle, and it can be assumed that the original base line down the length of the island was in fact the line now occupied for most of its length by Center Line Road.

The accuracy of Moth's tools and of his calculation of compass deviation is scarcely worth assessment - from the record or on the basis of the results on the land - because substantial error could have crept in at so many points.\(^8\) The quarter lines crossing the island actually bear about eighteen degrees west of true north, or four or five degrees east of the orientation that Moth reported he had established. His lines were not shown on any map that he cared to share with the Directors at this time.


\(^7\) McGuire, op. cit., p. 73.

\(^8\) According to C. M. Brown, W. G. Robillard, and D. A. Wilson, op. cit., p. 272, "no certain method exists to prove what the magnetic declination was on a particular date in the past without positive observations on that date".
Certainly the base lines he ended up with served their purpose as well as any others would have.

Moth's statement that he had cut a forty-five-thousand-foot line the length of the sugar land and that a perpendicular line at the end of it ran into Blue Mountain is difficult to reconcile with the island's topography and the cadastral pattern that emerged. First of all, it cannot be assumed that this long line began at the first line described as running across the island; nor is it entirely certain that the forty-five-thousand-foot line was the Center Line: it might have lain well to the south. Moth's report calls the mountain "Bialae" rather than "Blaa", the Danish word for 'blue'. While it is almost certain that "Blue Mountain" was what was intended, it cannot be known if the mountain named was the one known today as Blue Mountain, whose peak lies south of the quarter line dividing the North Side from Queen's, King's, and Prince's quarters. The distance along Center Line from the east line of Queen's quarter to a perpendicular running anywhere near Blue Mountain does not approach forty-five thousand Danish feet; it is closer to twenty thousand. If the forty-five thousand feet are measured back eastward from Blue Mountain, the resulting line extends far to the east of the area that Moth had said was suitable for the participants' sugar plantations. Furthermore, Mt. Eagle, not Blue Mountain, is the highest peak on St. Croix. It lies at the end of the line between King's and Prince's quarters, but that line does not lie forty-five thousand feet west of any feature relevant to Moth's task of laying out sugar plantations.

Moth referred to the forty-five-thousand-foot line as running "the length of the plantations" - for plantagernes lengde. No other evidence exists - certainly not on any map - that the plantations were ever laid out with their long sides parallel to the long axis of the island. Was he merely using the standard plantation as a unit of measure? When he described a second line parallel to the first long one, four plantations' width from the first, can it be assumed that he meant the lines were eight
thousand feet apart? The descriptions of the crossing lines, one ten plantations "wide" and the other twenty thousand feet long and both joining parallel lines, seem to confirm that he was thinking of the plantations as running lengthwise down the island. On the other hand, the line through Eagle Mountain lies approximately the width of fifteen plantations from Christiansted as it came to be platted on Beck's and Oxholm's maps, and the modern North Side quarter line lies the length of four plantations from the Center Line. It is doubtful that a forty-five thousand-foot line had yet been cut. Moth, writing on St. Thomas, was probably confused by a report from the surveyors and, in the middle of his account, mixed up the length and breadth of the plantations. His letter to Copenhagen was not accompanied by a map or sketch. As interpreted here, the lines would enclose a matter of eighty or ninety lots, not the hundred and fifty Moth boasted of.

Moth was actually rather proud of the survey. The letter continued with the following rhetorical query:

Are surveyors also used on St. Thomas or St. John? Is not such discharged by the planters? To this is answered most humbly, Yes. But how was St. Thomas surveyed, how was St. John surveyed, that there arise the many plantation disputes? What occasions that in so many places there are patches of land left over by the plantations? ... There is scarcely a plantation on St. John to which extra land was not given; on St. Thomas it is the same. It comes of this that when a correct survey took place, and the one plantation yielded to the other, it was found that the plantation's buildings ended up outside the plantation on another's land.

He went on to agitate for more help from St. Thomas,
either planters or others who understand the compass or astrolabe to cut the lines, ... for if all the lines were cut, the surveying could be done in a month... What work has been done, has been by the island's inhabitants, but they are few who understand it, and when they have been at it for 4 weeks they have become either sick or weary of it.

He had difficulty getting help at any price,

for it is a wearisome work to be in the bush night and day under the open sky for the most part with wet clothes and among a million thousand gnats or muscheeter, Galnipper (?), and Mopirer (?) and to live from a piece of cold salt beef or pork and bread with water and a measure of killdevil.

Even if twenty Europeans were to be sent out, he said, they would all be sick within a month.

He hoped and trusted that no blame would attach to him for the slow progress of the work, "for I am doing my best". He again recommended that the drawing be held, for he would soon be able to allot plantations to the cultivating participants, "but the separation between each plantation will not be so quickly finished".

Moth was working with something altogether new to him: an organized, rectangular survey of wild ground prior to settlement and conveyance, performed by specialists and specially hired and allocated help. It was a radically new undertaking, and he did not fail to point up the contrast to the situation on the other islands in the colony.

The distinction between the opening of the lines and the actual surveying is clear: the lines were cut along compass bearings, and the heavy work could proceed even when the surveyors were laid up by illness. What lines these were! What a plan!
Forty-five thousand feet in a straight line, if Moth is to be believed; great rational rectangular tracts of land, divisible into a known number of lots of equal size and shape and, as far as possible, value: if it was not unheard of, it was certainly unprecedented in Danish West Indian experience. Earlier practice could scarcely have been more strongly contrasted. The description of a plantation laid out on St. Thomas by Governor Jørgen Iffversen for the Company fifty years before, though more involved than most, will serve as an example. The plantation was recorded to be

four hundred feet, North of the road, by the (___) mark, which is planted next to (___’s) plantation’s barricade, and from there its width extends west twelve hundred feet, which is its exact width at that place, from the aforementioned mark and to (___’s) plantation, while north of that place its run will make it narrower, and south of that place its run will make it wider, because same plantation’s run is on the east side along (___’s) plantation, which lies above the road, and (___’s) plantation, which lies south, or rather below the road, north by west and south by east, and on its west side along Mr. Jan Doncker’s plantation, it runs north and south, so said plantation runs south to the sea side and north to the top of the highest mountain, which is its exact length.”

The description is not incomprehensible, but it is neither precise nor concise.

[See Map 6] The regular survey of St. Croix, properly executed, would eliminate most such lots, such descriptions, and many of the attendant problems and disputes.

Moth sent in another report two months later. He had received no instructions from Copenhagen since the Directors’ letter of April 5, 1735, which had arrived in the West Indies sometime prior to July 8. He wrote:

9 Vgk. 484, St. Thomas, May 25, 1680.
10 Vgk. 100, Moth, St. Croix, October 24, 1735.
Since my last, . . . Engineer Warnech has recovered sufficiently that he can
serve, as well as all the other English surveyors, and he is being used only to
measure and the others to cut or open the lines. The former surveyor Hagds has
also since my last run away, because he saw that his contract was too low for
such a large job, but it hinders me not at all. I have now taken on one in his
place and one besides, so now work is going on in 4 places. All we lack is capable
negro men to clear out the trees where they must pass with the chain. I have a
great deal of trouble finding compasses and astrolabes for sale. Those that
Stalman brought out are of little or no use. I have with great difficulty been
able from time to time to buy 6, of which two broken by the trees and an
astrolabe taken with him by the runaway surveyor, so only three are left and
the 4th surveyor uses mine, and the engineer the one of the Company's that is
serviceable. The instruments that came out with Stalman are some old worn out
dividers, etc. Therefore the engineer asks for a case of good instruments, which
can best be got at Carl von Manderen's in C'hagen. Just as much, some Constabels
instruments are most humbly requested, such as a quadrant, dividers, a rule and
such of copper or brass. Here we have none, and they are necessarily required
for a fortress.

I have now begun to have the plantations divided 4 to a quadrate, which
is one share in the Company, to be ready for conveyance, when [the Directors']
orders arrive, whether my suggestion is accepted or not. And since I myself in
my youth, under Mons. Lorentz Lousen, learned both my geometry, surveying,
and in part fortification, and similarly in Amsterdam, the [Directors] have no
need to fear that the work, when, as now, I have some assistants, will be done
wrong or inaccurately, as far as I am ordered, and if besides I have quite rightly
grasped the [Directors'] intention.
This is a bald reminder from Moth that the orders had been ambiguous and sketchy, and that he was acting as he saw fit, relying on his education and experience. Judging by his previous letter, in which he apparently had been unable to decide or remember the orientation of the plantations from one sentence to the next, the Directors had reason to worry.

Moth went on to complain that he did not have enough slaves to survey the cotton and the sugar land at the same time and had been forced by the appearance of "many" prospective buyers, whose plans it was to be feared might change, to take slaves from the main survey to work on laying out cotton plantations. Then he was off again about the mine. He promised to forward to Copenhagen a chunk of ore sent to him by his informant, who claimed to have personally collected the rock three years before and to have had it assayed. The tests had indicated the presence of "fine copper and a little gold, but how much gold for every [measure] of copper, he had forgotten". Moth had sent a vessel to fetch the man and expected him at any time. He suggested that the Directors might wish to send out an expert:

The minerals seem to be good and are said to be much richer. The mine is said to be over 1/2 a Danish mile wide, but its length is unknown. I have, pending further approval, . . . promised the man a plantation, wherever he likes, 3000 feet quadrate, if the mine is good",

besides one hundred Ducats of gold and a couple of hundred rigsdaler he had already parted with in this connection. One small question raises its head: why did Moth, then hard at work on an orderly rectangular survey, promise the man an odd sized plantation?

In their next letter to Moth (who was now named governor of the entire colony), dated November 22, 1733, the Directors greeted the news of Warnech's illness
and of delays in the survey "with much concern". They found it necessary to declare that keeping a land register was absolutely indispensable, which is in itself an indication of the Company's inexperience in such matters. They also inquired whether the harbor at the West End of St. Croix might not actually be more suitable for the establishment of a town than Bassin, although they did not direct any action to that end. The Atlantic was an enormous barrier to effective and timely communication: there was little chance by this time that the settlement at Bassin would be moved. Finally, in the twentieth article of their letter, the Directors addressed the survey and conveyance of plantations in some detail.

They wrote that Moth's remarks in his letter of July 25 concerning "the impossibility which is seen of finishing [the survey] as soon as was promised us, or indeed in the course of some years, surprised us not a little". Having expressed their astonishment, they relieved Moth, as he had requested, of the need to survey and sell each of the 290 sugar plantation lots separately. He was to convey such lots as were desired by the cultivating participants, without reservation, whereafter he could sell the rest of the land for the common account of the other participants. The cultivating participants undertook not to sell any undeveloped land before the obligation to all the other participants had been paid off.

It was decreed

that each, in the order provided by the lottery, immediately as soon as possible will take possession . . . of their plantation lots, next to one another, where he wishes, namely: on the whole island, either on the east or west or south side of the fort and the harbor . . . taking their lots from the sea in if they wish, his Royal Majesty Our Most Gracious King and Lord up to 4 plantations in width but

11 Vgk. 57, to Moth, November 22, 1735.
all other cultivating and reserving [participants] up to 3 plantations in width in straight lines in such manner as the plantations, depending on the situation, ought and should extend".

This should be interpreted to mean that all of each planter's lots were to fall in a single block. The cultivating participants were otherwise to have absolutely free choice of the land:

wherever they desire or also in the quarter which is the closest to the fort and most convenient for the sugar's transport, where there is good bush, good water, good fruitful ground, level land where they wish and mountains and valleys if they wish it. . . . All the other plantation lots both for sugar works as for as many plantations small and large wherever they are on the whole island [are to be sold] as best and as soon as possible".

Almost the entire rationale for the orderly division of the land prior to conveyance was thus abandoned. The contiguity of each owner's lots and the arrangement of those same lots in straight lines was all that remained of an already vague and ambiguous plan. Certainly it should be taken as understood that the cultivating participants' sugar plantations were still to be laid out in regular rectangles two by three thousand feet, but nothing was said of the orientation of the blocks. Accommodation to the the exigencies of the terrain was specifically allowed. If the language could be taken literally and the original orders ignored, the rest of the land was now open to division into plantations "small and large", scattered anywhere on the island.

Moth must have been dismayed to read this. After all his work laying out the outlines of a large regular tract of land for the participants' plantations, the idea of laying out plantations anywhere on the island, in any terrain, at the whim of the
cultivating participants or their agents, will scarcely have appealed to him. The advantages of laying out all the plantations in one block, within and around the edges of which every line surveyed served two plantations, were by now obvious to him. The Directors, however, had at this point much less experience with the idea of wholesale regular survey than Moth and were not thinking, or at any rate not expressing themselves, in strictly rational terms.

It was further ordered

that you see and strive with all your power that the sale, which is now free and libre, happens as soon as possible and that each is then allotted and measured off the purchased lots absolutely as soon as possible, in which we hope it happens as you yourself write that each buyer helps with his slaves to survey such lots, which accurately under their proper number in each quarter are to be entered in the land register; and that barricades are set and boundary marks properly observed so that later neither disputes arise nor either of the sides is injured by the measurement.

The Directors then reported that a lottery among the cultivating participants had been held in Copenhagen on November 9, 1735. The King and Queen, who would be acting together, were given the first lot, without being required to put a slip in the hat. They had the pick of the island, and were to select a tract up to four plantations wide "in a straight line of such length as the extent of the plantations requires", the Company's land reserved,

it being understood without saying that if in the way and within the area there fall morasses, useless rocks and mountains or other such, these are to be passed by and not be included in the plantations' measure but only the useful land, whether it is sugar, cotton or other land.
Another fifty-three plantations, in seven blocks, for a total of eighty-seven, were similarly allocated, except that those tracts, as has been seen, were not to be wider than three plantations. All the plantations were to be of full size.

The Directors concluded brightly:

Thus you now know what each is due and immediately shall be conveyed. All difficulties are now presumed to have been set aside, and the sale of the other lots can proceed free and unhindered as we have said.

Perhaps 'unhinged' would have been a better word. Moth was spared surveying all 290 lots at once, but the responsibility for the design of a scheme for the survey was now his alone. The geometrical contribution of these latest orders was minimal. In fact, since Moth had already made substantial and irrevocable strides toward establishing a survey pattern, it was necessary to ignore some of the Directors' orders. The line bounding what became King's Quarter to the north had been cut before the orders arrived. The land north of that line was not of Royal calibre, and there was not room south of it to lay out the thirty-four royal lots in a strip four plantations wide oriented across the island. The obvious solution was to lay the plantations out lengthwise down the island, but the survey pattern was apparently already too firmly established to allow this and Moth laid out the Royal plantations five wide in contravention of his orders. It is not known how the locations of the other cultivating participants' tracts were determined. Moth also utterly ignored the requirement to skip over unsuitable land in the running of strips of plantations: broadly speaking, his scheme allowed of no gores of land anywhere on the island except along the coasts. In this he was helped by the relatively uniform terrain of the good sugar lands. The pattern Moth established was not perfectly regular, but it far surpassed the vague concept expressed in these orders from Copenhagen. Moth may or may not have misinterpreted the original orders, for the original intent of the Directors was never absolutely clear, but he was
faithful to the orderly scheme of survey he had devised even when the Directors had abandoned wholesale prior survey.

(Chapter Two is continued on the next page. The sequence of footnotes recommences with the numeral 1.)
In the spring of 1736, the Directors sent to St. Thomas a copy of a St. Thomas land
register dating to 1688, almost fifty years before. This list was apparently intended as a
model for the register to be kept on St. Croix. Rather a poor example was set. The
entries were extremely uneven; while measurements were sometimes given to the foot,
directions were only approximations. Lots were registered whose dimensions were
unknown, and descriptions of the condition of land were scattered and sketchy. A few
examples will convey some of the flavor of this register:¹

Lot number 11: "The length and breadth of his plantation is not really known
because he has no deed yet". [The lot had been partly cleared, however, and planted
with provisions.]

Lot number 14: This plantation's length was given but its width was omitted,
apparently by mistake; on it "stands a small dilapidated indigo works". The land was
"quite overgrown with bush".

Lot number 40: "1,372 \(\text{feet}\) around; no length or breadth can be written because
it is a \(\text{hilltop}\)".

Whether the officials on St. Croix paid any attention to this old land list is
unknown. Certainly the first censuses and land registers they prepared and sent to
Copenhagen were terribly vague and imprecise.

The next official communications from the West Indies were dated April 14, 1736.
Moth reported the conveyance on March 10 of all of the cultivating participants'

¹ Vgk. 37, general missive to St. Thomas, March 26, 1736.
plantations and enclosed a proces verbal and a map (neither of which seem to be preserved in the Company archive). The King's plantations were described as "laying adjacent to one another about in the middle of the sugar lands and in my own and everyone's opinion the core of the whole island".

Moth boasted of this map and of the survey it purported to depict that it had been done "as good as blind", but that the result was almost as good as if it had been done on open and level ground, where one could see around to all sides. "As good as blind": the problem was that Moth was attempting to lay out properties without an accurate reference map. He had great trouble not only seeing but visualizing what he was doing. He was working and planning at the same time and was obviously relieved that things were working out as well as they were.

Moth reported that it had been impossible to complete the deeds to the properties, for since His Maj't.'s plantations fall between 2 lines, namely No. 6 and 7, barricades must first be cut and planted. Furthermore, neither Mons. Horn nor Malleville could find the right place where the barricades should be set for His Excellency Von Plessen and Councillor Jacobi, and so the correct numbers are not known, to enter in the deeds, but they shall be finished as soon as is possible.

Only two surviving maps number any of the survey lines. One of these depicts the Royal plantations exclusively: the wording of the governmental letter suggests that

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2 Vgk. 100, Generalbrev, St. Thomas, April 14, 1736.
3 Rtk. 2249.32, Moth to the King, April 14, 1736.
4 Vgk. 100, Moth, St. Thomas, April 14, 1736.
5 Vgk. 100, Generalbrev, St. Thomas, April 14, 1736.
this is not the map Moth was referring to.\textsuperscript{6} \cite{See Map 7} The other map showing numbered survey lines dates to the late 1730s and shows King's, Queen's, and Prince's quarters. \cite{See Map 8} This map, or a version of it, may be the one in question.\textsuperscript{7} Both of these maps, and presumably the one now sent home by Moth, assigned numbers to every other island-crossing plantation boundary line. The east boundary of Queen's Quarter was labelled No. 1; the line four thousand feet west was No. 2; and so on west. The Royal estate was five plantations or ten thousand feet wide, with its east boundary on the fourth of these lines, so its west boundary fell between lines six and seven. Moth found it impossible, lacking a line between these two numbered lines, to exactly delimit the Royal property as required for the deed. The implication is that the numbered lines had actually been cut, while the King's west boundary had not. The inability of Von Plessen's and Jacobi's agents to ascertain the boundaries of their plantations can be similarly explained, for Jacobi's estate abutted the King's unknown west boundary, and Von Plessen's, being three plantations wide, lacked a marked boundary on the east side.

The other cultivating participants' lots, although they are not mentioned in the letter, apparently had similar liabilities. However, the possibility needs to be borne in mind that Moth had simply hit on a plausible excuse for his failure to complete the task assigned him in the orders of November 22, 1735: lacking the proces verbal and the particular map mentioned, it is impossible to judge how much of the surveying work had actually been completed. The effective result was that none of the participants received title at this juncture, and that, presumably, no surveyed line had as yet much legal standing.

\textsuperscript{6} Rtk. 2249.34; copy in Rtk. 2249.33.
\textsuperscript{7} Rtk. 2249.33.
Moth's personal letter of April 14th alluded to another map he was sending home, this one of the Company's own plantation. His statement concerning this map, which is lost, makes clear Moth's attitude toward survey prior to settlement:

"It can be seen on the enclosed map about where the Company's plantation will fall. All of its lines are not cut, as I have felt it unnecessary before it got neighbors".

The west boundary of Great Princess, the Company's plantation, eventually coincided with the Queen's Quarter line, which, according to Moth's report of August 31, 1735, had already been cut; so in fact Princess already had neighbors, although a high ridge lay between the cultivable portions of Princess and the land being laid out for the stockholders. There is thus some doubt that it was understood that the quarter line and the Princess line were the same line.

At any rate, Moth was supplying the Directors with a map of a property which by his own statement lacked boundaries, and whose position relative to the properties delineated on the other map sent in the same letter had not necessarily been established. If Moth was unaware that Princess adjoined Queen's Quarter, did he assume that the lots between Princess and Queen's Quarter would be plantations of standard size, or did he assume that intervening land would be meted out wherever necessary as it fit? Given the omissions in his report, and lacking the map itself, it appears that as far as Moth was concerned at the time, the notion of a rectangular layout of contiguous lots of equal size and shape applied only to part of the island. Even within that block, subdivision was so far from complete that the boundaries of even the major properties had not been established. Outside that block, even where the Company's own plantation was concerned, the establishment of real boundaries on the ground was being postponed.

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8 Vgk. 100, Moth, St. Thomas, April 14, 1736.
until the possibility of a conflict arose. Full advantage of prior survey was still not being taken.

The first Danish census taken on St. Croix - a very informal count - was enclosed with the letters of April 14, 1736. It listed forty-two heads of families by name, enumerated their holdings of slaves (none had more than seven, and most had one or two), and mentioned wives, children, and overseers - mestere, knechter. Most of the entries mentioned a plantation, but no dimensions were given, and the locations of the properties (if the term can appropriately be used at this stage) were only very generally specified: Chalwill's plantation was stated to be at Bassin ("Basiain Bajen"; also "Bassunen", in the same passage); other properties or homesteads were on the Lagoon or between the latter and the Great Pond; at Green Cay; in the South Side Quarter or, more normally, "on the South Side"; by South Salt River; in Wills Bay; or "in the country". A number of the men listed had no land at all. No sugar was mentioned. Most of the settlers were raising or at any rate planting cotton and provision crops.

At this point, these settlers, who were probably for the most part the English squatters that Moth had found on the island, had no recorded obligation to the Danish West India Company for the land they occupied. Moth promised in the Generalbrev of April 14 that "the survey will immediately be begun of the cotton plantations, of which 2 are already surveyed, namely Chalwill's and Kochlig's". Little if any formal arrangement had yet been made for the orderly disposal of this cotton land.

On the subject of settlement in general, Moth wrote that a certain amount of interest in St. Croix seemed to be developing in the Antilles, especially for cotton plantations. He mentioned only one offer for sugar land, from a St. Thomas resident named Beverhoud, who had requested four plantations. In his personal letter of this

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9 Vgk. 862, March 28, 1736.
10 Vgk. 100, Generalbrev, St. Thomas, April 14, 1736.

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date, Moth stated without elaboration that he was expecting seventy-two English families, and some Dutch.\footnote{11 Vgk. 100, Moth, St. Thomas, April 14, 1746.} A number of German settlers sent out by the Company had been shown onto land “close to the harbor, where some actually have begun to clear”.\footnote{12 Vgk. 100, Generalbrev, St. Thomas, April 14, 1736.}

The settlement of St. Croix, to say nothing of its survey and formal subdivision and conveyance, was progressing slowly. No start had yet been made on the fort at Bassin. Nothing had been done about a dairy that had apparently been suggested by the Directors. Moth promised that as soon as the sugar boiling on St. Thomas and St. John was at an end, he would send two dozen slaves to St. Croix to plant sugar, and he hoped to have St. Croix sugar on the market in Copenhagen by 1738. Perhaps to take the Directors’ minds off all this lack of progress, Moth attempted to tantalize them with tales of the mine. He claimed that he had had people search for it, but in vain. His English source had been putting him off with excuses, he said, but he still believed in its existence, and was sending home a bit of rock to be assayed.\footnote{13 Vgk. 100, Moth, St. Thomas, April 14, 1736.}

The Directors received these letters and maps in June, apparently, but were not much the wiser on that account: their next letter to Moth, dated July 7, 1736, merely stated that they expected much progress with the survey and conveyance of plantations was being made. A passage in the letter indicated that it was their understanding that plantations were being allotted or assigned before they were surveyed:

“We have seen from your letter and the accompanying sketch how far the conveyance of the cultivating participants’ plantations has advanced, and we presume that the other lots which were not yet conveyed have already long...
since been assigned, and that a beginning has been made on the survey and
cultivation of these plantations".14

The Directors' knowledge of the course of the survey, and their participation in
decisions being made in St. Croix, was strictly limited. They had to rely on the
judgement of their man on the spot, but their frustration over the lack of information
and control was made clear in letters in which remarks concerning the survey are
limited to pleas for more information.15 There were very few constraints on Moth's
activity. However, this was not just a function of the remoteness of the colony. The
Directors, at least at this early stage, failed to require an adequate accounting of Moth.
This complacent acceptance of geographic ignorance might have been due to
resignation and patience or to a lack of imagination: either way, the men concerned in
Copenhagen did not demand more information on topography, for example, or the
situation of the sugar plantations relative to the settlement at Bassin. The place names
mentioned in the 1736 land list elicited no notice: the Lagoon, Green Cay, the Great Pond
- the Directors would not have found any of these names on any map yet at their
disposal, if indeed it occurred to them to look for them. So if Moth was a little less than
honest and explicit in his reports and maps of the progress of the survey, the
management in Copenhagen appears to have been naive, incurious, and unable to see
or indifferent to the holes in his account. Knowledge of the island was undoubtedly
growing fast, but that knowledge was not being communicated well to the owners of the
colony.

In July of 1736, Moth excused a lack of progress on the survey of the Royal
sugar plantations and the failure to execute deeds by stressing the urgency of clearing
and planting:

14 Vgk. 57, to Moth and Horn, [St. Thomas], July 7, 1736.
15 Vgk. 57, April 21, 1736, and October 20, 1736.
the [Royal] inspectors as well as I myself held it more advisable to first clear a considerable area for provisions etc. before they undertake clearing the lines to separate each plantation and setting the requisite marks.16

This was reasonable enough, within the King's block of plantations, but it is likely, especially in light of Moth's earlier remarks about the boundaries of Grand Princess, that this was the pattern of the occupation of the properties everywhere, limited as it was at this time: gaining an economic foothold on the land was the main thing. Property lines were not yet of much concern to anybody - not, at least, in the sugar land owned by Danish entrepreneurs: east of Bassin, in the cotton land, the situation may have been a little different. Moth's letter of July 28 continues: "we are busy with the survey of the cotton plantations, in order to be able to make quick conveyance to purchasers". Moth was very much preoccupied with attracting smallholders to St. Croix, but whether this concern was actually reflected on the landscape - to a greater degree than in the sugar lands - in the form of cut and surveyed property lines is uncertain. Although most of the establishments mentioned in the 1736 landlist were described as cotton plantations, the list was altogether too vague to allow any estimate of the area involved. The Directors had Moth's assurance that the work was progressing, but, at this point, little else.

A couple of letters from St. Thomas in August of 1736 reported at some length on progress with the survey, but the information conveyed was confused. According to the governmental letter of August 17, 1736,

"We have long since begun to cut the lines for the survey of the cotton plantations, and the English hired for the purpose are continuing therewith.

16 Vgk. 180, Moth, St. Thomas, July 28, 1736.
daily. They shall also, as soon as can be done, be surveyed, but accurate survey will have to wait until the engineer is sent out [from Denmark].17

No information on where precisely the Englishmen were clearing or on their progress is provided; the Directors could only guess at the number of plantations involved. It may also be thought to have given the Directors pause that lines of sight were being cleared without the supervision of a surveyor. What could the meaning of this be? What would be the result if the lines, when surveyed by the engineer, were found to be in the wrong place? Would the work be done over, or would the patterns established simply be officially confirmed and incorporated into the scheme? The letter went on:

The division of the sugar plantations could be done immediately by the English, when they are finished with the cotton plantations, but, first, the inspectors will only unwillingly give up their negroes to assist before they have planted plenty of provisions and sugar, with which we agree; second, the work is easier when part of the great bush is cut down; and third, the Governor thinks that it can easily wait until many buyers have appeared, for he means to prepare a map, after the map sent home, of the already surveyed lines, such that the deeds can thereafter be issued correctly by the numbers without the slightest error, upon which [map] the engineer had begun but not finished.

Moth was by now so completely taken by the notion of a geometrically regular survey that he was ignoring the exigencies of the work and the landscape: if a set of lines and a numbering scheme could just be got down, however schematically, on paper, then the job of the moment would have been accomplished. The boundaries in time could simply be made to conform to the scheme; but there was no hurry, lacking settlers to disagree over them, to transfer the lines from the map to the land. With a clear numbering

17 Vgk. 100, Generalbrev. St. Thomas, August 17, 1736.
system established, he seems to have thought, no questions could be expected to arise, and lots declared in advance to measure two thousand by three thousand feet would necessarily come to be that size. No allowance was made for error, nor for boundaries that might be established by usage. For the time being, furthermore, there was much more than enough land for everyone. Cultivation at this time amounted to small clearings, opened within what were merely the hypothetical boundaries of very large properties.

It appears from this letter that the map of the sugar plantations sent to Copenhagen in April had been very sketchy indeed, and that no numbering system had yet been established. The letter of August 17 went on:

Engineer Warnech was called over [to Saint Thomas (?)] to lay out a map for the Governor how the small divisions for the plantations in the already surveyed quarters should be, so that these could be numbered and the deeds accordingly arranged and sent home. When this map was 1/4 finished, he became ill and died the 3rd day following. Everything now awaits until the ships are away, so that the governor himself can go over to arrange and set up everything.

The letter also contained an appeal for a qualified military engineer to be sent out from Denmark to take charge not only of the survey but of the design and construction of the various defense works being contemplated and of military affairs in general. The letter stated that although Governor Moth was well trained in geometry, and competent to supervise the work, qualified assistance would be welcome. It was further reported that the work of clearing was proceeding in the Company's plantation, but that planting was prevented by "the unspeakably great drought". Further experiments were being made with local brick production.
A week later, Moth reported in a personal letter to the Directors that he had prepared and was enclosing a map, after the last one sent home, showing the subdivision of the surveyed quarters into numbered plantations, "such as I, in my modest judgment, have thought best". Moth did not pretend that what he offered was anything but lines on paper: the actual boundaries of the plantations had not yet been cut. In the meantime (though not in time for dispatch just then), he would proceed with the preparation of deeds, leaving the plantation numbers blank pending receipt of the Directors' approval of his numbering scheme.\textsuperscript{18}

A map of Queen's, King's and Prince's quarters fitting this description, and of suitable age, is preserved in the Rigsarkiv in Copenhagen.\textsuperscript{19} [See Map 8] It is drawn on a sheet of paper about eight inches by thirteen at a scale of approximately one to forty-four thousand. The scale is implicit in the drawing: a note states that "each plantation is in length 3000 feet and in breadth 2000 feet". A dotted line corresponding to what became known as the Center Line runs more or less down the middle of the three quarters, and is extended into the blank space to the right of Queen's quarter, where it is labeled "O. N. O.", or east-northeast. A pencilled circle was drawn astride this line, and the word "North" was inked in at about the appropriate position; the circle contains no rays, however. The words "first line cleared for the survey" run along the east edge of Queen's quarter. The names of the quarters appear at the top of the map. Starting with the easternmost line and proceeding west, every other line is numbered: the numeral '10' marks the line one plantation east of Prince's Quarter's west boundary. There is a number at the south end of each of these lines except the first, giving the distance, to the nearest hundred feet, from the Center Line to the south coast, which is crudely drawn in. In some cases, this distance appears to be accurate to within about a hundred feet; in others, it differs from the United States Geological Survey's representation...

\textsuperscript{18} Vgk. 100, Moth, August 25, 1736.
\textsuperscript{19} Rtk. 2249.33.
sometimes over, sometimes under - by as much as four hundred feet. The map is ruled off into plantations, and each of these is numbered. In each quarter, lot number 1 is in the north-east corner, and the numbers run from east to west along the top row of lots, from west to east back along the second row, and so forth. Another dotted line, labeled "the king's road", runs right across the map: it curves first north and then south of west, and bears no relation to the property lines. On the north side, a small semicircular indentation is labeled "Salt River"; "South Salt River" is written in off the coast on the south side: neither stream is mapped. A fairly straight stretch of the south coast is labeled "Limetree (Lymtries) Bay". There is no other topographic detail.

The names of owners of lots and blocks of lots are inked in. Some of these names were undoubtedly added at the time the map was made; many others were written in subsequently - some, apparently, as late as 1739. Some of the lots in the southeast are shown subdivided, and the added numerals appear to have been made by another hand. It cannot be known whether these alterations and additions were made in the West Indies or in Denmark. Most of the tracts are distinguished with watercolors, but it is not certain that the color was added at the time the map was drawn. Judging by the shades, all the color was applied at one time, but it appears that some of the numbers were inked in before the paint was put on, and some after.

Plantation number 24 in King's Quarter is painted a muddy green, probably superimposed on the rusty red used for the rest of the quarter. The word "Cotton" appears very faintly beneath the paint in the southwest corner of the lot. To the northeast of an equally faint dotted line is another word, which might be "Sugar". In one or two other places, the land is characterized as "cotton land" or "poor land".

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The distances given from Center Line to the coast along the numbered lines indicate clearly that some progress had been made on the ground. However, Moth was not sending home deeds to the participants' properties, and it is obvious that the connections among the promised deeds, the sketch maps, and the properties these described and depicted were quite tenuous at this point. In the letter of August 23, Moth cheerily promised a great deal of progress, but in fact what he sent the Directors was a grid and a set of numbers superimposed on a very crude map. Further codification of the cadaster would have to await approval of his numbering system, and further work on boundary lines would have to await orders from each of the cultivating participants providing for the procurement by their agents of slaves to cut the lines. Nevertheless, Moth said he intended to extract receipts from the participants' agents for land conveyed: it is as if he hoped that such declarations would serve instead of real boundaries, explicit deeds, and a clear cartographic cadastral record. Since the properties are supposed to have been conveyed on March 10, 1736, the reality of the reported conveyance is thus rendered still more doubtful.

Moth was pleased to report that work on the survey of the East End was progressing well: he hoped that by the time the expected engineer arrived on the first ship from Denmark, it would be possible for that expert to prepare a cadastral map of the area for forwarding to Copenhagen. Again, no concrete detail was provided.

It is significant that Moth was not normally on St. Croix, being busy with his duties on St. Thomas, and a resident of that island. His participation in and control over the work of the survey was something less than direct.

The Company's letter from Copenhagen of November 21, 1736, brings forcefully home the difficulties of colonial administration in a day when all communication moved by sailing ship. Moth's failure to provide the Directors with information was
politely - almost plaintively - pointed out to him. They had received a letter dated July 30, whose shortcomings were addressed as follows:

As we should certainly presume that the allocation of plantations to all the Company's cultivating participants must long ago have been accomplished, we are therefore much more astonished that no news on the subject in the least was sent in with Mr. Carsten's ship, since those concerned here are very eager to know the final disposition of their lands there, as well as their actual measure and extent.  

Although what the Directors lacked was a detailed map, they did not so state. They needed to know where the various plantations were, how big they were, if not of standard size, and on what sort of ground they lay. If they had given any thought to how such information might best be conveyed, the letter gives no evidence of it. The first sketch map had apparently been insufficiently informative, or incomplete. At any rate, the Directors requested information on the participants' lots and on the lengths and breadths of the cotton plantations mentioned in the land list of March 1736 and of the plots assigned to the few German settlers sent out from Europe, but made no reference to any map, either in hand or expected. It seems an extraordinary omission. In fact the information they wanted could not, at that stage in the settlement of the island, have been recorded in any form, for, although the clearings were real enough, all claims - both those based on prior settlement and those based on allocation in Copenhagen - were on the ground quite nebulous and tenuous.

The Directors' letter mentions that it had come to their attention that each of the deeds had been issued against a fee of ten rixdaler. Acknowledging that it was traditional, they deplored the practice, especially where the plantations of the
Company's cultivating participants were concerned: "On the whole it does not seem to us that this is the mark of dedicated and dutiful zeal".

Not much more on the survey of St. Croix was forthcoming from the government in 1736. An official dispatch from St. Thomas in November reported only that sugar and provisions were being planted on St. Croix.22

In a letter dated December 18, 1736, Ulrich Anton Westken, the King's inspector on St Croix, reported that he had received deeds to thirty-two of the thirty-four Royal plantations from Moth:

[Numbers] 31 and 32 are not yet taken, because the place where they should have been taken, which is in the southern part of the island, is poor, and not suitable for good plantations, so I have refused them.23

Westken must have had a clear idea of the location if not of the precise outlines of the two plantations in question. Presumably he had access to at least a sketch of the layout of the plantations as visualized by Moth, and if the lines crossing the island mentioned in Moth's report of April 14, 1736 had indeed been cut through to the south coast, then Westken would have been in a position to appraise the land adjoining the southernmost two or three thousand feet of lines 4 and 5. It is doubtful that the boundaries of plantations 31 and 32 in King's Quarter had actually been marked or cut at this time. It may have been generally known and perhaps cartographically recorded that the southernmost section of line 5 was not a full three thousand feet long. [See Map 7] Lot number 32 came to lie across the general grain of the plantations, occupying the northern sections of what would have been lots 32 and 33, their southern portions

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22 Vgk. 100, St. Thomas, November 6, 1786.
23 Rtk. 2249.33, Westken, December 18, 1736.
being occupied by what is now known as Krause Lagoon; the numbers 33 and 34 were thus displaced the width of one plantation west.

No official letters bearing on the survey appear to have crossed the Atlantic for the next four months.
CHAPTER THREE - HARD LESSONS, LOST AND ILLUSORY LINES, LONG DELAYS

1. 1737

It has been seen that some progress had been made on the survey of portions of St. Croix by the end of 1736; some rather crude maps had been made and forwarded to Copenhagen; a numbering system had been established for the area in which the cultivating participants' plantations fell, although few if any of these had actually been surveyed and demarcated; and some properties had been officially conveyed, even if the validity of the deeds may be thought to have remained in some doubt in the absence of accurate maps and surveyed lines. Boundary lines were being cut in the cotton land to the east of the harbor at Bassin. The island was slowly being opened up to commercial and subsistence agriculture, and the government was making some effort to retain cadastral control of the development. However, the cadastre was still poorly conceived and recorded, and cadastral information and topographic knowledge in general was not being effectively conveyed to interested parties in the Danish metropolis.

In 1737, nothing pertinent to the survey was sent to Copenhagen until April. However, a "letter and order copybook" preserves copies of letters sent by Governor Moth, on St. Thomas, to his subordinate on St. Croix, Gregers Nissen, between January and July. It is a one-sided record (Nissen's share of the correspondence is not preserved) but a lively one: Moth's letters were quite frequent, and their tone is, not unnaturally, quite different from that of the obsequiously formal administrative reports to the Company Directors in Copenhagen. Moth demanded not only action but

1 Vgk. 528, "Breve og ordre Copie Bog for Eylandet St. Croix for Aaret 1737". 126
information: the shortcomings of Nissen's and other officers' reports were repeatedly pointed out.

A note early in January mentioned a surveyor of the name Hartman: four slaves were assigned to him "for clearing."² There was no clue at this point to whether Hartman was the only surveyor then working or to whether these slaves were merely an addition to an existing party. Later in the month, Moth complained that neither of two letters he had received from St. Croix contained news of what Hartman is doing, or how far the survey is progressing either on the East or West End. Such is to be reported to me every Saturday when the surveyor comes home.³

It will be seen later that the implication that the surveyor regularly put in solid six-day weeks in the field probably need not be taken very seriously.

An entry in the copybook for February 12 appeared to acknowledge an order by Nissen that Mad. Poop and Jemmi Frink were to quit the land of Mons. Feddersen, one of the Company participants. This is the first time that such trespass appears in the record; it was to be a recurring problem. The pair may have been agricultural squatters or, what is more likely, wood cutters. Another letter of the same date from Moth to Nissen ordered them run off Feddersen's land and their carts confiscated; one Mahon Daniel was also forbidden to cut wood on the West End, and his cart was to be confiscated as well, or destroyed if he resisted.⁴ These carts - carrer- are an intriguing clue either to the existence of roads or negotiable paths in various parts of the island or to the inroads being made on the island's forests: beyond that, not much is certain.

Feddersen [or Feddesen, or Fedesin] held eight sugar plantations in a block in Queen's

² Vgk. 528, [Moth, St. Thomas, to Nissen], January, 1737.
³ Vgk. 528, [Moth] to Nissen, January 18, 1737.
⁴ Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, February 12, 1737.
Quarter south of the Center Line. It was no doubt clear enough that Poop and Frink were trespassing, and on whose land, but it should not be assumed on the strength of this that the boundaries of Fæddesen's tract had actually been cleared and surveyed and marked.

The letter of February 12 from Moth to Nissen addressed part of the survey in great but baffling detail:

You will strive to let me know whether the last line ordered NNE and SSW is suitable for the Company's East barricade, between their plantation and mine, as well as have Jens Langeland and Worsdorf survey the length of the same from the shore to the Center Line, as well as the width from the same line to (a building - probably kaaghuse, the boiling house) ESE and WNW. Which was surveyed before by Warneck, and marked with posts 500 feet from one another. Finally, the width from the NNE Line or barricade to the barricade which was shown you between you and me, and have him set posts each 500 feet from one another with a notch cut in for each 100 feet they stand from the West barricade, as was done on the Company's plantation.

The passage illustrates the difficulty of reconstructing the course of the work from the existing fragmentary record. It is unfortunate and significant that Moth made no reference to any map. Presumably, but not necessarily, Nissen knew what Moth was talking about. The first line mentioned, which was to serve as the "east" boundary of the Company's plantation Princess, runs at a forty-five-degree angle to every other line surveyed in the two decades that the Company held St. Croix. Its logic is that it runs perpendicular to the coast in that area. Princess's east (or east-northeast) boundary is shown on all extant maps to run south-southeast from the coast. A road follows the

5 Vgk. 57, Directors to Moth, November 22, 1735.
6 Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, February 12, 1737. [See Maps 9 and 17]
bearing given by Moth from the immediate vicinity of the Princess works down to the coast: this may have been the line he ordered cut, but, if so, it lies awfully deep inside what came to be Princess to serve as its boundary. Also, if this interpretation is accepted, then Princess was not being laid out in a rectangle (allowing for the trend of the coast), which in the context seems strange.

Early maps [Maps 9 and 15] show fields within the Company's plantation oriented more or less at right angles to the coast and to the road running up through the estate from Bassin toward Salt River; the pattern is also revealed on modern air photographs. The contrast to the pattern elsewhere on the island, where fields are usually oriented true to the plantation grid established by Moth, is very striking. The Princess fields may have been laid out on the vestiges of a pattern created by the French in their day, or it may simply have come most naturally to clear the fields in rectangles at right angles to the road and the coast. Either way, Moth's attempt to create a boundary running against the grain of the overall survey suggests, at the very least, a willingness to allow the establishment of properties that did not conform to the system he was setting up elsewhere on the island. He may have seen no reason to superimpose a new system on a pattern already established; or he may have felt that the requirements of the Company's plantation and of his own estate were legitimate exceptions to the norm; or he may have been making use of a scheme designed, in Warnech's time, before the dominant orientation of the survey was established. It probably can safely be concluded that in Moth's mind the regular survey of rectangular lots, all the same size, for investors in Copenhagen, whose agents were


only in a very small way making a start on clearing for cultivation, was all very well. The establishment of boundaries between properties with which he was most immediately concerned, on the most valuable land on the island - because of its convenience to the town and harbor; because it may have required relatively little clearing, having been worked in the French period; and because usable structures still stood there - was quite another matter. It is not without interest that Nissen, the man directly in charge of the survey, as chief of St. Croix, also had a claim to land in this area.

Moth's order asked for the distance from the line between Moth's and the Company's plantations to "the boiling house" along a bearing running east southeast and west northwest - at right angles to the first line, in other words: parallel to the coast and to the road. There is thus no reason to suppose that the bearings given were calligraphical errors. He was attempting to establish or, rather, preserve a segment of survey true to the coast, in the manner of the time. In effect, it appears, a separate survey system prevailed along the coast northwest of the town. His interest in the distance along the NNE/SSW line from the coast to Center Line again raises the question of whether it was understood that Queen's Quarter and the Company's plantation shared a boundary. It may be that Moth was trying to figure out how the layout of these important coastal properties could be reconciled to the the more general scheme in the land southwest of the ridge.

Another passage in the letter of February 12 ran as follows:

Walton is to be ordered to come in immediately and begin to cut the line for Holmsted's and Feddersen's barricade, which is exactly between the 2nd and 3rd lines. You will have him begin in the Center Line and cut first to the sea on the Southside along Feddersen's lots, and thereafter to the North side along Holmsted's lots, for which Bruun will provide negroes. If he can cut both sides at
the same time, which can easily be, he is to be assisted by 4 of the Comp. negroes, and Weinholt can be his assistant, or Joorskov (?) or Pock (?).

This order was straightforward. The early cadastral map of Queen’s, King’s, and Prince’s quarters [Map 8] shows Holmsted’s twelve lots north of Centerline and Fæddesen’s eight below it (the names of subsequent owners appear as well), bounded on the east by the line here described by Moth.9 The undeniable implication is that Moth’s lines 2 and 3 had in fact already been cut. Why was he now so interested in this new line between them? It marked the eastern limit of the plantations assigned to the Company’s cultivating participants, and Moth no doubt found it desirable to be able to report to Copenhagen that this line at least had been cut and marked. It is likely, however, that Moth’s concerns were more local, and that he wished to be in a position to sell well-situated sugar plantations between that line and the town; the sugar land that he could otherwise offer lay in the hills north of the participants’ lots or farther out toward the West End. It may also be significant that this line runs south from Salt River Bay; proximity to the bay may be thought to have been of interest to prospective buyers of land lying along the northern portion of the line. None of this land is officially recorded as conveyed in the land lists sent to Copenhagen for at least another year and a half.

Moth enclosed for Nissen’s inspection a map, which was to be sent back to St. Thomas immediately. Presumably, but not certainly, this valuable document was a copy of Moth’s plan for the subdivision and numbering of lots in Queen’s, King’s, and Prince’s quarters. It may possibly have been a sketch of the Company’s plantation Princess. It may also have been the copy of the old French map of 1671. [See Map 3] At any rate, the only copy of a crucial map was being shuttled back and forth between the

9 Rtk. 2249.33.
islands: obviously Nissen lacked working maps and, presumably, a clear idea of what he was supposed to be doing.

Langeland's name came up for the first time in this letter, as did Walton's. Langeland had a hand in one of several extant maps of the King's plantations, but no cartographic production immortalizes Walton. The other men mentioned were probably Company soldiers. A postscript mentioned that an Edward Sears had been especially hired as a surveyor's assistant; part of his wage was to be in the form of kildevil.

A couple of weeks later, Moth sent instructions for Langeland

to cut the WNW line or new road until he meets the first NNW line, and to measure same and send [that measurement] to me immediately. When he is finished, the ESE line is to be continued 1000 feet farther through the little plantation close to town.

This road running west-northwest was certainly the one that runs up through Princess, and which is most clearly shown on Friis's 1738 map of the plantation (although this is the only map on which the road is shown running in a perfectly straight line all the way across the plantation). The map's key clearly distinguishes between this new road and an older road meandering in the same direction: the new road ran to the plantation's west boundary and stopped; the old road is shown running across that line and off the map. The "first NNW line" can be taken to refer to the east boundary of Queen's Quarter, which is labelled on the cadastral map of Queen's, King's, and Prince's quarters as "the first line opened for the survey". It appears that Moth, working with his maps on St. Thomas, may have been attempting

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10 Rtk. 2249.33, Friis and Langeland, map of King's Quarter, no date. [Map 10]
11 Vgk. 328, [Moth to Nissen], February 24, 1737.
to determine the geometric relationship between two major blocks of surveyed and mapped land, namely Princess and the land set aside for the cultivating participants: not knowing the starting point of the road running west-northwest, however, we are at a loss to know what he would learn from Langeland’s report of its length. It may indeed be that Moth believed that there would be a gap between Princess’s west boundary and the Queen’s Quarter line, and that it was this distance that he was ordering Langeland to survey. The thousand-foot extension back towards town of the line representing the new road can scarcely be accounted for with the information at hand: it is unknown which little plantation Moth may have been referring to, or how close to town it lay (Again, it must be assumed that Nissen and Langeland knew what Moth was talking about.). Finally, it is difficult to understand why a new road was required or desirable. Friis’s map of Princess has the old and new roads running quite close to one another; in places they coincide.

In a copy of a second letter of February 24, Nathaniel Walton was ordered to “continue the main Line westward all the way to the West End”. Five of the Company’s slaves - "accustomed thereto" - were assigned to help with the work, and Walton was authorized to hire an assistant, if someone suitable could be found, to speed the work; if not, Edward Sears was to be employed on the job whenever he could be spared. Presumably Sears was normally busy surveying on the East End. It may or may not be safe to assume that Walton had completed the task assigned him two weeks earlier: opening the line along the east sides of Holmsted’s and Fæddesen’s estates.

A week later, on March 2, Moth sent instructions to St. Croix requiring Walton, when he had

13 Vgk. 528, [Moth to Nissen], February 24, 1737, second letter.
set the newly hired assistant to work cutting the main Line westward, [to] repair
with Edward Sears to the East Side and to cut the Line (possibly "Lines", rather
than "the Line") SSE and NNW from coast to coast. He is to begin at Nanton's West
barricade and cut SSE to the sea; the other is to begin at Nanton's East barricade
and also SSE to the sea and so forth, each Line 2000 feet from each other in
width.14

Moth gave his instructions in terms of an already existing property rather than by
referring to numbered survey lines. The implication is that whatever surveying had
been done until then on the East End had been piecemeal rather than systematic.
Benjamin Nanton was listed in the first land list of March 28, 1736 as owning a cotton
plantation and one slave.15 The location of the property is given as "the Lagoon". The
list of June 30, 1737 is no more helpful but shows that Nanton had increased the
number of slaves on the plantation to nine.16 In 1739, Nanton's widow was the fourth
entry on the list for East End Quarter A.17 Finally in 1740, Mrs. Nanton's plantation,
Number 4, was described as being the standard two thousand by three thousand feet.18
Unfortunately, the earliest surviving cartographic depiction of any part of the island
east of Queen's Quarter dates to around 1750.19 It is indicative of the reliability of the
early land lists that on no map is this plantation shown as a rectangle: this is precluded
by its frontage on the Altona Lagoon. Beck's map of 175420 [Map 17] shows the property
as two thousand feet wide and three thousand long at most. Oxholm's map gives the same
width but shows it to be, at its longest, several hundred feet longer than three thousand

14 Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, March 2, 1737.
15 Vgk. 862, March 28, 1736.
16 Vgk. 862, "Forteignelse paa de Indvaanere og Slavere", June 30, 1737.
17 Vgk. 862, November, 1739 (?).
18 Vgk. 862, March 4, 1740.
19 J. Cronenberg and J. von Jægersberg, "Charte over Eilandet St. Croix", Nautical Charts
Archive, Royal Danish Administration of Navigation and Hydrography, MS map
number A/18-49. [Map 15]
20 J. M. Beck, op. cit.
feet. A line running down Nanton's west boundary is shown on Beck's map to lie four thousand feet from the Company Quarter line. (Oxholm's map makes this distance 3900 feet; modern topographic maps give about four thousand feet.) The Company Quarter line itself is shown on Beck's map to lie twelve thousand feet east of the Queen's Quarter line, but the quarter lines as drafted would be a good two hundred feet wide. The easternmost plantations in Company's Quarter are shown as a couple of hundred feet wider than standard; it is difficult to determine at the scale of the map just where Beck makes allowance for this discrepancy. Oxholm gives the width of Company's Quarter as about 250 feet greater than the width of six full plantations, the easternmost plantations accounting for the extra distance. Modern maps indicate that the quarter is wider than 12,000 feet by at least three hundred feet. The question is whether Moth believed the lines he was ordering Walton and Sears to cut were an extension of the system established in Queen's Quarter, removed from the latter by exact multiples of two thousand feet, and whether he cared. Presumably he intended to reproduce that system on the East End to the degree that this was feasible, but there may have been an unsurveyed gap between Queen's Quarter and the lines being cut on the East End.

Moth also mentioned in this letter a map done by Langeland. He praised the work, which presumably showed the various lines Langeland had been ordered to open in and near the Company's plantation. No such map of this date is known to survive.

A week later, Moth announced that he had hired another surveyor's assistant, Haring Caspel, whom he was sending to St. Croix with a compass for which he would personally be responsible. He was to be employed wherever he could best advance the opening of the lines on the East End. Moth complained that he had received no acknowledgment for another compass he had sent over. He was also sending supplies, including a tent for the use of the surveyor cutting the Center Line out to the West

21 P. L. Oxholm, op. cit.
Surveyors on the East End would presumably have had less difficulty finding shelter.

On March 20, Moth remarked that progress on the survey was satisfactory but recommended that each of the four surveyors working be assisted by at least four slaves, or seven slaves for every pair if they were working together. His knowledge of the disposition of the work force seems a little less than exact, but this is perhaps only to be expected.

A month later Moth ordered Jens Langeland to prepare as best he could a map of the surveyed plantations on the East End. Moth intended to go over to St. Croix the following week to convey these properties. Thus Moth still had no map of the work on the East End. He was sending over a number of instruments, including a quadrant, an astrolabe, a protractor, and a calibrated staff. He also enclosed a set of colors for Jens Friis. Moth also mentioned a bark on its way from St. Thomas to Negro Bay on the south side of St. Croix with a load of boards on deck: if there were sawyers at work anywhere on St. Croix, they were apparently not able to compete with the imported product. (This wood probably originated somewhere on the North American eastern seaboard.) Negro Bay, depending on where Moth conceived it to be, would be convenient to King's and Prince's quarters. It lies a mile or two west of the stream that empties into what is now King's Bay, which stream's mouth is labeled on an early map of the royal plantations as "the Salt River lading place". [Map 7]

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22 Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, March 11, 1737.
23 Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, March 20, 1737.
24 Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, April 23, 1737. This exhortation to Langeland was repeated in a letter dated May 4, 1737, although it appears that Moth had already visited St. Croix in the interim (Vgk. 101, April 17, 1737). It is not possible to say how often Moth may have travelled between islands, but the trip could be very time-consuming.
25 Rtk. 2249.33 and 2249.34, "Kongens Qvarteer".
In Copenhagen, meanwhile, the management had received letters sent from the West Indies the previous August: their response was not dispatched until April 11, 1737. The Directors expressed satisfaction with the arrangements made for the division of St. Croix into quarters and the subdivision of, at any rate, King’s Quarter: “we have nothing further to remind you of concerning either the quarters or the numbering of the plantations” 26 They were apparently rather impressed with Moth’s sketch of the layout.

They were sending out Carl August Stoll, an engineer, who was to be set to work on mapping the island and its division into plantations. Specifically, he was to prepare a map of the work on the East End, “which map must be more accurate and clear than the previous ones, on which the rivers are not marked out”. Earlier maps were to be revised and new maps drawn, “until we get a proper and accurate map, which we so urgently require”. This at least is a sign that the Directors were not entirely pleased with the state of geographic communication with their colony.

The copybook of Moth’s orders to Nissen records no further entries until late in May, when he wrote to request that a land list which he had forgotten to pick up when last on St. Croix be sent to him, a fair indication of the efficiency of the operation, and the urgency attached to it. 27 A letter from the government on St. Thomas to Copenhagen indicates that Moth was on St. Croix on April 17, whence he reported that several families from elsewhere in the Antilles had arrived and had expressed the desire to settle. It also appears that Moth conveyed a few properties on this occasion. 28

An official report from St. Thomas in late May complained of the work habits of some of the surveyors:

26 Vtgk. 58, April 11, 1737.
27 Vtgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, May 22, 1737.
28 Vtgk. 862, March 4 and April 16, 1740.
On account of the inadequate service of the English surveyors (for when they do one month's work, they neglect the next month and stay home), one of the Company's soldiers, Jens Søfrensen Friis, who is by profession a mason, has been employed as a surveyor, because he was exercised somewhat therein by the deceased engineer Warnek.29

Presumably the letter referred to Edward Sears and Walton. Jens Langeland will have been Danish, while the nationality of Jan Crus and Haring Caspel is unknown. At any rate, the assignment of Friis to the job exemplifies a trend away from the use of locally hired surveyors, which may have been due to the fact that it was easier to control Company servants than independent contractors.

Enclosed with this letter of May 22 was a list of settlers.30 The letter notes, however, that more families had arrived on the island than appeared on the list. The question is: why was the list not amended? The answer may be that new arrivals did not necessarily come through the town at Bassin; nor did they necessarily feel any urgent need to announce either their presence or their intentions. It is also possible that the government was trying to convey the impression, without providing any actual names, that the settlement of St. Croix was proceeding faster than was the case.

The letter also referred to a public lottery the Company was planning to conduct, with St. Croix plantations as the prizes. The possibility of having the tickets translated into French and English was brought up. This lottery is not to be confused with the private one held earlier to allocate plantations among the cultivating participants. The planning and preparations for this new lottery consumed a lot of time, ink, and print, but subscriptions never amounted to much, and the drawing was eventually cancelled. The lottery and its failure was an interesting clue to the

29 Vgk. 101, Generalbrev, May 28, 1737.
30 Vgk. 862, made by Nissen, May 21, 1737.
Company’s thinking about the settlement of St. Croix and the realism of their ideas about the attractiveness and value of properties on the island.

A printed announcement of the proposed lottery appeared in Copenhagen sometime in 1736. The Company offered 15,000 tickets and chances to win 5000 prizes, which included, aside from a number of small cash consolation prizes, 450 plantation lots on St. Croix. The advertisement does not specify the sizes of the lots, but an English translation that apparently circulated in the West Indies lists one hundred and fifty "Great Sugar Plantations", each two by three thousand feet, "valued to 600 P* of Eight"; a hundred and fifty Great Cotton Plantations, one by three thousand feet, worth 200 pieces of eight; and another hundred and fifty cotton plantations a thousand feet on a side, valued at 100 pieces of eight each. Leaving aside the valuation of the lots (and the equivalence, as translated, of the Danish Rigsdaler and the piece of eight), the fact is that the Danish West India Company was offering, all over Europe and the West Indies, land whose actual existence was uncertain. The proportions of the lots were not incompatible with an island-wide system of lots of equal size, if allowance is made for subdivision into large, regular fractions, but neither would the quick and efficient survey of the island be promoted by such lots. In fact, the printed notice provided that plantations won would be made available wherever [the winners] wish them on the unallotted land on the said Island St. Croix, on appropriate and suitable sites, where there is land for sugar works and where there is land for cotton, and if any demand cotton plantations of greater breadth and less length, they can, depending on the lay of the ground, be accommodated.

31 Vgk. 180, a "plan" or prospectus of the lottery, printed in 1736.
32 Chr. Martfeldt's collection.
33 Vgk. 180, op. cit.
As far as rational survey was concerned, the offering was rather cavalier, if the language of the advertisement can be taken seriously.

The notice guaranteed the subscribers' investment in the event that the lottery was never held; provided that the drawing would take place in Copenhagen in August or September of 1737, the lots to be drawn by two innocent children in the presence of Company officials and all interested parties; and required that tickets purchased in the West Indies be paid for in sugar and cotton or other West Indian goods, while those bought in Europe were to be paid for in cash. Prizes were to be disbursed in cash in Europe and in the form of "negotiable European wares" (at St. Thomas prices) in the West Indies. Winners of plantations who preferred to take the cash value of the land were subject to a 25 per cent penalty; winners of land were on the other hand offered free passage to St. Croix, as well as sustenance aboard ship.

Response to the lottery, in Europe and in the West Indies, was not enthusiastic. Economic conditions in the Indies were apparently depressed, and St. Croix plantations were found by the promoters to be "not very attractive" to Europeans. It was even suggested at one point that the plantation prizes be eliminated, but this idea was rejected: one of the main purposes of the lottery was to promote settlement of the land. A number of subscription lists are preserved from a few locations in Norway and from Copenhagen. Only the Copenhagen list contains many entries, and it is the Royal family and the Directors of the Company who account for most of the tickets. A purveyor in Odense sent sixty unsold tickets back to Copenhagen in November of 1738, reporting no sales whatever, despite a vigorous advertising campaign. In an order dated April 6, 1739, Peder Mariager, the Company bookkeeper, instructed one of his agents "to publicize in suitable places the cancellation of the St. Croix lottery, so that anyone who has anything in it can get his money back". He quoted a complaint from a priest in Bergen, who had demanded the return of his twelve rigsdaler, "which one would
rather have than lose, and least of all allow to be swindled from one, for the outcome
does not appear to us to be otherwise"; Mariager remarked that he wished to be spared
further complaints of this sort.

It would be charitable to suggest that the Directors of the Company misjudged
their market. Their scheme was of a piece with the Company's general geographic
approach at this period. Given the topographic realities, it was as well that demand for
as much land as the Company was trying to raffle off did not materialize. On the ground
on St. Croix, the lottery can safely be assumed to have come to nothing at all. There is no
evidence that so much as an inch of ground was surveyed in anticipation of the
drawing.

Nevertheless, St. Croix was apparently quite attractive in some ways to certain
people. In early June of 1737, Governor Moth sent more orders to Gregers Nissen on St.
Croix attempting to control the illicit export of wood: "all the barks lying in the
Limetree and other bays" were to be visited and inspected, and the legitimacy of
cargoes of wood was to be documented. In particular, "Jemmi Frencks must show you his
contract with Maddox". If it appeared that Frencks was transgressing, "his draft
animals and carts are to be confiscated, likewise von Boom's, if they are still cutting
timber without planting cotton". The development of St. Croix into a revenue-
producing colony would require the establishment of cultivation and permanent
settlement, and the extraction of the valuable timber on the island did not much
advance this. Settlement, which required building lumber, might even be retarded by a
shortage of wood if the cutting was allowed to proceed unchecked. Furthermore, wood-
cutting on unconveyed Company land was simple theft.

34 Vgl. 528, Moth to Nissen, June 4, 1737.
The next day, Moth sent Nissen a letter concerning a large tract of land to be taken up by the man Maddox. As it stands, without verbal amplification or clarification, such as might have been conveyed by its bearer, the letter has some shortcomings as geographic communication. Moth availed himself of plantation numbers, but failed to mention a quarter name. Certain lots were described as falling "between one of the 2 lines last cut", and a stream was mentioned whose name apparently appears nowhere else in the documentary record of St. Croix: Brockgoot. Moth was especially concerned that this land, a matter of eighteen sugar plantations, should be attractive to Maddox, or his representatives, "for these are new folk, and will bring with them a large suite". The selection of this land remains mysterious: Maddox may have requested, site unseen, nothing more specific than eighteen plantations lying along this particular gut. Judging by the numbers provided by Moth, the land in question probably lay along the Queen/Company quarter line, and the stream may be that which empties into Limetree Bay.

The importance of Limetree Bay in the communications of St. Croix is clear enough: it was a natural mark for ships coming to St. Croix from further down the islands, whether carrying settlers or poachers. There was no particular reason to enter through Bassin; in fact, it may in many cases have been expedient to avoid it. Whether or not a discrete settlement or village existed on or near Limetree is hard to say. It is worth noting in this connection that the southeastern portion of Queen's Quarter, from Limetree Bay east to Vagthus Point and north along the stream was subdivided early and that the plantation numbering system in this area is confused. This may be evidence either of settlement prior to survey or of a strong demand for sites in this location. The bulk of the Quarter is very regularly laid out, in standard plantations.

35 Vgl. 528, Moth to Nissen, June 5, 1737.
36 Cronenberg's and von Jægersberg's 1750 map "Charte over Eilandet St. Croix", op. cit. [Map 15] labels an area of the bay at Bassin "Broks Bay". The connection to Brock's goot and to the land eventually taken up by Maddox is obscure.
On June 11, Moth sent instructions to Langeland to survey and mark the line, namely Center Line, cut by Jan Cruus to the West End and to send the measures to St. Thomas. Posts were to be set every five hundred feet. Whether the line had actually been cut all the way to the West End is uncertain. The governor complained about the inadequacy of the reports he had been receiving from Nissen, and once again demanded weekly reports. A week later, Moth inquired about progress with the survey of the East End, and mentioned a sawyer and brick or tile makers. A week or so later, Moth wrote that he was sending Carl August Stoll, the engineer sent out from Europe, to take over surveying operations on St. Croix: "all instruments and paints" were to be turned over to him. Langeland was referred to as undersurveyor. No further order copybooks are preserved for the rest of the year.

The second Danish cadastral list prepared for St. Croix is dated June 30, 1737. It is arranged in orderly rubrics, and although the names and tallies are priceless, very little cadastral information is conveyed. Properties were categorized as cotton or sugar plantations or as "small lots" but not numbered. No dimensions were given. Locations were mostly limited to Quarter names: aside from King's, Queen's, and Prince's, the list incorporated a West End Quarter and an Eastern Quarter. Company Quarter received no entry: it may have been included as part of East End, or it may have fallen under the list's "The town Christiansted and diverse quarters", although only eight lots were listed here. There are ninety-five names on the list, which apparently does not include members of the garrison or Company servants unless they held land. The presence of family members was variously remarked, but no count was given. Another 32 "whites besides the planters themselves" were listed (this return is far from complete), as well as "a company as yet unknown from St. Christophel" and "2 families newly arrived

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37 Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, June 11, 1737.
38 Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, June 18, 1737.
39 Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, undated, between June 22 and July 1, 1737.
40 Rentekammeret 2249.32, Forteignelse paa de Indvaaere og Slafvere, June 30, 1737.
from St. Christophel whose tally of plantations is not yet known". There were at least 415 slaves on the island, with twenty-six establishments or households not reporting. The Company’s and the Royal family’s staffs and slave-holdings were not recorded. Besides the thirty-four Royal plantations and the Company’s plantation ("the size of 4 plantations"), ninety-eight sugar plantations, forty-three cotton plantations, and twenty small lots were listed. These were distributed among the quarters as follows: in Queen’s Quarter, twenty-eight sugar plantations; in Prince’s Quarter, thirty-three sugar plantations; in West End Quarter, thirteen sugar plantations and one small lot; in the Eastern Quarter, forty cotton plantations and eighteen small lots; and in unspecified parts of the island, three cotton plantations, a small lot, and twenty-four sugar plantations (of which twenty were assigned to the unknown company from St. Christopher).

A prose abstract of the list described these properties, except the small lots, as "taken up and sold". For whatever reason, the small lots were referred to as simply "taken up". There is no indication in the list that any of the properties had been formally conveyed and deeded. There was no record of purchase price or obligation. There is no way to know which if any of the lots had been surveyed and marked. All of this information was made available to the Directors subsequently, but their frustration with this list as it stood, after whatever initial pleasure they may have felt at what seemed to be obvious and tangible progress of settlement had dissipated, may be imagined. Without maps, the cadastral information conveyed was practically useless. Finally, the real position and extent of the agricultural settlement thus enumerated is impossible to calculate. The list is certainly deceptive, possibly by design. The figure of twenty sugar plantations set aside for the unknown group from St. Christopher is particularly telling: obviously not a blade of grass had yet been trampled on these properties, which accounted for a fifth of the sugar land listed as taken up. Nevertheless, the work of clearing and planting was obviously being carried on.
especially in the cotton land in the 'Eastern' quarter, where more than half the slaves listed were employed.

In mid July, 1737, a letter to Copenhagen from the engineer Stoll confined itself to a discussion of his salary. A governmental letter from St. Thomas of July 21 was more informative:

On the East End 36 plantations have been measured off and more are being worked on, for which 36 the Governor will, after the ship's departure, go over to distribute deeds and receive obligations and make conveyance. The surveying is being continued everywhere, so that buyers will not be delayed in cultivating, especially when the lottery is complete.

It appears that the desirability of having the survey get ahead of settlement was now understood. Another passage in the letter, promising a list of deeds issued to properties west of Bassin, stated that so far only six deeds had been issued east of town, although this was the most heavily settled part of the island. The business of readying the ship for its voyage to Europe no doubt consumed all Moth's time and energies, but the plain fact, which will not have eluded the Directors in Copenhagen, is that no record of the promised conveyance and deeding on the East End reached Europe by this ship. The same applies to the properties to be taken up by Maddox in Queen's Quarter. Maddox was reported to have proceeded to St. Croix to take possession, but no conveyance had taken place; nor had a price been settled upon.

Also promised but not delivered with this ship was a map of the East End, to be made by the engineer (who had presumably just arrived in the Indies with this same

41 Vgk. 101, Stoll, St. Thomas, July 18, 1737.
42 Vgk. 101, Generalbrev, St. Thomas, July 21, 1737.
ship, it should be noted). In lieu of such a map, Moth provided a meagre bit of cadastral information:

Chalvils (?) and Kochlies (?) plantations are 2000 broad and 3000 feet long, and many of the conveyed plantations on the East End are equally large, others 1/3, 1/4, 1/2, and 3/4 and so forth, as will be shown by the map which will now be prepared by the engineer after the departure of the ship, when he has run out the measurements.

In a truly rationally conceived plan of division, that "so forth" might be cause for some concern. However, the Directors had at this point no real information on which to base their complaints, if they had any. Moth's failure to link these plantation dimensions to the names on the land list that accompanied this letter tends to arouse the suspicion that the sizes of the various holdings were still unknown and the lots undemarcated. Progress may have been being made on the survey, but the results were not being displayed: Moth's report is extremely vague.

There were a couple of other passages of interest in this letter. Moth requested permission to sell one of Councillor Jacobi's plantation lots in Prince's Quarter to Adrian van Beverhout and J. L. Carstensen of St. Thomas. Moth may have had information that Jacobi would approve such a sale, but it is hard to shake the impression that Moth found a live local buyer a much more attractive, realistic, and important proposition than a metropolitan absentee landowner. The lot would be one of nine acquired by Beverhout and Carstensen, and its inclusion in the block is justified by Moth as follows: "We had to absolutely promise to sell them this plantation, if it were possible, to make their tract quadrate". How could such a promise be made? Moth seems to have expected Jacobi to yield up his claim without much hesitation. The implication is that Jacobi's holding was no more substantial, in Moth's view, than a few lines on a sheet of paper, and that he felt it should be put to more immediate use.
Finally, the letter contained a demand from Moth, in the third person, for permission to extract a small consideration – an expedition fee – for the deeds he issued. It was pointed out that this is customary on St. Thomas and St. John; nor was the practice unheard of in Denmark. He regarded it as one of the perquisites of his position but claimed not to have accepted a shilling so far.

The response from Copenhagen, in October, authorized Moth to take five rigsdaler for his trouble for each deed issued. Aside from that, the Directors had little to contribute. They approved the transfer of some of the cultivating participants’ lots, including Jacobi’s and Feædesen’s, although this was in contravention of their orders of November 22, 1735, which banned the sale of unimproved plantation lots by cultivating participants until the debt to all the stockholders had been settled. They asked that information omitted from the 1737 land list, such as the number of slaves and whites on the Royal properties, be provided; just a trace of scepticism about the list seems to creep into their letter. There was some discussion of the lottery.

On August 14, 1737, Moth sent some rather encouraging news from St. Croix. He had held a meeting with the East End settlers “to regulate their plantations’ size, situation, etc.” The wording indicates that the meeting took place in Christiansted rather than in the field, but indication of what cadastral documents were used. He claimed to have satisfied everyone, in the presence of Nissen and the engineer, and said he could now move on to the second East End Quarter. In fact, he said, “I think the East End will comprise 3 full quarters, although it looks like a lot more. We will know more when the lines are fully cut”. What a “full” quarter may have been conceived to be was not stated. The passage is somewhat less than confidence-inspiring, especially since Moth then returned to speculation about ores. The list prepared by Moth on the

43 Vtgk. 58, Generalbrev, October 19, 1737.
44 Vtgk. 101, Moth, St. Croix, August 14, 1737.
basis of this "regulation" was of little cadastral use. Lots shown on later maps to lie perpendicular to one another are described identically, as two thousand feet wide and three thousand feet broad. The real expression of this "regulation" on the land is thus problematic.  

More concrete information was forthcoming a couple of weeks later in a general governmental letter from St. Thomas. The first East End quarter had been designated 'A',

wherein will come to lie 50 plantations large and small, and if the engineer lives to complete a map of the same, [it] will be sent home with the Unity. There are 42 families now living in this quarter; the other 8 belong to 2 residents here [on St. Thomas], 2 are points belonging to the other plantations, 4 [are] not yet taken up.  

This certainly seems to represent cadastral progress, but, as usual, the information conveyed is almost useless without a map. There is no way to know whether East End A as described coincided with the modern quarter. When Beck’s map was published in 1754, there were 38 lots in East End A, but the extra eight lots can perhaps be accounted for by subdivision in the interim. It appears that the survey, whatever it may have involved in the way of measurements and marks at this stage, was four lots ahead of settlement: a certain confidence in the survey is implied, even if the size of those four lots is unspecified. It is interesting that the points of land mentioned had been counted separately as plantations and yet considered part of the properties they adjoined. That there should be mention of only two such irregular pieces is strange. There will have been considerable difficulties in laying out full-sized rectangular lots or regular fractions thereof in East End A, with its two coasts and three lagoons. There is no

45 Vgk. 862, August 14, 1737.
46 Vgk. 101, Generalbrev, St. Thomas, August 29, 1737.
accounting - no mention - of how the sizes and shapes of the plantations, "great and small", must have been adjusted to fit, so some doubt persists that the dimensions of all the plantations were in fact known. At Company headquarters in Copenhagen, at any rate, they were definitely unknown, and this latest communication from the Indies might as well have been so much smoke. The Directors, in response to this report, expressed general satisfaction with the progress of settlement, but demanded a map of East End A. They also hoped to hear soon that another quarter, which they understood to be partly settled but unsurveyed, had been laid out. Presumably they were referring to another East End quarter.

On the subject of illicit woodcutting on St. Croix, Moth's reports to Copenhagen did not jibe completely with his orders to Nissen to crack down on this activity. In his letter to Copenhagen of September 3, 1737, Moth denied that "capital trees" were being stolen off St. Croix; or if they were, he said, it was not in much quantity, and there was little that he could do to prevent it in any case. This may merely have been recalcitrance, but it is a clue to the character of communications on and around St. Croix, to the wildness of the island, and to the effectiveness of the government's control.

A few letters late in the year provided some desultory information on the progress of the survey and settlement. Stoll, the engineer, whom Moth called the best one to date, was dead by the end of December, apparently after a long illness. It can only be conjectured what effect this had on the work: there was at any rate no mention of maps produced in this period. There was no further word on settlement on the East End. To the west,

47 Vgk. 58, April 9, 1738.
48 Vgk. 101, Moth, St. Thomas, September 3, 1737.
49 Vgk. 101, Moth, November (possibly September)25, 1735; Moth, etc., St. Thomas, December 23, 1737.
2 (?) plantations in Prince’s Quarter have been sold to Edward Baili, a Dutch resident of Eustatius, since our last, so there now only remain 14 plantations unsold in that quarter, which comprises 36 plantations. Three buyers have contacted the Governor concerning Mons. Peddersen’s plantations, one of them reported to own 100 slaves. We have not dared come to any accord, since he (that is, Fæddesen) is on the list of cultivating [participants] but makes no arrangements like the other cultivators.50

It was also reported that an overseer named Kroll (i. e., Krell?), representing a group of cultivating shareholders, had taken possession of only six of the eighteen plantations for which he was responsible.

More than four months passed before any further word on the settlement and survey of St. Croix was sent to Copenhagen. Nothing of a cadastral nature was dispatched until August of 1738, in fact. The passage of such amounts of time, which is so striking from the modern point of view, was part of the colonial routine and regime. However, it is important to remember that this intermittence of supervision was something that could be counted on by the individuals charged with executing the Company’s will. The slowness of communication between the colony and the metropolis may be thought to have contributed to a certain lack of diligence on the ground in the West Indies.

(Chapter Three is continued on the next page. The sequence of footnotes recommences with the numeral 1.)

50 Vgk. 101, Moth and Horn, St. Thomas, November 25, 1737.
CHAPTER THREE (Continued)

2. 1738

Surveyors had been active on St. Croix in the course of 1737, but the state of the records does not permit a very satisfactory reconstruction of their work. Land was taken up in various parts of the island, especially on the East End. It was reported that the survey of East End A was complete, but no map of the quarter had been made, in part because of the illness and death of the head surveyor; and only a few East End lots had actually been deeded and conveyed. An official census or land list of St. Croix was sent to Copenhagen: as a cadastral record, this was most inadequate. The Center Line was extended westward, perhaps all the way to the West End. Various boundary lines and a new road were cut in and around the Company's plantation Princess, and this work was apparently mapped by Jens Langeland. Communication regarding the cadastre, between islands and between the colony and Copenhagen, was extremely unsystematic. At least one map, possibly that showing the division of Queen's, King's, and Prince's quarters, copies of which would have been simple to make, was sent back and forth between St. Thomas and St. Croix. The market for St. Croix sugar plantations developed in a modest way, but a great deal of sugar land that Moth was pleased to regard as "taken up or sold" was a long way from being worked. Authorization had in fact been sent from Copenhagen to dispose of some unworked lots held by cultivating participants, although this apparently was in contravention of the rules governing the alienation of land on St. Croix and the settlement of the Company's debt to its stockholders.

An undated map of the King's plantations made by Friis and Langeland, which probably dates to 1737 or 1738, indicates that at least some elements of the survey grid
encompassed the whole island.1 [Map 10] The map shows the subdivision of the royal estate into thirty-four lots, with lines running north-south every two thousand feet. Every other one of these lines, beginning with the east boundary of the estate (or quarter) is marked with a letter: from east to west, these are 'Q', 'R', and 'S'. The letters were applied with the map oriented with north closest to the draftsman. No other map is so marked, but the letters correspond to the numbers '4', '5', and '6' used on other—almost certainly earlier—maps.2 The lettered map obviously refers to a much larger cadastral context than do the numbered maps, on which the number '1' marked the line between Queen's and Company's quarters. Using the Beck map of 1754 as a reference map, if the letters on Friis's and Langeland's map are followed back down through the alphabet (using both 'J' and 'T'), each letter representing another four thousand feet eastward, the easternmost line on the island, which crossed the island a little less than two thousand feet west of East Point, would in this scheme be labeled 'A'. Unless the letters were added to the map much later, it has to be assumed that the distance from East Point at least as far west as King's Quarter, and probably farther, was known by the late 1730s.

In 1738, nothing concerning the survey was sent to Copenhagen until May, but some inter-island correspondence is available from as early as March, when Moth wrote to Jens Langeland as follows:

I received the map sent over last, which is satisfactory, but wish to know how far that line has been cut which the undersurveyors were working on when I was there, and approximately where it comes out, as well as whether the line by which is written 8140 (possibly 8240) between Chalwil and Mitsell ENE

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1 Rtk. 2249.33, Friis and Langeland, MS map, untitled and undated, of King's Quarter. Preserved among papers dated 1738 and 1739.
2 Rtk. 2249.33, "Kongens Qvarteer" (copy in Rtk. 2249.34) [Map 7]; map of Queen's, King's, and Prince's quarters [Map 8].
and WSW has been cut and measured, or how long (?) the line between A. Howi and Tham Howi I will have cut all the way to the sea NNW - this the soonest possible, from A. to B. Likewise the line from C. to D. south and north no farther than from the King's road by Nissen's barricade to C. which is in circa 2000 feet. I also wish to know if the line E. F. is cut and how far; if it has not been cut, then I would be pleased to see it cut to G.3

No surviving map fits the description, unfortunately. It is tempting to assume that the first line mentioned must be Center Line, but if it were, Moth would almost certainly have referred to it by name: it may have been a line running down the island, perhaps to some point on the East End. Also problematic is a line running east northeast and west southwest "between" Chalwil and Mitsell. Captain Willum Schallevill is listed on the first land list, of June 1736, and his and his widow's plantation can be traced through the annual lists until 1740, when it becomes possible to identify the lot, which had by then passed to Adrian Beverhout, as East End A number 2.4 In 1740, Hugh Mitchel is listed as the owner of lot number 14 in Company Quarter (although there is some question about the accuracy of this record).5 The line mentioned could conceivably have run along the north side of this lot (if indeed Mitchell owned it at this time) and the south side of Chalwil's, but four plantations and some rugged terrain intervene. The measurement given, 140 (or 240) feet over an even eight thousand feet, if it is taken to represent the distance from the northeast corner of Mitchel's lot to the southwest corner of Chalwil's, may provide the explanation for the extra width of the easternmost plantations in Company Quarter shown on Beck's map of 1754. Such a line would be very useful, linking as it would two major areas of survey. However, this is perhaps altogether too speculative, because the only property actually listed as owned by

3 Vgk. 528, Moth to Langeland, March 18, 1738.
4 Vgk. 862, March 28, 1736; June 30, 1737; May 12, 1738; [November, 1739]; and March 4, 1740.
5 Vgk. 862, March 4, 1740.
Mitchell in 1738 lay in Prince's Quarter, removed perhaps forty thousand feet from Chalwil's property. This may account for Moth's uncertainty about the measurement given. On the other hand, the map may simply have been unclear, or he may have been expressing skepticism that the measurements had in fact been taken. The other lines mentioned - that between A. Howi's and Tham Howi's properties, and those identified by means of letters on the lost map - defy identification.

The attempt to reconstruct the situation is very risky without contemporary maps. The land lists are impressive but treacherous, as the Company itself was slowly and painfully to learn: people moved, and land was transferred, without the lists' necessarily reflecting it. The main point here is that Moth, having himself committed many lines to paper that had no reality in the landscape, now found it necessary to inquire whether the lines shown on this new map represented cleared and surveyed lines on the ground or merely the intent of the surveyors.

The letter continued:

The point where the battery lies (____) H. is also not right, for according to Warneck's map which is enclosed the Center Line runs ENE straight (?) to the battery and in yours it misses by 2000 feet. One of the two maps must be incorrect, and you will examine same on the mountain up which the Center Line runs and from there take bearings to 1 the battery, 2 the cay, 3 the new fort's hill, 4 the church, 5 Kell's house, 6 the mountain F. (?), 7 my plantation houses. You will send me these bearings and measure the distance between the spot you take the bearings to B, K., or L (?).

A major error had thus cropped up. No map bearing Warnech's name is known to survive, and there is no way to be sure of the scope of his map. This may have been the

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6 Vgk. 862, May 12, 1738.
map of "the already surveyed quarters" on which he was working when he died in the summer of 1736. But that map seems more likely to have been the original of the early cadastral map of Queen's, King's, and Prince's quarters [Map 8], which shows nothing east of the Company Quarter line, and on which Center Line is not named. Presumably Moth was referring to a companion piece showing areas east of Queen's Quarter: all of the points to which Moth ordered bearings taken, as far as they can be identified, lie east of the Queen's Quarter line. An extension of Center Line eastward does indeed pass very close to the battery - Fort Louise Augusta - on the point northeast of Christiansted. Friis's map of the Company's plantation Princess dated August 8, 1738, [Map 9] a draft of which may have been circulating earlier, indicates that Center Line formed Princess's southern boundary; in fact, that boundary lay three thousand feet north of Center Line. The relationship between the two lines may actually have been unclear, or it may simply be that Langeland confused them on his map. Allowing for drafting errors and the limitations of small-scale maps, this three-thousand-foot error may correspond to the two-thousand-foot mistake spotted by Moth on Langeland's map. Whatever the case, the source of the error was not so obvious that Moth was immediately able to account for it on the maps available to him on St. Thomas.

Two days later, Moth demanded information on the "still unfinished divisions, to be sent home, as well as the cause of delays with same and how old they are". The wording was a little odd, but it may be that Moth was trying to determine whether the delays were attributable to the discrepancy between Warnech's and Langeland's map or were of longer and more general standing. On May 1, Moth sent word to St. Croix:

The map I sent over to Jens Langeland for revision is expected [back] with the bark and him with it if possible, so I can instruct him on everything

7 Vgk. 100, Generalbrev, St. Thomas, August 17, 1736.
8 Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, March 20, 1738.
that must be corrected, for my infirmity and the preparations for the departure of the ship prevent my coming over this month. I will also complete none of the requested deeds before I get the map. 

Moth appears to have been quite perturbed. The bearings he had ordered, if they had been taken, had apparently not immediately cleared up the discrepancies between maps. It is possible that all the lines running east and west on Langeland's map had had to be redrawn and relabeled; this in turn will have affected any conveyances that may have been recorded, or contemplated, in the area covered by Langeland's map (in fact, a substantial number of the deeds to land in East End A had been recorded in August and October of 1737 and may thus have been in some doubt). A clear grasp of the problem and of the necessary remedial steps was required, and Moth was obviously unsure that Langeland or anyone else on St. Croix had such command of the situation.

The letter also reported that the Directors had demanded a detailed census, to wit: a census list of the inhabitants of St. Crydts now living, including the slaves. To the census is to be added what nation they are from, as well as what trade, and how many of them keep overseers, and their names.

Moth also requested a list of deceased residents: it may be that the Directors had examined the earlier lists with some care and detected a certain lack of continuity. Such a list, of deaths in 1738 and 1739, was sent to Copenhagen in May, 1738, but it is doubtful that a list showing the nativity and profession of St. Croix settlers was ever prepared.

It appears that Nissen may have balked at these instructions or at any rate dragged his feet: a week later, Moth sent Nissen a very angry letter. He again ordered

9 Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, May 1 (or 4), 1738.
10 Vgk. 862, April 16, 1740.
11 Vgk. 862, list signed Nissen, May 12, 1738.
the census taken, "and it is to be well observed that the tally of both the King's and the
other cultivating gentlemen's whites and negroes is to be properly entered therein".12
A land list of sorts - a "relation", dated at St. Croix May 12, 1738 (two days later) - was in
fact sent to Copenhagen.13 Nissen's resistance may merely reflect the serious
expenditure of time and trouble that would be required to gather and accurately record
this information, but there is just a suggestion that the King's and the cultivating
participants' agents may have been somewhat less than cooperative, feeling perhaps
that it was their prerogative to report directly to Copenhagen. It may be that the agents
hoped, by refusing to provide slave tallies, to avoid levees of labor for the clearing of
survey lines, but this is perhaps to read too much into the passage.

In the spring of 1738, a young man named Søren Sommer, who had come to the
Danish West Indies from Denmark in 1737, sent a long letter to his parents describing
conditions in the colony.14 The letter was impressionistic, romantic, and perhaps even
a little mendacious, and provides an interesting contrast to the more prosaic official
reports. At one point in his letter, he described large parts of St. Croix as quite flat,
suitable for riding and driving, even at noon, when one was not disturbed by the sun's
heat,

because the land consists of pure woods, through which the road passes and is,
like a cleared allée and King's road, surrounded on both sides with tall, thick-
branched trees, which creates a cool and shady way.

12 Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, May 10, 1738.
13 Vgk. 862, signed Nissen, May 12, 1738.
14 Søren Sommer, "En kort Beskrivelse om St. Thomas og St. Croix udi Vestindien", St.
Thomas, April 29, 1738, MS in the Kongelige Bibliotek, Ny Kgl. Samling No. 764. See Erik
Gabel's edition of this letter in Dansk Vestindisk Selskab, Vol. 21, No. 1, January, 1986,
This has been interpreted to refer to Center Line Road, but the association is probably anachronistic.15

Some of the trees were cinnamon trees, Sommer said, which gave off a strong but pleasant smell. He also mentioned orange, "Citron", and lemon trees, which he described as very pleasant when in bloom. "The rivers one passes, which run through the land at a soft murmuring pace (he used the word "suurrende", or surrende, which is more appropriately applied to the noises of winged insects), are no less attractive to hear and see". He reported that there were pelicans and flamingoes on these streams and wild swine in the woods.

In the general missive of May 17, 1738 from St. Thomas, the first official letter in four or five months, the governor expressed his thanks for permission to charge a small fee for each conveyance over which he officiated. A new census of St. Croix was promised soon, even though the "relation" of May 12 apparently accompanied this letter. The letter also stated that "of the 12 plantations, 4 have been taken possession of": no names, no locations were given.16 Probably these twelve were the plantations that had been set aside for Maddox. (Maddox had originally asked for eighteen. The early cadastral map of Queen's, King's and Prince's quarters shows Maddox in possession of only four lots; in Queen's Quarter.) The passage is quoted to illustrate how very haphazard the cadastral communication with Copenhagen was. Moth was certainly referring to an entry in Nissen's laconic list of May 12, which itself failed to locate or identify Maddox's lots. It should be pointed out that there is no evidence that more rationally organized, specifically cadastral reports that may subsequently have been lost or refiled at some point accompanied these general governmental missives from the West Indies. Such reports, had they existed, should have appeared on the lists of

15 H. B. Christensen, op. cit., p. 37. The term "King's road"-Kongevey- is used generically by Sommer, not as a specific proper name.
16 Vgk. 101, Generalbrev, May 17, 1738.
documents, which are for the most part preserved, that accompanied each packet of mail.

On July 27, Moth again found it necessary to berate Nissen for his willfulness. Another letter stated that Moth was sending over barley and oats to be sown at Princess—an interesting experiment, probably instigated from Copenhagen, but which apparently came to nothing. On July 27, Moth wrote as follows to Jens Friis:

I ordered you some time ago to send me the survey of the cleared terrain at Princess. You are to measure same immediately and send [the measurements] to me with the Flying Post (?), which on Friday or Saturday will be at the West End by Krell’s plantation.

This time the order was promptly carried out, and the result was Friis’s map of Princess dated August 8, 1738. [Map 9] It is unclear whether the passage refers to an inter-island packet boat, or to some other vessel named the Flying Post, but it is a clue to the state of communications on St. Croix as well as between the islands that a vessel calling at the West End would not necessarily proceed to Christiansted, and that while it was reasonable to suggest that Friis’s map should be carried down the island or along the coast to the West End to meet the ship, it made no sense for whatever Krell was receiving or dispatching to be sent via Christiansted. The main obstacle to travel or transport may have been the state of the roads or, in the case of movement by sea from the West End to town, the long beat to windward.

Krell’s plantation must have been a going concern rather than merely a claim, although he may at this time have done little more than take out some timber. Krell’s plantation was actually not officially conveyed until June of 1739, when it was recorded

17 Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, July 15, 1738.
18 Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, July 27, 1738.
19 Vgk. 528, Moth to Friis, July 27, 1738.
as a cotton plantation two thousand by three thousand feet somewhere in West End Quarter. This raises some questions: when precisely did Krøll's plantation come to be the size it was? How was his planning and his work affected by the knowledge that his property would eventually have to be incorporated into an inflexible rectangular division of land, which might cut his holding - conceivably even his home - in two? Probably his establishment was very small, and such problems had apparently been overcome without much difficulty in East End A. (A case will be discussed later, however, in which a man's cleared and planted land was taken from him "by the line".) Finally, it is noteworthy that the land was classed as cotton rather than sugar land. Depending on where on the relatively well-watered West End the plantation lay, it can be thought that the classification referred to the assessed value of the land rather than literally to the suitable crop.

Moth's letter to Friis also referred to needles - apparently replacement parts - for the "astrolabes". He reiterated a request for the measurements of these needles. The bearing of this technical matter on the course of the survey can only be guessed at.

In August, a letter to the Directors from J. Horn, second in command on St. Thomas, addressed the issue, which was to become rather controversial, but which need not be of concern here except in passing, of the effect on the settlement of St. Croix of the Governor's continued residence on St. Thomas. Horn believed that Moth should be on St. Croix at all times. Nissen, he pointed out, lacked authority to convey or even to promise land, and potential settlers were discouraged by the delays entailed in obtaining Moth's approval of transactions. The argument seems a little tenuous. "Nor do I believe", Horn continued, "that [Nissen] feels especially or acts much as though there is any urgency in the survey". This corroborates the impression left by the angry tone of some of Moth's letters to Nissen. Horn argued for Moth's personal and immediate

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20 Vgk. 101, Horn, St. Thomas, August 15, 1738.
supervision, and further for the employment of two trained surveyors to deal with the cadastral survey and the construction of the fort at Christiansted. If things were left as they were, Horn wrote, many years would pass before all the land on St. Croix was divided into plantations. He was right, although his arguments may have served more purposes than appeared in his letter. Horn's critical and negative assessment is significant for the contrast it provides to Moth's optimistic promises, evasions, and general willingness to tolerate the slow progress of the survey.

Two maps were sent to Copenhagen with the general missive from St. Thomas dated August 18, 1738: these will have been Friis's map of Princess and a plan of East End A. The latter would be the same map that had first been promised thirteen months before. It was still unfinished:

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the map according to which the first East End quarter was divided. It was given by the governor to the engineer to lay off the coasts, but he died shortly thereafter, so on same the land's extent cannot be seen, but certainly the plantations' number, owners, and size, except those few which lie on points. 21

It is a pity that this map is not known to have survived: it would answer a number of questions about the progress and quality of the work. Lacking coastlines - lacking any connection to topography - the map will apparently have been nothing more than an arrangement of rectangles. Even these need not have been drawn to scale: the sizes of the plantations, like the names of their owners, may have been pencilled in. Twenty-two of the fifty-eight lots shown in East End A on Beck's map have at least some frontage on one of the coasts or on the Lagoon: if these were drawn as rectangles, then

21 Vgk. 101, Generalbrev, St. Thomas, August 18, 1738.
this map would have amounted only to a scheme - it could have been drawn on a napkin in a saloon.

There is no way to determine the degree to which this sketch represented real survey work. The surveyors must have kept a record of lines measured (conceivably these were recorded directly on this map), but this record has not survived. In Moth's 1737 list of East End properties, the description of the lots consisted of very regular lengths and breadths: the exceptions were the eight lots numbered in the list as 43 through 50, which were described as "excess" sea side lots, "not yet fully regulated". However, these were not the only coastal plantations in the quarter, so some of the dimensions given in the list must have been approximations. Neither the list nor the map can have been nearly accurate. Both were abstractions, not to say fabrications. That such a map - or the decision to expose it to the scrutiny of the Directors in Copenhagen - should have taken so long to make is indicative of the vigor and energy with which the cadastral survey and mapping of St. Croix was being pursued.

Moth's copybook of orders to St. Croix contains the following entry for September 15, 1738:

Since I am informed that it is as much trouble to clear the old road as to make a new road, you will talk with Jens Langeland about whether the center line is just as level and serviceable as the old road, and have it cleared for a road, for which the King, Von Plessen, I, Holmsted, and Maddox, as well as the Company, Robbeson, and Mistel, in proportion to the numbers of [their] negroes, [will contribute labor]. (Moth or his copyist may have dropped a line here: it is not actually stated what the King and the others would do.)

22 Vgk. 862, August 14, 1737.
23 Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, September 15, 1738.
Here is a firm clue to why Moth had complained about Nissen's failure to record slave counts for the King and other prominent participating cultivators. Such a levee will not have been entirely welcome. The names were those of landholders in Queen's, King's, and Prince's quarters, but not all such were listed; nor were all these holdings located along Center Line: perhaps Moth simply put down as many names as he could think of at the moment. The letter continued:

The road should begin in Lindesay's plantation and follow the Southside Road until this meets the Center line, as near as is possible, and Langeland is to see that it is made as straight and level as is possible 20 feet wide or somewhat narrower at first. . . . The road to Princess should also be finished immediately.

The location of Center Line presents no problem, but these instructions were otherwise by no means clear. The old road was most likely that which ran up through Princess, into Queen's Quarter in Queen's number 12, more or less west to Salt River, and thence southwest through Queen's and King's quarters to meet or cross Center Line about halfway west through Prince's quarter. This is the only road shown on the early cadastral map of these three quarters [Map 8] and one of two roads west of town on Beck's and Cronenberg's maps. [Maps 17 and 15] The southernmost of these roads is shown on these maps to have run from an intersection with the other, northernmost road in Company number 3 south across the ridge behind Christiansted, thence generally southwest to Limetree Bay, around Krause Lagoon, west along the coast, and then northwest until it rejoined the northern road in Prince's 38 or 39. On Oxholm's map, made at the end of the century, long stretches of this road are labelled South Side Road. The problem is that this road did not run through either of John and Joseph Lindesay's plantations in Queen's 23 and 24. The modern Center Line Road follows this

24 P. L. Oxholm, op. cit.
25 Vgk. 862, February 18, 1741. [See Map 8]
southern road from town to a point about a mile south southeast of the Center Line itself on the line between Queen's 36 and 33, at Peter's Rest, and then jogs back more or less northwest to meet the Center Line at Strawberry Hill. This road is labelled the King's Road on Oxholm's map. Furthermore, it passes through Company Quarter 8, which was owned, according to the land list of February 18, 1741, by Joseph Robbinsoon, who may have been the Robbesen mentioned by Moth as liable to provide slave labor for the clearing of the new road, and this may be the course the road ordered by Moth took. However, Robinson also had two plantations in the northern part of Prince's Quarter.

Another possibility, which may fit the description best, runs from Princess - either along its south boundary or, possibly, directly southwest from the Great Princess estate buildings - across the ridge at an altitude of about 350 feet and down the valley west of Sion Hill through the northwest corner of Queen's 23 - John Lindesay's plantation - and so on southwest until it meets the Center Line. This may have been what Moth meant by South Side Road. Such a road is shown on Oxholm's map and on the modern United States Geological Survey's topographical sheet of Christiansted Quadrangle. It was not the quickest way to the south side from Christiansted, the geographic center of St. Croix in Beck's time, but in the days of the French (assuming this to have been an old road), it will have been the shortest way from Princess and the governor's mansion shown on the La Pointe map of 1671 to Limetree Bay. One further bit of corroboration for this suggestion is the short stretch of road - Kongevey - shown on the early cadastral map of Queen's, King's, and Prince's quarters running from a junction with the main road from Princess in Queen's 11 down through Queen's 14 and 13 and off the map. (Map 8) Such a road would meet the road that runs along Princess's south boundary and ascends the ridge. The United States Coast and Geodetic

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26 United States Geological Survey, 7.5 minute topographical sheet, Christiansted quadrangle, op. cit.
Survey topographic field sheet for the area\textsuperscript{27} shows a trail following the northernmost section of the route suggested here for a thousand feet or so, but the trail ends at the base of one of the steepest parts of the ridge, instead of crossing it, as the old road is here suggested to have done, through a pass a little way to the east. [Figure 3]

Another letter of September 15 indicated that Moth was sending over the "copper quadrant" requested by Jens Friis\textsuperscript{28} There are no further entries concerning the survey in these copybooks until the following February.

A letter to the home office from Moth in late November contains little pertinent to the cadastre. (A violent tropical storm struck St. Croix sometime in late 1738, and news of this event seems to have crowded the survey out of letters to Copenhagen.) Moth wrote, without providing specifics, of land sales and of settlers arriving or expected from St. Eustatius and St. Christopher. He said that if the weather improved, he would go over to St. Croix in two weeks to convey some plantations, but

the compass lines which were cleared between the quarters and the plantations were quite blocked by fallen trees in the hurricane, so they must be cleared once again, which cannot happen in this rainy weather.\textsuperscript{29}

It may be unfair to Moth to suggest that he welcomed this opportunity to be able to attribute to a natural catastrophe the state of the survey for which he was responsible. Nevertheless, his very vague report of the damage done to what were after all merely cleared strips, and of the labor required to repair same, does not ring true, rainy weather or no. The only fact that emerges is that the job was not being done.

\textsuperscript{27} United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, topographic field sheet, Register No. 3799, St. Croix, Middle Eastern Part, 1919. National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration, National Ocean Service, Hydrographic Surveys Branch, Data Control Section.

\textsuperscript{28} Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, second letter, September 15, 1738.

\textsuperscript{29} Vgk. 101, Moth, St. Thomas, November 19, 1738.
Sketch showing

Roads west out of Christiansted

Based on J. M. Beck.

Tilnejedelig kort over Evlandet St. Croix.
Copenhagen, 1754.

FIGURE 3
Moth also provided an interesting projection of the number of "sugar works, besides the Company's, that will next year be ready and will deliver sugar": he listed Von Plessen, Lovenorn and company, Holmsted, and himself. The King's works might also be producing, he said, as might the Company's. It is thus unclear whether he expected Princess to be producing in 1739. What were the Directors to think? Moth further indicated that Beverhout, Carstensen, and Company; Heiliger; Joseph Lindesay; Joseph Robbinsen; Little; and Maddox could be expected to produce sugar in 1740. To date, however, no sugar had been processed on St. Croix since the French had abandoned it four decades before.

In Copenhagen, meanwhile, the Directors had been examining the land lists and reports sent from St. Thomas and were not pleased with what they saw. They were particularly unhappy with the "relation dated St. Croix, May 12, 1738", as they made forcefully known in their general missive of December 22: "We must point out that it does not agree with the accounts [of settlement] and of the division of the quarters that were reported to us". They prepared and sent back to the West Indies an annotated census based on information they had received, to which they attached a list of twenty-one names that had appeared on the land list of June 30, 1737, but which were absent from the new relation. If the twenty plantations reserved for the otherwise unnamed company from St. Christopher are included, a total of thirty-nine sugar plantations were missing from the 1738 list, besides three cotton plantations and six small lots. In angry tones, the Directors demanded an accounting. The fact is that Moth had neglected his duties, or allowed Nissen to neglect his, and had in May found himself forced to send a hastily prepared and obviously inadequate list to Copenhagen.

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30 Vgk. 862, May 12, 1738.
31 Vgk. 58, general missive, December 22, 1738.
In addition to the revised list for 1738, the Directors forwarded a model—formular—to be followed in the preparation of future lists. The model required that plantations be categorized as “surveyed” or “unsurveyed” and that the amount and date of the debt assumed for each be recorded. It is difficult to understand how they could have thought an unsurveyed plantation could be recorded in a cadastral list. A great deal of faith in the rectangular scheme and in the accuracy of survey will have been required before such a categorization could have been conceived of. Such confidence was not entirely warranted.

The Directors’ revised land list may have been based in part on maps they had recently received, of which there were apparently two: one of East End Quarter and one of the Company’s plantation. However, their remark that they could see from maps that “Jan Heiliger from St. Eustatius has bought 4 plantations” for 2000 rigsdaler is inexplicable. Their own list does not reflect this information, and as late as 1740, Johannes and Pieter Heiliger’s tract of four sugar plantations valued at 2000 rigsdaler is no more precisely located than as in West End Quarter. Any map made as early as 1738 on which this information might have appeared will somehow have had to escape all mention in the surviving papers (which is not impossible, to be sure). The map with which Langeland had been having difficulty, and part of which must have shown Company Quarter, but whose scope is otherwise unknown, had apparently not yet been completed; and it is most unlikely that this map depicted the West End proper, although it may have included Queen’s, King’s, and Prince’s quarters. It is probably safe to regard the Directors’ statement as a lapse on the part of Peder Mariager, the head bookkeeper in Copenhagen. The Directors obviously did not invent the Heiligers’ plantations, but it seems unlikely that they learned of them from a map.

32 Vgk. 862, April 16, 1740
A peculiar cadastral usage appeared in the Directors' revised list of St. Croix inhabitants: Jan Cruus was listed as owning one slave and living "on his plantation north of Mr. Holmsted". It came more naturally to the Directors to place Cruus's lot, whose precise location was unrecorded, in this personal, toponymic way than to trouble themselves with the appropriate quarter name and lot numbers.

Aside from all this, the Directors' letter acknowledged the death of Stoll, the engineer, but no mention was made of the possibility of replacing him. Finally, it was announced that the lottery of plantations on St. Croix had been abandoned.

(Chapter Three is continued on the next page. The sequence of footnotes recommences with the numeral 1.)
CHAPTER THREE (Continued)

3. 1739

News of the survey of St. Croix seemed to receive less attention in the correspondence as time wore on: at different times, there may have been little progress to report, or the work may have settled into a routine that required little comment, or the correspondents may have found more interesting matters to discuss, especially agricultural production and the supply of slaves to St. Croix. According to a map by Helle B. Christensen based on deed protocol-books for the years 1734-1750 and using Beck’s map as a base map, the conveyance of a total of fourteen plantations was recorded for 1738 - four in Queen’s Quarter, six in Company’s, and four along the south coast of East End A west of the Great Pond. Maddox had restrained his enthusiasm and settled for four rather than twelve lots, and the sale of twenty plantations to the “company” from St. Christopher had never materialized. On January 20, 1739, Moth reported the sale of two sugar plantations and two cotton plantations. Business was slow.

Nothing pertinent to the survey shows up in the copybooks of Moth’s letters to St. Croix between September 15, 1738, and February 17, 1739, when “Peder Davidson is ordered with 4 negroes to open the Center Line, the sooner the better”. This may have referred either to the extension of the line west or to its widening for a road.

In May, it was reported from St. Thomas that Valentin French, from St. Christopher, had bought three plantations for five hundred rigsdaler each, “close to”

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1 Helle B. Christensen, op. cit., no page number. Copies of the deed protocol-books are preserved as Vgk. 529.
2 Vgk. 102, Moth, January 20, 1739.
3 Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, February 17, 1739.
Princess. The lots were not more precisely located. It might be thought that a bit of official cadastral language, well supplied with numerals, would have flowed easily from the pens of the colonial administrators, but they did not even name the quarter in which French's land fell. The earliest cadastral record of French's property indicates that he had taken possession of two "surveyed" sugar plantations in Queen's Quarter, valued at one thousand rigsdaler, upon which he had settled sixty slaves - in all, a substantial investment. Furthermore, he had "probably" - nokc- taken up two other unsurveyed sugar plantations, whose value was not recorded. In the 1740 land list, this description was revised and refined as follows: French owned a block consisting of two standard sugar plantations, numbers 11 and 12 in Queen's Quarter; and two cotton plantations, numbers 2 and 13, each four thousand by one thousand feet, in the same quarter; altogether worth 1400 rigsdaler. The early cadastral map of Queen's, King's, and Prince's quarters [Map 8] shows French in possession of Queen's numbers 11 and 12, the northern portions of numbers 13 and 14, and the southern portions of numbers 1 and 2. This discrepancy in the numbers was never fully resolved. Obviously, the cadastral record was not being kept in what could be called an orderly manner, and such news of settlement and land sales as appeared in governmental letters to Copenhagen was correspondingly vague.

In one of Moth's letters to Nissen, in June, there was a puzzling reference to "the Center Lines"; these were to be cleared as soon as possible. The use of the plural may merely be a copyist's error, but possibly Moth was broadening the term to include the line running east-northeast and west-southwest on the East End discussed earlier. This usage appears nowhere else.

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4 Vgk. 102, St. Thomas, May 7, 1739.
5 Vgk. 862, land list for 1739.
6 Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, June 9, 1739.
Later in June, Moth sent word that various settlers could expect to receive their deeds as soon as he went over to St. Croix: among the names were Madox, Page (?), Kroll, Baudevin, and Beverhoud. At least a portion of Fæddesen's land was being disposed of. Smallpox was abroad on St. Croix at this time and many were dying: Moth warned that vessels coming to St. Thomas from St. Croix would be inspected. Nothing further can be gleaned from Moth's copybooks for 1739.

Nissen wrote two letters directly to the home office in June. He thanked the Directors for a raise in his salary and reported laconically that "settlement of the plantations is advancing quite well"; more families were expected at any time from Tortola, "Spanstown", Anguilla, and St. Martins. In his second letter he pointed out that the settlers were for the most part very poor and suggested that the Company sweeten its plantation prices a bit so as to attract planters with capital.

At the end of July, Moth reported his intention to restore the old French battery on the West End, saying that people were reluctant to settle in that area without some defense against descents from the sea. The remark brings home an idea of the operative scale on St. Croix: the distance from Bassin to the coast at the West End is a matter of a dozen miles, but this was enough to place settlers on the West End beyond the protection of the garrison at Christiansted.

Moth expressed the belief that "6 quarters could be laid out and surveyed", and probably a seventh, East End B. This was merely a gloss of the information in the land list that accompanied this letter. Moth then made rather a strange request: he asked

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7 Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, June 26 and June 29, 1739.
8 Vgk. 102, Nissen, St. Croix, June 16, 1739.
9 Vgk. 102, Nissen, St. Croix, June 27, 1739.
10 Vgk. 102, Moth, St. Thomas, folded into a letter from Moth of July 27, 1739.

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most humbly that there might be sent out (a?) map of St. Croix in blanco except the bays, and I will try, as well as I can, to mark off these quarters for [your] information. We certainly have here the map sent out in 1733, but there was no mile scale on it and [it is] torn and worn out from daily use.

The quarters and their subdivision could not possibly be drawn to scale on a tracing of the La Pointe map of 1671, which is almost certainly what Moth was referring to: the French map showed the island as half again as long as it really was. What use could such a base map have been to Moth? He seems to have disregarded the fact that survey for division of the land both allowed and required cartographic expression of the dimensions and shape of at least parts of the island - that it was he who was mapping St. Croix. We can be fairly certain that the length of the island at least as far west as Prince's Quarter was known by this time. Moth must also have had a good idea of the width of West End Quarter. He will have had no precise knowledge of the shape and extent of what came to be known as the North Side, the mountainous area north of the line bounding Queen's, King's, Prince's, and West End quarters, but he would not have had to look long at the copy of the La Pointe map to see that the island was drawn far too long relative to its breadth. The map sent out in 1733 may have lacked a miile scale, but it is very unlikely that it lacked a league scale: Moth's complaint is not entirely convincing. Probably the map was not only worn out but lost (as is hinted at by Moth's wording); it would have to have been in very bad condition if not even a tracing could be made from it.

It has been seen that Moth and his surveyors had professed themselves baffled by the problem of drawing in the coasts of East End A on a cadastral sketch of that quarter. This - that it had an outline at all - was perhaps the attraction of even a patently inaccurate map of the island such as La Pointe's. The problems entailed in superimposing reasonably accurate spatial information on an inaccurate base map.
which will have been considerable, evidently struck Moth as less formidable than those of actually mapping the outline of the island.

He may have reasoned that such a map as he was suggesting—essentially an illustration—would convey a broad idea of the progress of settlement to the Directors and stockholders, remote, as they were, from the land in question. Certainly his depreciation of his ability to render such a sketch is sharply contrasted to his instructions to Langeland for the taking of bearings and measurements which might allow Moth to analyse the accuracy of conflicting maps. If indeed he knew that the map he was proposing could never be drawn to scale, his intent may have been to offer the Directors something to do, to promise them something to look at, and perhaps even to spare them the immediate expense and trouble of engaging and dispatching to the West Indies yet another engineer. On his end, if this reading of Moth’s letter can be accepted, he was buying time, and at a very reasonable rate, without conveying too strongly the impression that he himself was technically competent to perform the job for which he was ultimately responsible. Leaving all other developments aside, Moth could reckon that by the time his suggestion reached Copenhagen, a map was ordered and made and sent to St. Thomas, and he had drawn a necessarily distorted and inaccurate grid of the St. Croix plantations upon same and returned it to Denmark, and the Directors’ response reached him, at least a year, and probably a year and a half, would have passed. Then he would be in a position to prepare his next move.

A new land list for St. Croix was enclosed with the general governmental letter from St. Thomas of July 29, 1739. Governor Moth stated (in the third person) that he is aware of errors in same, for many plantations are entered as surveyed, but are actually not. This is to be seen where no price is given, for since they are
not surveyed, neither has any obligation been assumed, but the surveyors are at work cutting the lines.\textsuperscript{11}

In this list, the entries for three surveyed cotton plantations (for only one of which a price was given) were actually marked "not complete"; aside from these, nineteen and a half "surveyed" cotton plantations lacked prices, as did thirty small lots. All but three sugar plantations were listed as surveyed, and prices were shown.\textsuperscript{12} It should be remembered, however, that standard-sized plantations went for a standard price or, in many cases, for shares of stock, so the stated price was not calculated on the basis of actual measurement. Thus it is likely that a great number of plantations listed as surveyed had not in fact been measured; and it is not inconceivable that Moth, by uprightly drawing attention to certain inaccuracies in the list, was boldly attempting to conceal much broader shortcomings in the survey.

The July 29 letter stated that more people had arrived or expressed the intention of settling on St. Croix, but that no conveyances were likely to be made until after the hurricane season. Both the information and the schedule were extremely vague, but they were offered with such nonchalance as perhaps to have dispelled any suspicions the Directors may have had about the diligence of their officers on St. Croix.

According to the list of documents accompanying this post, a map of cleared areas at Princess was enclosed with this letter. The map has not survived. How it may have differed from Friis's map of the Company's plantation is unknown.

Only one other communication pertinent to the settlement of St. Croix was sent from the Danish West Indies in 1739, and it was distressingly imprecise:

\textsuperscript{11} Vgk. 102, Generalbrev, St. Thomas, July 29, 1739.
\textsuperscript{12} Vgk. 862, land list for 1739.
many have appeared on St. Croix to take up plantations, deeds actually received by some when the Governor was there two weeks ago. Others [have] not yet sought permanent lands, wherefore no lists of same are enclosed herewith before same can be reckoned as permanent residents.13

How many people were being referred to - how many deeds? Judging by this report, the authorities on St. Croix can scarcely be thought to have had much knowledge of, let alone control over, the entry of settlers; and they seemed reluctant to convey what information they had to their superiors in Denmark. What these people may have been doing on St. Croix before applying for land - how they lived, and where, and for how long - can only be conjectured. Perhaps that is all Nissen could do, too.

This is the extent of the official correspondence relevant to the survey of St. Croix preserved for 1739. The land list for the year was apparently the major cadastral undertaking, and it is not an impressive record, nor much of an improvement over that of the previous year. It is an indication of the Directors' own failure to conceptualize and demand a rational and useful organization of these censuses that the 1739 land list, which is clearly inadequate, in fact used the format sent out from Copenhagen in December of 1738. This is to say nothing of the content of the list, whose shortcomings reflected those of the survey itself. No important cartographic representation of the progress of settlement on the island was achieved in 1739.

4. 1740

In 1740, the earliest documents pertinent to the settlement and survey of St. Croix are to be found in the copybooks of Moth's letters from St. Thomas to St. Croix. No more coherent picture emerges from these orders than in previous years, but they provide an excellent impression of the cadastral communication of the period.

13 Vgk. 102, Generalbrev, St. Thomas, October 7, 1739.
Gerhard Lorentzen, who had been the King's inspector, was dead by January 7, and Moth saw fit at this juncture to order an inventory of the Royal property.\textsuperscript{14} His letter of January 21 enclosed a deed for Joseph Johns and promised another to Edward Evens; Evens's property was described as two thousand feet wide, two thousand feet along its west side, and "to the sea" on the east side.\textsuperscript{15} Moth mentioned neither quarter names nor lot numbers. With this letter, he sent indigo seed to be planted, probably at Princess, and he stated that he planned to take coffee beans or plants with him the next time he went over to St. Croix. He also mentioned sending over a mill-maker to work at Princess; it is not clear if this man was to construct a windmill or a so-called horse-mill.

A few days later, Moth sent over three unnumbered deeds for Joswa and Samuell Gilliatt and Willem Edwards, ordering that their lots were to be priced in line with those of their neighbors in the quarter.\textsuperscript{16} The order seems imprecise but probably was not so: the Gilliatts' lots, at any rate, fell in sugar land in Queen's Quarter, and their obligations were recorded as the standard maximum at this time, five hundred rigsdaler.\textsuperscript{17}

In the same letter, Moth found it necessary to refuse to provide the surveyors, (except Jens Friis, who was a Company employee rather than a contractor, and who may have been in charge of the survey by this time) with board on such days as they were not actually in the field for the Company: when they were on the job, each was to receive a per diem, beyond their wage, of one \textit{real}.

There then follows a difficult passage concerning the survey lines on the East End:

\textsuperscript{14} Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, January 7, 1740.
\textsuperscript{15} Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, January 21, 1740.
\textsuperscript{16} Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, January 25, 1740.
\textsuperscript{17} Vgk. 862, April 16, 1740.
The map of the East End Quarter A is enclosed. Jens Friis is to see that (or if?) the line of the plantation formerly belonging to Cornelius Bedker was cut on one of its sides, and as it is actually seen that Jan Kookly's line runs to the savanna, I would think that the new line was somewhere there (?) to be found. If not, then the first north line below Challewille's - now Beverhoudt's - plantation is to be cut and Bedker's west barricade and Jan Didrich's east barricade found upon the measurement, so everything will be ready when I come over.

It is unfortunate that letters from St. Croix associated with this missive are not preserved; lacking a context, the passage is practically incomprehensible. The surveyors were confused about at least one boundary, the line between Bedker's and Didrich's land. Once again, it was apparently necessary for the only copy of the pertinent map in the colony to be sent from St. Thomas to St. Croix. (Possibly the surveyors had a working map but were interested in checking the names of former land-owners on an earlier map: given the propensity to identify property using personal names, a certain amount of confusion might be expected to arise as ownership was transferred, especially since so many boundaries on the East End were established after the initial settlement of the land.)

A number of problems arise in the interpretation of the passage. Moth's list of the "regulated plantations" in East End A puts Cornelius Batker in number 37; a Jan Dirich is placed in 38. Both men were dead by 1740. Jan Kookly or John Coakly held lot number 33 in East End A, but his boundary running "to the savanna" could be any one of his four property lines. What or where this savanna may have been is uncertain: on the oldest map of King's Quarter, (Map 7) two partial lots on the south

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18 Vgk. 862, "Liste paade regulerede plantagier", East End A, August 14, 1737.
19 Vgk. 862, land list for 1740.
coast are labeled as a "great savana", and it may be that Coakly's line to the savanna ran south toward a similar dry coastal flat suitable for pasture. An extension of one of Coakly's two south-running lines would separate Bøkker's and Didrich's lots. However, this part of the passage seems to suggest that a missing line crossed this line of Coakly's. If this is so, and if the line of Coakly's in question ran north-south, this missing line could scarcely be the same line that could be recovered by measurement along a new line to be cut "below" Challewille's plantation, which was number 4 in East End A. 

(Figure 4) The only thing that can be learned with certainty from the passage is that at least one line that was thought to have been cut, and which had possibly been mapped, had subsequently been lost or was at any rate a source of confusion. The map Moth sent over may have contributed to a resolution of the problem, but his suggestions seem to lack authority. The cadastral record was not equal to its purpose. The value of the rectangular scheme of survey was apparent, however, for lost lines could be fairly easily recovered, and the location of new lines predicted.

A report from Moth to the King in February of 1740 reveals that the King had elected to put all but the best twelve of his (and the Queen's) plantations on the market. Which of the royal lots were the best twelve was unknown, however, and Moth had gone over to St. Croix to determine which of the lots should be sold. He related that he had found it "impossible to get through the formerly cleared lines or survey ways" because of the trees down across the lines:

so I ordered a way opened between the 10 northernmost plantations, N*1 to 10, which I hold to be the most difficult and poorest, as well as a way between 10 others, the easternmost plantations, which divides N*11, 12, 19, 20, 21, 22, 29, 30, 31, and 1/2 of 32 from the other 14 1/2 plantations. [Map 11]

20 Rtk. 2249.35, Moth, February 27, 1740.
Sketch of
East End A

Based on J. M. Beck
Tillrøadelig kort over Evlandet St. Croix
Copenhagen. 1754

FIGURE 4

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Moth promised to select the best twelve plantations as soon as he could get in to check on their "bonite og situation". If the boundary lines Moth here describes so ambiguously - his use of "between" is very awkward - had ever in fact been cut, they were of little use to him now. He reported that a beginning had been made on the cultivation of two of the royal plantations (numbers 23 and 24), estimating that a fifth of 23 and a third of 24 had been planted. Thus almost four years after the official conveyance of the royal plantations, most of the area was inaccessible, and less than two per cent of the land was under cultivation. Moth also complained that the whites in charge of the Royal operations had their residence in number 27, which he stated was half an hour from the slave quarters in number 23; this arrangement was apparently viewed as either unsafe or inefficient.

Later in the spring, an undated entry in Moth's copybook demanded information on the "affaires" of the surveyor; in particular, Moth wanted to know about progress with "the cutting of the ordered lines" in the King's lots. This request was repeated late in March; Moth also asked for reports on progress in East End A and B. In April, "the surveyor is reminded also to send me the book I gave him when I last was there, hoping it is now ready". What this book may have been is unknown. Moth also sent over the compass, with "the magnet" replaced, apparently, and a case for the astrolabe.

The Directors were impressed by Moth's request for a tracing of the old map of St. Croix that was available in Copenhagen, and had a couple of these prepared and sent to the West Indies in April of 1740:

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21 Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, February or March, 1740.
22 Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, March 22, 1740.
23 Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, April 7, 1740.

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The map of St. Croix in blanco with a mile scale requested by the Commandant, on which to lay out the surveyed quarters for our information, is enclosed herewith in duplicate, namely one copy the same size as that sent out before, and the other exactly twice as large, which largest map is divided into squares, the side of each of which is [a mile], according to the mile scale placed on the map.

When the Commandant thereupon lays out the surveyed quarters, and the plantations therein, it is to be observed that the foot measure of every quarter and plantation is to be included.24

Obviously the Directors found the idea of such a cadastral map attractive. The possibility that the original might not be accurate (if in fact these copies were made from La Pointe’s engraving in Du Tertre [Map 1]) was apparently not considered, nor perhaps is there any reason to suggest that what was at the time a fairly modern and certainly highly detailed and thus convincing published map should have been suspect. Presumably, also, it was not thought necessary to call in scientists, historians, or linguists to effect the conversion from the original league scale to the Danish mile scale. (This may not have been necessary. A copy or version of the La Pointe map published in Amsterdam by Joannes van Keulen in an atlas dated 1734, shows two scales, one in Lieues de France, the other in Duytsche Mylen, the league shown as three quarters the length of the myl.)25 If in fact they had a copy of the Van Keulen zee-fakkel, the Directors may have taken the equivalence of the Dutch and Danish miles for granted.26

24 Vgl. 59, General missive, April 11, 1740.
25 The map of "L'Isle de St. Croix of t Eyland St Cruz" is in Van Keulens De Nieuwe Groote Lightende Zee-fakkel, Vol. 2; the title page of Volume 1 is dated 1734. The map in question may have been produced later.
Considering the impossibility of ever reconciling this old French family of maps with the reality being measured and recorded by surveying teams on St. Croix, the Directors' wise and warranted injunction to Moth, that he insert the measure in feet of every plantation; and their provision of a grid to guide and constrain his efforts, seems naive and a little pathetic. The same letter contained an estimate, undoubtedly derived from the mile grid, of the number of additional plantations that the Directors believed could be taken up on St. Croix at this stage: three hundred each of sugar and cotton. It must have been obvious to Moth by this time that such a figure was enormously inflated. The base map, accompanied by this estimate, must suddenly have seemed less useful to him than when he had asked for it; and if indeed he ever attempted to fit the cadastre of St. Croix to this map, his confusion (or frustration) will have been complete. No such maps as these sent from Copenhagen appear to have survived.

In April, there was an indication in the inter-island correspondence that Holmsted himself, like the King, was consolidating his investment by selling off six of his twelve sugar plantations. At least one of these had already been spoken for.27

In May, Moth wrote as follows to St. Croix:

Ole Bensen is forbidden to cut, under whatever pretext it might be, any fustic on the West End before Kroll's plantation has been surveyed, and since Kroll was unwilling to provide negroes for it when the surveyor was there, he will have to await an opportunity.28

Bensen was to be arrested if he made any argument. The timing of this order is of interest, for the land list of 1739 recorded Kroll as the owner of one surveyed cotton plantation on the West End; the 1740 census, dated April 16, listed this plantation as two

27 Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, April 16, 1740.
28 Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, May 14, 1740.
by three thousand feet, and stated that Kroll's deed was dated June 5, 1739. If these
entries did not thus constitute fraudulent returns, they are evidence, at least, of very
slack cadastral practice. It appears that Moth had been willing enough to subscribe to
the deed when it was issued, but the report of lumbering on or around an unsurveyed
lot in the midst of unalienated Company land apparently reminded Moth of the
importance of survey prior to settlement and exploitation. Although an effort had been
made earlier, Moth was now in no hurry to promote Benson's activity by sending a
survey team back to the area. The reluctance of the landholders to supply labor for the
survey was a recurring obstacle, and while there could have been any number of
reasons for this failure, a lack of faith in or understanding of the survey may be
thought to have contributed.

The last entry of any pertinence to the survey in the copybooks of Moth's letters
and orders to St. Croix is dated July 8, 1740. Moth sent over a map of the harbor at Bassin:
Langeland was to make some corrections or annotations on it. He also sent "a German
and Latin lawbook; you will show Vallentin French the Latin and find out if he can
translate same to English". At least one example of a direct communication from Moth
to Vallentin French is preserved: this was written in Dutch. From the start, the Danish
authorities had to take special steps to communicate with the settlers on St. Croix, but
this was nothing new or unusual in the colony or in the Lesser Antilles in general.

On July 15, in connection with the planned sale of some of the Royal plantations,
Moth addressed the following brief relation to the King:

since I do not know whether the 2 maps of the Royal plantations I gave
the Over Inspector a couple of years ago to be sent home arrived, another is
most humbly sent herewith, as good as I was able to get prepared, from which

29 Vgk. 862, land lists for 1739 and 1740.
30 Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, July 8, 1740.
Your Royal Majesty most graciously can observe the course of the Salt River, which has its source between two high mountains to the north and is in many places dry at most times of year, while seldom in the Plantations 16 - 17 - 24 & 25, but in 27 where Palig Lorentsen has raised the new building and intends to have the boiling house, it is now dry, but farther down toward the sea again emerges from the earth (toward?) the road which separates the fresh from the Salt River.  

The two maps first mentioned (assuming they are copies of the same map) are likely to be those entitled "Kongens Qvarteer", the back of one of which bears the legend "Von Von Westken übergeben 9. Sept. 1738". [Map 7] Von Westken was one of the royal supervisors and was on the scene at least as early as 1736. These maps are distinguished by the peculiarity of a rather elaborate compass rose drawn upside down, the largest arrow pointing south and a smaller arrow ninety degrees further around the rose pointing west. The use of the name Salt River for the stream shown running south through King's Quarter may have occasioned some confusion, for the much more prominent stream emptying onto the north coast of the island has and had, even in the days of the French, a better cartographic claim to the name. These maps show no roads. The new map mentioned by Moth cannot be identified with absolute certainty. The undated map of the royal plantations signed by Friis and Langeland [Map 10] could easily be the one referred to, except for the fact, by no means conclusive, that it is at present preserved among archives dating to 1737 and 1738.  

A better possibility is another undated and untitled map of the royal plantations [Map 11] archivally associated with Moth's letter (a copy is also preserved with papers dating to around  

Rtk. 2249.35, Moth, July 15, 1740.
Rtk. 2249.34; Helle B. Christiansen, op. cit., reproduces this copy and labels it "ca. 1736". Copy in Rtk. 2249.33.
Rtk. 2249.33.
This map relies heavily on the Friis/Langeland map for topographic detail, or vice versa. The signature on this map may be "Mohrsen", although Mohrsen’s name does not otherwise appear in the correspondence for another year or two.

In another letter this same day to the royal administration, in fact, Moth again referred to an enclosed map, which showed

how large an area in all is cleared... of which all that lies on the east side of the road that runs through the plantations to the new-built house and on to the sea is planted in cotton and maize and potatoes (and all on the west side in sugar).35

The wording here and, in the letter to the King himself, in the passage describing the relationship between the stretches of fresh and salt water in the river, corresponds quite closely to that in the key on the "Mohrsen" map. (Symbols on Friis’s and Langeland’s map call for a key or some prose explication, but this is missing.)

Mohrsen’s map also identified "the new lines cut to choose the best plantations for His Royal Majesty": Moth’s letter in February concerning these lines had mentioned the clearing of two lines; three are shown on this map.

It should be noted that none of the roads shown either on Friis’s and Langeland’s map or on Mohrsen’s bore any relationship to the surveyed or planned boundaries. The small area of cultivated land lay astride two plantation lines, one of them the Center Line, but even here the road did not keep to the lines.

The disposal of the King’s land was not a matter to be taken lightly. In July or August of 1740, a commission of some of St. Croix’s prominent planters was sent to inspect King’s Quarter and determine which were the best plantations. An affidavit dated August 4 signed by Maddox, Lindsey, French, and one other person whose name is

34 Rtk. 2249.35, copy in Rtk. 2249.36.  
35 Rtk. 2249.35, Moth to the Kammerherre, July 15, 1740.
illegible declared, in English, that they "rode over a great many of the plantations and find the under mentioned Twelve Plantagions to be the best Sugar ground & Convenientest for Water, for Shiping, and Pasturage". They listed numbers 34, 26, 27, 23, 24, 25, 16, 17, 18, 13, 14, and 15, of which numbers 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 24, and 25 were considered the best eight. In an annotation on this document, Moth expressed his opinion that the eight best plantations were numbers 14, 15, 16, 17, 24, 25, 26, and 34: it appears that he may have considered direct access to the stream of paramount importance. He also pointed out the apparently deplorable fact that there were already buildings on lot number 27. In this same document, Gregers Nissen attested that the party, "having with us the surveyor... Jens Sørensen Friis, to show us the compass lines", had gone over the lots which lie north of the Center Line as well as those south of the Center Line and especially inspected the lots by the coast, and it is my thinking that these numbers mentioned in this statement are the best sugar lots, most convenient for water, shipping, and savanna, in addition to being taken as much as possible in a rectangle.

He recommended that the King keep all twelve lots (which actually do not form a rectangle).

Communication directly to the Company Directors bearing on cadastral survey in 1740 appears not to have amounted to much beyond a land list. In a letter in July, Moth acknowledged receipt of the maps of St. Croix in blanco, and promised to draw in the desired cadastral information promptly. Ten years were yet to pass before any such map of the whole island was prepared. The 1740 land list, however, was a great

36 Rtk. 2249.35, St. Croix, August 4, 1740.
37 Vgk. 862, land list for 1740.
38 Vgk. 103, Generalbrev, July 16, 1740.
improvement over earlier censuses. The list that Moth had personally prepared of East End A in August 1737 included lot numbers and the dimensions of most of the lots in the quarter, but little else. Nissen's scribbled list in May of 1738, which so aroused the Directors' ire, was little more than a head count. The 1739 list recorded inhabitants and slaves, categorized the plantations as sugar or cotton, drew an unreliable distinction between surveyed and unsurveyed lots, and named the price of each lot but dispensed with lot numbers and dimensions. The list of 1740 named the planters; tallied their white employees and slaves; and provided the length and breadth of each piece of land, if this information was available, as well as the lot number, the date of the deed, the value of the obligation assumed, and the date of the note. The list was far from complete: the entry "no deed received" appeared frequently, especially for properties on the West End and in East End B. The list's accuracy must be held suspect because all dimensions were given in multiples of five hundred feet: the island not being rectangular, this is impossible. Whether this constituted accepted practice, indolence, fraud, or some combination of the three remains problematic. On the whole, though, this list represented rather an impressive effort to come to grips with the cadastre of St. Croix. According to the totals given, 122 sugar plantations, 113 cotton plantations of various sizes, and 10 small lots had been taken up, deeded, or in some way associated with the name of a claimant by the time this list was prepared in April of 1740. How far along the boundaries of all these lots surveyors' chains had actually been dragged - the degree to which the emerging property grid was cut, measured, and marked rather than implicit - is unknown.

5. 1741

After the Directors had sent out the requested outline maps of St. Croix, almost a year passed before they again expressed any interest in the cadastral survey. In a letter of February 21, 1741, they remarked in a mildly aggrieved tone:
It will please us to see the map of St. Croix and the plantations laid out there which the Commandant has promised finished as soon as possible and sent to us.39

They were not pleased with the most recent census and demanded that the job be done properly. They were sending out two hundred more printed blank deeds, and asked for a full accounting of the two hundred originally sent.

Three months later, the Directors registered dissatisfaction with a recently received extract of a list of the debt assumed by the planters for their plantations and of payments made upon that obligation: the list had provided no cadastral points of reference. Furthermore, as the Directors pointed out with some concern, the list was two years out of date.40 A set of books was thus being kept that was based, at least in part, on the cadastre, but that did not itself constitute the primary record of land holdings on St. Croix. It will be seen that the Directors repeatedly complained about the failure of the West Indian administrators to reconcile census lists (including slave counts), land lists, and these accounts. As the settlement of St. Croix progressed, and the various records proliferated, a maze of paperwork developed that was practically impenetrable, either in Copenhagen or in the West Indies. The records and accounts rendered to Copenhagen fell further and further behind. The cadastral survey lay close to the heart of this confusion.

No further word on the survey was sent to St. Croix from Copenhagen in 1741. The administration in the West Indies reported in January that very few new settlers had appeared on St. Croix: the reason given was that the English were rumored to be contemplating taking over Cuba and Puerto Rico, and the prospect of this adventure

39 Vgk. 59, General missive, February 21, 1741.
40 Vgk. 59, General missive, May 19, 1741.
was dampening the market for plantations on St. Croix. Later in the spring there was mention of a census and a list of plantations sold, but generally speaking, the letters were concerned with the commerce of the colony: produce, rather than land, was of most interest. Also in January, Moth sent in a new list of planters that he expected to boil sugar in the course of the year, or, failing that, in 1742. Six firm names and two or three possibilities were added to those on the list he had submitted late in 1738: a total of perhaps a score of sugar works. The island’s economy was struggling to its feet. Moth’s letter made no reference to the survey.

In response to the fear voiced by the Directors that timber was being stolen and sold in the course of the cutting of the survey lines, the assurance was offered, in a letter in July, that such larceny was not a serious problem: so much wood was available close to the coasts, convenient to shipping, that it would make no sense to steal wood from the lines in the interior. This may not have consoled the Directors, but perhaps it served to deflect their attention from the officials charged with the survey.

The survey was at this time pretty well taken for granted. A passage in the July letter stated:

There is nothing further to relate from St. Croix, but that the surveyors are cutting the very last lines on the East End, and that no new settlers have arrived since our last.

There were no details. There was no word on the West End. The lack of information on the course of the work may be purely archival, but probably it indicates that the work

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41 Vgk. 104, Generalbrev, St. Thomas, January 28, 1741.
42 Vgk. 104, February 18, 1741, bound with the Generalbrev of January 28; list of enclosures with the Generalbrev of May 17, 1741.
43 Vgk. 104, Moth, [January 28, 1741].
44 Vgk. 104, Generalbrev, St. Thomas, July 31, 1741.
was progressing sufficiently smoothly to satisfy Moth. Conceivably, he was actually receiving the weekly reports from the surveyors that he had at one time demanded, but this seems unlikely: the documents leave the impression that a routine of sorts had been established, at least for the time being.

A report from the government on St. Thomas late in September contained apologies, excuses, and promises but little news of the progress of the survey. It was claimed that the small number of new settlers did not warrant the preparation of a new census of St. Croix for 1741. The governor promised, without setting himself any deadline, to prepare a satisfactory land list; the Directors were also assured that "the quarters will be layed out on the map, as far as we here are able". Who could be expected to do this work if "we here" were unequal to the task is unclear. The phrase may have alluded to the absence of any trained engineer on St. Croix; it may simply have been a hedge to put the Directors off for a while. The map was at any rate not enclosed with the letter. It was further reported that "the Governor is going over to St. Croix to fully regulate both East End quarters, which were finished a few days ago, as far as the lines are concerned". This use of "lines" could have meant almost anything: the extent of survey at this point simply cannot be determined. According to the land list dated May 18, 1742, thirty-four lots had been taken up in East End B by the end of 1741, the majority of them of smaller than the standard two thousand by three thousand feet. Only two of the lots on this list were numbered, so Moth's regulation of the quarter cannot have amounted to much.

The letter also provided a clue to the effectiveness of transportation on and to the island and to the interplay of local and Atlantic scales of distance and production. It was stated that sawn wood could be obtained from Europe at a better price than locally.

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45 Vgk. 104, Generalbrev, September 28, 1741.
46 Vgk. 863, list for 1741 and 1742, May 18, 1742. (An annotation by Nissen to the effect that the list is valid through the end of 1742 is dated the last day of December, 1742.)
"unless the plantations lie a long way inland", in which case local production (on the inland plantations themselves, presumably) would be cheaper. The economies available to European producers and shippers apparently enabled them to compete effectively with local production at the coast, but local transportation costs away from the coast - a matter of a few miles - outweighed those advantages. There may be more behind the passage than appears: subsidized Company shipping, for example.

On December 12, 1741, Moth issued a proclamation governing the demarcation of St. Croix's plantations. For the first time since the original orders were drafted in 1733, survey and the planting of corner marks - "Uyt meetinge & Baricade Plantinge" - were explicitly linked to the validity of conveyances. The placard's posting at this late date cast an interesting shadow on all previous line-cutting and surveying; on all conveyance of property; and on all direct or indirect records of such conveyance, including maps, land lists, and deeds.

The placard required that a start be made on the planting of marks at the corners of the plantations, beginning in the East End quarters, as far as this was feasible and the quarters settled, and proceeding thence west down the island. The wording suggests a concern more with the lines and marks themselves than with the location of those marks in their topographic and cartographic context: the surveying and marking was to be bounded by the extent of settlement at the time, not by the island's coasts.

The owners were required to attend at the surveying and marking of their plantations, deeds in hand, being themselves responsible for ensuring that they were meted out parcels corresponding to the dimensions given on their patents. It is not

47 Vestindiske lokalarkiver, Generalguvernørens arkiv, Plakathug. 1735-1782: "Placat of Ordonance De Plantinge der Baricade Stutten op 't Eyland St. Croix & verdere Saaken, daarvan dependerende", December 12, 1741. [Karolien Debusschere very kindly provided a reading from the Dutch original.]
hard to imagine the difficulties that might arise in the attempt to reconcile the settled reality of working estates and whatever survey lines had already been cut to the scheme (such as it may have been) reflected by the deeds. It can be thought that a certain number of accommodations were reached among planters with more interest in the land they worked, and its fruits, than in the dimensions recorded on the deeds and in the land registers; nor need it be assumed that these arrangements showed up in the official records. On the other hand, of course, the planters may have insisted on the dimensions in the original allotments.

The owners were to supply and deliver posts suitable for the marks. The placard listed four permissible woods and specified the size and shape of the posts. The marks were to be set in masonry and branded or stamped with the Royal Danish seal. Suitable abbreviations for the quarter names were specified, to be worked "in Latin letters"; these were to be followed by the plantation numbers.

The surveyors were to be equipped with a special Survey Protocol Book - Uytmeetings Protocoll - bearing not only the Company's but Moth's seal, in which a scribe was to record the survey of each plantation. The agreement of each entry with each deed was to be witnessed by the owner concerned or his formally designated representative as well as by the surveyors.

The surveying and marking was to proceed even in the absence of one of the landowners or his representative, the legitimacy of the marks to be attested to by neighbors and others in attendance. The marks planted, which were under no circumstances to be disturbed, would serve as "a complete and indisputable proof of the extent of [each] plantation lot". There would be no further survey after each quarter was completed, even if, the passage seems to suggest, any of the marks were lost or destroyed.
In light of all this, the placard reiterated, it was vital that each interested party personally should observe that he received the land specified in his deed—"Soo heeft een yeder voor sig Selfs optepassen, dat sy haare volgens Land Brief toekomende Gronden rigtig toegemeeten worden".

The surveying was to be done at no charge, but the planters were obliged to provide, as best they could, provisions and shelter for the survey party, including its slaves. Each planter was to provide one or two slaves each day for the masonry, besides the necessary mortar and stone, and slaves to clear lines and to carry the party’s baggage and equipment. Fodder was to be supplied for the horses. Fines were established for failure to meet these obligations. It was further decreed that the surveyors were to work from sunrise to ten or eleven in the morning and again from three in the afternoon until sunset, in which the planters’ cooperation was requested.

What is to be made of Moth’s decree? As far as can be determined at present, the original surveyors’ protocol-books recording the dimensions of each plantation, witnessed by the officials of the survey and the land owners themselves, have not survived— not, at any rate, in a readable condition.48 There is evidence, which will be discussed later, that the protocols were improperly kept or utterly neglected for long stretches. The placard contains no language explicitly linking the required monuments to maps, to any recorded cadastral scheme beyond the lot numbers and dimensions in the deeds, to earlier orders, to quarter lines or any other existing survey lines or

48 The Rigsarkiv in Copenhagen maintains a group of records, among its Vestindiske Lokalarkiver, entitled "St. Croix Municipal Clerk and Surveyor" (St. Croix Stadskonduktør og Landmåler). The Rigsarkiv’s guide to its holdings, Rigsarkivet og hjælpemidler til dets benyttelse (Copenhagen: Rigsarkivet/G. E. C. Gad, 1983), p. 824, describes this collection simply as “diverse (unorganized) files, 18th–19th centuries”. This material has not been registered, and most of it, and in particular the 18th-century material, is in a frightful state of preservation. It is not normally accessible for study. A very brief search through the collection turned up the remains of one protocol-book dating to the 1740s and early 1750s. Its pages have disintegrated beyond recovery. There is no indication that pertinent records have survived in the West Indies, and the climate militates very strongly against this possibility.
marks, or to any natural or cultural landmark. Certainly these links were implicit, but the fact remains that there exists today no specific documentary confirmation of the monumenting of any plantation conveyed by the Company. Some old plantation corner marks have survived, but these are of uncertain age. The land letters or deeds themselves in most cases predate the decreed surveying and monumenting, and therefore do not document that work, unless they were amended at the time of survey. How well the marks corresponded to the dimensions given in the deeds can only be speculated upon.

It can be suggested that this placard marks a change of emphasis in the cadastral survey of St. Croix. The land lists, which were essentially censuses and tax rolls, recording grants, were now to be supplemented by official confirmation in the field of the dimensions given on the deeds, and all properties were to be surveyed and marked. Most of the lines opened earlier are thus seen to have been aimed at the establishment of a grid, preliminary to cadastral survey proper. The extent and closeness of that grid cannot be precisely determined from existing maps or other records, but it was not nearly complete; nor is it likely to have been very accurate. Very few of the property lines themselves had been cut and marked.

49 Most of the original deeds will long since have disappeared, but copies of those issued between 1734 and 1750 are preserved in Vgk. 529, "Landbrevprotokoller for St. Croix".

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In a letter from St. Croix of January 3, 1742 (one copy of which was sent via St. Eustatius, another by Curacao), Moth reported that

We are daily at work on the setting of boundary posts in the 3 quarters, to wit, both East End and the Company's quarters; when they are finished, they will be followed by same in the other quarters, one after the other.¹

He referred to the provision in his *Placat* to the effect that the posts were to be branded with the Royal device, and asked that two such brands be sent out, so it appears that this requirement of the proclamation was not yet being carried out. If the branding was intended to confer legitimacy on the marks, that legitimacy was as yet lacking, nor does it seem probable that the marks already planted would be resurveyed when and if the royal brands were finally applied, so the security of the marks is in some doubt.

Jens Friis had resigned from the Company's service, having served a year and a half beyond his original six-year spell, but had contracted to complete the survey of the three eastern quarters. Moth named as Friis's assistant Lieutenant Mohrsen, who knows something of geometry, and thereby will the quicker become familiar with the surveying, and their accuracy will be the better attested, when they are two.

At the end of January, Moth reported further progress with the boundary posts:

¹ Vgl. 105, Moth, St. Croix, January 3, 1742.
We are quite advanced with the planting of the barricade posts, so I hope to be finished by the end of February in East End Quarter Letter A, begun first, so we can begin on the second in March.\(^2\)

This directly contradicted his statements in his letter of January 3 indicating that work was progressing in three quarters, but this is not uncharacteristic of Moth's communications. He repeated that Friis was now a free agent, and warned the Directors that if anything should happen to him (Moth), there would be no one among his probable successors who would be competent to supervise the work. He requested that a trained man be sent out from Europe: even if both Friis and Mohrsen (who was sickly) lived and remained on the job, hiring another surveyor would help prevent delays due to illness.

At about the time that Moth was writing this, the Directors wrote that they were sending out a man named Schopen, whose duties were to include survey: he was bringing with him mathematical books and instruments. With the same ship came Jens Michelsen Beck, whose map of St. Croix was to be published twelve years later. The Directors repeated their demand for specific information regarding the original printed deeds sent to St. Croix in 1733, and asked again for a proper land list.\(^3\)

On February 20, 1742, Moth sent home a contradictory report on the extent of cultivation on the sugar plantations held (for the most part) by the original cultivating participants.\(^4\) He first listed fifty-six lots that "still lie uncultivated", including thirty-one of the royal lots. He then qualified this, saying that some work might be being done in some of these lots: twelve of them (five of His Majesty's, four of Von Plessen's, and three of Holmsted's) might even be partially planted, "and perhaps some of the others.

\(^2\) Vgk. 105, Moth, St. Croix, January 28, 1742.
\(^3\) Vgk. 59, General missive, January 31, 1742.
\(^4\) Vgk. 105, Moth, St. Thomas, February 20, 1742.
which I cannot accurately report or account for”. It is as though Moth would have preferred to give a more glowing account of progress but dared not, and resorted to reporting that some of the plantations were both cultivated and uncultivated. The fact is that work had not yet begun on very large tracts of good sugar land.

The period of exemption from taxes was about to run out for some of the plantations, and Moth asked for instructions on how to tax the planters. He also wished to know what the Company wanted done with "Le Grands", the old French plantation at the West End. He also asked that grass-seed be sent out from Europe. He had sown some grass from Holland, he related, but it had been lost to a drought.

An inventory of the Company’s assets on St. Croix at the end of 1740 but associated with documents dating to the spring of 1742 described Princess as six thousand feet by three thousand. These dimensions were soon to be a matter of legal contention, but the Directors quoted the figures back at Moth without remark later in the year. Among a great deal else, the inventory lists a number of surveyor’s instruments:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Case of diverse geometric instruments</td>
<td>11 [rigsdaler]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Complete astrolabe in case</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ditto 1/2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ditto old and useless</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Plummets</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Surveyor chain 40 feet good</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ditto useless</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Sea-compass good</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diverse useless</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 Vgk. 105, “Inventarium” of the Company’s “estat” on St. Croix, 1740.
6 Vgk. 59, to Moth, August 11, 1742.
In May, a new, adequately organized land list was sent to Copenhagen. Its receipt was acknowledged without comment two months later.\(^7\) In June, the arrival of the new surveyor was noted: he had not yet taken up his duties on St. Croix.\(^8\)

In July, Moth made his excuses about what remained of the original two hundred printed deeds: some had been destroyed in the hurricane that had hit St. Croix, and some had been ruined by scribes’ mistakes. “Others were invalidated because many demanded their deeds and sometimes did not come back to take possession of their plantations”.\(^9\) All this was probably true, if the deeds had not simply been lost, but Moth’s inability to account more exactly for these valuable documents could scarcely fail to alarm the bookkeepers in Copenhagen.

In September, Moth had little to relate on the survey: he had not been over to St. Croix recently, since nothing important had happened there, and “both the old and the new surveyors to date unfit to work on the survey”.\(^10\) The amount of time lost to illness in the whole course of the original survey of St. Croix by the Danish West India Company can only be guessed at, but it will probably have been enough to make a modern administrator blanch. Moth seemed to feel no qualms at reporting that the survey was at a complete standstill.

In Denmark, Moth’s tales of hurricanes and incompetent scribes cut no ice. In December, the Directors demanded to see all the voided deeds. Furthermore, they now expressed some indignation not only that the land list of May 18, 1742, was incomplete, but that Moth, knowing this, and in fact himself drawing attention to the fact, had

\(^7\) Vgk. 863, list for 1741 and 1742, dated May 18, 1742 and endorsed December 31, 1742; Vgk. 59, to Moth, August 11, 1742.
\(^8\) Vgk. 105, Generalbrev, June 28, 1742.
\(^9\) Vgk. 105, Generalbrev, July 27, 1742.
\(^10\) Vgk. 105, Moth, St. Thomas, September 10, 1742.
nevertheless seen fit to forward it to Copenhagen. They ordered this situation rectified forthwith.\textsuperscript{11}

On December 3, Moth, having apparently received some argument from Schopen (whose name sometimes appears as von Schopen), ordered him to get to work on the survey:

\textit{[Since Friis] has now come over, I do not doubt that you have received the one chain and astrolabe to carry out the requested work on the King's etc. plantations. When that is done, you must immediately begin on one of the quarters west of town, for Jens Friis will complete both East End quarters.}\textsuperscript{12}

Three weeks later, Schopen promised the maps that he had been ordered to make of Princess, the King's lots, and Moth's own as soon as possible but complained:

\textit{I must say, that I was never hired by the Directors therefor, namely as a surveyor, to range every day in the woods with the negroes, and lay out the whole land, or, as Your Honor states, both West End quarters... nor should I be able to endure it, not being used to the life.}\textsuperscript{13}

What Schopen meant by "both" West End quarters is unclear. His indignation is not. His self-possession led him to attempt to dictate to Moth what work he would and would not do. He was willing, he wrote,

\textit{when there was opportunity, to ride out and inspect how the cutting of the lines, clearing, and barricades was advancing; I will even undertake to lay out and attend to all the lines and boundaries such that I would myself defend them;}

\textsuperscript{11} Vgk. 59, General missive, December 7, 1742.
\textsuperscript{12} Vgk. 105, Moth, St. Thomas, to Schopen, December 3, 1742.
\textsuperscript{13} Vgk. 105, Schopen to Moth, December 23, 1742.
but for the negroes, who must be accompanied daily by a white, the Company surely has a lower servant.

He complained that he was really not being paid well enough for both his jobs,

to say nothing of how much more clothes, shoes, etc. are worn out in the bush. In some places I must even bring food and drink with me, if I am to have anything, and that for so long a time as it will take for the whole West End from town on out to be cut and marked, I would at least say 3 years.

Here Schopen actually understated his case by at least ten years. He then turned to the matter of his salary. He whined that Friis was to receive four hundred rigsdaler for both East End quarters,

which, however, he can with ease, by daily application, survey in 3 months at the longest. Finally, nothing can be begun in the West End quarters before the East End is done, which Jens Friis will immediately begin, as ordered, for there are no more negroes who understand the compass and the surveying than the same negroes Friis has and will use, and it cannot be done with negroes unaccustomed to it.

The image of the slaves, with compass in one hand and machete in the other, forcing the lines through the woods of the West End, is indeed colorful. What then will have been the technical role of the white man accompanying the slaves? The suggestion is clear that a good deal of the survey work was in fact performed by relatively skilled slaves, whose expertise (to say nothing of interest in the quick and orderly cadastral survey of St. Croix), while perhaps not inferior to that of any of the paid white employees on the job, is equally open to question. Schopen's statement that Friis "will immediately begin" on the East End is puzzling. Presumably it merely indicates that work was halted for the time being.
Moth commiserated in his reply to Schopen a few days later but offered no relief: "I am well aware of the difficulty of the surveyor's service in these lands, beyond that in Europe, which I have often represented to the Direction". He went so far as to account vaguely for Friis's salary and those of previous surveyors, of whom, he related for no apparent reason, "all are dead, about 8 to 10 surveyors and their assistants". He dismissed Schopen's claim that work could not begin on the West End until the East End was done, "for in the Company's and the next adjoining three quarters, lines were cut many years ago and need merely to be cleaned".\footnote{Vgk. 105, Moth to Schopen, December 29, 1742.}

Moth expressed the hope that Schopen could produce a map of the planted area of the King's plantations "before the departure of the ship, which it is thought may possibly be sometime next month". He also stressed, perhaps in response to some oral or unpreserved written query, that Princess was to be laid out, by the order of the Company, three thousand feet wide and six thousand feet long. Conceivably, Schopen had been inspecting a copy of Friis's map of Princess, which indicates that the plantation was four thousand feet wide and extended south as far as the Center Line, and had asked Moth for clarification of this matter. It is remarkable that the boundaries of the Company's own estate, which was by then a working sugar plantation, should still have been in doubt: all other survey and record-keeping on the island is rendered suspect by this one central cadastral failure, which was in fact to develop into a major scandal.

Moth at any rate ordered Schopen to lay out and map Princess as six thousand by three thousand feet: "until this is done, the length of my plantation cannot rightly be established, but only its width, which is 1000 feet". The meaning of this passage is very obscure. This is not a matter of lost maps: the positions of Princess and of Moth's neighboring plantation in Company Quarter had never been adequately mapped.
cadastre was inadequate. The men on the spot at the time found themselves unable to account for the boundaries of what could be regarded as the two most important lots on the island. The 1737 list for East End A was not exceptional: none of the land lists of the Company period associate length and breadth with orientation on the island. Plantations that lay across the grain of the survey were described in precisely the same terms as others of the same size oriented normally: the longest side was always the length, the shortest always the width. Moth was recorded in the 1739 land list as owning one surveyed cotton plantation of unrecorded dimensions. (An annotation indicates the survey was "not complete"). The list of 1740 recorded this as lot number 1. According to the land list dated May 18, 1742, Moth owned two cotton plantations in Company's Quarter. The lots were not numbered, and no dimensions were given, nor was there mention of any deeds, but Moth was stated to have twenty-five slaves on the two plantations. The list dated October 31, 1744, contained two entries under Moth's name in Company's Quarter: one of the entries recorded Moth's slaves but made no reference to any land; the other recorded a cotton plantation, number 1 in the quarter, which had been sold by Moth to Johannes Lindesay Junior. The lot was four thousand feet long and fifteen hundred feet wide, and the deed to it was recorded as being dated July 6, 1743. This lot, located very favorably adjacent to town, lies, according to Beck's map, at least forty-five hundred feet from the nearest corner of Princess, nor does the extension of any of Princess's boundaries run along any side of lot number 1. At this point then, Moth's orders to Schopen were cadastrally incomprehensible, but it is certain that Moth was referring to a piece of land that lay directly adjacent to the Company's plantation and that, for one reason or another, had never been properly recorded in the official lists. Flawed though these lists were, this business had a smack of fraud to it.

15 Vgk. 862, list for 1739.
16 Vgk. 862, April 16, 1740.
17 Vgk. 863, May 18, 1742.
Reconstruction of the situation is further confounded by Moth's statement that there was to be land above Princess reserved for timber, and below the plantation for pasture. Since the ridge runs diagonally across the long axis of the plantation, it is not easy to determine where this reserved land was to have fallen.

On the last day of 1731, Schopen wrote back to Moth:

Evidently, the plantation I am to make a map of is that on the West End where Carlton is, and not the one that lies next to the Company's plantation. For as far as the latter is concerned, it cannot rightly be done, in my opinion, without great harm to the Company. ¹⁸

The Carlton in the passage can perhaps best be interpreted as the name of an overseer on Moth's four lots in Prince's Quarter, although the name never appears in the land lists of the early 1740s. What exactly Schopen objected to in Moth's orders is difficult to ascertain more precisely than that a lot one thousand feet wide belonging to Moth could not be reconciled with Schopen's notion of Princess's size, location, and neighboring plantations - the cadastral context. The propriety of Moth's claim in Prince's Quarter is also doubtful, as it happens, but the dimensions of those four standard lots were never in question. In offering, with some irony, to map these, Schopen was questioning Moth's claim in Company's Quarter, as he then more explicitly stated.

This is all of the exchange that is preserved. The controversy over Moth's plantation near Princess was just beginning, however.

2. 1743

For all his complaints, Schopen remained on the job; perhaps to mollify him, the St. Croix burgher council found it advisable, early in 1743, to recommend offering him

¹⁸ Vgk. 105, Schopen to Moth, December 31, 1742.
a bonus of one hundred rigsdaler for each quarter he surveyed; his assistant Mohrsen was to receive fifty rigsdaler per quarter. The survey was dealt a blow by the sudden death of Jens Friis early in the spring. The unfortunate surveyor wet his clothing with kill-devil while broaching a barrel and was set afire by a candle. He died of his burns a few days later. Moth placed Schopen in full charge of the survey and wrote to ask that more men be sent out from Denmark: "for it is hard work, and many have died at it".

In April, before this news had reached Copenhagen, the Directors, uncertain of Friis's status, wrote that they had hired another engineer; however, this man apparently never left Denmark. The Directors once again demanded proper land lists, but nothing else was said of the survey.

In May, Moth dispatched a letter to Copenhagen in which he promised with the next Danish ship a map of both East End quarters here, together with the necessary information or explication, and if the surveyors live, it is expected to get Queen's and Company's finished this year also.

It is to be doubted that Moth had such a map in hand, and his promise concerning the other two quarters was not very firmly stated. If progress was in fact being made, it was not unequivocally recorded here.

Moth also mentioned that he was almost forty-nine years old. This may be an indication that he was beginning to think about retiring from the Company's service.

20 Vgk. 105, Moth, St. Croix, March 12, 1743.  
21 Vgk. 59, General missive, April 6, 1743.  
22 Vgk. 105, Moth, St. croix, May 15, 1743.  

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His promise concerning Company's and Queen's quarters was made at a time when both quarters were substantially occupied, according to the land lists. The list of 1742 provided dimensions and a lot number for all but two or three small lots of the approximately fifty lots in Queen's quarter. If this information had had any reality on the ground, Schopen and Mohrsen would have been in a position to draw their bonuses without much delay. In fact, the boundaries of all these plantations were undoubtedly still a long way from definition and demarcation. One question is: how much of Schopen's work consisted of measuring and monumenting along already cleared lines, and how much of cutting new lines?

In July, Moth again promised a "map of both East End quarters, which are now quite finished, and a start made on Queen's and Company's". There was apparently nothing else to relate concerning the survey. In late August, Moth again attempted to reassure the Directors on the subject of the voided deeds, which they were so concerned might suddenly reappear and give rise to disputes. Moth wrote that he had with his own hands torn up the invalid deeds. The deed protocol books would seem to have provided adequate protection against fraudulent claims, but it is doubtful that the books were precisely pristine: the copies preserved in Copenhagen contain many corrections and annotations. Nor are these protocols likely to have been proof against a claim (based perhaps on a back-dated deed) presented by a high Company official, such as Governor Moth himself. As it happens, few of the properties claimed at various times by Moth had been recorded in the normal manner, with the dates of the deeds, in the land lists.

The omissions may have been innocent enough, but it is clear that Moth, as the issuing authority of the deeds, was in a position to profit by confused records and missing blank deeds. In December of 1743, Moth wrote to the bookkeepers on St. Thomas to

23 Vgk. 105, Moth, St. Thomas, July 9, 1743.
24 Vgk. 105, Generalbrev, August 21, 1743.
25 See, for example the lists of May 18, 1742, and August 29, 1743. in Vgk. 863.
enquire about why his account had never been debited for plantation number 1 in Company's Quarter, which, he stated, he had taken up six years earlier, in 1737.\textsuperscript{26} At the same time, he asked that his account be adjusted to reflect his ownership of lot number 4 1/2, a number which never appeared in any land list of the period. The use to which a blank deed could be put in such a situation is obvious. What Moth called number 4 1/2 was the lot next to Princess over which Moth and the Company later went to court.

A new map, though not the promised one of the East End quarters, was sent to Copenhagen in August, 1743. This map was for the edification of the King himself and depicted the progress of cultivation in nine of the King's plantation lots - numbers 16 to 18 and 23 to 28 (only about half of each of lots 16, 25, and 26 is shown).\footnote{Map 12} The map is unsigned and untitled. There is no legend. In an accompanying letter, Moth glossed the map as follows:

\begin{quote}
From the enclosed map . . . it can be seen how much has been newly cleared, namely where the sugar works stands, and as soon as maize and other provisions have been planted, [I] will begin to cut along the road, so both opened areas can be joined into one clearing and then thereafter as far as the king's road and along the river, until I get No. 17 completely cleared and planted. For the areas which are cleared and planted in No. 23 on the hill are not good for sugar but only for maize and other provisions.\textsuperscript{27}
\end{quote}

This was rather an ambitious program. The cleared area in lot 17 amounted to perhaps an eighth of the lot, according to the map. Various buildings are shown, besides the boiling house, including a mill. The outline of the cleared portion is quite irregular.

\textsuperscript{26} Vgk 862, Extract from journals kept by the Company on St. Thomas, August 7, 1749; Moth's letter was dated December 31, 1743.
\textsuperscript{27} Rtk. 2249.35, untitled map of cultivation on the Royal plantations, dated August 20, 1743 on the back; folded into a letter from Moth of the same date.
bearing no relation to any plantation lines. As on earlier maps, the two roads shown run independently of lot boundaries.

This is on the whole rather an informative map, but its accuracy cannot be counted on. As is the case of all the maps of the Royal plantations dating to the 1730s and 1740s, the various natural features shown, and especially the hills, cannot be reconciled very well to the topography on modern maps; nor does it appear that natural and cultural elements, to the degree to which these latter can be identified with present-day features, were mapped in proper register with the plantation grid. The existence of that cadastral grid, cut and marked on the ground at the time the map was drawn, is therefore questionable. This map, with the others, is best regarded as rather impressionistic. Nevertheless, Moth's report on work on the King's land may have been based more on what he saw on this new map than on personal inspection of the terrain.

The promised map of the East End quarters, which were described as "surveyed", was finally dispatched to Copenhagen in September, together with a new land list.28 The map is lost. It was reported in the letter with which these documents were enclosed that Mohrsen, the assistant surveyor, had died, and that Schopen was recovering from a long illness. The governor regretted the more, therefore, that the new engineer had not arrived from Denmark.29 The work had apparently come to a complete stop, for there was no other word on the survey. In fact, there was no further report on the survey in 1743.

In Copenhagen, the Directors and bookkeepers were becoming increasingly distressed with the state of the various books and lists kept on St. Croix. In December of 1743, they wrote that they had received an extract of the books through the end of 1742: this extract was judged to be of little use. The Directors found it necessary to suggest

28 Vgk. 863, August 29, 1743.
29 Vgk. 105, Generalbrev, September 20 (possibly 10), 1743.
that the records of payments collected on account for plantation land should agree with entries in the land lists.\textsuperscript{30}

Rather deep in the body of the letter, the Directors announced that Moth had been dismissed from his post, ostensibly on account of his age and the state of his health. (Legal action taken against Moth the following year, related directly to various of his actions while in office, cast some doubt on this excuse.) He was to be replaced by Christian Schweder, who was being sent out from Copenhagen.

The Company's orders to Schweder required him to find and send to Copenhagen all unaccounted-for or cancelled plantation deeds: Moth's protestations concerning these documents had not impressed the Directors and may even be thought to have aroused suspicion. They made no effort to conceal their scepticism from Schweder. Furthermore, Schweder was to investigate the illicit export of lumber from St. Croix. In giving this order, the Directors called particular attention to a statement of Moth's to the effect that most timber felled in the course of cutting survey lines was either burned or left where it fell in the lines. Schweder was to confirm this. As far as the St. Croix cadastre went, Schweder was simply given a copy of the original orders of November 16, 1733.\textsuperscript{31}

A little light is thrown on the drafting of these long handwritten letters by the fact that, in one section of this missive, the Directors approved the bonuses offered Schopen and Mohrsen and then, a little further on, acknowledged Mohrsen's death. Though in no way as significant as the slowness of transport, the tediousness of writing, and perhaps the difficulty of finding and retaining accomplished scribes, had a certain effect on communication. Record-keeping in the West Indies can be thought to have been strongly influenced in this way.

\textsuperscript{30} Vgk. 60, General missive, December 16, 1743.
\textsuperscript{31} Vgk. 28, orders for Christian Schweder, December 16, 1743.
(Chapter Four is continued on the next page. The sequence of footnotes recommences with the numeral 1.)
CHAPTER FOUR (Continued)

3. 1744

By April, 1744, Schweder had arrived in St. Thomas and relieved Moth as governor of the colony. Gregers Nissen, the vice-governor for St. Croix, also left his post at about this time. He was replaced by an energetic and rather abrasive man named Lindemark or Lindemarck.1 Johan Schopen remained in charge of the survey.

In April, Schweder ordered Schopen to take a Lieutenant Fritsche on as his assistant for a month's trial on the survey.2 Fritsche did not work out as a surveyor: Schopen reported in June that the Lieutenant was of absolutely no use, lacking mathematical and geometrical background, and requested a replacement.3

In April, an inventory of the Company's property, including the plantation Princess, was taken. Lindemark, Lindesay, and Smidt attested that

the plantation's size is reckoned to be 3000 feet broad and 6000 feet long, not counting the underlying land for savanna, nor the wood or boscage lying above or to the south.4

This is an excellent example of the cadastral confusion and slack language of the period. The size of the areas of pastureage and woodland reserved to the Company's plantation (if in fact these were reserved in any formal way, and protected from

1 Vgk. 528. 1744 is one of the few years for which some local correspondence and orders are preserved in the "letter, order, and placard books for St. Croix".
2 Vgk. 106, Schweder, St. Croix, April 15, 1744.
3 Vgk. 106, Schopen, St. Croix, [to Schweder,] June 5, 1744.
4 Generaltoldkammeret, Vestindiske og guineiske sager, diverse dokumenter 1754-1848 (65), Christian Martfeldts Samlinger om Dansk Vestindien, [Volume VII] (?), labelled on spine 'Om Westindien' (hereafter referred to as 'Chr. Martfeldt's collection'); Lindemark, Lindesay, and Smidt, St. Croix, April 24, 1744.
alienation) was in no way specified. The information that the woods above the plantation lay to the south is extremely imprecise: woods south of Princess could have lain along two of the plantation's sides or even, if the phrase is taken literally, cater-cornered to its southwest corner. Nor can it safely be assumed that if the woods above the plantation lay to the south, the savanna below it lay to the north. The wording fits quite a large area.

The inventory included another list of surveyor's equipment. A couple of "mostly unusable" astrolabes are mentioned, as well as chains of iron and brass, compasses, rulers (one of ivory), and various mathematical treatises and books of tables. There were also four irons for marking corner posts and two tin canteens "for the assistant surveyors to have water in." 5

Late in April, Lindemark issued an order summoning all landowners to a series of assemblies for the purpose of comparing all deeds with the protocol books. 6 This was conceivably a routine audit, but the action expressed a substantial lack of faith in the cadastral practices of the previous administration. It is also possible that this undertaking had a specific target, namely Moth.

An indication of the small extent and importance of settlement on the West End is provided by an order issued by Lindemark on May 20: in setting recompense for the expenses of individuals called to Christiansted in connection with court cases, no provision at all was made for Prince's and West End quarters, since there were only a few settlers there, "and the roads long." 7 This amounted to an exemption from service on juries or commissions that may have been embodied from time to time.

5 This portion of the inventory bears the date June 26, 1744.
6 Vgk. 528, Lindemark, April 29, 1744.
7 Vgk. 528, Lindemark, May 20, 1744.
A few days later, Lindemark recorded a meeting held with the so-called quarter-captains on the repair of the roads. It was resolved or ordered

that all, without distinction, shall maintain the King's roads and twice a year, 

namely in July and December or January, in (?) general repair them....

Further, all roads which go to 4 or 5 plantations are regarded as public roads and 
are therefore to be cleaned by the whole land, but not for one or two planters; 
they will themselves clean their roads separately.8

The language is reasonably clear concerning roads serving only one or two planters, 
and those serving four or five. What then was the official position regarding roads 
that served three plantations? It was part of the spirit of the time that such rights and 
obligations were so broadly stated: the interpretation and fulfillment of the provisions 
of such ordinances will have been equally round and intuitive and liable to abuse. The 
language is unselfconscious rather than legalistic, and this was not necessarily what 
the situation called for: the obligations imposed will have had the weight of law, not 
just of agreement and convention.

In the same missive, Lindemark addressed the problem of water. St. Croix is not 
well watered, on the whole, and rainfall is highly irregular,9 but the supply of water, 
and rights of access to same, had not previously been discussed in the Company 
correspondence. Lindemark regarded it as quite a serious problem:

8 Vgk. 528, Lindemark, May 23, 1744.
Since so many planters, and it is also they that have the best sugar lands and therefore need the most water for their works, have so long a way to go, as much as 4 or 5 English miles for water, both for their works and many beasts, I wonder if the old waterholes and pans from French times ought not to be rooted out, cleaned, and made without anyone's hindrance common waterholes and ponds by those concerned in the Quarter, and so maintained annually, as on an English island, Antigo.

The old French dams and wells must have been fairly substantial works if they were still evident in the landscape, though overgrown, fifty years after the French evacuation of the island. The relationship between sources of water and the new pattern of land holding being established on St. Croix was clearly matter for discussion: Lindemark found it advisable to suggest a link between common access to water and public maintenance of the necessary structures. Furthermore, this appears to have been a foreign notion, imported perhaps by Lindemark himself, or suggested to him by one of the English settlers.

The Company was by now taking an interest in the restoration of the old French sugar plantation on the West End known as La Grange. Lindemark noted the usefulness of the remains of the old boiling house and other buildings and reported to Copenhagen that the work of clearing would be relatively light because of earlier French cultivation. The dimensions of the proposed new plantation had not yet been established: Lindemark suggested making it six thousand feet square. There were some settlers in the area by this time, and it appeared that the land of some of these might be affected by the laying out of such a tract for the Company. Lindemark also suggested the repair of the old French battery on the West End. He favored the development of a safe anchorage and landing, but not of a town of any substance—Negotie-staed.

10 Vgk. 106, Lindemark, St. Croix, June 25, 1744; Vgk. 528, [Lindemark, June, 1744] (?).
In June, Schopen castigated the Royal inspectors for their failure to provide the survey party with the slaves, food and drink, and shelter required by Moth's placard of December 12, 1741. The complaint explicitly stated that the survey had progressed as far as King's Quarter, but Lindemark's letter of June 23 to the Directors indicates that Queen's Quarter was by no means completely taken up or surveyed, and that nothing had been accomplished west of that quarter. Lindemark found the survey intolerably slow. He complained that the assistant surveyors lived in town and spent each night at home: clearly they could not be on the job from dawn to dusk as required by the placard, and the work had to depend excessively on the "compass negroes".

The Company was now moving to dispossess Moth of the small plantation he claimed next to Princess, and Lindemark reported to the Directors that in two years no more had been cleared and planted there than "22 acres of land, each acre 70 yards square or 210 feet". (Lindemark spelled the words "aker" and "yards"). In Danish, the word ager, corresponding to the English acre, signifies field rather than a unit of measure. This seems to be the first example of this usage to appear in Company documents concerning St. Croix. Yard in the sense used here has no exact Danish cognate. The acre defined by Lindemark contained 44,100 square Danish feet, or about 45,410 square English feet, and was thus larger than the English acre by 1,850 square feet. The discrepancy is not insignificant, but it is the invention or adaptation from English practice, by the Danish administrator of a West Indian island, of a unit of measure without any Danish antecedent that is of most interest here. Measures of land that did not necessarily mesh easily or evenly with the simple official system of recording the dimensions of plantations were in common use among St. Croix planters: the administration recorded land in terms of length and breadth, while the planters

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11 Chr. Martfeldt's collection, Schopen to Lindemark, June 16, 1744; Vgk. 328.
Lindemark, June 20, 1744.
12 Vgk. 106, Lindemark, St. Croix, June 25, 1744.
apparently thought of land in terms - and foreign terms - of area. Communication about the quantity of land conveyed or taxed was thus to some degree impaired. It will be seen that representations were later made to Copenhagen to resolve this problem.

A governmental letter to Copenhagen from St. Croix dated June 27, 1744, discusses the conflict over Moth's plantation next to Princess as follows:

[We hope] (?) that the [Directors] will regard the disagreement with ... Governor Moth regarding the piece of plantation land lying just south of the Company's plantation called Princess which ... Governor Moth has taken up and made himself a plantation of [thus]; that it is absolutely necessary that the same come back again to said plantation Princess, which most of it was formerly, before the last line measured by the former surveyor Jens Friis. For the western area of the plantation Princess, as it is now laid out, is not good sugar land. With the addition of this piece of land, the plantation could be worth a good windmill.¹³

The statement that the disputed lot lay south of Princess is at odds with all other documentary evidence. It is perhaps best to ascribe this discrepancy to a secretary's error. It will be seen that Moth's plantation lay east of Princess - two points north of east, in fact. Friis's last line cannot easily be identified, nor is it clear how the dimensions of Princess can have been affected by such a line, unless the plantation's boundaries had never been demarcated. Aside from Moth's lot, the cadastral context is ignored. The letter does not really question the legitimacy of Moth's claim, and the arguments offered for dispossessing him are strictly pragmatic: it would be to the Company's advantage to have use of the piece of land in question.

¹³ Vgk. 106, Lindemark, Schopen, and Smidt, St. Croix, June 27, 1744.
The introduction of a windmill into the discussion seems inapposite: a mill was apparently thought of as a dramatic measure of the worth of a plantation, for the investment required would be substantial. (The rise of the sugar economy on St. Croix was to be marked by the proliferation of windmills, which were seized on by cartographers as significant cultural symbols.) The letter also contains a request for “a new astrolabe of as large a diameter as is to be had” for the use of the surveyors.

In a personal letter to the Directors in late June, Governor Schweder, on St. Thomas, discussed planters coming to St. Croix from other islands:

but as the land is not to date surveyed, it is the more difficult to show them to plantation lots. Nor can it be expected, neither this year nor for years, to bring the survey to an end with the one surveyor there is.\textsuperscript{14}

He asked for help. If surveyors could not be had, carpenters or masons would do - anyone with experience of measurement. He went on to complain of the difficulty of the job. The surveyor had

to work through the bushes, which grow so thick that one can with neither hand or foot force a way through, wherever it may be.

Schweder enclosed two maps with this letter. One of these was a map of Queen’s Quarter. No such map of this date is known to have survived. The other depicted Moth’s plantation. Apparently, this map, too, is lost.

Lindemark continued the delegation of responsibility for the cutting and maintenance of roads on St. Croix. A resolution in English dated July 7, 1744, signed by eight residents and endorsed and confirmed by Lindemark ran as follows:

\textsuperscript{14}Vgk. 106, Schweder, St. Thomas, June 26, 1744.
At a meeting of wee the underwritten Burgers of the queen’s and the Company’s quarters to the South of the Center Line wee have with the Govr Consent agreed that the following order shall be followed:

That there shall be two Burgers Chosen out of each quarter to assist the Cap. to mend and lay out all Convenient paths in each quarter and them to be to the Leest preejudice of Each person whoes Land the path shall goe trugh, and that Each path soe mended or laid out shall be thirty feet broad, and that Each and every one, in each quarter, shall furnish every day duering their working on the paths one third part of their duty able slaves, with bills howes etc. and that two white men shall every day take their turns in the path, till they are finished.\(^\text{15}\)

The order established penalties for failure to comply with these provisions and continued:

the paths in both quarters shall actually be mended twice in the year and as often else as the Cap. & the two Burgers of ye quarters where ye path is to be mended shall think fitt.

A post script required “The paths to be began to be mended in fourteen days from this”.

It is of interest that the Center Line was used, at least in this area, as a sort of administrative boundary dividing both quarters. Presumably the citizenry south of the line was to be responsible for the South Side Road: a similar order records that A. V. Beverhout, Neils Brun, and V. French, as representatives of Queen’s Quarter, “have agreed that two men may be chosen out of Sd quarter to mend the Kinghs road, now

\(^{15}\text{Vgr. 528, Lindemark, etc., St. Croix, July 7, 1744.}\)
opened in Sd quarter\textsuperscript{16}. Probably this order referred only to Queen's Quarter north of Center Line. It was provided that

the third path (\textit{s/c}) of such inhabitants slaves, with their overseers as lives to the Westward of Sd Quarter shall meet at the Kings line \textit{with} their hoes and Bills &c. and shall mend & repair to the Estward of Sd Road and those Inhabitants slaves, and overseers that lives next the Estward most part of the quarter shall begin at the Princess line, and mend Westward till both gangs meet and repair the road Effectually. \ldots the path or Kings Road shall be at least thirty feet wide.

Essentially similar orders were issued at about this time for Prince's and West End quarters, though without any mention of the Center Line.\textsuperscript{17} There is no indication that any of the roads ordered cut or cleared in fact ran down the Center Line. The King's Road is stated to have crossed the Princess boundary and therefore cannot have coincided with the Center Line, unless "the Princess line" referred to more than the property line proper, which, in the context, is unlikely. It appears that Moth's orders for the opening of the Center Line as a road had never been carried out.

Similar arrangements were made regarding roads on the East End. Those roads, however, were to be laid out "twelve foot wide without it is convenient places for carting, and in such places the paths to be thirty foot wide".\textsuperscript{18} The suggestion seems to be that in most places on the East End, the terrain would not permit the use of carts, so there was in general no need to cut the roads wide enough to accommodate them. Twelve feet seems wide enough for almost any slow-moving traffic; a thirty-foot road will have cut quite a swath through the bush.

\textsuperscript{16} Vgk. 528, Lindemark, Beverhout, Brun, and French, St. Croix, July 28, 1744.

\textsuperscript{17} Vgk. 528, July 7, 1744 (\?).

\textsuperscript{18} Vgk. 528, July 28, 1744 (\?).
In a letter from St. Thomas to St. Croix, Schweder expressed himself confused about the size of building lots in Christiansted described as being "100 quadrate feet": "since we do not know how the 100 quadrate feet is to be understood . . . either it is 100 feet in width and 100 feet in length which makes 10,000 feet, or how same shall be understood". Obviously the lots were not ten feet on a side. However, the matter cannot lightly be dismissed. Schweder had run into what appears to have been a strictly West Indian practice and was justifiably bewildered. Quite early, it had become customary to record the size of plantations in a peculiar manner. For example, in the tax roll for St. Croix for 1742, the East End property of Adriaan von Bewerhoudt (who himself "lived with fiancée and children in town") was recorded as follows: Bewerhoudt owned two cotton plantations and a small lot, of which "the one plantation . . . is 2000 feet wide and 3000 feet long [which] is 6000 quadrate feet". The small lot was "1000 feet long and 1000 feet wide [which] is 1000 quadrate feet". How the equivalence of one million square feet and "1000 quadrate feet" was arrived at is a mystery. The usage may have originated as a clerk's shorthand or even as an arithmetic error, but it became standard practice. Confusion could obviously arise when, as was common, the lengths and breadths of the plantations were not recorded alongside this misleading areal measure, especially in the case of tracts of land of irregular, non-standard size and shape. (In the 1960s, a protracted dispute between two major industrial landholders with interests in a deep-water port in Krause Lagoon, on the South Side, revolved in part around the proper interpretation of such entries in the old land registers.)

19 Bancroft Library, Documents relating to the Danish West Indies, 1655-1852, Z-A 1,(on the second of four reels of microfilm of this collection). Schweder, etc., St. Thomas, July 23, 1744.
20 Vgk. 849, Land list for 1742, dated St. Croix, August 10, 1743.
21 Statement, entitled "Krauses Lagoon", by H. T. Heering and Poul Lanken, Royal Chartered Land Surveyors, April 4, 1966. Heering and Lanken were engaged to investigate the matter by one of the parties to this conflict. This document was very kindly provided by Heering's son, Mr. Harald Heering of Lyngby, Denmark.
In August, 1744, Lindemark addressed the following remarks to the Directors in Copenhagen:

Is it not curious, the land lies for the most part in bush, and yet not more than one [person] has yet been able to buy plantations from the... Company, aside from 2 or 3 who have gone off to the West End, so completely is the land taken up, from sea to sea.22

He then launched into a tirade against landowners who were not cultivating their plantations but exploiting them for their timber and waiting for land prices to rise. Lindemark exaggerated a bit, to be sure, but the contrast between his portrayal of the island largely in bush and the impression received from the land lists is very strong.

Pursuant to the Directors' orders of the previous December regarding the various lists and accounts kept on St. Croix, Lindemark wrote to Governor Schweder on St. Thomas in September demanding maps:

I hereby request that the maps, asked for so often, of the surveyed quarters, such as East End A & B, as well as Company's and Queen's, which are said to be surveyed, might be conveyed to me in the original or in copies, as I cannot otherwise know occupied from unoccupied lots... 23

The relationship among the maps, existing cadastral lists, and the clarifications and new returns that Lindemark had been ordered to get concerning the population settled on the land is not entirely clear. The method by which the censuses were taken is unknown: a covering letter with the list of 1744 states that the count had been "taken

22 Vgk. 106, Lindemark, St. Croix, August 5, 1744.
23 Vgk. 528, Lindemark, St. Croix, September 23, 1744.
by Lieut. Lindemarck and [Smidt] in September and early in October". Given the wild state of the island that Lindemark had described, it may actually have been impracticable to gather the information in the field without maps: clearings may have been small and remote and landowners, many of whom were in fact absentees, difficult to track down. Many lots that were subject to taxation were wholly unimproved, and the census taker in the field would need cadastral maps to distinguish between these and unsold lots, even if the lots had been properly surveyed and marked, which cannot safely be assumed. Whether or not the census was in fact taken in the field (and it is likely that the information was gathered in any way that was convenient, including by word of mouth and guesswork), Lindemark needed reference maps to organize the work as well as the returns. There was an indication elsewhere in the letter that Lindemark had some maps at his disposal but found them inadequate. He seemed to doubt that maps of Company’s and Queen’s quarters had been prepared, but he did not question the survey of the two East End quarters. There is no indication that he had any cartographic aids at all for the rest of the island.

In November, the Directors, who were becoming seriously concerned about the state of the official records of St. Croix, offered the following assessment of the situation:

We have reason enough to fear that the necessary correctness, from the very beginning, in holding an orderly census book and land register of all the inhabitants who have come to St. Croix, as well as accounts concerning the plantation lots conveyed to and measured off for them, and deeds issued thereto [as well as indebtedness, interest on same, and status of initial exemption from taxation] and so on, has not been kept in the necessary order and correctness.

24 Vgk. 106, Smidt, St. Croix, November 2, 1744.
25 Vgk. 60, General missive, November 19, 1744.
The Directors called for a complete audit and overhaul of the records. They were about ten years too late.

In a letter of the same date to Schweder, the Directors included a special reprimand for Schopen: it was their understanding that a good number of settlers were seeking land on St. Croix, and they wanted these people to encounter no delays in taking up land. The Directors further ordered, in another letter of this date, that Assistant Bech was to be subordinated to Schopen. They were sending out an individual named Hartwigsen, "whom we have had trained here in geometry so that he can survey and measure in every way". Furthermore, even if another engineer was to be sent out, Schopen was to continue with the survey, with the work proceeding in two places. The local administration was ordered, in short, to pursue the survey vigorously. Lindemark was instructed to introduce order into the land and tax registers. He was advised that he could expect all necessary help in the form of maps and other documents preserved at the seat of government on St. Thomas. The job was to be done "once and for all". Finally, the Directors approved Lindemark's suggestion about clearing out the old French water holes, "whereby those who are far from water... can the more easily get the water needed for their works": the issue of the ownership of the land around these ponds and of public access across that land seems to have required no discussion.

On December 31, the Directors wrote again. Yet another astrolabe was being sent out to the Indies, with various "engineer instruments". Hartvigsen was again mentioned, in apologetic terms: the Directors admitted that "as far as the pen is concerned, he is not particularly practiced, nor can it be expected that he will very quickly become perfect at it".

26 Vgk. 60, to Schweder, November 19, 1744.
27 Vgk. 60, to Lindemark, etc., November 19, 1744.
28 Vgk. 60, General missive, December 31, 1744.
A number of enclosures went with this letter. One of these enumerated a series of maps—all, apparently, of the Company’s plantation Princess. Two maps by Jens Friis were mentioned, one dated August 18, 1738, the other July 29, 1739. There was a map made by Schopen in 1743; there was apparently another map that had been enclosed with a letter from Schweder in June of 1744; and finally there was a map sent by Moth in a letter of June 30, 1744. Only three such maps have been found at the Danish Rigsarkiv: Friis’s map of 1738, [Map 9] a map by Schopen, [Map 13] and a map signed by Moth. [Map 14] Of the five maps in the Directors’ hands, they were returning a copy of one to the West Indies: this was Friis’s 1738 map. As the Directors point out, this map showed Princess to be four thousand feet wide, as they were to argue it should be in the impending case against Moth’s claim to a neighboring plantation. It may not be especially significant that this map of Friis’s was the only one returned to St. Thomas. Perhaps no copy of it had been kept in the islands, but it would be interesting to know if Friis’s second map, which is missing, depicted Princess in exactly the same manner (as Mariager, the Company bookkeeper in Copenhagen, now claimed). The Directors also sent out a copy of an extract of a deed to the disputed property that Moth had issued to himself late in 1743. The case against Moth was being developed. Judgment in the matter was not rendered until the spring of 1746, and the affair will be discussed in that context.

4. 1745

On March 30, 1745, Schopen reported to the local government that no more than two quarters and the north side remained to be surveyed and marked. Progress

29 Vgk. 60, Enclosure with the General missive of December 31, 1744.
30 Vgk. 284. The three maps are bound into the record of the litigation between the Company and Moth.
31 Chr. Martfeldt’s collection, Mariager, Copenhagen, December 24, 1744.
32 Chr. Martfeldt’s collection, Schopen, March 30, 1745.
cannot be called rapid: the work had stopped the previous June, for lack of cooperation from the King's inspectors, at the Queen's-King's quarter, so all Schopen can have accomplished since then was the survey of King's Quarter. It can be doubted that a large effort had been made to clearly demarcate all the lots in King's quarter one from another, since the King still owned them all. At any rate, something approaching half the area of the island remained to be surveyed.

The actual surveying and marking was only part of the problem. In a report to Copenhagen in April, Governor Schweder admitted that he had not been able to resolve the problem of missing deeds. Perhaps the greatest of his difficulties was the prevalence of absentee land ownership. "To put it shortly", he wrote to the Directors, "there are more difficulties here than you could imagine." He also reported that the survey was being held up by illness. Perhaps to corroborate this, he then launched into a long description of his own ailments, ending: "in fact at this moment I can scarcely guide my pen". Finally, he expressed the fear that Schopen was about to quit.

Also in April, Schopen, who had been the object of special instructions that he was not to draw a *per diem* except when actually in the field, wrote a long, angry letter about the survey to the Directors. It read in part:

> As I see that the (honorific) Direction has hitherto had no right idea of the survey here in this land, I must for its better enlightenment and insight clearly represent the state of the same, so that all needless expense thereby may be spared.35

Hartvigsen, who had arrived from Denmark, was of no use whatever, Schopen wrote.

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33 Vgk 863, list for 1744.
34 Vgk. 107, Schweder, St. Thomas, April 10, 1745.
35 Vgk. 107, Schopen, St. Croix, April 17, 1745.
and I have also never requested more than one under surveyor as assistant, not because such a one could be a great help to me with the survey, since no barricade posts are or can be set except in my presence, but so that another could peu à peu obtain the experience and science of the survey [against the possibility] that I (who have now sacrificed my health almost completely to the survey, and am therefore always sickly) should depart this life.

It will serve for even better enlightenment that one cannot every day go out on the survey, because the lines must first be cut through the woods before one can proceed to the actual surveying. If it was, as in Europe, in the fields, one could measure daily, and then I would have done more in one than has not now been done in 3 years. From which is seen that the survey is not at a standstill, even though I am not measuring, for when I stake out the lines every 2 and 3000 feet, begin same, and make sure that they are being cut straight on the right bearing, then I do not measure, while yet the survey is going strong.

On top of that, the lines for a whole or at least half a quarter must first be cut, and then such ground checked roughly to see if and where the lines are cut crooked, and stray from the right compass point, before I can proceed to the final survey and to set the barricade posts. [The Directors can themselves judge] if I dare entrust this work to anyone who is not thoroughly versed in geometry.

Schopen does not make clear exactly how much of the work was done in his absences, which were in fact necessitated by his other duties in Christiansted. It is certain, however, that the supervision of the cutting of the lines was intermittent. Mistakes made between the start of the work and Schopen's recheck will have been costly, in time and labor, to repair. It can perhaps be thought that Schopen was willing to accept a certain amount of error, and perhaps quite a bit, whether of his own or the compass negroes' making. A little work with a pair of compasses and the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey topographic field sheets prepared almost two hundred years after
Schopen made his survey reveals that by no means all the standard plantations, as these were recovered by the modern surveyors, are the same size; not all lines are parallel, and the distances between parallel lines are not uniform.36 A good deal of this irregularity can reasonably be ascribed to Schopen and other Company surveyors.

Schopen had a word of praise for Beck, who "understands something of the art of drawing, and can be of use to me in that regard", but on the whole, it does not advance the survey, when one has 4 or 5 surveyors; the best improvement thereto would be if I was furnished with enough negroes to cut the lines. . . . One or two whites must supervise these negroes, and drive them daily diligently to work.

The latter need not be paid very much for their work compared to surveyors, he pointed out, and the Company could thus hold down the costs of the survey. An accompanying letter from the St. Croix administration reiterates that it was not surveyors and white overseers that were in short supply, but slaves, especially on the uncut West End, where work was now beginning; and "everyone must know that the whites do not work with hoes or axes here".37

Schopen went on to complain about his wages, and especially about the suggestion that he be deprived of his per diem. After three years' work, he calculated that he had made four and a half rigsdaler per surveyed plantation, which was not much "to survey a piece of land 2000 feet wide and 3000 feet long through a wild and impassible wood": the Governor made five rigsdaler just for signing the deed, of which

37 Vgk. 107, Lindemark, etc., St. Croix, April 28, 1745.
there might be three or four, if a plantation was subdivided.\textsuperscript{38} The surveyor finally threatened to resign.

Lindemark also submitted an informative report concerning the survey in April. First, he reported no progress in the matter of missing and improperly recorded deeds: "Regarding the deeds, I did what I could, in taking the past year's census, to find the errors, but the occasion did not rightly permit it".\textsuperscript{39} Lindemark had been defeated by the chaotic state of the records. On the survey itself:

[The Directors] are mistaken if [they] think that the survey will go quickly because there are many white persons on the job, for there are only 10 negroes, of which one serves Mr. Schopen, another the under-surveyors, and one usually sick. Thus probably with one under-surveyor, or who drives the negroes, and one head surveyor, who can be in charge of the measuring, especially now that they are coming to the West End quarters, where no lines have ever been cut as in all the other quarters.\ldots

Lindemark apparently mislaid his train of thought. He expressed the wish that

the concerned persons in the surveyed quarters would submit in writing, and Mr. Schopen take good care to get them to sign in the protocol-book, that they have received their land. For you will find that the survey has mostly gone after the 4 main lines of each quarter (whereafter one can easily work out at home how many whole and half plantations there are) and only the old lines opened, whereafter the posts which are set stand - some 50, others up to 200 feet - off the old and now cleared lines, but the citizens complain that they want the lines

\textsuperscript{38} Vgk. 107, Schopen, St. Croix, April 17, 1745.
\textsuperscript{39} Vgk. 107, Lindemark, St. Croix, April 24, 1745.
from pole to pole, which, if it had been done, would not have gone so easily, but it is better that something was done about it than nothing.

Thus the subdivision was being executed mostly on paper, and, at that, the essential formalities were apparently not being observed. Not much surveying was being done. In Queen's quarter, for example, which is six plantations wide and seven or more deep, four north-south lines four miles long and four east-west lines two miles long would be required just to divide the quarter into blocks of four plantations, with each plantation surveyed and marked down two of its sides. Even this would amount to only two-thirds of the necessary measuring. The four lines mentioned by Lindemark, if he is to be taken literally, would provide the merest adumbration of the cadstral grid. The planters were left to find for themselves the greatest portion of their property lines, and it was a long way from pole to pole through the bush: even a two-hundred-foot traverse giving the bearing of a boundary amounted to no more than a tenth of the width of one of the plantations. Under these circumstances, the validity of the surveyor's protocol book, if the land-owners could be induced to subscribe to such a sketchy record; of deeds and deed protocol books; and of the land registers themselves is open to question. Moth's placard of December 1741 had failed to create an original and unseverable link between tracts demarcated on the ground and the official records of land ownership. Lindemark was still talking about schemes drawn in offices - lacking any real expression on the land. The distinction between allocation and demarcation, if it was clearly understood in all its implications for immediate and future security of title, was ignored in the interest of creating conveyable though poorly defined properties.

Lindemark dismissed the possibility that Beck, the head clerk in the Company office in Christiansted, and indispensable in that position, might be of service on the survey. According to Lindemark, Beck was too frail and sickly to be of any use: he would not last a week in the bush. Lindemark also related that eleven new families had
arrived on St. Croix, mostly from Anguilla; most of these had moved out to the West End, "so this is also now almost taken up as far as the mountains of the North Side, except La Grans".

In May of 1745, the Directors sent an angry letter to the West Indies, expressing astonishment that the required audit and revision of the various Company books and land registers not been accomplished. Furthermore,

this indefensible default, of such important and necessary information, is clearly seen to have its origin in the great confusion which has existed since Commandant Moth’s time, and although it already should have been remedied, it not only continues but even seems to have increased and been made worse.40

Schweder was threatened with dismissal. The Directors were sending out David Kuhl, who was to serve as surveyor for all three islands. This was a serious underestimate of the work remaining to be done on St. Croix, but perhaps the Directors were taking the long view that when the initial survey and mapping of St. Croix was finished, then perhaps one man could comfortably handle all three islands.

In November, referring to Lindemark’s report that almost all land except in the mountains of the North Side had been sold, the Directors complain that "we lack a reliable accounting and explanation, so necessary and unavoidably required, on the subject".41 They expressed confidence that the information they required would be forthcoming with the next ship. On the last day of the year, the Directors wrote that they were sending out a man named Cronenberg, who was to serve as a surveyor unless it was judged that Kuhl required no assistance, in which case Cronenberg was to be set to some other work.

40 Vgk 60, General missive, May 31, 1745.
41 Vgk. 60, November 22, 1745, to Lindemark, etc., St. Croix.
(Chapter Four is continued on the next page. The sequence of footnotes recommences with the numeral 1.)
Late in 1743, one of the Heiligers was reported to have complained that Nissen had opened and surveyed an old road, closed for a long time, on [Heyliger's] plantation, which he claims is very detrimental to him, and, as he says, that there is another way in the Center Line.¹

Lindemark asked Nissen to see "what can reasonably be done, for although no roads can be refused, these should be cut reasonably and to everyone's least prejudice". Early in January of 1746, Lindemark described the old road in question as "a long time abandoned". The language was not precise, but the road was probably a relic of the French occupation of St. Croix. It is likely to have been the road which is shown on Beck's map [Map 17] crossing the Center Line in the extreme southwest corner of lot number 20 in West End Quarter and running northwest up through 21 in the direction of La Grange. These two lots were owned by Peter and Johan Heiliger, according to the land register of 1746.² By January 10, 1746, the Heiligers had blocked access to the road. Lindemark concluded that the closing of the road, which he now referred to as an "old common King's or public way", was entirely unlawful.³ The Heyligers' motive may simply have been to avoid responsibility for its maintenance. Their action would add a couple of miles to the journey from where this old road crossed the Center Line to La Grange and places to the north. The dispute thereafter disappeared from the documentation: presumably the Heiligers were forced to yield to the common weal, for

¹ Vgk. 108, Lindemark to Nissen, Xtember 29, 1745.
² Vgk 863, list for 1746, dated August 7, 1749.
³ Vgk. 108, Lindemark to Schuster, January 10, 1746.
the road is shown running up through their plantations on the earliest maps of the area.

By January of 1746, a map had been made of the La Grange plantation and was referred to in local correspondence: there seems to have been some question about the locations of plantations neighboring or perhaps infringing upon La Grange. A copy of such a map, signed by Schopen, but showing the outline of the proposed town of Frederiksted, which was a later development, is preserved in the Map Collection of the Royal Library in Copenhagen. [It is not reproduced here]

In the land list for 1746, the section on West End Quarter identifies a discrepancy in the numbering system between the numbers in the original deed protocol books and those shown on "the surveyor's map"; both numbers were provided where necessary. The existence of this map in 1746 is questionable, however, for the land list in question was prepared in August of 1749. It may or may not have been based on an original prepared in 1746, but it is certainly corrupted by entries, in the body of the list itself, dating to 1747 and 1748. There is no mention of any map showing the West End in other documents that clearly date to 1746.

Also in January, Lindemark again reported to Copenhagen that the land was almost all taken up. However, in a general governmental letter from St. Croix of about the same date, it was reported that "not much progress has been made with the survey since the Directors were pleased to cut [Schopen's] salary". It had been decided that La Grange should be laid out six thousand by forty-five hundred feet; a map was sent to Copenhagen. The state of the cadastral survey was pretty well revealed by a passage in

4 Vgk. 108, Lindemark to Sebøtker, January 22, 1746.
5 Vgk. 863, list for 1746, dated August 7, 1749.
6 Vgk. 108, Lindemark, St. Croix, January 4, 1746.
another letter from Lindemark to Copenhagen, in which he referred to a plantation conveyed on the North Side of the island which is not surveyed, but should lie in a straight line with Robinson's, the previously taken up plantation No. 4, on the northern side, which plantation was by me granted him.\textsuperscript{7}

Lindemark was presumably referring to Robinson's lot in Prince's Quarter. It is his failure to mention the quarter's name that is so striking: Robinson's name apparently conveyed the necessary cadastral information most conveniently.

On March 3, 1746, on St. Thomas, judgement was rendered in the legal dispute between Moth and the Company over the piece of land he claimed bordering on the Company's plantation Princess.\textsuperscript{8} The case was a fine test of the cadastre Moth had been entrusted with establishing, and the record was demonstrated to have serious shortcomings, at least in this part of the island. The evidence presented was extremely confused and ambiguous: it is practically impossible to reconcile the various documents of allocation entered into evidence with the maps referred to, with the testimony of witnesses, and with the ruling of the court. However, there is no reason to suppose that the court's conclusions were based solely on the evidence: the Company's court was headed by Christian Schweder, the governor general, part of whose assignment when he had been sent out from Denmark had been to investigate and rectify Moth's mistakes and misdeeds. Furthermore, as has been seen, the Company itself had a substantial economic interest in the outcome.

Jens Michelsen Beck acted against Moth on behalf of the Company. He argued that Princess should have been four thousand by six thousand feet, but that Moth had

\textsuperscript{7} Vgk. 108, Lindemark, St. Croix, January 7, 1746.
\textsuperscript{8} Vgk. 284, case between Moth and the Company.
taken a thousand feet off the plantation's width for himself. He further accused Moth of misuse of Company slaves for his own purposes and of misappropriation of cane for planting. He demanded that the land be returned and that Moth be subjected to a cash penalty. Moth argued that he had laid out Princess in conformity with the Company's orders, and that his plantation had never been the Company's land except in the sense that all unalienated land on the island belonged to the Company.

In December of 1744, the Company's bookkeeper in Copenhagen Peder Mariager had prepared a series of extracts from Moth's letters and from the Company's orders concerning Princess, which, with a copy of Friis's map of Princess, he had sent to the West Indies for use in the suit against Moth. As Mariager pointed out, Article 10 of the original orders of November 16, 1733 had required the reservation of a tract for the Company at least the size of three standard plantations or six thousand feet by three thousand feet. On August 7, 1734, Moth had asked permission to establish for himself a small plantation close to town (and presumably between Princess and town), which was granted him on April 5, 1735. He was to be charged for cotton land, and it had been expressly stipulated that the Company's plantation was not to be affected. In his letter of March 19, 1735, Moth made mention of an area, "the ordered" six thousand by four thousand feet, which he was reserving for the Company's plantation. (In presenting his defense at the time of the trial, Moth stated that the Directors must have realized as soon as they saw these figures, that it had been a lapse on Moth's or his scribe's part - "Lapsu Memoria Sivi(?) Calami" - to have written four thousand instead of three thousand feet. Since one of the copies of this letter gave the dimensions as six hundred by one thousand feet, Moth's claim was not so feeble as it sounds.) Finally, Mariager referred to the map by Friis of the cleared terrain at Princess, which had been sent home from the West Indies on August 18, 1738. Mariager stated that this map

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9 Chr. Martfeldt's collection, P. Mariager, Copenhagen, December 24, 1744.
10 Vgk. 284, case between Moth and the Company.
Mariager did not point out that the map also depicts Princess as eight thousand feet long along its west boundary, extending as far the Center Line: this omission was perhaps not entirely ingenuous. Moth seized on this at the trial:

This map is drawn 4000 feet wide, whereby Mr. Bech means to prove that the plantation Princess was at that time laid out, as he reports, 4000 by 6000 feet, but the good Bech has examined the map but little, for just as it differs from the orders' 10th article in the width, it also does so in the length, and the plantation should according to same have been laid out 4000 by 8000 feet. If one goes a little further, it will be found that the boiling house lies circa 400 feet farther west than in the last map introduced. More, it lies almost 1000 feet too far north against the new map, so it is clearly seen hereby that Jens Friis on his map only... laid out carefully the area he could measure, and for the rest drew the boiling house by guessing, as well as the plantation's length and breadth, as a man unfamiliar with the orders but well knowing that such an area and greater was, in accordance with my letter of March 19, 1733, reserved until the Company's plantation was surveyed.

Moth also quoted the Directors' own letter of August 11, 1742 to the effect that they understood and accepted that Princess was six thousand by three thousand feet. He then attempted to explain the origin of the idea that Princess should have been four thousand feet wide as follows:

At the beginning of the survey, I had a line cut ENE and WSW which came to be called the Center Line. This line was divided into many parts, 4000 feet from one another, where there were then cut cross lines as close to town as was possible.

11 Chr. Martfeldt's collection, P. Mariager, Copenhagen, December 24, 1744.
as some of [the court], especially Capt. Malleville, are certainly aware. When these lines were cut, I kept an area 4000 feet in width and 12000 feet in length which I would not sell to anyone before the Company’s plantation was surveyed. ... and this is purely the reason wherefor so many are mistaken in the 4000 feet’s width”.12

Princess proper had not been laid out until December of 174, he stated.

The three maps introduced as evidence and preserved with the record are difficult to work with, and the use made of them by both Moth and Beck in their presentations in court was confused, if not deliberately misleading. [Maps 9, 13, and 14] Beck used one of the maps (probably Schopen’s) [Map 13] to demonstrate that Princess was six thousand feet long along its west boundary and professed to confirm this fact by reference to Friis’s map, [Map 9] which in fact shows that line as eight thousand feet long. Mention was made of at least one non-existent letter on a map. Other letters were so carelessly placed as to have been of little use. The orientation of the entire area in question, to say nothing of the various boundary lines, was in some doubt. The compass rose on Schopen’s map of Princess is distinguished by a large, heavy cross marking East; the traditional fleur-de-lis marking North appears to have been partially erased: it is at any rate very faint in comparison with the cross. It is difficult to imagine that any of the parties to this dispute may have wished to sow confusion by deliberately effacing the key element of the rose, but the fact remains that Moth indicated in one portion of his testimony that the disputed land lay north of Princess, rather than east. Elsewhere, Moth questioned witnesses concerning a line running east-southeast and west-northwest which had no bearing on the case, and which Schopen testified had never existed. Moth was made to appear foolish.

12 Vgk. 284, case between Moth and the Company.
No recourse seems to have been had in the course of the trial to the official land registers. Aside from maps, the only cadastral documents used were Moth's deed and the deed books. One of the documents Mariager had drawn attention to and returned in copy to the West Indies was an extract of the deed Moth had issued to himself for the plantation in dispute in June, 1744. According to the extract, "the plantation lot is No. 4 1/2 in Company's Quarter... and is 1000... feet wide and (?) on the east barricade from the Center Line to the sea something over 6000 feet... but on the west". Here the passage stopped abruptly. The copy of the pertinent deed book also exhibits a three- or four-line gap at this point: the deed was incomplete.\textsuperscript{13} The extract then continued: "besides a piece beneath No. 4: as much as may fall when same No. 4 is surveyed its 2000... feet quadrate".\textsuperscript{14} This is indeed a questionable allocation. Moth thus claimed a long strip of land that had to have impinged not only on Princess but on lot number 13 to the south of Princess. According to the property commission report rendered to the King in 1739, lot 13 had been deeded in April of 1744, but the deed was missing; the deed book described only a half plantation, but the property was found, without explanation, to be of full size.\textsuperscript{15} The bit of ground "beneath" number 4 could have lain, as described, in any one of what are now numbers 2, 3, or 5. The property commission report made no mention at all of a lot numbered 4 1/2. Princess was not discussed either, but it can reasonably be assumed that number 4 1/2, if it had ever existed as a separate lot, was absorbed into Princess and number 13. The point is that the cadastral record, including documents of allocation, maps, deeds, and land registers, was of little use in the resolution of this dispute. Even if the likelihood of fraud on either part is overlooked, the ambiguity of the records was virtually insurmountable. The court's opinion did not address the cadastral context at all: instead, Moth's contentions and obvious disorientation in court were simply ridiculed, and stress was laid on the fact that his

\textsuperscript{13} Vgk. 529, deed book 'A'.
\textsuperscript{14} Chr. Martfeldt's collection, P. Mariager, Copenhagen, December 24, 1744.
\textsuperscript{15} Chr. Martfeldt's collection, property commission of 1759, ordered April 22, 1755.
deed was on its face incomplete and thus invalid. It was held as self-evident that the intent of the original allocation had been that the Company should receive the larger plot of land. The governor was found guilty as charged, but no culpability was assigned to the cadastral record which had allowed the error (or fraud) in the first place.

Rather an unflattering light was thrown on the court's motives in ruling against Moth by a letter from the St. Croix administration to Copenhagen a few weeks later. Lindemark and his lieutenants expressed regret that Benjamin Smith's claim to Queen's Quarter number 13, which adjoined Princess and would have been a useful wood lot for the Company's plantation, appeared unassailable:

We cannot see any way that it can again come into the Company's hands, as long as he has a lawful deed therefor, for it would not only alarm him, but even more the various residents who have bought plantations, and make them suspicious of their title.1

This righteous concern for the planters' security sounds a little cynical.

In the same letter, the St. Croix officials complained that the government on St. Thomas "has kept and to date still keeps the Building Inspector and Head Surveyor Kuhl sent out actually for St. Croix and time and again puts off our requests with promises". The St. Thomas government's failure to place Kuhl where he was needed most might be explained in various ways; at any rate, their analysis of the situation was that the survey of St. Croix was proceeding well enough without him. (This lack of concern for the other islands' welfare survives to this day, and thrives. Such is insularity.) The letter also reported that ten or twelve acres had already been cleared at La Grange, of which seven or eight had been holed and were ready to be planted in cane.

16 Vgk. 108, Lindemark, etc., St. Croix, March 25, 1746.
Kuhl was eventually sent on to St. Croix, but Lieutenant Cronenberg, when he arrived in the colony, was in turn kept on St. Thomas. Schweder defended this in a letter to the Directors in June, saying that "as long as they that are there have their health, they are enough to perform the survey".17

In a letter of the same date, Lindemark, defending his failure to straighten out the St. Croix books, claimed that adequate census, land, and tax records had simply never been properly kept: of Schweder, he said "he certainly was aware when the books were delivered that neither book nor list had been kept, from the first times on, that could give the successors any information".18 Furthermore,

Barricade posts have still not been set up or branded in parts, still less entered in the books under the proper quarter. Similarly, the survey protocol-book [given] by Monsieur Schopen to Monsieur Kuhl is not in the state which was ordered, nor were any entries made past No. 27 of Company Quarter, although Mr. Kuhl accepted it thus. I have told him to give me a list of everything he has received connected with the survey, as well as the maps thereof.

A stronger indictment of the cadastre could scarcely be brought. Lindemark may have expressed himself rather strongly, it needs to be borne in mind: elsewhere in this letter he accused Schopen outright of theft in his office as the Company's agent or factor. If Lindemark was right about the survey, there was no official record of all the work done in half of Company's Quarter, in all of Queen's and King's, and in all parts of Prince's and West End that had been subdivided. Part of this failure will have been due to Schopen's neglect, part to the reality of the situation: how was a proper record to be kept of sales to planters, many of them absentee, of wild land, only partly and

17 Vgk. 108, Schweder, St. Thomas, June 12, 1746.
18 Vgk. 108, Lindemark, St. Croix, July 12, 1746.
imperfectly surveyed? Settlement was not in step with survey, running ahead in places, and lagging behind in others.

Having blasted Schweder and Schopen, Lindemark turned to Kuhl. The surveyor was old and sick and had not been out in the field more than twice, he wrote,

and to calculate the land in whole, half, and 1/4 parts of plantations at home in his house can certainly be done, but the compass negroes and the whites under him do what they will in the lines, and thus the land will never be surveyed.

The irate Lindemark thus put in a nutshell the procedure of surveying on St. Croix and the reasons the original survey took so long to complete and was so unreliable.

By November, 1746, Schweder, Lindemark, and Schopen had all submitted resignations. The Directors appointed Jens Hansen as Lindemark's successor on St. Croix, but attempted to persuade Schopen to remain on the job. They also sent a detailed re-iteration of their instructions over the years governing the records of conveyance of plantations.

6. 1747

The surveyor Kuhl had been fired by January 20, 1747. He was ordered to hand over tools, maps, registers, compass negroes, and horses to Lieutenant Cronenberg. The report of Kuhl's dismissal referred to his "age and incapacity". It was mentioned, however, that Cronenberg was himself ill. Kuhl refused to step down before he received confirmation of his dismissal from Copenhagen and held on to the surveyor's

19 Vgk. 61, General missive, November 26, 1746.
20 Vgk. 61, to Lindemark, etc., St. Croix, November 26, 1746.
21 Vgk. 109, Generalbrev, St. Croix, February 13, 1747.
It was also reported at this time that former Governor Moth had died on August 13, 1746.

On March 16, 1747, Lieutenant Cronenberg (who is sometimes referred as Cronberg, and whose first name is rendered as both Johan and Jacob) received detailed written orders concerning the survey and mapping of St. Croix, the first such instructions ever issued in the twelve years the project had been under way. These orders apparently originated in the West Indies and may have been issued by Lindemark or his successor Jens Hansen, or by Schweder or his successor Christian Suhm. The orders were in eight sections.

First, Cronenberg was to be responsible for "all the surveyor negroes, in all, ten head, and the whites besides". Second,

He shall duly continue with all the lines, and especially in the most necessary places from Monday morning (if possible) until Friday evening late, and well observe that in particular the impermissible late start Monday mornings as well as their usual altogether too early turn-in time Friday afternoons is altogether done away with, so the ordered 5 work days shall be properly taken up in the lines with suitable work by all concerned,

in which work the parties were to be assisted and supplied in compliance with the placard of December 12, 1741. Third, "since the negroes, as is well known, have

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22 Vgk. 109, Lindemark, St. Croix, February 13, 1747.
23 Vgk. 109, Generalbrev, St. Croix, February 13, 1747.
Saturday afternoon free, to plant provisions, etc. and thus cannot work in the lines that morning without losing the whole day", they are to be set to work at building projects in town until noon. Fourth and fifth, it was ordered,

so that there will be no complaints of unnecessary work, and to know where the work is being done: Mr. Head Surveyor will both begin to measure and set stakes or barricade posts and further continue with the clearing of the lines, from the main line of His Majesty's the King's Quarter, through Prince's and West End as well as North Side quarters... and

The Head Surveyor will monthly submit to me or the appropriate person his written reports of all that has occurred in that month, whether surveying, the cutting of the lines, or so on, and at the same time show me or whom it concerns his... survey protocol book, so that it can be seen if entries have been properly made with day and date, and, as has been ordered, so that it will not happen, as I now hear happened formerly, that survey is indeed done, and barricade posts set, but nothing in the least is entered in the necessary land register or survey protocol-book, to observe well and enter therein everything that pertains. For nothing can yet be ordered for His Majesty's the King's Quarter before a discussion in the Privy Council is held, as the Head Surveyor doubts the correctness of the survey, and the barricade posts planted by Mr. Schopen, since same were not properly entered in the survey protocol book.

The main line of King's Quarter must have been the west quarter line: although the King had sold all but twelve of his plantations by then, the quarter was apparently being skipped over until the doubts about Schopen's work there had been resolved. The monthly reports ordered are very unlikely to have survived, if any were ever rendered.

25 Rtk. 2249.36, Lindemark (copy of Moth, June 19, 1746), July 12, 1746.
The sixth article of the orders provided for the delegation of authority in the event of Cronenberg's illness: the under-surveyors were to report to him every Saturday evening. The seventh article reminded Cronenberg of the advisability of leaving room in his survey protocol-book for unsurveyed areas. The final article ordered him to make a complete and regular map of greater size than the maps already delivered to him the 20 February, of which 2 copies are to be produced, one for the Secretariat, one for the enlightenment, and if possible, complete information of the Directors, as well as one for the information of the pertinent authorities, and so as to know which plantations are sold and not sold, the owners' names and numbers etc., which can be obtained in the Company's office from the land list which has now been taken, must also be inserted by each plantation taken up.

The surveyor's protocol-book, which Moth's placard of December 12, 1741, had decreed should attest to the demarcation of properties, with each entry witnessed by the planters concerned, was apparently not considered the best official source of cadastral information for the map: that information was to be sought in the census lists, which involved no survey. The maps were to be compilations of information officially recorded in other forms. The maps stated to have been given to the surveyor were presumably the outline maps sent out from Copenhagen: no new Danish map of the whole of St. Croix is known to have yet been made.26

Ten weeks after these orders were issued, the St. Croix administration expressed the hope, in a report to Copenhagen, that the survey would be complete by the end of

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26 H. T. Heering and Poul Lanken suggest, without specific documentation, that Schopen had begun on a map of the island, but this had been abandoned because it was at too small a scale. Unpublished draft by Heering and Lanken, Copenhagen, November 9, 1967 (papers held by Harald Heering, Lyngby).
the following year, if Cronenberg survived.\textsuperscript{27} Kuhl was already dead. In July, the Directors sent out their annual demand for satisfactory books for St. Croix, and acknowledged without comment that Cronenberg was now in charge of the survey.\textsuperscript{28}

By September, Lindemark was dead.\textsuperscript{29} The government on St. Croix sent in a long letter in early October promising quick attention to the Directors' demands for proper books; there was no word on the survey itself. The administration's efforts produced the land list for 1745: they were two years behind in their records.\textsuperscript{30}

Cronenberg wrote to Copenhagen early in November stating that he not only expected but promised to be finished with the survey and conveyance of plantations by the end of the following year.\textsuperscript{31} He boasted that he had done more since March than had been accomplished in the preceding three years. His health was failing, however. He also related that "upon my arrival in St. Croix I found myself faced with a very difficult man, namely the late Lindemark, who set store in giving everyone offence": Lindemark had immediately had the surveyor thrown in jail for four days, apparently just for good measure.

7, 1748

By the end of January, 1748, Cronenberg had finished the survey of Prince's Quarter. No map of the work was yet forthcoming.\textsuperscript{32} A map of Prince's Quarter was mentioned in a letter in April, but it is not clear whether it was sent to Copenhagen or only promised.\textsuperscript{33} In any case, a map of Prince's Quarter of this age is not known to exist.

\textsuperscript{27} Vtg. 109, Generalbrev, St. Croix, April 28, 1747.
\textsuperscript{28} Vtg. 61, to Jens Hansen, etc., St. Croix, July 27, 1747.
\textsuperscript{29} Vtg. 109, Hansen, etc., St. Croix, September 23, 1747.
\textsuperscript{30} Vtg. 109, List of documents dispatched, St. Croix, November 3, 1747.
\textsuperscript{31} Vtg. 109, Cronenberg, St. Croix, November 2, 1747.
\textsuperscript{32} Vtg. 110, Generalbrev, St. Croix, February 2, 1748.
\textsuperscript{33} Vtg. 110, Generalbrev, St. Croix, April 23, 1748.
In April, the Directors wrote that the most recent land accounts, for the year 1745, were entirely unsatisfactory. The Directors indicated that they really had no clear idea of where the Company stood. They did not complain about the fact that the list was two years out of date, but they insisted that the various lists and books be made to agree.

Three months later, the Directors dispatched a minor noble to St. Croix with rather a special commission: a former Royal officer, Johan Christopher Jæger von Jægersberg, had been hired by the Company to serve on the St. Croix Privy Council, though initially without a vote. He had also undertaken

not only to survey quite accurately and to draw with geometric lines and bearings, though without color, the land of St. Croix, as well as to lay out the situation of the land with harbors and bays, of which a map is to be sent us, but also to describe the land in all its circumstances.

He was to be paid four hundred rigsdaler, of which three hundred and fifty was advanced to him. The cooperation of all officials on St. Croix was expected, and Jægersberg was to be provided with the tools he needed.

The distinction between Jægersberg the cartographer, essayist, and apprentice administrator and Cronenberg the head surveyor was not very clearly drawn. Cronenberg had already been charged with the preparation of a cadastral map of the island. It is not certain that it was intended that the two officers should collaborate, but the first Danish map of the whole of St. Croix was to bear both of their names. It may be that Jægersberg did not feel up to a colored map, but it is as likely that the Directors contemplated the publication of an engraving of his map of the island: a line drawing

34 Vgk. 61, General missive to St. Croix, April 25, 1748.
35 Vgk. 61, General missive to St. Croix, July 24, 1748.
could more easily and expeditiously be transferred to a plate. In the event, Cronenberg's and von Jægersberg's map provided topographic and cadastral detail and employed color in its symbolism. If Jægersberg ever wrote the promised description of the island, it is lost.

The only other correspondence pertinent to the survey in 1748 was a letter from St. Croix in September containing a long apologetic passage about the state of the land registers and other books: it was coming home to all concerned that the records were in frightful disorder, and that the restoration of the cadastral record would be an enormous undertaking.

8. 1749

The survey was now approaching its completion and seems to have been taken for granted both on St. Croix and in Copenhagen. This is perhaps an indication of Cronenberg's competence, but it may also reflect a growing concern with other more vital matters: St. Croix was entering a period of tremendous economic growth based on the production of sugar and rum. The maps and land registers were inadequate and slow in coming; but even if the groundwork was imperfect, it was laid none the less. Shipments of sugar rather than the conveyance of land now commanded the Company's attention.

In September of 1749, the Directors ordered (or confirmed) the dismissal of von Jægersberg.36 A year after his appointment, it was reported that he had done no work and had left St. Croix for St. Thomas. He had never received the instruments needed for the survey and mapping of St. Croix. It appears that von Jægersberg's social position made it difficult for the Company to deal with him decisively: three months later, they

36 Vgk. 62, General missive to St. Croix, September 16, 1749.
They expressed the confidence that Cronenberg had by then finished the survey and the map of the island:

We have inspected [Cronenberg's] petition about his hard work with the survey and how far he has advanced with it, that is, that the land's quarters were completed except the North Side, whose natural formation except in very few places does not allow any serious planting, and that a map of it shall have been finished, which is promised to have been sent here with Captain Collen, which however we have not received.

The Directors expressed just a trace of scepticism about how much work had actually been accomplished, which is understandable, since they had received no map, but they authorized the St. Croix government to give Cronenberg a bonus of one hundred rigsdaler for each quarter finished. They deferred a decision on Cronenberg's request for a raise in salary, arguing that if he had finished the job, there was perhaps not enough routine work to justify the increase; they would at any rate wait until they had seen his map. The Directors also demanded, in rather a resigned tone, that they be sent proper records of the sold plantations.

It has been seen that in the 1740s, the pace of conveyance of land had picked up considerably, especially in the latter part of the decade. The survey was extended well down the island toward the West End. It is to be noted, however, that the island remained in a very wild state, and a great deal of conveyed land lay unworked. The survey was, as always, severely understaffed: Schopen, the head surveyor for years, worked at the job part-time, at best; reliance on "compass negroes" seems to have been quite heavy. The procedures called for in Moth's placard of December, 1741, were

37 Vgk. 62, General missive to St. Croix, December 16, 1749.
doubtless followed where it was convenient, but the forms, including the prescribed
corner marks, were apparently frequently neglected. Certainly a survey grid was
established, but probably this consisted of little more than a set of major lines and the
corner marks that fell along them: it is at any rate unlikely that many plantations were
fully surveyed along their four sides. The land registers, to the Company's continually
expressed frustration, proved intractable, and, in the case of the land dispute between
Moth and the Company, useless.
In March, 1750, it was reported that Lieutenant Cronenberg had been arrested for some civil offense. His temporary replacement on the survey was Johan von Jægersberg, who had perhaps been working as his assistant. In April, Jægersberg reported that he had surveyed thirty-five building lots and ten full plantations in his time with the survey, which was about nine months. He wished to be considered for the job of head surveyor on a permanent basis, "if indeed a head surveyor (now (possibly "when") that the general map is completely finished, and the general survey is brought to an end) will be necessary here in the future". Within three months, Jægersberg was dead. According to the letter announcing his death, Jægersberg reported shortly before he died that he had sent home a general map of the land, but as almost the North Side still lies deserted and unsurveyed, since its extraordinary mountainous and rugged situation does not allow such an accurate survey as was made for the rest of the land, neither have buyers been willing to settle on the North Side as long as better and more level was to be had... therefore we must strive to arrange some sort of division as far as possibility at all allows so that everyone can know how far his lot extends and disputes can be prevented in time. The value of survey prior to settlement, and especially prior to cultivation, was understood well enough; putting the principle into practice was more difficult. The administration asked that a trained man be sent out to deal with the job.

1 Vgk. 112, Generalbrev, St. Croix, March 25, 1750.
2 Vgk. 112, von Jægersberg, St. Croix, April 23, 1750.
3 Vgk. 112, Generalbrev, St. Croix, July 30, 1750.
In October, the Directors confirmed the appointment of Jægersberg to the surveyor's job in one part of a letter to St. Croix, and acknowledged his death in another. They had yet to arrange for a replacement. They made no mention whatever of any new map of St. Croix. This omission is quite remarkable, if the map had in fact been sent to Copenhagen.

The map sent home by Jægersberg, [Map 15] compared with all other known cartographic efforts dating to the Company period on St. Croix, is the work of experts. It was the first reasonably well proportioned map of the island. It was an entirely new compilation, based on original survey, and thus a departure from the family of maps based on the Du Bois/La Pointe map of 1671. [Map 1] It is a priceless and beautiful historical document.

The large and elaborate cartouche at top center contains the following inscription:

Map of the Island St. Croix in America
In which is shown according to an accurate survey said island's correct situation with harbors, bays, reefs, and rocks, its division into quarters and plantations with their numbers, the name of each inhabitant now living here and how much land he possesses as well as about how much of same is planted with sugar, cotton, or provisions, including roads, high mountains, all perennial streams and brooks, with other standing waters, compiled and drawn by Johann Cronenberg and together with Johann Cristoph Iager von Jægersberg humbly offered by him.

4 Vgk. 63, General missive to St. Croix, October 17, 1750.
5 Cronenberg and Jægersberg, "Charte over Eilandet St. Croix", MS map No. A/18-49, Nautical Charts Archive of the Royal Danish Administration of Navigation and Hydrography.
The legend, at bottom center, contains the following "Notice":

By the order of the Graciously Octroyed Royal Danish West India and Guinea Company, this island St. Croix was begun to be surveyed by the factor and Head Surveyor at the time Johann Wilhelm Schoppen in the years 1743, 1744, and 1745, namely both East End, Company's, and Queen's quarters; in the years 1747, 1748, and 1749 by his successor in the office of Head Surveyor His Royal Majesty's First Lieutenant Johann Cronenberg. King's, Prince's, and West End quarters as well as some of the North Side, with the land's harbors, bays, and rocks and finally in the year 1750 by the again succeeding His Royal Majesty's Hunt Junker Johann Cristoph von Jægersberg some in King's, Prince's West End and North Side quarters which had not previously been taken up.

Almost ten years' work done by Moth, Friis, Langeland, and all the other men who had contributed to the division and survey of St. Croix was thus passed over - lost in the past even in Cronenberg's time.

The outline of the coast along the North Side west of Salt River, which is very poor, and the absence of cultivation in the North Side quarters clearly shows the state of survey and settlement in that area at the time the map was drawn. On the other hand, the relative accuracy of the depiction of the island's outline elsewhere documents the progress of the survey through the terrain: lacking the various maps of the quarters that had been prepared earlier, such topographically supported evidence is not otherwise available. It would be unwise, however, to put too much faith in the representations on this map. Cronenberg's claims for its accuracy and completeness are quite restrained.

The map has been pasted down and is stored folded down the middle. The crease has given way along its whole length, and both sides of the tear, which bisects the title
cartouche and the legend box and runs down through Queen's quarter, are somewhat worn and curled, but the distance represented on the obscured portions is nowhere more than about five hundred feet. According to McGuire's *Geographic Dictionary of the Virgin Islands of the United States*, St. Croix is twenty-three miles long. The Cronenberg map, which is drawn at a scale of approximately one to thirty thousand, shows the island to be about twenty-one and a half miles long. It differs from modern topographic maps in countless details of angle, proportion, shape, and distance.

The map marks the locations of windmills (there appear to have been no more than three on the island at this time), horse mills, plantation houses, and slave houses. Use is made of color and pattern to distinguish among sugar, cotton, provision grounds and pasture, and forest or bush. The coasts and streams are picked out in blue, roads in yellow. Plantation boundaries are shown with dashed lines. Since the lines do not form a complete grid over the island, there is reason to suppose that only those lines that had actually been surveyed and marked were drawn: the numbers of unoccupied plantations are placed on the map, without the plantation lines themselves being drawn. However, the cartographers felt free to obliterate lines in favor of toponymy and other symbolism, so the absence of a line on the map need not reflect the situation on the ground. Hachure lines provide very vague impressions of relief. The map predates the laying out of the town of Frederiksted and shows only the old French battery on the site. In contrast to the cadastral registers and the official Company correspondence in general, the map is very rich in Danish and English place names, almost all of which refer to coastal features. The proliferation of names is greatest on the East End.

This excellent map, which is far more informative than the map published by Beck a few years later, was apparently never again mentioned in the official

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correspondence, although it is scarcely possible that it was not examined with great interest by concerned parties in Copenhagen. It was not or at any rate is not now preserved with the Company’s archives. It is scarcely conceivable that Beck did not rely heavily on this map in the preparation of his own, and Cronenberg’s map must be regarded as the mother of all maps of St. Croix made in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Even Oxholm’s fine map of 1799, which is widely applauded and consulted, was certainly founded on Cronenberg’s work, even if, as appears likely, Oxholm never saw or heard of Cronenberg’s map. His original commission in 1777, which did not actually call for the mapping of St. Croix, but only of St. Thomas and St. John, mentions Beck’s map, but not Cronenberg’s.7 It is likely that it was already lost at this time, as far as the colonial bureaucracy was concerned.

2.1751

In May of 1751, the St. Croix Privy or Burgher Council addressed a proposal to the local administration proposing a scheme to reconcile the Danish and English measures used on the island.8 The letter was signed by such substantial citizens as Schopen, Beverhoudt, P. Heiliger, and G. H. Nissen. They pointed out that the island had been settled largely by English settlers from neighboring islands, various of whose customs and practices differed from those of the constituted Danish establishment, which in time, if it is not prevented, will cause confusion. Among these is, that it is already customary to sell lands in acres, which among the English is a piece of land of 43560 English quadrate feet, and as this has absolutely no proportion to the sum of a plantation 2000 feet wide and 3000 feet long, according to which the land tax actually should be calculated; it must besides be feared, either these 43560 feet may be English or Danish feet.

7 Vestindiske Lokalarkiver (699), Instruktioner 1723-84, December 12, 1777.
8 Vgk. 114, Privy Council, St. Croix, to the St. Croix administration, May 5, 1751.
The Council therefore ventured to make the following suggestion:

A plantation comprises ... 2000 feet in width and 3000 feet in length which makes 6000.000 Quadrat feet. When one now reckons the difference between the Danish and English foot, such a plantation would be about 147 (?) acres, which is an unproportional number in regard to the 12 [rigsdaler] which should be paid annually for a plantation. And it is already actual custom here to tax the estates acre-wise, without there being a written law or placard how much an acre is to be. We would thus humbly think that such an acre could be established to be 200 feet in a square, which makes 40 000 feet Danish quadrat feet, and thus one of our plantations would contain exactly 150 acres which would about agree with an English acre.

It was argued that this would ease bookkeeping. The Council urged that their suggestion be given the weight of law.

It is difficult to interpret this proposal as anything other than a naively simple and pragmatic approach to a vexing problem that could really never be eliminated as long as two systems of measurement - three, including this suggestion - were allowed to coexist. The proposed acre would contain 41,160 square feet, twenty-four hundred feet fewer than an English acre. An English planter selling to another and ill-informed Englishman might thus be in a position to cheat the buyer out of about eight English acres of land by representing a plantation as a hundred and fifty acres. The suggestion was actually probably innocent enough, if ill-considered. It is very characteristic of the prevailing attitudes towards exactitude, whether of measure or of language. Certainly the usage became common, but it was not used in the land and tax registers...
during the Company’s administration; nor is it likely that the cadastral situation on
the island was rendered less confused by the general acceptance of this convention.
The surveyor Kuhl managed in his short term to prepare a map [not reproduced here]
of cultivation in the King’s plantations (apparently based on a field sketch by his
assistant Hartwigsen) on which the area of the fields is stated in terms of acres of
English feet, although the scale is drawn in Danish feet.10

In July, it was reported that Jens Beck, by then the Company “fiscal” on St.
Croix, was in charge of the survey, in default of anyone specially assigned to the job.
He had prepared a map, which was apparently a plan for the proposed town to be
founded at the West End. This was sent to Copenhagen with a courteous request that the
Directors choose a name for the town.11 The town was envisioned as lying parallel to
the coastline and impinging, at a slight diagonal, on the land laid out for La Grange.
The local authorities asked permission to detach enough land from the plantation to
accommodate the town.

In August, Vice-governor Hansen wrote that since the local administration was
still three years behind with the books, he was not in a position to report on “the land’s
and the Company’s own estate’s current state”.12 This was quite an admission, which
probably would not have been made if Hansen had not already tendered his

9 An undated “statistical overview” prepared in Peter Oxholm’s day, sometime around
the turn of the century, gives the plantations’ sizes in terms of acres, one hundred and
fifty acres to a full plantation. P. L. Oxholm’s arkiv, No. 6087, I.E. 7. J.
10 Rtk. 2249.36. Both untitled. The rougher sketch, by Hartwigsen, not drawn to scale, is
dated October 3, 1746. Kuhl’s map is undated. Helle B. Christensen, op. cit., indicates that
Kuhl’s map is located in Rtk. 2249.35. It appears that the labels on some of the Rtk. 2249
packets may been inadvertently exchanged at some point.
11 Vgk. 114, Generalbrev, St. Croix, July 5, 1751. There is a bare possibility that the map
referred to was in fact the original of Beck’s map of the whole island. The precise date of
his map is not crucial, but it is certain that it was made after, if indeed it was not based
on, Cronenberg’s and Jægersberg’s. Both maps will at any rate have been compiled, up
to a point, from exactly the same survey notes, maps and sketches, and other cadastral
records.
12 Vgk. 114, Hansen, St. Croix, August 30, 1751.
resignation. Hansen went on to give rather a glowing account of the progress of settlement. He especially noted the migration of English settlers from elsewhere in the Antilles to St. Croix, "whose comfortable situation is enough to capture a Creole's heart". He stated that "the land had been, except for very little of the Northside mountains, altogether taken up". He boasted of a surprising amount of settlement in the past three years, with corresponding increases in customs and other revenues. Clearing, planting, and building were advancing strongly in the more heavily settled parts of the island. According to Hansen, there were two hundred and fifty families and as many overseers and single men on the island, aside from the Company's employees. There were sixty-four works in operation, and he did not doubt that there would be a hundred such within twelve months. What he meant by the term 'works' is open to interpretation. It cannot be assumed that he was referring to sugar-boiling houses or even to cane mills. He further reported that the new town had been laid out but complained about the long and bad road down to the West End, which was especially difficult in rainy weather. There is no doubt that the island was indeed being rapidly settled, but this was not the first time it had been reported from St. Croix that the land was almost completely taken up.

In September, the Directors accepted Hansen's resignation and appointed Peder Clausen as his successor. In October, they approved the founding of the new town at the West End, which they decreed was to be named Friderichstad. La Grange was to yield up enough land to allow the town plan to be made "regular". However, on account of shipwreck, the promised map of this arrangement (probably that drawn by Beck) had not arrived in Copenhagen.

3.1752
In March of 1752, the Company Directors in Copenhagen complained that they had received no land and tax rolls from St. Croix for any period past the end of 1747. In April they wrote that the lists received "are not susceptible to comparison here with the land- and poll-taxes entered in the main books, although you have been warned about this before". The Directors and bookkeepers may have been accustomed, in their dealings with colonies and trading stations around the world, to huge delays in the rendering of accounts, but their language in the case of St. Croix makes their anger and indignation quite clear. They were in fact powerless to force order on a hopelessly disorderly set of cadastral records.

In February, Clausen, the new governor, had fired Jens Beck and initiated or encouraged legal proceedings against him. Beck was accused of "completely unlawful, artful, and willful dealings" with the Company's land on St. Croix, and of having "taken or cut off a portion of valuable land from the one and given it to another" in the course of survey.

Attempting to head off the charges, Beck wrote personally to the Directors in April. He had been asked by Governor Hansen to fill in for the deceased surveyor and had begun by completing a tract a eight plantations that had been begun by von Jægersberg for Nicholas Tuite (a substantial planter from Montserrat). As other settlers arrived, they were referred to Beck by Hansen. Beck stated that the most he had accepted for the survey of a plantation was fifty rigsdaler, where the way was long and difficult, but that he often settled for twenty. This gratuity for the surveyor was

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13 Vgk. 63, Generalmissive to St. Croix, March 24, 1752.
14 Vgk. 63, Generalmissive to St. Croix, April 29, 1752.
15 Vgk. 116, February 28, 1752 (enclosed with a letter dating to the following year).
16 Vgk. 284, case against Jens Hansen and Jens Beck, 1752.
17 Vgk. 115, Beck, St. Croix, April 23, 1752.
18 Hornby, op. cit., p. 106.
certainly never sanctioned, or even mentioned in any official correspondence. Beck, like all earlier surveyors, found the conditions hard:

This work of surveying did not last long with success, for it continued only a short time before I became sick and bedridden, on account of the great fatigue of walking - in places crawling on my hands and feet - up and down the mountains.

He recovered, he related, and was able to work for a few months, and then again fell ill. With Hansen's consent, he had hired an assistant, whom he claimed to have paid out of his own pocket. This assistant was "to complete the lines which I had begun to cut".

Upon the survey of these plantations on the North Side I found 2 plantations which were given away for nothing by the Company, and taken up, but never before surveyed. When I now found by survey that there was extra land besides these 2 mentioned Plantations, I reported it, as was my duty, to Mr. Governor Hansen, and also asked if it could not be ceded to me; which was granted me, so I immediately received a deed for it, and submitted my obligation for the purchase sum.

He immediately traded this land to a neighbor, William Merrit, and received in return a deed to another parcel of land. This piece he sold for 1800 rigsdaler, and although the size and location of this lot are unknown, the price indicates that the market for land on St. Croix was by now quite strong. Beck dismissed the complaint of the brothers Dunbavin, who claimed that he had in this complicated process stolen some of their land, as baseless. He enclosed with his letter to the Directors a "special map of both North Side quarters on St. Croix, as far as they were surveyed by me". No map fitting this description survives. He also forwarded a map of Christiansted, most of whose building lots he claimed to have surveyed.
Governor Clausen, for his part, sent to Copenhagen a list, taken from the deed books, of ninety-nine properties conveyed in Governor Hansen’s time, and claimed that all of them had been sold below the market price. Clausen’s list did not give the purchase prices, but he believed that two, three, and four thousand rigsdaler could have been got for these parcels. The suggestion was that Hansen had accepted bribes from purchasers of these underpriced lots. Clausen also accused Beck and Søbetker, another official, of exacting enormous graft by controlling access to new plantations.

Clausen’s means of proceeding, and perhaps his motives, were called into question by written testimony in the case against Beck from C. Hendericksen. Hendericksen attested, in English, that he had heard a conversation between George Dunbavin and the governor, and that Clausen had urged Dunbavin to file a complaint against Beck:

the Governor then asked him if Mr. Beck had not taken away some of his & his brothers Land that he had bought for them at Vendue, to which he answered jes the line had taken part of it.

The "Line" takes on the character of something inexorable, inscrutable, and voracious. Dunbavin himself testified that he had had not been inclined to pursue the matter, although he saw some injustice in it. It is remarkable that the Dunbavins should not have felt able to make a claim to land in which they had an obvious prior interest, regardless of where the line ran. The land cut off by the land and expropriated by Beck had been under cultivation. Clausen’s interest in the property itself remains obscure. His crusade against Beck had a righteous tone to it, and does not seem to have been guided by self-interest. It is not likely that his indignation was misplaced.

19 Vgk. 115, Clausen, St. Croix, April 30, 1752.
20 Vgk. 115, affidavit of C. Hendericksen, St. Croix, April, 1752.
21 Vgk. 115, affidavit of George Dunbavin, St. Croix, April 28, 1752.
A map was introduced as part of the documentation of the case.\footnote{22 Vgk. 284, bound into the record of the case against Jens Hansen and Jens Beck, 1752.} It was a small sketch, about three inches across, signed by John Glover, and was reproduced directly in the case record as part of Glover's testimony. Glover had been Beck's assistant, and had cut various lines in the neighborhood of the disputed property. His testimony suggested, however, but did not explicitly state, that he had left Beck's service before the line in question had bisected the Dunbavins' land. This little map, which names the owner of each plantation, was presumably drawn from a working map of greater scope, perhaps the one referred to by Beck in his letter of April 25, 1752.

The case against Beck was eventually settled, Dunbavin withdrawing his complaint.\footnote{23 Vgk. 116, Clausen, St. Croix, March 15, 1753.} In a letter the following year acknowledging this news, the Directors asked to be informed

\begin{quote}
in what way and with what justice the Company can become the owner of the mentioned 1800 rigsdaler plantation, since Mr. Beck still has it in his possession and nothing was clearly reported on his obligation regarding it upon the settlement of the case.\footnote{24 Vgk. 64, to Clausen, October 15, 1753.}
\end{quote}

It is quite clear that the Directors had no idea where the plantation was: this was not the sort of information which it had ever come naturally to St. Croix administrators to convey. They may not have known themselves exactly where this plantation lay.

Clausen, having dispensed with Beck's services, asked in September of 1752 for a surveyor to be sent out from Denmark;\footnote{25 Vgk. 115, Clausen, St. Croix, September 11, 1752.} Cronenberg was apparently busy on St. Thomas. The governor also expressed a wish for a new astrolabe like the one that had been sent out in 1745, which the rain had got to.
In October, the Directors commented on an application from Cronenberg to be appointed surveyor and building inspector for all three islands at a salary of four hundred rigsdaler a year. They thought little of the idea, especially since, on account of a judgement against him, he had been forced to leave St. Croix, "so that on said St. Croix he cannot be of any service". There was still no mention of the map made by Cronenberg and von Jægersberg. They promised Clausen that they would hire a surveyor, but were confident that Cronenberg could do the necessary from St. Thomas for the time being. They related that they were now in possession of a map showing the proposed site for Frederiksted in relation to their plantation La Grange and approved the arrangement. It had taken a year for a replacement of the map lost at sea to reach them (unless, as sometimes happened, the document had been salvaged from the wreckage).

4. 1753

In the spring of 1753, the Directors announced that they had engaged an engineer and surveyor named Alexander Leopold Græve or Grave. He was being sent out to St. Croix with a new set of instruments. It is perhaps a small measure of the complacency with which the Directors now viewed the survey that Græve was also expected to serve as the church organist.

One final controversy flared up around the survey in June. Beck was again the central figure. Cronenberg, whose presence on St. Croix was apparently again being tolerated by the authorities and the citizenry, complained to Governor Clausen about the state of the survey records:

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26 Vgk. 64, general missive to St. Thomas, October 30, 1752.
27 Vgk. 64, General missive to St. Croix, October 30, 1752.
28 Vgk. 64, General missive to St. Croix, April 26, 1753.
I perceive by an inspection of the survey protocol book that since the 8th of October, 1749, none of the transactions that took place after that time were entered in the book, and I am not aware that any other book has been authorized, since such has not come into my hands. I also see that many barricades were planted and survey done, in Prince's and the West End as well as both North Side quarters, without being able to find the slightest written down and entered therefore. So it is that I herewith with due respect present for inspection the above mentioned first survey protocol book and inquire whether the surveys thus executed and not recorded will be authentic.  

Clausen gave this complaint to Beck:

So as to get a full understanding of the reason none of your transactions as surveyor are to be found recorded in the protocol book, although many plantations were surveyed by you and, according to your certification, deeds issued, this letter submitted by Surveyor Cronenberg is forwarded to you for your statement.

Beck declared:

'I never took it upon myself to do any measuring here in the land as a regular surveyor, but only at the former chief Mr. Jens Hansen's request to me now and then, when someone might demand plantations of him on the North Side, when I performed such service in the interim until a regular surveyor could come out, which is the reason I did not enter anything about it in the protocol book, nor was any protocol book for such a purpose delivered to me, I only prepared a map, which I humbly delivered to [you] earlier, and I have no

29 Vgk. 116, Cronenberg, St. Croix, to Clausen, June 3, 1753.
30 Vgk. 116, Clausen, St. Croix, to Beck, June, 1753.
doubt that same can provide Lieutenant Cronenberg all the information he might require.31

Beck’s failure to keep the necessary records is hard to understand unless it is accepted that he in fact regarded his work as temporary and unofficial, or unless it is thought that he was in fact reluctant to commit his transactions to the official books in the presence of witnesses as required. The cadastral significance of the field book may simply have been lost on him, as well as on Hansen. This negligence was at any rate not much out of keeping with all the traditions of the survey: it was Cronenberg who was out of step. Beck appears to have viewed the large fees extracted from the planters as gratuities rather than as official payments for exact and secure title, and here he was probably on safe ground, since no such payments had ever been authorized. The map referred to was probably of the North Side quarters only.

Clausen passed Beck’s statement on to Cronenberg, who wrote back:

The question in this matter, in my thinking, is not whether Mr. Bech was appointed as a regular surveyor or not, as he anyway admits to have been ordered or requested to do it by the former chief Jens Hansen, upon whom alone the responsibility for the propriety of this request or order rests. However, Mr. Beck performed the office,... which leads me to think that he also should attend to it in all its highly necessary points, of which I consider this to be one of the foremost, that the surveyor for his own security should record what is from time to time performed in his office in an authorized protocol book, and have each of the concerned planters to whom he measures out and allots plantations give their quittance by their signature in the protocol book for such allotment, and that they have received their due, and in my opinion, it follows herefrom

31 Vgk. 116, Beck, St. Croix, to Clausen, June 5, 1753.
(for this did not happen) that all the surveying done since October 8, 1749, must be done over again... leaving to a higher authority to decide at whose expense this repetition shall be done, not to speak of time wasted and the work done on it by surveyor negroes etc. The map Mr. Beck agreeably mentioned is adequate for my information, but irrelevant to my humbly submitted inquiry, for without the [properly] kept protocol book, I cannot regard it as sufficient to serve as the basis for the country's land register.32

This was an extraordinary but sober indictment of a large portion of the island's cadastre. The clarity and conviction of Cronenberg's complaint throws a harsh light on Beck's and Hansen's performance. When the matter was raised with the Burgher Council, an attempt was made to hold Beck, who was at the time making his preparations to leave St. Croix for Denmark, financially accountable.33 No action was immediately ordered, and Beck was permitted to leave the island, but he may have had to undertake to accept responsibility for whatever work was needed to correct the situation. It is unknown, lacking the surveyor's protocol books, whether such work was actually done. The binding of what remains of the old surveyor's protocol book in the archive of the St. Croix Municipal Clerk and Surveyor at the Rigsarkiv in Copenhagen is labeled "1749-1777". This starting date is of some interest, since by Cronenberg's account no records at all were kept between October 1749 and April 1753.34 The validity of Beck's work may have been established by administrative fiat and recorded retroactively in this new protocol book, or the work may actually have been done over but dated back so as to agree with the deeds.

32 Vbg. 116, Cronenberg, St. Croix, to Clausen, [June (?)], 1753.
33 Vbg. 116, [June 15, 1753].
34 Vestindiske lokalarkiver, St. Croix Stadskonduktor og Landmåler, "Matriklen (Protokollen?) vedrørende Opmaaling, fortegnelse over Skader, m. m. 1749-1777".
Within a year of his departure from St. Croix, an engraved map of St. Croix
signed by Beck was published in Copenhagen.35 (Map 17) The title cartouche reads:

Reliable Map of the Island St. Croix in America, as it was found to be by an
accurate survey, with the quarters' names and each plantation's number, by
which they are recorded in the land register and ceded to each buyer, situated at
17 degrees 38 minutes north latitude.

The scale of the map is approximately one to fifty thousand. It shows a number of
streams and bodies of standing water, but no relief. Long Reef at Bassin is the only reef
or rock marked. The roads are as depicted by Cronenberg and Jægersberg.

While its debt to Cronenberg's map cannot be emphasized enough, Beck's map was by
no means a copy of the earlier map. Especially on the North Side west of Salt River,
Beck's rendering of the outline of the island was superior to Cronenberg's, although it
was far from accurate: on a hand-colored cadastral map prepared in 1766 using a print
of Beck's map as a base, the coastline between Ham's Bluff and the quarter line
separating North Sides A and B was scratched off the engraving and replaced with a
better line running a couple of thousand feet farther south.36 (Map 18)

While Cronenberg provided actual cadastral information, naming names, and
even showed patterns of cultivation, Beck contented himself with the bare pattern of
the original survey. He marked the locations of cane mills, but there is no other
distinction between occupied and unoccupied land. There is scarcely anything to
indicate that the East End of the island was occupied. There is very little representation
of subdivision: there are no half numbers. Half of North Side A is labeled "unoccupied
lots", and the survey pattern there is represented by dashed lines. However, certain

35 J. M. Beck, op. cit.
36 J. M. Beck, op. cit., cadastral detail and shading added by hand for 1766. Royal Library
Map Collection, in folder labeled "St. Croix generalkort, 0-1799".
other plantations that were not conveyed (and were probably not surveyed) before
Beck left the island are boldly drawn and numbered. The elaborate land inventory
taken in 1739, referring to nothing more specific than "the map" noted that the
coastline was not accurate, and stated that the numbering system that had arisen in
North Side A was "not reliable".37

Beck included in an inset rather an elegant map of the town of Christiansted. He
also presented a large-scale plan of "Friderichsstæd"; unfortunately, he also drew the
town in on the main map, long before it existed. In fact, the northern half of his
symmetrical town plan was never built.

Beck's map might almost have been designed as a base map of useful scale for
the purposes of the cadastre of St. Croix, if this were not belied by the elaborate
peripheral artwork, which includes a half-naked negro, a monkey seated on a bale of
cotton, a parrot, a snake resembling a cobra, a pile of cane stalks, and a palm tree,
besides a pair of full-rigged three-masted ships; and by the humble but ambitious
dedication to Adam Moltke, the president of the Danish West India and Guinea Company
at the time the map was made. It lacks much of the honesty, vitality, originality,
richness, beauty, charm, utility, and significance of the Cronenberg map.
Toponymically, the Cronenberg map is vastly more informative.

It was Beck, however, who arranged to have his map published. Cronenberg's
map faded almost immediately into the obscurity in which it remains; Beck's was used as
the base for a series of colorful cadastral maps, of which the Royal Library has the one
for 1766, the archive of the Danish Administration of Navigation and Hydrography

37 Chr. Martfeldt's collection, property commission of 1759, ordered April 22, 1755.
another for the same year,\textsuperscript{38} and the Library of Congress a third dating to 1767.\textsuperscript{39}

Prints of two states of the engraving are preserved in the Rigsarkiv, the Royal Library, and the Danish Geodætisk Institut, and the Royal Library has a number of hand-done versions and copies.

\textit{5. 1754}

There was no further discussion of the survey in the official correspondence in the Company's time. On October 3, 1754, it was announced, deep in a letter from Copenhagen to St. Croix, that "it has most graciously pleased His Royal Majesty to assume all the Company's colonies in America".\textsuperscript{40} It was later claimed that by the end of 1754 all land on the island had been alienated by the Company, and further that all this property had been properly deeded and registered.\textsuperscript{41} Although this claim will have met with no contemporary credence, the Danish West India and Guinea Company's original cadastral survey of St. Croix had indeed ended.

It is the nature of cadastral systems, however, that their legacy is perpetual. It was not long before the Royal administration ordered the general governor and the Council to take a complete cadastral inventory:

You will obtain information from said Company's relevant former officers about all existing plantations in the land, be they either taken up or not, none excepted, as well as thereafter investigate which of these were disposed of with the former Company's deeds, as well as which besides [Princess and La Grange]

\textsuperscript{38} J. M. Beck, \textit{op. cit.}, cadastral detail and shading added by hand for 1766. Nautical Charts Archive of the Royal Danish Administration of Navigation and Hydrography. No. N/4-769.


\textsuperscript{40} Vgk. 64, general missive to St. Croix, October 3, 1754.

\textsuperscript{41} RtK. 2249.12, unsigned extract from the Generalbrev, St. Croix, May 26, 1756.
might still be unsold and therefore reserved for Us, to which end the planters, upon your summons, shall be obliged to produce in the Council their original deeds, with provable statements of when and to whom payment therefor was made. 42

This call for the original deeds to land on an unruly tropical island was not only unrealistic and high-handed (for whose hand is so high as a king’s?) but ignored the bulk of the available cadastral record: maps and the land registers and tax rolls kept by the Company. The conclusion to be drawn is that these records remained unmanageable. They were in fact so intractable that all the King’s authority could not extract an accurate land register from the St. Croix government. The order was reiterated in 1756, 43 and in 1757, Governor von Prack’s administration humbly but defiantly stated that “we can give no better information . . . than that which can be got from each year’s land register.” 44

Such then was the cadastre that was passed to the King in 1754: the royal administration was unable to determine the extent of crown lands. The promising rectangular survey system notwithstanding, the cadastre was in fact in an almost chaotic state.

42 Vestindiske lokalarkiver, Vestindisk regering, Reskripter 1739-1779 (1723), April 22, 1753.
43 Rtk. 2249.12, draft of a letter to St. Croix, in response to a letter of October 21, 1756.
44 Rtk. 2249.12, Generalebrev, St. Croix, April 22, 1757.
CONCLUSION

This is the history of a cadastral survey that failed, that was not carried to its logical conclusions, that became trapped in its inconsistencies. The survey system was simple enough, but it was incompletely visualized and not very well executed. The accuracy (even in general terms) and completeness of the original demarcation are very questionable, and the essential cadastral connection between the land and the records of allocation and demarcation was not properly established at the time the land was alienated. The legitimacy of all subsequent tenure and taxation must inevitably have been compromised by this initial failure to retain administrative control. The significance of this history is not so much the legacy of the survey on a tiny Caribbean island, however, but rather its bit in the history of the settlement of the New World and of approaches to new problems of land distribution and tenure that were unknown in the experience of most Europeans. Survey on the island since 1755 has not been studied here, and the modern utility of the cadastre established in the Company's time has not been addressed.

The survey of St. Croix was not the product of established convention or of a monolithic science, although it had rational elements. It was conceived and executed by individuals working in specific contexts at a specific time with the intellectual and material resources available. When St. Croix was bought from France in 1733, the cadastral pattern that emerged could not have been predicted. It is probably best to think of the system as primarily a product of a particular colonial situation, in which vacant land was to be allocated as expeditiously and - most significantly - as equitably as possible, rather than as of an age especially marked by rationality. Regular grids have been laid out on open land since antiquity, and there is nothing arcane or scientific about them: as Hildegard Johnson says, "The grid pattern is the simplest form
for equal assignment of land, taxation, design of irrigation canals, and so forth; in short, for initiating man’s control of land wherever it is flat and fairly uniform in quality. It was in just such a situation that the Danish West India Company found itself when it undertook to create sugar plantation lots of equal value for its stockholders, and the core of the survey system was in fact laid out in level terrain of a quality declared by the local authorities to be quite uniform.

The survey system of St. Croix did not develop by bits and pieces and metes and bounds in the landscape: it was the product of a flawed, incomplete, and tentatively elaborated design. The advantages of a geometrically rational approach were appreciated as they were encountered; but the limitations of the time and place and people weighed as heavily in the end as rational planning. The Company’s original instructions for laying out plantations on St. Croix were not addressed primarily to the problem of the efficient disposition of the island’s land in general. Although the orders included language meant to provide security of tenure and required the survey, prior to alienation, of a substantial number of lots of regular dimensions, these provisions were only incidentally useful in administrative terms: the uniform sugar plantation lots were intended to guarantee an equal return to each of the stockholders for the loans they had been forced to make toward the purchase of the island from France in 1733. The Company made little provision for land left over after this obligation was discharged: the orders called for the survey of three hundred lots, although it was believed in Copenhagen for years that there was room on the island for almost three times that many plantations. Land of marginal value was not only overlooked but actually excluded from the plans in such a way as to virtually preclude the establishment of a geometrically advantageous survey grid encompassing the entire island. The two thousand- by three thousand-foot plantation lot did indeed become the

1 Hildegard Binder Johnson, op.cit., p. 30.
basis of the survey pattern, but the arrangement of the rectangles on the island was left to the local West Indian administration.

The original design of the survey and its orientation on the island must be ascribed to Friderich Moth in the absence of any evidence that the plan was drawn up by one of his subordinates. Moth's attitude toward the survey was rather ambivalent. He embarked dutifully on the execution of the original orders, but, as he came to appreciate the magnitude and difficulty of the project, he took an increasingly dim view of the idea of survey of three hundred large lots prior to conveyance. The unusual New World situation that allowed the establishment of an efficient, easily recorded survey pattern - the very fact that the land was unoccupied - seemed to contemporaries to render the establishment of clear property lines unnecessary and unrealistic. It was only occupation and, in fact, intense cultivation of the land that would create the real need for boundaries. The survey of the Company's own plantation, Moth blithely reported, could be postponed until it had neighbors. At his urging, the Company narrowed the areal scope of the prior survey by about two thirds and allowed for the selection of sites by the intended owners, abandoning strict allotment by lottery.

By the time this decision was made, however, Moth had already established the framework of a rigid rectangular grid that in its rational regularity went far beyond the Directors' concept, as this was expressed in their various orders. The advantages of such an orderly arrangement were clear, and although it is likely that Moth had originally envisioned the application of the grid only to that part of the island suitable for the stockholders' sugar plantations, the outlines of the basic pattern were quite early extended, if imprecisely, to cover the whole island.

This was an achievement, to be sure, but the pattern was much easier to visualize - and to draw - than to cut into the landscape. The early maps of the island or
portions of it depicted more the scheme of the survey than actual progress with the clearing and measuring of lines. Mainly on account of a chronic shortage of slave labor, but also because the officials and employees concerned failed to apply themselves diligently to the task, progress was in fact very slow. Undemarcated land, described only in the highly ideal terms of the survey numbering scheme, was conveyed and deeded and taxed far in advance of the survey: it was apparently taken for granted that a lot declared to be a standard size and shape would in fact come to conform to those dimensions. The distinction between a scheme on paper and a pattern on the land was simply not taken seriously enough. It was as if the administrators thought that the plantation lots could somehow be picked up and trimmed to shape and put back down in their proper place.2

In the absence of accurate maps and marks on the ground, the registration of alienation was necessarily imprecise, but the extent of the discrepancy at any period during the Company's administration cannot be reconstructed from the surviving records with any precision at all. The inadequacy of the records was partly conceptual - the conveyance of unsurveyed lots is irreconcilable with orderly cadastre - and partly the result of sloppy clerical and administrative practice: the Company land registers are almost hopelessly confused and corrupt. Crucial documentation of conveyance - the surveyors' protocol-books - are known to have been neglected for long periods; they are at any rate physically beyond use or lost.

That the Company failed to keep control of the cadastre of St. Croix is not just a modern conclusion: the Directors did not become anxious about the survey for years, to be sure, but for the last twelve or fifteen years of the Company's administration, their letters continually reiterated demands for more and better maps and expressed outrage

2 Hildegar Johnson speaks of "a psychology that perceived land as a standardized commodity identifiable by simple plane geometry": op. cit., p. 20.
at the state of the land registers and various associated censuses and lists. Letters from
the colony were correspondingly full of excuses and recriminations. Having embarked
on the creation of a fairly orderly survey system, involving numbered lots of regular
sizes and shapes, the Company discovered that the system did not survey, map, record,
and administer itself. Such a survey pays off in the long run only if a sufficient
investment of manpower and discipline is made to establish the requisite cartographic
framework and organized system of registration. Like other New World administrations,
the Company failed to supply this initial investment.\(^3\) By the time the Directors realized
that the promising system that Moth had developed on the basis of his interpretation of
their original orders had not been properly exploited, and that the tedious but
indispensable measuring and recording had been neglected, it was too late. The damage
done was not repaired during the Company’s rule.

The accuracy and precision of the survey have not been major concerns here,
but there is no question that the original work of demarcation was flawed. An account
dating to 1763, a decade after the original survey was completed, contains the following
passage:

The island has this advantage over all islands in America, that it was regularly
and geometrically surveyed, so that a full plantation is 2000 feet in breadth and
3000 feet in length or depth, according to which measures land taxes are
calculated. But although the land was geometrically surveyed and all the
quarter lines run straight, the survey, especially in regard to the plantations, is
not so accurate that disputes cannot arise between men over their plots, for all
the surveyors did not use equal labor and care, but made skewed lines and gave
some more, others fewer feet of land than they should have, which cannot be

\(^3\) Marschner, op. cit., p. 2, says of a North American situation, “the acquisition
procedure was not sufficiently regulated. The consequent confusion in land titles was a
well-known grievance...”
redressed unless a whole quarter is resurveyed, which is altogether too expensive and difficult.4

On the other hand, the distances between old hardwood corner marks, when these are recovered, as occasionally happens, have been declared by a surveyor operating on St. Croix today to be the decreed two and three thousand Danish feet, "right on the money",5 but it is not known that such marks date to the time of the original survey. Reports from Moth and his successors leave absolutely no doubt that a great deal of the survey was performed only on paper and in offices. Such armchair surveys are clearly fraudulent, and the conveyances based on them must call for subsequent legislative or judicial validation.6

More significant than the exact distances between any two corner marks is the overall regularity of the grid, or at any rate of that portion of it that was imposed on St. Croix's best sugar land. One of the advantages of rectangular cadastral survey is, or ought to be, that the regularity and specificity of the scheme tend to resist the compounding and transmission of local error. Given the measures decreed by the Company, and the parallelism established by Moth, it should be theoretically possible, if such a thing were desirable, to recover and restore the pattern originally laid down or striven for, provided that reliable base lines survive.

Such a scheme must depend, however, on accurate execution and proper record-keeping. If the original base lines actually cut to establish the grid on St. Croix were ever tied by official descriptions to real locations and landmarks, which appears not to be the case, such a record has not survived. It is difficult to imagine that Center Line

4 J. G. Moltkes arkiv, No. 5979/14, "Beretninger om De Danske Westindiske Sukker Eylande St. Croix, St. Thomas, og St. Jan", [1763?]. Archivist Poul Olsen at the Rigsarkiv is confident that this description was written by Christian Martfeldt.
5 Personal communication from William Newkirk, Caribbean Surveys, Morning Star Hill, St. Croix, February 17, 1987.
6 Curtis M. Brown, Walter G. Robillard, and Donald A. Wilson, op. cit., pp. 75-76.
Road, which runs straight as an arrow down more than half the length of the island, does not mark the location of such a base line. However, it is documented that the line between Queen's and Company's quarters, rather than the Center Line itself, was in fact the first line cut by Moth. The Queen's Quarter line was never adequately described, and its original location is in some doubt. The representation of this line on Beck's map, published in 1734, and on Oxholm's, published in 1799, deviates from that on modern topographic maps by hundreds of feet at the line's south end. The Great Center Line itself was originally described only as a perpendicular drawn from the Queen's Quarter line.

The case of St. Croix is not unusual. Even if the tools were available, New World concerns and attitudes seem to have militated against the early establishment of cadastres of real use to posterity. The history of the survey of the public lands of the United States, a model of a geometrically designed plan for the fast, rational, secure alienation of land, is full of evidence of failure and corruption. Vernon Carstensen has pointed out, in a discussion of the American Federal survey, that "Perhaps no one had a right to expect the task to be done well: the remarkable thing was that it was done at all".7 In the case of St. Croix, which is so small, the remarkable thing is that the original design of the cadastre was so poorly thought out, and that the survey, once placed on a reasonably sound footing by Governor Moth, was accomplished so slowly and so reluctantly. An orderly routine was never established, and administrative controls, once they had been formulated, were neglected, evaded, or simply ignored. Misplaced expectations at the start were themselves part of the difficulty: over-optimistic, overly simple planning could not serve when faced with the reality of the situation.

It thus appears that a good opportunity was lost: a cadastral ideal of great
simplicity and clarity was so generally appreciated and taken so much for granted that
the hard mechanical task of translating the scheme into real marks delineating rights
to specific tracts of land was let slide. The result is, on the one hand, a set of parcels of
land that have been subject to quite a range of use, neglect, development, consolidation,
and subdivision in the two and a half centuries since the original pattern was laid
down; on the other, a cadastral design and record that should have controlled and
described the pattern of properties; and an unreliable and inadequate connection
between the two. This is a deficient cadastre.
MAP 2 - L. Isle de St. Croix of T Eyland St. Cruz. In Johannes van Keulan, De Nieuwe Groote Lightende Zee-fakkels. 't Vierde Deel ([Amsterdam?): [1734?]).
MAP 3 - "Carte de L’Isle de Sainte Croix Danoise". Manuscript, Royal Library
Map Collection, acquisition number 1909 Nr. 445.
MAP 4 - "Accurater Geometrischer Grundriss (?) von dem Norder Haven auf St. Crux". Stahman Manuscript, Royal Library Map Collection, acquisition number 1925 Nr. 43.
MAP 6 - Portion of St. Thomas. Manuscript, Rigsarkiv, Vgk. 236, case concerning Caret Bay Plantation.
MAP 7 - "Kongens Qvarteer". Manuscript, Rigsarkiv, Rtk. 2249.33. Copy in Rtk. 2249.33.
MAP 8 - Map of Queen's, King's, and Prince's quarters. Manuscript, Rigsarkiv, Rtk.
2249.33.
MAP 10 - King’s Quarter. Friis and Langeland. Manuscript, Rigsarkiv, Rtk. 2249.33.
MAP 12 - Portion of King's Quarter. Manuscript, Rigsarkiv, Rtk. 2249.35.
MAP 13 - The Company’s plantation "Princess". Schopen. Manuscript, Rigsarkiv, Vgk. 284, case between Moth and the Company.
Vgth. 284. case between Moth and the Company.

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MAP 15 - "Charte over Eilandet St. Croix udi America". Cronenberg and von Jægersberg.
Manuscript, Royal Danish Administration of Navigation and Hydrography, number A/18-49.
MAP 16 - Portion of Northside Quarter A. Glover. Manuscript, Rigsarkiv, Vgk. 284, case against Jens Hansen and Jens Beck.
Copenhagen, 1754.
MAP 18 - Cadastral map for 1766 drawn on Beck's Tilføjeligt Kort over Eylandet St. Croix udi America. Royal Library Map Collection, in folder labeled "St. Croix generalkort, 0-1799".
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Keulan, Johannes van. De Nieuwe Groote Lichtende Zee-fakkel, 't Vierde Deel. [Amsterdam?]: [1734?].


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Frederiksted quadrangle, Virgin Islands, Municipality of St. Croix.
APPENDIX - TRANSCRIPTS

Chapter One - 1.

Vgk. 179, Protokol angående den St. Croix affaire, an unsigned and undated draft:
"Der findes i blandt de Caribiske Insuler i America ongsefehr 7 Miile Veys fra
St. Thomas Et Ejland St. Croix kaldet af temmelig størrelse, og bliver beskrevne af 9 a 10
Franske Miile i Længden og lige saa meget i bredden paa nogle stæder".

Vgk. 179, Protokol angående den St. Croix affaire, "Preliminaire observationer til
Accorder om Landets afstaelse":
"Saadanne plantagier skulde efter Participanternis tall udmaalles og Numereres,
og siden der om Loddes hvilket Nummer en hver kand tilfalde".
"til hvilken ende saadanne plantagier, saa snart Landet var tagen i possession,
strax skulde af Gouverneuren og visse dertil Comitterede opmaales Numereres og
taxceris førend de til nogen blef af hænded".

Vgk. 179, unknown author, St. Thomas, April 10, 1733:
"Ejlandet Ste Crutz beligende 12 miile i Syd fra Ste. Thomas og efter fleste
Beretning 36 Engelske mile Long fra Øster til Wester (?), og 7 til 10 Ditto miile Breede og
kunde (?) der i det allermindste uddeelis (?) toe tuesend Sucher Plantagier hver
Plantagie 2 tuesend foed lang og tre tuesend foed breed, og det, foruden 1000 Cattoen
Plantagier".

Vgk. 96, Moth, St. Thomas, April 4, 1737:
"thj ellers er et fuldkommen Sucker-Verck 2000$ foed Breed og 3000$ foed
Lang".

Vgk. 57, copy of St. Thomas land list for 1688, enclosed with the general missive of
March 26, 1735:
"strecker sig fra Sæ kanten og til toppen af det Høye berg"; "fra Sæ Kanten af".

Vgk. 101, September 9, 1735:
"dend almidelige bekendte Costume, at Plantagerne ey er concederet af meere
Længde, end 3000 foed".

Vgk. 3, octroi of February 5, 1734, p. 27:
"Iligemaade maa Compagniet have sin egen Vaect oc Maal, oc sig deraf til
Compagniets egen Haandtering i alle Tilfælde betiene, dog at samme er conform med
den Vaegt oc Maal som Vi udi Vores Riiger oc Lande allernaadigst have anordnet at skal
bruges".

Koloniernes Centralbestyrelse 1010, "Maal og Vaegt", St. Thomas, December 3, 1912:
"og ej heller har ældre dansk Maal i umindelig Tid været anvendt her paa
Øerne".

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Chapter One - 2.

Vgk. 56, Ordre og Anstalt, Copenhagen November 16, 1733:


Ibid. section 8:

"maae udviises og overlades imod en billig kiendelse a proportion af Plantagie Grundene, Reguliere bygnings Pladser".

Ibid. section 9:

"Naar de forommelte støder til befæstning, bynings plan og haune og udkik, med videre som til Defensions og bygnings støder der, eller i andre quarteerer udfordres er udseet, opmaalt, afteigner og Reservered, skal Landet ved Ingeniurens og hands med hielpere eller de ham tillorndede, jo far jo bedre, ja det allernærmeste muligt være kend optages og opmaales udi bequemme Inddeelinger og quarteerer og hver quarteer udi sine bequemme og det meeste muligt reguliere plantagier, nemi. store Sucker-Vercks Plantagier paa 2000 fod breede og 3000 fod længe, hvor saadant kend skøe og Situationen og territorien det tillader, og udi mindre Sucker og bomulds-Plantagier hvor Situation og beskaffenheden ej tillader større".

Ibid. section 10:

"Aller første skal nær ved Fæstningen afmaales en tilstrekkelig og bequem Grund som skal reserveres Compagniet, i det mindste af 34 Plantagiers størrelse nemi. 6/m fod breede og 3/m fod længe, Saa skal og naar de i død efterfølgende 111m post ommelte 300 plantagier først paa de allerbeste og bequemme Støder er udmætt, af det øvrige Compagniet tilhørende Land, reserveris for Compagniet indtil vidiere og nærmere foranstaltning, og ikke i Plantagier indeeles, de fornemste og beste Skove udi hvilcke de nyttigste og største Træer findes, af hvilcke Skove ingen maae betiente sig uden Compagniet alene, langt mindre derudi hugges og bort føres noget, uden ordre og bevilling, ja det skalde aldeles spares og Conserveres, og derudi hvercken for Compagniet eller andre hugges til kiebmandskeel eller til bygning, eller og til anden brug, saaelenge som Træ til bygning og destlige findes paa de Støder som til Plantagier destineres".

Ibid. section 11:

"Saa opmaales 300 store Sucker Vercks plantagier, hver af 2000 fod breede og 3000 fod længe, af de Grunde som er agtes at ligge beoliist, at være Frugtbaest og ere af egal Terrain, hvilcke skal Nummereris og beteignes enten No. 1 a 3000, eller og om det eragtes bedre og Plantagierne falder udi flere end i et Quarteer, da quarteret A. No. 1 indtil Reesten af de derudi faldende plantagiers Nummer Quarteret B. No. 1 og saa fremdeles.

"Dog ønskedes allerhelst at disse 300 plantagie Grunde saavidt muligt blef hos hin anden i et quarteer om det er gistligt. Saa snart disse 300 plantagie Grunde saaledes er opmaalet og Nummereret foresender Opperhovedet Capitain Moth Specification derpaa til Commandanten og Rosdet paa Ste. Thomas, hvilcke da haver at holde en offentlig forsamling paa Christiansfort hvor i overværeelse af Compagniets
fornemste betiendes og saa mange af Landets Indvanser som behager paa den
berammede tid sig at indfinde skal skrives paa Seddel af lige storrelse all
Participanternes Naune efter hosfølgende Liste L. D. hvor Participants Naun paa sin
Seddel, hvilcke Sedder skal tildes tilsammen i en lige Skickelse kommes i en byse eller
Deaese og omskyldes, og derefter af et barn Seddel for Seddel i ovenmelte (_____)
foersamling u-Aabnede udtræckes og i Commandentens haand til Aabning leveres.
"Dend første Participant hvis Naun udkommer, tager Plantagien i quarteret A.
No. 1 og fremdeles efter Nummeret indtil saa mange Plantagier han (ham?) efter
Specification tilkommer, dend 2nd Participant som udkommer tager det næste Nummer
hvorf dend førstes slap og saa fremdeles saaledes at Participanterne ligesom deris
Naune udkommer, tager deres Plantagier irad hos hinanden, dend seenere udkommer
næstefter dend tilforn udtræckne Participants plantagiers Nummer, af hvilcke
omstændigheder da erfares, hvor fornødent det er, at alle forskrevne 300 plantagie
Grunde bliver saameget muligt er hin anden lige, saavel af bonitet og bequem
Situation, som af størreise hvorfor det atter vel expresse erindres og beordres, at disse
Grunde udses og udmæales af egal bonitet og beleilighed af det allerbeste og
Frugtbareste terrain som paa det hele Eyland findes".

Ibid. section 12:
"enhver Participants Plantagiers Nummer viides, da strax ufortørved men ikke
før, maae de af samme Plantagier selges som Participanterne vil afstaae og ikke self vil
Cultivere".

Ibid. section 14:
"Alle Plantagier og opmaalte støder, skal med Baricader af immortal Træ eller
andre Baricade træer rigtig og kiendelig betydes og fra hin anden adskilles, hvilcke
Baricade træer eller grønne skel, ingen under bevege straf, maae bort tage eller
forrycke".

Ibid. section 15:
"Over Landet i almindelighed skal af Ingenieuren og med hielpers saasamart
muligt, et rigtig kort forfattes af saa stort bestick, at ikke alleene Landets Streckning
og alle Viger og Haune, med end og enhver Plan, skov Grund og Plantagie kand betydes
med Nummer længde og brede samt med Caracteer exprimeres, hvad heller det er en
Sucker eller bomulds Plantagie af hvilcket kort, for hvis rigtige og u fortsvelige
forfærdigelse Opperovedet bærer med ald mulig forors og omhyggelig skal
gjøres 3 murderer, Gienpater, og deraf et for blive hos Opperovedet pa St. Croix et ved
Contoiret pa St. Thomas, og Et med første skib hiembendses ja ydermeere med næst paa
følgende leilighed end en Gienpart hiembendses i fald det første det Gud forbyde ikke
maaske komme til Stød".

Ibid. section 16, subsection 1:
"Plantagierne altid beholder det Nummer i Matriculen som dend ved første
optagnmn er ansat for, saa som om hoved Plantagien var under No. 10. da naar dend
fordeles, bliver de øvrige dele som af sondres No. 10 1/4 eller No. 10 1/2 eller og
No. 10 3/4.

Ibid. section 16, subsection 2:
"Land brevne eller skisderne bliver udsendt herfra og meddeelt af Directionen
under deres hænder og Compagniets Seigi, og pastaignes af Opperovedet pa Sø. Croix
at være af ham anvist og overleverede, samt af Commandanten pa Sø. Thomas efter at
de virkelig er opmaalt anvist og immatriculered (?)".
Chapter One - 3.

Vtgk. 99, Moth, St. Thomas, July 17, 1734:

"at tage Landet i sye siun og udsee hvor første foodfaste skulle være".

"Jeg gick da herfra først til Westenden hvor de franske hafde haft et lidet Batterie, hvis muure staar endnu, men Canonerne ere for nogle Aar siden borttagen".

"denne bay, som er over een 1/2 dansk miil bred uden ved 3 fortificationer".

"derforuden ligger skibene aaben for Nord, Suyd og Westl. vinde hvorfore jeg samme forlod, og oplaverede til denn Nord havn kaldet Bazin jeg fandt Landet paa Westenden heel skiant og marcherede omtrent en liden miil indi Landet for at tage denn berømte plantagie af La Grand i øyesiun, som er efter beretning denn best i best på Landet, muurene er endnu tilsune af alle bygninger og til deels gode, et skiant revier leber derved heele saret igijenem og mangfoldig fruvt trær og Lemonyer, orange, endeel (cacao?) trær etc. Samme plantagier (?) jeg agter at reservev for Compagniet til cultivering naar Landet saavit er optaget at een bye skulle maatte bygges paa Westenden, som med tiden absolut maas skee".

"mellem Øen A og hvor byen har staaet er omtrent 150 a 200 foed".

"jeg har byen funden muurene af denn franske kirche, som med ringe bekostning kand repareres og legges tag paa".

"Landet er der saa tilgroed af Ameret eller tierne og andet, at en hund besværlig kand passere der".

"pladsen hvor byen har staaet siunes heel jefnt og stor nok at sette een bye paa af K:haufs størrelse".

"Derfor resolverede jeg at Marchere ind i Landet for at besøge dem, og følt Veyen da igijenem en plantagie som i gamle dage hafde tilhert Paternes, samme er denn beleyligt og beste saa nær byen og fortificationen, er got suckerlang, dejligt løbende Vand derhos hvor jeg self har druchen af, muurene af Bygningerne skal staae endnu til tieniste, men jeg kunde ej komme til at se den".

"Landet er paa denn Nordre side fra West (sic) til Salt rивier langs hen noget fra Sae kanden med høye Bierge, dog alle frugtbare og efter beretning tienlig til sucher plantning og ere ej saa steile som her paa St. Thomas. Biergenes Bazis regner jeg at være circa 1/2 miil dansk breed derefter er Landet til see kanden heel jefnt alleeniste her og der en liden høj tienlig at sætte bygninger paa og findes paa samme nogle steen tienlig at muure med, ellerf ant ingen steene heele Vejen igijenem uden her og der ved riviererne og et steenbiert ved Compagniets plantagies ende tæt ved en Goot, jeg var saa vit, at jeg saa Sae kanden paa Suyd siden, og alt saavit jeg kunde syne ganske jefnt".

"men Festningen byen, hafnen etc. kand icke være paa anden plads end som for er meldt i Bazinen".

"ingen af . . . Compagniets Participanter skal gives raison at klage at Plantagiernes bonite jo skal blive hin anden lige, men hørligheden ved Vand og busk vil visselig blive inegal, de skal blive udsaalet i kiernen af Landet og skal jeg self icke alleeniste være der ved naar jeg kand, men end og om icke andet, da for pønge, formaa de som Landet best er bekendt, at være daglig ved og anviisse de beste grunde, og som landet dog er stort noch, saa skal ei tvifles, at jeg jo efter befalning skal observere skoves bevaring ved hver pladiz hvor mand tencher en bye skal settes, jilgemaade een plantagie derhos for Compag1, og eellers andre skove midt udi Landet".

"mand vil slutte at paa Landet St. Croix skulle findes god jord til 1000 sucher plantagie af 2000 og 3000 foed og lige saa mange Cattun plantagier, de beste grunde begynder omtrent 1/2 miil fra hvor byen skal være og saa lige til Le Grand plantagie paa Westenden, hvor af jeg endeel self har seet; og findes de største trær og beste løbende Vande, men tæt ved byen exept denn ommid planlagie for Compagniet, findes

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meest Cattun land eller maadelig sucherland med skræchelig krat busk og nogle stoere træer her og der til bygnings雄厚mer”.

"det er de mange fattigere som kand eye 1-2-3 eller fleere Slaver som skal giøre et Land storch”.

"strachs tillades smaa grunde at leve paa, enten for betaling, til leje, eller for intet”.

"mand straxen bør ad interim overlade til saadan eller andre... Cattun plantager tæt ved og ostwærds fra Byen, hvilket er alt Cattun Land, og kand samme udj ingen maade prejudicere participanternes plantagiers salr, i henseende de alle skal blive suchervercher, dog skal ingen blive given Concessions bref fører den de Høye Herrers ordre derom indlober”.

"uden det, er en Gouverneur blind udj plantagiernes jnddeeling, og ei kand tilholde vedkommende deres pligt”.

Vgk. 99, Gardelin, St. Thomas, July 16, 1734:

"men der hører langt meere til saadan et Eylands peublering som St. Croix, der efter beretning skal indholde 8 Engl. Mille breede og 36 Engl. Mille lang, som efter bereigning kand udgiøre 132/3 fuldkomne plantagier, som kunde underholde 30 a 40,000 Neegere og 3 a 4000 Blanche naar det eengang kommer dermed til perfection... Mens som det er vel ventelig at ved udmaalingen ej skal udfalde saa mange, i henseende til Moratzer og Revierer som er udi Landet, saa vil jeg ikkun giøre een afbildning paa halv parten som 66 1/2 Plantagie.

Pedr Mariager. Een seavidt mueligt fuldstændig Historisk Efterretning... (MS in the Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen) Nø ykk. Samling no. 426 A (2”), pp. 157-158:

"med 2 Barquer og 2 andre smaa fahrtayer, allesammen vel tilladt med Amunition, de dertil udsendte Civil og Militair Betiente, item hands Excellence von Pleszens folk, samt Neegere og Proviant, gick seigl fra St. Thomas og arriverede den 1 September til St. Croix”.

Vgk. 36, general missive to St. Thomas, November 13, 1734:

"da have Vi denne sindes (?) funden tienligst at forvente underretning fra Eder om bemelte Plantagiers opmaaling paa St. Croix samt videre efterretning om deres forhandling fører for ommelte belovede fuldmagt herfra Eder tilsendes”.

"men den ringere Grunde nemi. saadan som til Bomulds Plantagier alleene ere nyttige og tienlige, maae overlades og selges samt leges, saaledes som de best og tienligst befunden for at fase folch til Landet”.

"Vi har intet imod at Jederne især formuende tillades frihed at needsette sig paa St. Croix”.

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APPENDIX (Continued)

Chapter Two - 1.

P. Mariager, "Een saavidt mueligt fuldstændig Historisk Efterretning", p. 138:

"lys udslugt, lid antændt, planter og Urter af Jorden oprydet, Greene af Træerne afhugget, Vandet fra Revieret smaget, taget og kastet steene, samt alle til en frie, bestandig og virkelig possession af St. Croix behørende Acter".

Vgk. 100, Moth, St. Croix, January 13, 1733:

"Til Dato har mod 40 aflagt troeskabs Eed___de skal paa mandag begynde med alle deres og Compagniets Slaver at udhugge Konge Veiene til udmalingens begyndelse".

"een landmaalere (?) kaldet Thomas Hares som er en Criol fra Antigo til at udmæaale de 300 sucker værcher (?) og begynde dermed paa mandag 14 Dage tilliige med hans Cammerat hver med sin kiede".

"ieg har været circa 10 Engelske mille ind i landet, men in statu quo var det mig umuelig for buskens tæthed de meeste steder at examinere boniteeten af Grunden over alt."

"... vel veed, at der vil falde forskiel paa plantagiernes bonite udi en og anden maade for sitationen og deslige,... saa skulle det være tienlig at mand fick forlov, for ej at forhindre landets hastige Peuplering, at gjøre /: om mand saae det nødig :/ forandring i priissen pro rato efter bonitet en Situationen, thy hvad der maatte tabis i priissen, vandles igien udi Kop og Landskat udi kort tiid, som da saa meget hastigere indkom".

Vgk. 100, Moth, St. Thomas, March 14, 1733:

"en ende derpaa i dette aar saa betimelig, at enhver kand besidde sit før plante tiiden er forbj".

"har adskillige ladet mig fra St. Christophel vide, at de naar udmalingen er til ende, vil komme at Kiebe sucher plantagier".

Vgk. 100, Moth, [St. Thomas?], March 19, 1734:

"begge disse presumeres at udgjøre dned anordnede storelse 600 foed lang og 1000 foed breed, om de vil beholde saa megen grund paa (?) een (?) plads, foruden Le Grans plantagie paa Westenden, som og vel bliver rundt 1000 foed □ hvilcket er et stoert sucherverck".

"Mellem disse og byen presumeres at vil falde 2 a 3 cattoen plantagier af samme har ieg paa ventende approbation for mig udvalt een og resten af grunden reserveres til Compag.ere udmæalede".

"Hvad sig udmalingen andgaard da gaar det ej dermed saa fort, som ieg gierne vilde have ønsket, dog avanceris vel nock efter de ringe kræfter ieg haver at arbeide med. Jeg lader første opmaale udj Qvadrat heele Qvartierer efter landets Situation af 10-12 eller flere plantagier, paa det, naar een plan kand forfærdiges, loddteckningen strax kand begyndes og quarteerene, om nødigt gieres derefter deelles imindre deele, som tydeligere inden kort tiid skal paa papier blive demonstreret".

"ieg skal stræbe af aid magt at komme tilende med udmalingen inden Regen tiden andkommer".

"paa St. Croix findes tæt ved byen skjænt Leer til potter (?) og steen, ieg har ladet probeere at brende muursteen deraf, og saa vil ieg kand see, skal det dertil være tienlig, om mand havde en person der ret forstoed det".

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Vgk. 57, general missive to St. Thomas, April 5, 1733:
"Ivende Gartner Svenne som har lært deres Kunst og Tegning og vildt at
omgases med maale krøden. Og følgelig kand gis tieneste ved plantagens
udmaaling, naar de derom bekræfter (?) instrueres".

Vgk. 100, Moth, St. Thomas, May 2, 1735:
"Om plantagiersen forhandling kand intet fast meldes før udmalingen er
tilende, thy ingen kand vide hvad Grunde er til kiebs, før lodtrechingen er sket, der
er mange som har optaget Catoen plantager, men som vi ingen kreffor har at
udmaale dem før sucher plantagierne er udmalede, saa kand og om priisen (?) ej blive
accorderet, førend mand seer plantagens Løb og Boniteet".

Vgk. 100, Moth, June 13, 1735:
"Øber (?) landmaaleren har været siug i 4 uger, og Second ditto er ved et træes
omhugning meget ilde paa haand og hovet blesseret, tredie ditto maatte jeg derud over
andtage, som til lyche kom fra de Engelshe at verchet ej skulle ligge stille, saa at nu ere
dermed i arbeide 6 hverde, 32 sorte af Kongens, Compagniets Hans Excellence Plessen og
mine Slaver, og hafde jeg meere var der Arbeide noch for 100".
"hvaad priisen er angaende da er det umuelig at obtinere over 50 (pr?) 1000 foed
i □ som er 300 (per?) een fuldkommen Plantagie".

Vgk. 100, Moth, St. Croix, July 8, 1735:
"Ingenieuren Warnech er straxen falden siug og ligger heel svag, ligeleedes de
udkomme Gartner svenne (?) og sidst andtagne Engelske 38 (?)landmaaler, som og er
derfor bortgaaen. Disse og de andre landmaaleres Siugdom setter udmalingen meget
tilbage, thj en dag ligger de, en anden arbeider de, somme tiid heele somme tiid 1/2
dagen".
"Ingen vis taxt eller priis kand settes derpaa, deels for Situationen, deels for
Kisterens skyld, thj her gaar som ordsproget lyder Qvot hom ines tot sen ten ties,
den ene har lyst til sækænden den anden midt i landet, dend 38 et biert, og saa
vidre, desforuden findes ved een Plantagie rindende vand, ved dend anden gamle
bygninger, ved 38 storr skov, ved dend 44 skoven forhuggen og fuld af tidsel, og
saledes, dog grundenes bonite er saa meget muelig er, egal og til dato har iche seet
nogen forskiel derpaa".
"Det er mig angiven at her skal være en skien Kaaer mine, jeg har til dato ej
kunde faaet dend at see. . . . thj efter beretning skulle Minen være rigere end Kaaer,
men hvor storr vides iche".

Vgk. 100, Moth, St. Thomas, July 23, 1735:
"befaler saa stricte at ingen sucher plantagier maae selges førend de 300 først
ere solte, jeg har tilforne ej tordet besvare denne post førend nu jeg med fundument det
kand gis efter at jeg personlig alting har examineret og af andre udfritted deres
meening ved daglig discours, thj tager hermed dend friehed at giare dette velmeente
project.
1. Har jeg i mit seeniste demonstreret hvorudj plantagier wns ulighed i Bonitet kunde
bestaa.
2. Kisterens ulige Sentement, som og giar ulighed i priissen. til samme mig refererer.
3. Naar nu disse 300 plantagier ere udsalede saa skal der findes mange som jeg ved af
erfarenhed, der heller skal ville kiebs af de overbleven, som kand lige ved sækænden,
end af disse udsalede, alt var grunden ej saa god, express for Fiskerie eller anden
Raison.
4. Kand saadanne plantagier ej tages i udmalingen, thj mand er forpligt at gaae en lige
linnie og i busken er umuelig at see Landets streching over alt.

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5. Naar nu disse 300 plantagier ere udmalaede som de bør, som in statu quo ej skane i 3 aar, saa er døn første linnie, hvor udmalingen er begyndt ganske begrebet med busk førstend døn sidste begyndes og er alt saa dobbelt arbeide naar de skal leveres, at uddugge paa nye.

6. denne udmaling vil kaste langt over 10000 [rigsdaler] foruden tids spilden som ere toe gange meere.

7. Vedt Ieg vel af daglig discours at naar Ieg nu med □ linien og nogle tver linnier er saa vidt klar at Ieg paa Papier kand demonstrere hvorledes alle Nummerne siden skal udkasses hver i sær som Ieg meener uden særdeles forhindring af Vedvarende sligdom og u tilladelig arbeide Veir som regn og deslige skal kunde skete sidst in Augusto, skal Gouvernementet som i de Geometriske sager ere ukyndige, dog ej ville begynde Lodtrechningen, paa det Ieg kand naae mit øyemercke, nemlig at anvisse derefter i fase dage enhver af de Cultiverende som haver gjort anstalter, nemlig hans Majt, hans Excellence Plessen, Justits Raad Jacobi, Borgemester Holmsted, Mons. Kræls Principaler og Mons. Carstensen hvor deres grunde skulde falde, hvortil de med alle deres Slaver enhver i sær gierne kom til hielp for des snarere at kunde settes i fuld Possession og mig selg er det forbudet at begynde Lodtrechningen.

8. er mig... berettet at det udkomme for de solte plantagier skal alt sammen legges i een Casses og siden komme alle participanterne som samme eje til lige deling, havet heller døn enes selges høyere end den andens eller ej.

"Alle disse poster vel overveiende og om det mig berettere Sc. 8 og 9 art. er sandt, saa skulle Ieg som forerhelt ydmygst proponere at det var bedree at lodtrechningen uden forhold skede straen og sig ej extenderede end for de Cultiverende".

"Eenhver, af de Cultiverende kunde ved deres fuldmægtige efter lodtrechnings preference have forlof at udsøge de plantagier hos hver andre, som hand vilde lade Cultivere hvor hand lystede af denne allerede udmalaede grund og gaae saa vit til sæn de self vilde, thj om end de grunde ved sæn ere slettere, saa skulle mange dog tage samme naar de laae tøt ved deres andre plantagier i sted for anden bedre grund for een eller anden herlighed skyld som gresegang, magelighed for suchernes afsløbing og fleer andre deslige poster, og kunde des Cultiverende strænen settes i possession og de bleve alle i et Qvater som er det nærmeste ved fortet og magelighet for sucherets afsløbing, god busk, got Vand god frugtbar jefnt Land in Summa alle herligheder, som efter min ringe skipsomhed bedre tilkomer saadanne som self vil anvende penge at udesløge det landet i stand, end dem der alleene søger at negotiere dermed de andre participanter kunde da nyde provenuen af de førstere solte sucher plantagier til saa høy tal som dem tilkom, hvor vedd den ingen maade lider skade, thj de som først kíber betaler ordinaire dyrest og søger de beste og bedelægt herved indfinder Liebhaberne sig hastigere og Landet snarest beboes ved sæe siderne".

"naar dette accepteres kand gíeres een begyndelse paa Compagniets plantagie thj derved spares denne kostbare udmaling i det en hver, naar hand kíber og vil tage possession af sin plantagie forsaker (?) nogle negere til hielp at lade uddugge hvor Landmaaleren skal passere, samme maade Ieg bruger ved Cattoen plantagierne naar de udmæles, thj ellers fikk det aldrig ende med døn ringe magt ieg haver.

"Jeg hafte aldrig forestilt mig at denne begyndte udmaling hafte forarsaget saa stort arbeide, og i Europa skal mange dog forstandig holde det utroellgt men jeg forsikrer af experience at det er ændt at mange uges ej avanceres med uddugningen for kieden at passere knap 3000 foed. Skulle derefter reguleres den heste udmaling som er over 1500000 da skulle mange aar dertil nødig gíeres. Derimod efter ovenstående projekt kand i kort tid saadan tal af plantagier udmæles, naar findes icke tilfældeere til at kíbe dem".

Vgk. 100, generalbrev, St. Thomas, August 29, 1733:

"og derforre kand ingen prejudiceres derved, at de, som vil cultivere (?) optager først deris Plantagier som nermest ligge for haanden og mænd (?) kand komme
til at uDMAaL€, hvikLe sid€n medal deris nummeriS kand observeris ArePare ved loddrekenningen. Hvad forsikkelen af grunde tilleLg€med anden hærlig€h af revisorer er angaaende som dend eene ved lod kunde tilfæLde fre5 for dend anden, da kand saadant ikke være af dend importance eller setties i Comparaison imod dend skæde som dem som vil Cultivare form€delste ophold efter saadant antal Plantagiers uDMAaling og deris loddreknLng tilfys€n•

Vgk. 100, Moth, St. Thomas, August 31, 1735:

"Ing€nueuren Warnech endnu ligger heel slet og dend Engelske landlealer ligeledes, men second ditto nogenledes frisk, saa at med udkapningen for kieden lidet sv€ngeris, der er udkappet en linie N.N.W. og S.S.O. tvers over landet og hier efter landmaalerens omkomst for at maales, der er kappet en linie O.N.O. og W.S.W. for plantagiers l€n dige og maalet 15 plantagier i l€n dige eller 45000 foed, 4 plantagiers brede fra samme er begyndt at kappe en anden linie paa samme streg men iche endnu kommet til ende. Der er endnu kappet ved dend Westre ende af disse 15 plantagier en linie N.N.W. og S.S.O. fra seks kanden paa syedsiden til det høyeste bierg omtrent midt i landet kaldet blaaese Mont, som forbød os at gaae lengere med Linien, samme er 10 plantagiers brede og derfra ere de nu i arbeid at huggle O.N.O. til dend anden linie ved Østenden af disse 15 plantagier, noro er huggle en anden N.N.W. linie i midden 20000 foed lang, saa naar denne begyndte O.N.O. Linie er klar, kand anviiLsses uden stoor umage høist 150 plantagier inden i aa og ved kanden af 4 plantagier i aa paa adskillelige steder, som skal udgiiere circa 200 plantagier som inden kort tid anviiLsses, nu forlænger jeg fiten West efter, for at gaae frie for de høye bierge i Nord..., og dependerer alt samme verchets fortag paa Landmaalerens sundhed".

"Men hvorledes er St Thomas uDMAaled, hvorledes er StJan uDMAaled, hvor af reiser sig de mange Plantagier disputter, hvad forvolder at saa mange steder ligger lapper grund ved plantagierne til over..., der er neppe en plantagie paa St Jan uden at der er grund til overs given, paa St Thomas er det ligeledes, her af kommer at naar en ret uDMAaling er sket, og dend eene plantagie viget for dend anden, da er det befunden at plantagiens bygninger er kommet uden for plantagien i en andens grund".

"hafde jeg nogen hielp kundet bekommet fra St Thomas endten af plantere eller andre som forstood Compasset eller Astrolabium for at kappe linierne, da hafde ej saalenge tarderet uDMAalingen, thj var alle linierne udhuggen kunde uDMAalingen skee i en maanet".

"hvad arbeid er gjort, er ved Landsens (?) indvsanere, men de ere faae som forstaaer det og naar de har 4 uger været der ved ere de endten blefne siuwe eller kisede".

"thj det er et moysommelig arbeid net og dag at ligge i busken under aaben himmel mestendeeL med vasade kl€der og blant million tusinde myg eller muscheeter. Galnipper og Mopirer (?) og leve af et styche kaalt salt kis€ eller flees og brød med vand og en sopie kieldyvel".

"Men Separationen mellem hver plantagie vil ej saa hastig blive klar".

Vgk. 484, Landets Protokoller, St. Thomas. May 25, 1680:

"Er fire hunderede foed, Norden for landveyen, wed Det (?) mercke træ, som er plantet ved (___) plantaties barekøete, og der fra har dens brede sit løb, weesten, tolf hunderede foed, som er dens røt€ brede, paa den st€d, fra for neffinde mercke træ, och til Mons. Jan (___) plantatie, mens Noorden for den st€d, vil dens løb giare den smallere, och Zyden for den st€d, vil dens løb giare den breddere, fordi at samme plantaties løb, er paa den øst€re sid€, næst ved (___) plantatie, som ligger offyen for land veyen, och (___) plantatie, som liger zyden, heller Unden for land veyen, norden til weesten, och zyden til oosten, och paa dens weest€re sid€, næst ved Mr. Jan Donckers plantatie, er løbet noorden och zyden, saa at Samme plantatie har sit løb i
Zyden, til sida sidder ... och i norden, til toppen af det hoyeste bierge, som er dens røtter langde".

Vgk. 100, Moth, St. Croix, October 24, 1733:

"siden mit seeniste ... er Inginieuren Warnech saaledes bedret sig, at han kand gøre tieneste saavel som de andre Engelske Landmaaler, og bruges hand alleene til at maale og de andre til at kappe eller huggi lineerne, den forrige landmaaler Hagds er og siden seeniste bortløben fordi hand saae at hands accordt var for ringe for saa stort Arbeide men det hinder mig aldeles intet, jeg har nu antaget en i hans plads og en aparte, saa nu paa 4« pladser arbeides, alt hvad os manquerer, er Capable Neegermand til at udhugge trærne, hvor de med kiden skal passere. Compasser og Astrolabia har jeg stoor umage at bekomme til kisbs de som Stalman udbragte ere lidet eller intet tienlige jeg har med stoor meye tid efter anden faaet 6 til kisbs, deraf 2 af trærne i styrker slagene og en astrolabium af dend bortløne landmaaler med sig tagen, saa ickun 3 ere tilbage og dend 4« Landmaaler bruger mit, og Inginieuren Compagniets det ene, som noget tienlig, instrumenterne med Stalman udkomme, ere nogle gamle forslidte passere etc. Tj beder Inginieuren om et Futteral gode instrumenter, som fases best hos Carl von Manderen i K'haft, destigeste bedes ydmygste om nogle Constabels instrumenter, som Quadrant passerer, tomme stock og dislige af kilder eller Messing, her havor intet dislige og behøves nødvendig ved en Fæstning. Jeg har nu begyndt at lade Plantagierne afdeele 4« en Quadrat som er et lod i Compagniet for at være klar til Leverance, naar [De Herrers] ordres monne (?) udkomme hvad heller mit forslag accepteres eller ey, og som jeg self i min ungdom hos Mons. Lorentz Lousen har lært baade min Geometri, Landmaaling, og til deelt Fortificationen og ligeleedes i Amsterdam, saa har de høye herrer ny nødig at tviffe paa, at Verchet, naar jeg som nu, har nogen medhjælpere skal giores galt eller uret, saavit jeg er anbefalet, og har jeg desforuden heel vel begrebet [De Herrers] Intention".

"Mineralierne siunes at være gode og skal være endnu efter beretning langt rigere. Miinen skal være bred over en 1/2 Dansk Miil men legden vides iche, jeg har paa videre [De Herrers] approbation lovet manden en Plantagie, hvor hand lyster 3000 foed Quadrat om Miinen or god".

Vgk. 37, to Moth, November 22, 1733:

"dend umuelighed som sees at komme, saa snart som os var beloved, ja uden nogle Aars forlab, dermed til end har ikke liidet suprereret os".

"At eenhver efter Lodtrechningens præference strax saa snart muligt tager I possession til Cultivering eller til at beholde ... deres Plantagie Grunde hos hvh andre hvor hand lyster nembl: paa det heele Land enten paa dend Øster eller Westre eller Sydre (?) side af Fortet og haunen undtagen det tilforme ommelte for Compagniet Conserverede og Reserverede grunde, ... tagende deres grunde fra Søen af om de lyster hands Kongel. Mai$. Vores Allernaadigste Konge og Herre indtil 4 Plantagier i breeden men alle andre Cultiveringede og Reserverende indtil 3 Plantagier J breeden i lige Linie saaledes som Plantagierne efter Situationen har og bør strekke sig".

"paa de støder hvor de lyster eller og I det quarteer som er det nærmeste ved fortet, og mageliggere for Sukkerets aflebning, hvor der er good Busk, godt Vand godt frugtbar Grund, jefnt Land hvor de forlanger og Bierge og dale om de det forlanger".

"Alle de sfrige Plantagie grunde saavel til Sukker Verker som til saamange Plantagier smaa og støore hvor de findes paa det heele Land ... selges allesammen for Compagniets eller Samtlige Participants Reigning, det beste og snarest muligt".

"at I seer og streber af ald magt at forhandlingen, som nu er fri og Libre sker det snarest muligt og at da eenhver de kisbt Grunde Det allersnarest muligt anvises og tilmaales, hvorudj vj og forhaabe at det sker som I self skriver at eenhver kisbende er behielpelig med sine Slaver at udsmaele saadanne Grunde som rigtig under Deres behørlige Nummer i hver quarteer i Matriculen anføres, og at Baricader settes og
grene Skellene behørig observeres at det siden ikke enten giver nogen disputer eller at paa enten af Siderne ved maaled fornermes".

"udj lige Linie i Længden saaledes som Plantagiernes strekning falder, de forommelte Compagniets Egen udseedte eller Reserverede Grunde Upræjudicered I alle maader og forstaarer det sig af sig self at om I veyen og strekningen falder Mauratzer, ubrugelige Klipper og Bierge eller andet sligt, saadan de forbi gaaes og ikke kommer med i Plantagiernes maal men alleene de brugelige Grunde, hvad heller det er Sukker Bomuld eller anden Grund".

"Saaledes vilde I da nu hvad eenhver tilkommer og strax skall leveres alle Difficulteter formodes nu at være tilsidesatt. Og kobmandskabet med de øfrige grunde kend gaae frie og ubehindret som forremelt".

Chapter Two - 2.

Rtk. 2249,32. Moth to the King, April 14, 1736:

"hos hver andre beliggende omtrent midt i suchergrundene og efter midt og alles tyche kiernen af heele landet".

Vgk. 100. Generalbrev. St. Thomas, April 14, 1736:

"Landbrevene kunde umelig klar giore at følge hermed, thi som Hands Maylls plantagier falder mellem 2 linier neml. No 6. og 7., saa maa der Baricader ophugges og planldes først, iligemaade kunde hverken Mons. Horn eller Malleville udsage denne rette pladz hvor Baricaderne skulle sættis for Hans Excell. Von Plessen og Hf justitz Raed Jacobi, og altsaa de rette nummere ej vides at andføre i Landbrevne, men de skal blive, saa snart mulig er med allerførste klargiorde".

Vgk. 100, Moth, St. Thomas, April 14, 1736:

"... og seeis af medfølgende Carta hvor Compagniets plantagier kommer at falde omtrent alle dends linier ere ej udhugne saasom ieg har agtet det unadig førend dend fick naboer".

Vgk. 100, Generalbrev. St. Thomas, April 14, 1736:

" Nu skal strax begyndes at uDMAale Cattoen Plantagierne, hvoraf 2 er allereede uDMAalede neml: Chalvills (?) og Kochligs (?)".

Vgk. 57, to Moth and Horn. July 7, 1736:

"Af bemelte indkomne Breve og derhos fulde afsritning have vi fornunnet (?) hvorvidt med Plantagie Grundenes udlevering til de Cultiverende Participanter var avanceret, og formode vj at de øvrige Grunde som endda icke vare anviste, allereede forlengst skal vore blevene udvideste, og at med samme Plantagiers uDMAaling og Cultivering er gjort begyndelse".

Vgk. 180, Moth, St. Thomas, July 28, 1736:

"landbrevene kunde icke udgiore straxen, saa som Inspecturene saa vel som ieg self holt det raadeligere, først at udhugge en temmelig terrain for kost etc, førend de gick paa liniernes udhugning til separation for hver plantagie og at sette de ordonnerede marche skiel, og er mand i før med cattoen plantagiernis uDMAaling for at kunde giore prompte leverance til liebhebberne".

Vgk. 100, Generalbrev, St. Thomas, August 17, 1736:
"der er for længe begynt med at udhugge linierne til udsættelsen for Cattun plantagierne, og daglig dermed Continueres af de Engelske dertil leiede, de skal og saa snart gjærligt er, blive udsættede men dengi accurate udsættelsen vil berøre paa Ingenieurens udsendelse.

"Sucker Plantagierernes afdeelning kunde vel straxen skeevd. de Engelske, naar de ere klar med Cattun plantagierne, men for det første vil Inspecteurerne nødtinde deres Neegere til assistance førend de rigelig kaast og Sucker har plante, hvorudj vi giver dem lige, for det andet er arbeidet lettere naar eendevalg. de som storefront buk er nedhugget, og for det 34ste meener Gouverneuren at det magelig kand bi til mange libhæbere sig indfinder, thi hand meener at indrette saadan Carta over de allerede udsættede, efter det hiemsendte Carta, at Landbrevene derefter kand vorde (?) rigtig ved nummer udstedede uden ringeste ahvs hvormed allerede var begynt af Ingenieurmen men blev dermed ej ferdig. . . .

"Ingenien Warnæch blev overkaldet for at anlægge et Carta for Gouverneuren, saaledes som de smaa indeelinger for plantagierne i de allerede opmaalede quarterer skulle være, for at kunde samme nummerer og derefter landbrevene indrette til hiemsendelse, da samme carta var 1/4 klar blev han Syg og døde 34ste Dagen derefter, nu ligger alting stille til skibene e vorte, at gouverneuren self did kand overgaae, for at ordonere og alting i stand sette".

Vgk. 100, Moth, August 25, 1736:

"Af det medfalgende Carta af mig forfærdiget over afdeelinger paa plantagierne udi de allerede opmaalede quarterer skulle være, for at kunde samme nummerere og derefter landbrevene indrette til hiemsendelse, da samme carta var 1/4 klar blev han Syg og døde 34ste Dagen derefter, nu ligger alting stille til skibene e vorte, at gouverneuren self did kand overgaae, for at ordonere og alting i stand sette".

Vgk. 38, General missive, November 21, 1736:

"Thj Vi skulle visselig formode, at denne udviisning af Plantagier paa St. Croix forlenest maae være fuldbragt, og derforre forundre Vi os saameget mere over, at ingen efterretning med Mr. Carstens skib i det mindste derom bliver indsendt, efter som vedkommende her. ere meget begierlige efter at viide det endelige udfald om deres Grunde derpaa Landet, samt deres egentlige maal og streckning".

"Overalt synes os ikke at Dette er et Marque af dend belovede og pligtige Nidkierhed".

Rtk. 2249.33, Westken, December 18, 1736:

"... 31 og 32 er endnu icke tagen. formmedelst det sted hvor de skulde værit tagen som er syden paa Landet er ickun slett, og icke bequem til nogen gode Plantagier hvor for jeg har refuseret dem".
APPENDIX (Continued)

Chapter Three - 1.

Vgk. 328, [Moth] to Nissen, January 18, 1737:

"Begge Eders skrivelses af 9thujus samt 14th ditto har jeg erholdet med ingen underrettning om hvad Hartman gir, eller hvorvidt avangeres med udmålingen enten paa Oost eller West Enden. Saadant skal mig hver Løverdag Raporteres naar Landmaaleren hiemkommer og ved hvad Lejlighed eengang ugentlig af Eder tilsendes".

Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, February 12, 1737:

"I ville strebe at lade mig viide, om dend sidst ordonnerede streg N N O  og S S W passer for Compagni til Ost Baricade, mellem deres og min Plantagie, samt lader ved Jens Langeland og Worsdorf udmæle Lengden af samme fra Søe kanten til Center Linien i liigemaade bredden fra Samme Linie til ("kaaghuuset," or possibly "kveghuuset") OSO og WNW. Hvilken tilfurde af Warneck er udmalt, og med stocker plantet 500 foed fra hver anden, endelig bredden fra denne NNO Linie eller Baricade, til dend Baricade som blev eder anvist mellem mig og eder, og lade ham sette stocke hver 500 foed fra hver anden med skuur i skaaren for hver 100 foed de staar fra West (possibly "vert"). Baricade saaledes som er gjort i Compagniets Plantagie . . .

Walton ordonneris at indkomme straxen og begynde at udhugge Linien til Holmsted og Feddersens barchader som er just middelen af dend 24th og 34th Linie, i ville lade ham begynde i Center Linien, og hugge først til Søen paa Sydsiden langs Feddersens grunde, dernest til Nord siden langs Holmsteds grunde hvortil Bruun giver Neegere kand hand hugge begge sider tillige, som magelig kand skee, assisteres ham med 4 af Comp. Neegere, og kand Weinhold være medhjelper eller Joorskov (?) eller Pock (?) . . . . Carta sendes til eders eftersiun, men sendes strax med Beverhout tilbage".

Vgk. 528, [Moth to Nissen], February 24, 1737:

"Jens Langeland ordonneres at udhugge dend WNW Linie eller nye lande vej i Lengden til hand møder dend første NNV Linie, og samme maale og mig straxen tilsende, naar hand er klar continuereos O.S.O. Linien 1000 foed Lenger igiennem dend Liden plantagie tæt ved Byen".

Vgk. 528, [Moth to Nissen], February 24, 1737:

"Nathaniel Walton ordonneres hermed at begynde med at continuere hoved Linien Westen efter heel ud til Westenden, hvortil ham af Landfogden ordonneres 5 af Compagni dertil vandte Slaver og om hand kand faae een tienlig mand til Leye, haver hand permission samme at andtage sig til medhjelper for at haste dismeere, hvis icke employeres Edward Sears, naar hand nogenleedes kend mistes".

Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, March 2, 1737:

"Jeg har bekommet afteigingen fra Jens Langeland med Mont Bønder, dend er i alle maader vell. Naar Walton har satt dend nye andtagene medhjelpere i verck at kappe hoved Linien West efter, gaar hand med Edward Sears til Oost Siiden, og udhugger Linien (or "Linier") SSO og NNW fra Søe til søe kanten, hand begynder ved Nantons West Baricade og hugger SSO til Søen, dend anden begynder ved Nantons Oost Baricade og ligeledes SSO til Søen og saa fremdeles hver Linie 2000 foed fra hin anden i bredden".

Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, April 25, 1737:
"Nock følger hermed en Ægte med farver for Jens Friis i samme findes 1 constabels Quadrant, 1 proportional circul, og 1 caliber stock. ... I samme er og et astrolabium som i tager under beværing til vildere. I ville ordonnere Jens Langeland at aflægge de opmålede grunde paa Oost Enden, saaledes hand best kand eftersom jeg med Guds hielp neste uge kommer at andviise grundene".

Vgtk. 101, Generalbrev, May 28, 1737:
"formedelst de Engelske Lanmaaleris forsømmelig tieneste, jeg dott at naar de giør een Maaned tieneste, forsømmer de dønd anden Maaned og bliver hiemme, er een af Compagniets Soldatjer Jens Sørensen Friis som er af profession Muurmester, employered til Land maaler, fordi hand der j naged er exertere af bortdøde ingenieur Warnæk...

Vgtk. 180, a "plan" or prospectus of the lottery, printed in 1736: Paragraph 6:
"De vundne Plantagier af enhver Sort, anviises Tiid efter anden, ligesom enhver indfinder sig, og lader sig anteigne at have anmeldt sig, hvor Vedkommende lyster at have dem paa bemeldte Insul St. Croix, af de ey allerede udviiste Grunde paa behørige og begvemme Stæder, hvor der falder Grund til Sukker-Verk, og hvor der falder Grund til Bomuld, og om nogen forlanger Cattoen Plantagierne af meere Breede og mindre Længde, kand dernem efter Jordsmonnets Strekning derudi foyes".

Vgtk. 101, Generalbrev, St. Thomas, July 21, 1737:
"Paa Østenden er afmaaled 36 plantagier og fleere er i arbeid, for hvilke 36 Gouverneurens efter skibets bortgang gaar over at uddeele Landbreve og tæge obligationer samt giøre Leverance. Der Continueris med udmåaling over alt paa det Liebhabbire til Cultur ey skal opholdis, besynderlig naar lotteriet bliver complet".

"Chalvils (?) og Kochlie (?) plantagier er breed 2000 og 3000 foed Lang, og mange af de leverede plantagier paa østende er Ligesaa store andre 1/3, 1/4, 1/2, og 3/4 og saa fremdeelis, som skal viises af det Carta som nu af ingenieuret forfærdiges, efter skibets bortgang naar hand udmålingerne faar udlabet".

"Denne Plantage maatte vi absolute Love dem tilkøbs, om mueligt var, for at giøre deres grunde quadrat".

Vgtk. 101, Generalbrev, St. Thomas, August 29, 1737:
"hvorudj kommer at ligge 50 plantagier store og smas, og (ved?) Eenigheden, om ingenieuren lever at fuldføre Carta over samme, da blive hiemsendt. Der befindes i samme Qvarter nu boende 42 familier, de resterende 8'er af 2 Her boende Habitanter, 2 er pyndter tilhørende de andre plantagier, 4'er ej end nu optagne.

Vgtk. 101, Moth and Horn, St. Thomas, November 25, 1737:
"Til Edvard Bøll en Hollands indvænder paa Eustatius er solt siden seeniste [2?] plantagier i Princens Qvarter, saa at nu ickun Manquere 14 plantagier uсолte i samme Qvarter hvilket udgør 36 plantagier; Til Mons. Peddersen plantagier har anmeldet sig 3 liebhabere hos Gouverneurens, dønd een efter beretning eiende 100 slaver, mand har ej turdet accordere saaom hand staer paa Listen hos de Cultiverende men gior ingen andstalt som de andre Cultiverende".

**Chapter Three - 2.**

Vgtk. 528, Moth to Langeland, March 18, 1738:
"Jeg bekom sidst dette Oversendte Carta som er Vell men forlanges at Vide hvor langt dønd Linie er kappet som underlandmaalerne var i fær med da jeg var der, og

"Dend pynt hvor Batteriet ligger (______) H: er og ey Rett thj efter Warnecks Carta som med følger Labor Center Linien ONO rett (?) paa Batteriet og i eders skiller dett med 2000 foed, ett af Begge Carta maae være urigtige, Og ville i samme examiner paa Bierget hvor Center Linien opløber og der af peile 1 Batteriet 2 Cayen 3 Dette nye Forts bierg. 4 Kircken, 5 Kalls huus, 6 Bierget F: (?), 7 mine plantagie huuse, samme peiling ville i mig til sende og maaiett Distancen Mellem dend plads i Gier Peylingen og indtil B. K. eller L. (?).

Vgl. 528, Moth to Nissen, May 1 (or 4), 1738:
"Dett Carta jeg Oversendte Jens Langeland til forandring forvendtes med Barquen og om muligt hand self med at jeg kand ham Instruere Om Alting hvad skal forrettes Thj min svaghed og Skibets Expedition forhindrer min Overkomst Denne Maanedt, jeg og Ingen af De forlangde Landbreve forfærde før jeg faaer Cartet".

"... Mandtalls Liste over Habitanterne paa St Crydts nu levende, Item Slaverne Med Mandtallet foges hvad Nation de er af, Item hvad handteering og hvor mange af dem holder Mesterkneger samt Deres afhafne".

Soren Sommer’s "Kort Beskrivelse":
"... formedelst landet bestaaer af pur skov, hvor igiennem Veyen gaaer og er, som en udhuggen allée og Kongevey, paa begge slider omgivn med høye, tykke-green bevoksn Trær, hvilket forseger en kielig og skyggefuld vey".

Vgl. 528, Moth to Friis, July 27, 1738:
"Jeg Ordonnerede eder for nogen Tiid at sende mig udmåalingen over Princessens udhuggen Terrain, i haver strax samme at maale og mig tilsende med Vligende post som paa Fredag eller Løverdag skal findes paa West Enden Ved Kralls Plantagie".
"... jeg haver endnu icke bekommert maaiett paa de naale til Astrabierne hvilket jeg med først forlanger".

Vgl. 101, Horn, St. Thomas, August 15, 1738:
"... icke helter tror jeg hand legger sig stoert efter efter eller driver meget paa, at med udmålingen gieres nogen hast".

Vgl. 101, Generalbrev, St. Thomas, August 18, 1738:
"Herved sendis Copie af dett Carta hvorefter dett første Oostende Qwarteer blev ind deelt dett blev gived af Gouverneuren til Ingenioren for at afløgge See-siderne men hand døde kort derpaa saa af samme ej kand sees Landets strækning men vel plantagiernes tall, Eyermænd og størelse exept de fæ som ligger paa udhukker".

Vgl. 528, Moth to Nissen, September 15, 1738:
"Som det berretis mig at det er lige stor umage at ophugge dend gamle Vey eller giore en Nye Vey, saa ville j tale med Jens Langeland, om icke center linien er lige saa jefne og tienlig som dend gamle Vey, og lade dend udhugge til en Vey, hvortil Kongen, Von Plessen, jeg, Holmsted og Maddox samt Compaq. Robbeson og Mistel efter proportion af Negerris tal, Veyen bør begynde i Lindessays plantagie, og følge Suydside Veyen til dend steder til Center linien, det mest nær muligt er og seer

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Langeland at denne bliver gjort det ligeste og iøfneste muligt er 20 født breed eller noget smalere i førstningen”.
  "Veyen til Princessen giores og Straxen klar”.

Vgk. 101, Moth, St. Thomas, November 19, 1738:
"compasslinierne, som være udfugne mellem Qvartierene og plantagierne ere i
orcanen gandske tilfalden af træer, saa (?) de paa nye maae reensis, hvilket ei (kand?)
skee i dette regnveir”.

Vgk. 58, generalmissive, December 22, 1738:
“maae Vi erindre at den icke kommer over eens med de relationer som Os derom,
og om quarteerernes inddeeling er indberettet”.

Chapter Three - 3.

Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, February 17, 1739:
"Peder Davidson ordonneris med 4º Neegere at aabner Center Linien jo før jo bedre”.

Vgk. 102, Nissen, St. Croix, June 16, 1739:
"Med plantagierernes optagelse avanceris og temmelig Weel”.

Vgk. 102, Moth, St. Thomas, July 27, 1739:
"Thy bedis ydmygste att maatte vorde udsendt aftegningen ("aftegninger"?)
over St. Croix in blanco except bayene da jeg ville see, saa got som jeg kand at andlegge
disse quarterser, til (De Herrers) efterretning, her havis vel det udsendte Carta 1733,
men der fundis ingen mille skaal (?) dersaa og meeste af idælg brug i sonder revne
og forslidt”.

Vgk. 102, Generalbrev, St. Thomas, July 29, 1739:
"Gouverneuren forklarer saavit (?) at være vidende abuser i Samme, at mange
Plantagier staar andfør for opmaalede, og er saaledes icke, samme er at see, ved det
ingen Priis staar derved, thy som de icke ere opmaalede, saa ere og ingen obligation
derfor passerede, men landmaalerne ere i færd (?) med at udhugge linierne”.

Vgk. 102, Generalbrev, St. Thomas, October 7, 1739:
"har mange indfundet sig paa Stº Croix at optage plantagier, af nogle virkelig
taget Landbref da Gouverneuren var der for 14 dage siden, andre endnu ej opsegt sig
faste grunde, hvorfore ingen Lister paa samme hermed følger før mand kand regne
samme for faste habitanter”.

Chapter Three - 4.

Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, January 25, 1740:
"Carta over Oostende quartieret A. oversendis, Thi haver Jens Friis at see till at
dend Linie af Cornelius Bedker tilforn Værende plantagie vorde (?) udhuggne paa een
af siderne som det Eegentlig sees at jan Koocklys Linie steder til Savanen ssaa skulle
ieg Tænke nogen steds deng dorde (?) nye Liini var at finde, hvis icke faae (or "saae")
dend første Norder linie under Challewilles nu Beverhoudts plantagie udhugges og
findes da (or "finder de")? Ved Maaalingen Bødkers Vest barcade og Jan Didrichs Oost Barcade, at alting kend Være klar till jeg overkommer".

Rtk. 2249.35, Moth, February 27, 1740:
"men det var mig umueligt at komme igjennem de tilforne ophugne linier eller Maalings Veie".
"saa befalede jeg at aabne een Vej mellem de 10 Nordligste plantagier № 1 a 10 hvilke jeg holder for de umageliste og slippeteste, ligeleedes een Vej imellem 10 andre de Østligste plantagier som skiller № 11, 12, 19, 20, 21, 22, 29, 30, 31, og 1/2 af 32 fra de andre 1/2 plantagier".

Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, April 7, 1740:
"Landmaaleren erlæides og at sende mig deng bog jeg ham gafv da jeg sidst var der, forhaabende deng nu er klar".

Vgk. 59, General missive to St. Thomas, April 11, 1740:
"Den af Commandanten forlangede Afteigning af St. Croix in Blanco med Miile Scala, for derudj at kunde anlegge de opmaalede quarterer til Vores underretning, følger herved in duplo nemlig Eet Exemplar af liige størrelse med det forrige udsente, og det andet accurat Dobbelt saa stor, hvilcket største Cart er inddeelt udj quadrater, hvoraf hver quadrat side, er een fierding Vey efter den paa Cartet sadte Miile-Scala.
"Naar Commandanten da derpaa anlegger de opmaalede quarterer, og derudj befindende Plantagier, bør dette observeris at fød maaleet ved hver quarteer og Plantagie bliver vedført".

Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, May 14, 1740:
"Det forbydes Ole Bensen under hvad Prætext det end maatte Være at hugge noget fustix paa Vest Enden ferend Krolls plantagie er udmaalet, og efter som Kroll sig uvillig fant at give Neegere dertill, da Landmaaleren der var, saa faar (?) hand at oppebie Leilighed".

Vgk. 528, Moth to Nissen, July 8, 1740:
"ieg sender og een Tydske og Latinsk Lovbog dend Latinske ville j viise Vallentin French og fornemme om hand samme kand oversætte paa Engelsk".

Rtk. 2249.35, Moth, July 15, 1740:
"som ieg icke veed om de 2da Carta, ieg Ober Inspecteuren for et par Aar siden gaf over de Kongelige Plantagier til hiemsendelse ere ariverede, saa sendes hermed allerunderdanigste et andet, saa got ieg det har kundet faset forfærdiget, hvoraf Deres Kongelige Majøstet Allernadigste kand erfahre salt rivierets Lab, som har sin udspring mellem 2 haye Bierge mod Nord og er mange steder deng meeste tid om Aaret tørt, mens sielden udj Plantagierne 16... 24 & 25, men udi 27 hvor Palig Lorentsen deng nye bygning har opsadt og ægtet at ville have Kaagehuset, er det nu tørt, men længer need mod Søen igien af jorden udkommer til mod Veien som skiller det ferske fra det Salt Rivier".

Rtk. 2249.35, Moth to the Kammerherre, July 15, 1740:
"Hvor stor terrain i alt er udhuggen udviser det hermed følgende Carta, der af er alt sammen plandet i Cattoen og Magis & putatis som ligger paa dend Oostre side af Veien, som løber igjennem Plantagier til det nyebygte huus og viidre til Søen...".

Rtk. 2249.35, St. Croix, August 4, 1740:
"med os havende Land Maaleren... Jens Sørensen Friis, for at viise os Compas Linerne"... saa vel de grunde, som ligger Norden for Center Linen, som de der ligger.
Syden for Center Linen og i Særdeleshed besææ de grunde ved Søe kandten, og er mine tancker, at disse udi denne forretning mentionerede Numere ere de beste Sucker Grunde, bequemest for Vand, Afskibning og Savane, til med saa meget mueligt paa een Quadrat taget".

Chapter Three - 3.

Vgk. 59, General missive, February 21, 1741:
"Det skal være Os kiert at see Aftegningen over St. Croix og de der anlagde Plantagier som Commandanten har belovet saasnart mueligt forfærdigt og Os tilsendt".

Vgk. 104, Generalbrev. St. Thomas, July 31, 1741:
"Fra St Croix falder indet videre at relatere, end at Landmaalerne er i færd med allersidste Liniers udhugning paa Ost Enden, samt at siden seeniste ingen Habitantere ere ankomne".

Vgk. 104, Generalbrev, September 28, 1741:
"og guarteerene udi Landkortet andlagt, saavit mand det her kand forfærdige".
"Gouverneuren overgaar til St. Croix begge Oestende guarteerene tilfulde at regulere som for faae dage siden ere kommen til ende saa vit linierne andgaar".
APPENDIX (Continued)

Chapter Four - 1.

Vgk. 103, Moth, St. Croix, January 3, 1742:
"Vi ere daglig i arbeide med de 3de Quarteerers Baricade Statter plandning sc: begge Oost Ende og Compagniets quarteer, naar de ere klare, skal forfølges med samme i de andre quarteerer i Rad efter hin anden".

"for at have een i hands Plads har jeg adjungeret ham Lieutenant Mohrsen, som noget forstaar af Geometrien, og derved des hastigere bliver Landmaalingen bekendt, samt Attestere deres Rigtighed des bedre, naar de ere tvende".

Vgk. 103, Moth, St. Croix, January 28, 1742:
"Vi ere temmelig avancerede med Baricade Styrters plantning, saa ieg haaber at mand skal blive klar til Ultm Febr. i dette begyndte første Oostende Quarteer LII A. at mand in Martio kand begynde paa det andet; Og som De Hoie Herrer vei er bekendt, at om mit hoved noget skulle til komme, da er der ingen her, som kand samme foranstalte af de som skulle succedere..."

Vgk. 103, "Inventarium" of the Company's "estat" on St. Croix, 1740:
"Ingenieur og Landmaaler Instrumenter
1 Futteral med diverse Geometriske Instrumenter ... 11 [rigsdaler]
1 Complet Astrolabium i futral ... 30
1 Ditto 1/2 ... 10
1 Ditto gamel og uduelig ... 
1 Perpendikul ... 2
1 Landmaaler kiede 40 foed Goed ... 10
1 Ditto uduelig ... 
1 Søe-Compas got ... 4
diverse uduelige ... "

Vgk. 105, Generalbrev, July 27, 1742:
"Andre ere Casseret ved det at mange forlangede deris Land Brefve, og sammetiiider ej kom tilbage at tage possession af plantagierne".

Vgk. 105, Moth, St. Thomas, to Schopen, December 3, 1742:
"[Friis] nu er overkommen, saa tvifer ej paa, J Joe har bekommet dend eene Maale Kiede og Astrolabium for at fuldføre det af Mig forlangde arbejde ved Kongens etc plantagier, naar samme er klar, skal strax begyndes paa et af Quarteererne Weste for Byen, thj Jens Friis skal fuldføre begge Ost Ende Quarterene".

Vgk. 105, Von Schopen to Moth, December 23, 1742:
"da maa jeg siige, at jeg aldrig er af de hoey herrer Directeur er derfor antaged, Nemlig som een Land Maaler, hver dag i Skoven med Næggerne at Løbe, og det (?) heele Landt, ellers som Deres Velbaarenhed melder begge Vest Ende Quarteerne at quadrere ... og det skulle jeg ej heller kunde udholde, som ej til det Levned vandt"

"naar Leilighed var riide ud og eftersee hvorledes det med Linierens udkapning, Aabning og Barricader tilgick og avanceredes, ja end meere forpligter jeg mig selv til alle Linierne og Skiellene at anlegge og tilse saaledes (?) som jeg selv vil fors bare, Men med Næggerne, som dem dageligg maa følge een blanck, haver det Høyl. Compagnie vel af ringere Tienere een".

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"ej at melde, hvad klæder, Skoe etc. meere sliides i busken, Ja paa visse Stæder
Mad og Dricke at medbringe, om jeg vilde have noget, og det i saa langsommelig een
Tid, som det vilde blive, før (?) dred heele West Ende fra byen af bliver udkapped og
Skildnet, jeg vil i mindste siige 3 Aar".

"hvilcke hand dog i Magelighed ved daglig anholdende i 3 Maaneder i Længste
kand udmæle. Endelig kand ey noged med West Ende Quarteere begyndes, før Ost
Enden er klar, som Jens Friis strax vil begynde med efter ordre, Thj der er ej fisere
Næggere, som forstaaar sig paa Compasset, og udmælingen end de samme Næggere Friis
har og vil bruge, og ubevante Næggere kand mand det ey giere med".

Vgk. 105, Moth to Schopen, December 29, 1742:
"Vel er mig bekendt Land Maaler Tienestens besværliheden ujd disse Landder
frem for i Europa, hvilket jeg ofte Directionen har forestillet".
"alle er daede in circa 8 å 10 Land Maaler og deres Medhielpere".
"Thi i Compagniets og de næstgrænsetende 3 Quarteerer ere Linier for mange
Aar udhuggne, og alene behøver at ronesse".
"inden Skibets bortgang, som meenes eengang i nede Maaned mueilig skeer".
"før samme er sket, kand icke min Plantage ret i Længden andlægges, men
alle i Breede som er 1000 fod".

Vgk. 105, Schopen to Moth, December 31, 1742:
"Dend Plantage Jeg har oplagt til at forfatte kaart over, er dend paa West Enden
hvor Carlton er, og ikke dend som ligger ved Compagis Plantage, Thi hvad dend sidste
andgaer, vil det icke ret vel efter min Meening angaaer, uden stoer Skade for
Compagniet".

Chapter Four - 2.

Vgk. 105, Moth, St. Croix, May 15, 1743:
"Med første hiemgaaende dansk skib skal Carta følge over begge Ostende
Quarterene her, samt nødige underretning eller forklaring, og lever Landmaalerne,
saa meenes at faae Dronningens og Compagniets i dette Aar og klar".

Vgk. 105, Moth, St. Thomas, July 9, 1743:
"Carta over begge Ostende Quarterene, som nu ere gandske klar, og begyndelse
giort paa Dronningens og Compagniets".

Rtk. 2249.33, Moth, August 20, 1743:
"af indlagde Carta ville det (?) gunstigst erfares (?) hvor vidt paa nye er
udhugget, nemlig hvor Sucher Verchet staaer, & (?) saa snart at Magi og anden kost er
plandet begynder med at hugge langs Vejen, at begge aabnede grunde kand komme udj
een aabning og saa derefter lige til Konge Vejen og langs Riveret, indtil jeg faaar No.
17 helt aaben hugget og beplandtet, Thy de grunde som ere Aaben huggede og
beplandtede i No. 23 paa Bierget ere ej gode for Sucher men alleene for Magis og anden
Kost".

Chapter Four - 3.

Chr. Martfeldt’s collection, Volume VI (?), inventory of April 24, 1744:
"og er Plantagien Sørrelse reigned 3000 foed bred og 6000 foed læng, det underliggende land for Savane, samt oven eller Syden for liggende Skov eller Boskagie, u-medbereignet".

Vgk. 328, Lindemark, May 25, 1744:
"at alle uden forskisel skal ved ligeholde Konge-vejene (?) og 2 gange om Aaret, Nemi. i July og December eller January an (?) Generale reparere den ... Vider alle Veje som gaser til 4 à 5 plantagier andsees som Alfhår Veje, og derfor renses af helle landet, men for Een eller Toe Plantere icke, thj de Renser selv Aparte Deres Veje".


Vgk. 106, Lindemark, St. Croix, June 23, 1744:
"ej meere udkappet og beplandtet end 22 aker land, hver aker 70 yards i 4. kandt eller 210 foed".

Vgk. 106, Lindemark, Schopen, and Smidt, St. Croix, June 27, 1744:
"at de Høye Herrer vilde betragte behandlingen med (____) Gouverneur Moth, andgaaende det stykke Plantagie grund liggende næst Syden til Compagniets Plantagie Princessen kaldet som (____) Gouverneur Moth har optaget og gjort sig Plantagie af; at det er heel fornedet, samme kommer tilbage igen til bemelte Plantagie Princessen, som det meeste af tilform har været, førend sidste Linie, der af forrige Landmaaler Jens Friis blev udmælaet; thi dend Vesterlige grund af Plantagien Princessen, som dend nu er udlagt er icke godt Sucker land, Med dette stycke grunds tillæg kunde Plantagien være værd Een god Vand Malle".

Vgk. 106, Schweder, St. Thomas, June 26, 1744:
"men som Landet ej til dato er udmælaat, altsaa er det des vanskeligere at udviise dem Plantage grunde, det kand ey heller ventes, hverken i Aare eller ad aare at bringe udmalingenen til Ende ved den Eene Landmaaler der er".

"saa og at arbejde sig igiennem buskene, som er saa tyk bevoxen at mand hverken med haand eller fod kand trænge igiennem, hvor det End være mae".

Bancroft Library, Documents relating to the Danish West Indies, 1655-1852, Z-A 1, Schweder, etc., St. Thomas, July 23, 1744:
"da som Vj ej vide hvorledes de 100 quadrat Foed forstaesa. ... endten det er 100 foed i breeden og 100 foed i længden som udgiøre 10,000 foed, eller og hvorledes samme skal forstaesa".

Vgk. 106, Lindemark, St. Croix, August 5, 1744:
"Er det icke underligt, Landet ligger meestendeles i busk, og dog har endnu ej meere end een kundet faaet Plantagier tilskibt af ... Compagniet, uden 2 à 3 som er gaaet af til Vestenden, saa aldeles er Landet Optagen fra Sise til Sise".

Vgk. 328, Lindemark, St. Croix, September 23, 1744:
"det er min lyst, altsaa skulde jeg herved begiere, at de saa ofte forlangte Carta, af de udmælaede Quarterer, saasom Ostenene Lit: A & B, sampt Compagniets og Dronningens, som siges at være udmælaede maatte mig meddeles in Originale eller Copialiter, Thj maae jeg ellers ey vilde optagne eller U-optagne grunde. . . ."
Vgk. 60, General missive, November 19, 1744:
"Men Vi have anledning nock at befrygte, at denne fornæde Rigtighed fra første tid af, med at holde en ordentlig Mandtals bog og Matricul over alle de til St. Croix ankomne Habitantater, samt forklaring angående de til dennem leverede og udmaalede Plantagie Grunde, og derpaa udstædet Land breve ... med videre, icke er holdt i dendi fornædent orden og rigtighed".

Vgk. 60, General missive, December 31, 1744:
"hand hvad Pennen angaar icke synderlig er såved, eller kand formodes at blive derudi saa hastig perfect".

Chapter Four - 4.

Vgk. 106, Schopen, St. Croix, April 17, 1745:
"Mens som ieg seer, at... Direction[en] hirdiindt ingen rett Idee har haft af Landmaalingen her paa Landet, saa maae ieg til dets bedere oplyssning og IndsigT tilstanden af samme tydelig forre tillie, paa det alle unndige omkostninger derved herefter maae kunde blive spare";

"ieg har og alrdig begjøret meere end en underlandmaaler til Medhjelp, icke i dind afsigT, at saadant mig ved Landmaalingen enen stor forløftelse kunde være, efterd bag ingen Barricade styter uden i min Presence bliver eller kand blive saad, men paa det een anden peu 4 peu kunde bekomme Erfahrenhed og Viidenskab om Landmaalingen.... ieg (som nu mestendeels fuldkommen paa Landmaalingen har tilsadt min helbreed, og derfore alletider sygelig) ved døden skulde afgaae...."

"Til Endnu bedere Oplyssning tieener et man icke alle dage kande paa Landmaalingen, fordi tilførn luinierne igjennom Skoven maae være uduhugget, forinden man til dind egentlige Udmaaling kand skride; Om det var, som i Europa, paa Marcken, kunde man daglig maale, og saa vilde ieg have giort meere i et, end nu icke er sket i 3. Aar; deraf sees, at Landmaalingen ikke staar still, endskiant ieg ikke maaler, thi naar ieg Linierne paa 2 og 3000 fod afstickemer, samme begynder og tilseer, at de liige paa dend rette Stræng vorder uduhugget, saa maaler ieg ikke mens Landmaalingen geer dog fort.... Dertil kommer og at Luinierne til et heelt eller i det mindste til et halve Quarteer maae være først uduhugget, og derefter maae saadan Terrain blive overslaget for at see, om og hvor Linierne er skeef uduhugget, og fra dend rette Stræng af Compasset afviiger, førern ieg til dend finale udumaaling og til at sætte Barricade Stytterne kand skride".

"[Beck] forstaar noget af Tegne-Kunsten, og derudi kand gaae mig til hånde".

"[Directionen] seer deraf klarlig, at det ikke foresætter Landmaalingen, naar mand har 4. a 5. Landmaaler; dend fornemmeste forsettelse deraf bestaaer derudj, at man fournerer mig med Negere nock for at uduhugge Linierne, [og nogle Blanche] dem dagl. flittig til arbejde drive".

"for et Stk. Land af 2000 fod breed og 3000 foed lang at udmaale igjennem een vild og u-passeerlig Skov".

Vgk. 107, Lindemark, etc., St. Croix, April 28, 1745:
"de Blanche veed vel eenhver, Arbejder ey her med Hour (?) eller Øxe".

Vgk. 107, Lindemark, St. Croix, April 24, 1745:
"Angaaende Land brevene, da gjorde ieg vel hvad ieg kunde, ved forleeden Aars Mandtals Lists optagelse, at udfinde fejlene, men lejligheden dend gang, wilde det ey rettilig tillade".

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"Angaaende Landmaalingen, da tager I Høye og Naadige herrer fejl, om De tæncker at Landmaalingen skal gaae fort, fordi der er mange Blance Personer derved, thi der er ickuns 10 Neegere, hvoraf En tilten Mr Schopen En anden Under-Landmaalerne, og En gierne Syg, altsaa nock med En Under-Landmaaler, eller som Driver efter Neegerne, og een Ober-Landmaaler, som kand staae for udmaalingen. I Sær nu De kommer i Vest Ende Quarteerene, hvor ingen Linier tilforn har værne Kapped, som i alle de andre Quarteerer. ... Jeg ønsker at de andchede Personer af de Udmaalede Quarteerer, ej (to be read as a subjunctive marker?) skriftlig vilde det give, og Mr. Schopen paae vel paa at fase Dem til at teigne i Protocollen, at De har faaet Deres Land, thi udmaalingen finder Jer er meest gaaset efter De 4: hoved Linier af et hvert Quarteer, hvorefter mand da i Huuset, kand magelig udreigne, hvor mange heele og halve Plantagier der er, og de gamle Linier Alleeene Aabnede, hvorefter de stitter som er sadte, staaer nogle 50; andre til 200 foed, forbie dend gamle Kappede og nu aabnede Linie, hvilket borgerne paa ancker, at de vil have Liinierne fra Pøl til Pøl, som om hafde skeed, ej saa Lettelig vilde have afgaaet dog bedre derved gior, end intet".

"saa dend er og næsten nu indtil bærgene af Nordsiden optagen, except La Grans".

Vgk 60. General missive. May 31, 1743:
"Men denne u-forsvarlige udebUvelse, af saa vigtige og nødige efterretninger, sees klarlig at ahve sin oprindelse af den store Confusion, som fra forrige Commendant Moth's tid har været, og i ståden for at det allereede burde have været remederet, Continuerer det ikke alene, men end og siunes at være foresat og giort værre".

Vgk. 60. November 22, 1743, to Lindemark, etc., St. Croix:
"derom mangler Os den saa nødvendige som u-omgængelige fornaden, tilforladelige bereigning og forklaring".

Chapter Four - 5.

Vgk. 108, Lindemark to Nissen, Xtember 29, 1743:
"[Nissen] skal have ladet Aabne og besigtige een Lang tid stoppet gammel Vey paa [Heyligers] Plantagie hvilket skal være hannem til stoer Skade, Og som hand siger: at der er anden Vey i Center Linien".

"hvad Billigt kand være; thi ligesom ingen Veye kand nægtes, saa bør og billigt til minst præjudice for eehver, samme udhugges".

Vgk. 108, Lindemark, St. Croix, January 7, 1746:
"een Plantagie paa Nordside af dette land hvilken icke er udmaale, Men skal ligge i Lige Linie med Sêur Robbinsons, den tilforne optagen Plantagie No. 4 til den Nordre Siide, hvilken Plantagie hannem af mig er tilfaset".

Vgk 284:
"samme Carta er anlagt paa 4000 fods breed, hvorved St Bech meener at bevise at samme tid er Plantagien Princessen anlagt, som hand melder 4000 og 6000 fods, men dendi gode Bech har lidet Examineret dette Carta, thi Lige saavel som det Differerer med anstalternes 10 artl. i breden saa gjor det og i Lengden og skulle de Plantagien efter samme være anlagt 4000 og 8000 fods, gaar mand nu vidre, saa skal befinde at Kægehhuuset Ligger Circa 400 fods Westligere end udj det nu sidste indleverede Carta, end meere det Ligger smart 1000 fods for Norlig mod det Nye Carta saa det Klarlig deraf ses at Jens Friis iccken har ved sit Carta... anlagt med fliid dend terrain som hand Kunde maale, og for det øvrige anlagt Kæge huuset efter gisning saavelsom"
Plantagiens længde og bredde som en Mand Anstalterne ubekendt, men vel vidende at såadan og større terrain var Conform min skrivelse af 19 Martj 1735 Reserveret til Compagniets Plantagie var udmalt.

Ibid., Moth:

"Ieg først ved begyndelsen af udmalingen Lod udhugge Een Linie ONO og WSW som blev kaldet Center Linien, denne Linie blev deelel (?) i mange Parter, 4000 fod fra hver andre, hvor da blev huggen over Linier saa nær til byen mueligt var, hvilket Eendel (?) af de Respective herrer besynderlig Capit. Malleville vel er bekendt, da nu samme Linier var udmuggen beholdt jeg en terrain af 4000 foeds brede og 12000 foeds længde, som ieg ej til nogen vilde sælge førand Compagniets Plantagie var udmalt... og dette er Reene Aarsagen hvor fore mange er Abuserede i de 4000 foeds bredde".

Chr. Martfeldt's collection, P. Mariager, Copenhagen, December 24, 1744:

"Ovenmeldte mig af Compagniet til Ævindelig Arv og Eyendom Cederede Plantagie Grund er N°. 4 1/2 udj Compagniets Quarteer... og er brede 1000... fod, a (?) lang paa den Øster baricade fra Center Linien til Søen noget over 6000 fod... men paa den Vestre".

"herforuden en Gier under N°:4: saa meget falde kand naar samme N°.4: er udmuleet sine 2000... quadrat".

Vgk. 108, Lindemark, etc., St. Croix, March 25, 1746:

"Vi kand icke see paa hvad maade dend kend Dett Haylovltige Compagnie igien tilhøende komme, saa lenge hand har eet Lovlig Skisde dorphor, thi det vilde alleene icke selv forurdele ham, men endnu større hos samtlig Indvaanere som har Kåbt Plantagier, og giare dem Suspect udi deres hiemmel".

Vgk. 108, Lindemark, etc., St. Croix, March 25, 1746:

"Gouvernementet paa St Thomas har holt og endnu til dato holder dend egentlig for St Croix udsente Bygnings Inspecteur og Ober Landmaaler Kyl og os med Læffer fra tiid til tiid paa Vores Requisitioner afspriser".

Vgk. 108, Schweder, St. Thomas, June 12, 1746:

"thj saa lenge de, der ere have helsen, ere de nok til at bestrade Landmaalingen".

Vgk. 108, Lindemark, St. Croix, July 12, 1746:

"hand fornam vel ved Leverantzen af Bøgerne at hverken Bog eller Liste derover var holden, fra første Tider af, som kunde give efterkommerne nogen Oplysning".

"I henseende til Landmaalingen... findes endnu icke til Deels Baricade Statter enten Opsadt eller brændte, mindre til Bogs før udi de Anskrefne (?) Quarteerer, Ligesom og dend Anordnede Udmalings Protocoll af Monsieur Schopen til Monsieur Kuhl icke findes saaledes Conditioneret som anbefalet er, ey heller er dend Continueret længere at indføres udj, endtill No. 27 af Commpa Quarte'eret, hvor dog Mr. Kuhl saaledes har taget imod dend, jeg haver sagt hannem a give mig Specification paa Alt hvad hand har Annammet Landmaalingen vedkommende samt Carterne derover".

"og at udreigne Landet i Plantegier heele, halve, og 1/4 deele hiemme i sit Huus, kend vel skee, men Compas Neegerne og de blanke under ham staaende gior dog i Linierne hvad de vil, og Saaledes vil Landen ingen tid blive udmuleet".
Chapter Four - 6.

Vestindiske Lokalarkiver (699), orders for Cronenberg, March 16, 1747:
"alle Land Maaler Neegerne i alt 10 stk. for uden de blanche".

[2.] Skal hænd vedbærlig Continuere i alle Liinerne, og paa fornemmelige de højest fornedte Steder fra Mandag Morgen /: om kand skøde:/ og til fredag Aften sildig, og vel tilsee, at i sær den u tiladelige sævel Mandags Morgens sildige Gang, som og Fredags Efter Middags alt for snart brugelige Torn- Jd Tid af dem bliver ganske afskaffet, saa at de befaahede 3 Arbejds Dage skal i Liinerne af alle vedkommende, vel med tilbærlig Arbejde rettelige opfyldes, hvortil Assistance til Skickelighed noch er given i Plakaten herudjinden af 12 December 1741".

[3.] Siden Neegerne, som vel bekendt, haver Løverdag Eftermiddag frie, for at planté kost, etc: og altsaa icke den formiddag kand gaae i Liinerne, uden heele Dagen at forløse . . . .

[4.] Paa det at icke skal klages over u nødige Arbejde, og for icke at vide, paa hvad Pladser skal arbejdes; Saa wilde Hr. Ober-Land Maaleren med vedkommende, baade begynde at maale, sette Pæle eller Baricade Støtter og videre Continuere med Liniernes Udkapning alt fra Hoved Linen af Hands Mayestæts Kongens Quarteer, til igienm Printzens- og Vestende samt Nordside Quarteerne . . . men

[5.] Skal Ober Land Maaleren Maanedlig til mig eller vedkommende efter Particul: Instruction, indgive sine skriftlige Rapporter over alt. hvis i den Maaned er passeret, enten Udmaaling, Liineres kapning eller videre, saa og med samme vise mig eller vedkommende sin allerede leverede Udmaalings Protocoll, at deraf kand sees om ogsaa rigtig er indført ved Dag og Datum, samt som befaahet er, paa det icke, som icc nu hører, er tilforn sketst at der vel skal udmaales og bliver Baricade støtter satt, men icch ringeste derom i den fornøden Matricul bog eller Udmaalings Protocoll findes indført, vel at observere og derudi ind føre alle Ting som vedber; thi Hans Mayestæts Kongens Quarteer kand endnu icche Ordres noget for, førend fortiehandel i Secretes-Radet holdes, da Ober Land Maaleren tivler om Udmaalingens Rigtighed, Baricade Støtterne, af Sr. Schopen planted, siden samme icche i udmaalings Protocollen vedbærlig er indført".

[8.] At giare et fuldkommen og Regulaire Charta af meere Størrelse end de ham allerede den 20 February leverede Charter ere, hvoraf 2de Copier ogsaa udstødes, een for Secretairiet een for Directionens Oplysning, og om mueligt, fuldkommen Efterretning; item eet til vedkommende Øvrighed til deres Efterretning, og for at vide, hvad Plantagier ere solte og icche solte, derfor og maae ved enhver optagen Plantagie anføres Eyernes Navne og Nummere etc: hvilket i Compagniets Contoir efter den nu optagen Lands Liste, kandSaes at vide".

Vgk. 109, Cronenberg, St. Croix, November 2. 1747:
"Ved min Ankomst til St. Croix fandt jeg een meget Vanskelig Mand for mig nemlig den afdede Lindemarch som lagde Vind paa at giere alle Mennisker fortroed".

Chapter Four - 7.

Vgk. 61. General missive to St. Croix, July 24, 1748:
"Icke alleene Landet St. Croix gandske accurat at opmaale og med Geometrische Liiner og Streger accurat at afteigne dog uden farver, samt Situationen af Landet med hauner og fayer derpaa at anlegge hvorover Carta til os indseendes, men end og efter alle omstændigheder Landet at Beskrive".

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Chapter Four - 8.

Vgk. 62, General missive to St. Croix, December 16, 1749:

"Hvad Lieutenant Cronenberg er angaaende, da have Vi erfaret hands andragende om hands harde (?) arbeide ved Landmaalingen, og hvorvidt hand dermed er avanceret, nemlig. at Landets quarteerer vanske fuldførte undtagen Nordsiden hvis Dannelse af Naturen uden paa ganske fæde Stæder tillader ey nogen retskaffenbeplantning, samt at et Carta derover skal være forfærdiget som beloves med Capitain Collen at skulle vorde hidsendt som Vi dog ey have erholdet".
APPENDIX (Continued)

Chapter Five - 1.

Vgk. 112, von Jægersberg, St. Croix, April 23, 1730:
"Om ellers en Ober Landmaaler /: da General Cartet er fuldkommen færdig, og
foligelig General maalingen er til Ende bragt:/ i fremtiiden her er nødvendig eller ey".

Vgk. 112, von Jægersberg, St. Croix, April 23, 1730:
"[Jægersberg] berettede kort førend hand døde at have hiemtænt et General
Carta over Landet, men da næsten Nordsiden endnu ligger øde og uopmaaled, siden
dends Extra Ordinaire berg agtige (?) og Ujevne Situation ey tillader een saa accurat
udmaaling som over det øvrige af Landet er forfattet, der ej heller til Nordsiden haver
Vildet lade sig ind finde Liebhabere saa lenge bedre og levnere var at bekomme . . .
hvorforre Vi maa stræbe at foranstalte et slags inddeeling for saavit mulighed
nogenlunde vil tillade paa det een hver kande viide hvorvii hands Grund strecker sig
og Dispute i tiiden kand forrekommes".

Cronenberg and Jægersberg, "Charte over Eilandet St. Croix":

"Charte over Eilandet St Croix udi America
Hvor udi wiises efter en accurate Udmaaling bemeldte Eylands rette Situation
med Hafner Bayer Refter og Skier dets Indeeling udi Quarteerer og Plantagier med
deres Nummer eenhver nu her boende Indbyggers Navn og hvor megen Grund hand
besidder Samt hvad aff Samme omtrent med Sukker Carten eller Provision er beplantet
item Landewayen hoaye Bierge alle Wandholdinge Aaer og Bokke med andre Staaende
Wande Sammendraget og teignet af Johann Cronenberg og tillige med Johann Christoph
lager von Jægersberg af hannem underdanigst offereret. Copieret af C. v. Holten"

Notice
"Efter det Kongelige allernaadigst octroyerede Danske Westindiske og Guineiske
Compagnies Ordre er dette Eiland St. Croix begyndt at udmal (?) af deng den Tid
waerende Kielmand og OberLandmaaler Johann Wilhelm Schoppen udi de Aar 1743,
1744 og 1745 nemlig begge Ooste Ende Compagniets og Dronningens Quarteerer udi Aar
1747, 1748 og 1749 af deng udj Oberlandmaaler Embedet folgende Hans Kongelige Magt
Premier Lieutenant Johan Cronenberg Kongens Princens og West Ende Quarteerer
Samt noget af Nord Siden med Landets Hafner Bayer og Skier og endelig udj Aaret 1750
dend igien Succederende Hans Kongelige Magest. Jagt Junker Johann Christoph von
Jægersberg noget udi Kongens Printzens Westende og Nordside Quarteerer som forhen
ej war optagen".

Chapter Five - 2.

Vgk. 114, Privy Council, St. Croix, to the St. Croix administration, May 5, 1731:
"hvilicket med tiiden, naar det icke forebygges, vilde forarsage Confusion, J
blandt disse er, at det allerede er Costyme at sælge Landierier i Acres, hvilket Jblandt de
Engleshe er eet Stk. Land holdende 43360 Engelshe Quadrat foed og som dette aldeelis
ingen proportion har til Summen af een Plantagie 2000 foed bred og 3000 foed lang,
hvorefter egentlig grund skatten bør beregnes; des uden maae befrugtes, Enten disse
43360 foed skal være Engleshe eller Danishe foed . . .

En Plantagie holder . . . 2000 foed i breeden og 3000 foed i Længden hvilcket
udgjør 6 000.000 Quadrat foed, naar man nu bereigner Differencen af den Danshe og
Engelske foed, ville saadan en Plantagie omtrent holde 147 (141?) acres, hvilcket er et U-proportioneret tall i henseende til de 12 [rigsdaler] grundskatt som af een Plantagie aarlig bør betales, og er det allerede Virkelig Custyme her at taxere Estater i Acre-Viis, uden at der er een skreven Lov eller Placat hvor meget een Acre skal være. Vi skulde altså uforgribeligt lærte at saadan een Acre kunde fastsættes til at være 200 foed og i forlandt, hvilcket gør 40 000 foed danske Quadrat foed, og vilde altså een af vores Plantagier accourat holde 150 acres som omtrent kommer over eens med een English acre".

Vgk. 114. Hansen, St. Croix, August 30, 1731:

"[St. Croix], hvis angenemme Situation er nock til at indtage en Creols hierte".
"er Landet altsammen /: except meged lidet af Nord-siide biergene:/ bleved optaged".

Chapter Five - 3.

Vgk. 63, Generalmissive to St. Croix, April 29, 1732:

"Lands Listen, eller den i dens sted af den jindsendte Mandtalls Liste, er icke efterretlig til her at Conferere den i Hoved bagerne anførte Kop- og Grund-Skat efter, hvilket dem dog forhen til advarsel er bleven udsat".

Vgk. 284:

"aldeles ulovlige, underfundige og Selvraadige Omgang".
"ved at fratage eller afskræde enande kostbahr grund fra dem éene og tillægge den anden".

Vgk. 115. Beck, St. Croix, April 25, 1732:

"at fuldføre de Linier, som af mig var begyndt at udhugges".
"Ved Udmaalingen af disse Plantagier paa Nordsiden fandt jeg 2fc Plantagier som af ... Compagnie var bortgivet for intet, og taged i Possession, men aldrig tilforn udmalde, da jeg nu ved Udmaalingen fant at der var overskydende Land foruden disse bemalte 2fc Plantagier, angav jeg det efter min Pligt til herr Gouverneur Hansen, og tillige begikrede om det icke til mig maatte Cederes; hvilket blev mig bevilget, saa at jeg strax derpaa erholt Landbrev, og udgav min Obligation for Kiobe Summon".

"et Speciel Carta over begge Nordside Quartererne paa St. Croix, saaviilt som de Ved mig ere udmalade".

Vgk. 64, to Clausen, October 13, 1733:

"paa hvad måde og med hvad rettighed Compagniet kand blive Eyere af den ommelte 1800 rd: plantagie siden Mr. Bech Endnu haver den i possession og udj hands forpligt ved Sagens ophævelse intet tydeligt derom er meldet".

Chapter Five - 4.

Vgk. 116, Cronenberg, St. Croix, to Clausen, June 3, 1733:

"Da jeg Ved Eftersuyvn udj Landmaalings Protocollen fornemmer at siiden den 8te October 1749 ingen af alle de efter den Tid forrefaldne forretninger ere udj Protocollen indfør, mig og er Ubevist om nogen anden Protocoll dertil er Authorisered, da saadan mig ey er tilhaande kommet .... jeg og fornemmer at mange Barricader er Planted og Udmaalinger sked, saavel udj Printzens som West Enden samt begge
Nordside Quartererne, uden leg derfor finder det ringeste Needskreven og Indført. Saa er det leg hermed med skyldige Respect, fremlegger til Eftersuyvn ovenmeldt første Landmaalings Protocoll og tillige forresperger mig, om de saaledes afhandlede og ey Indførte Landmaalings forretninger skal blive Authentique . . . .

Vgk. 116, Clausen, St. Croix, to Beck, June, 1753:

"For at faae et fuldkommen begreeb om, hvad aarsagen haver Været, at ingen af Diser forretninger som Landmaaler, findes udj Protocollen Indført, Uaged Mangfoldige Plantagier ere af Dem udmætte, og efter diser Meddelte Attest, Landbreve Udstædde; Sas Revoyeres dette af Landmaaleren Cronenberg indgivne Skrift til Deris ærklering".

Vgk. 116, Beck, St. Croix, to Clausen, June 5., 1753:

"Som ordentlig Landmaaler har jeg aldrig pastaget mig at gisre nogen Udmaaling her paa Landet, Men alleene efter forrige Opperhoved H. Jens Hansens anmodning, til mig nu og da, naar nogen kunde Være Plantagier paa Nordsiden af hannem begiærende, da jeg samme ad Interim indtil en Ordentlig Landmaaler kunde udkomme, har saadan Tieniste forrettet, hvilket er aarsagen at jeg icke har ført noget derom i Protocollen, da ey heller nogen Protocole til saadan Ende er mig overleveret, men jeg alleene derover har forfærdiget et Carta, som jeg tilform Deser Velbyrdighed ydmygst har overleveret, da jeg icke Tvifter om, at jo samme kand Være H. Lieutenant Cronenberg til ald den Op tillen hand maatte forlange".

Vgk. 116, Cronenberg, St. Croix, to Clausen, (June (?), 1753):

"Udj denne Sag er efter mine Tancker ey Sparremaalet, enten Mr. Bech Var Constitueret som ordentlig Landmaaler eller ey, da hand dog alligevel tilstaar, dertil at Være ordineret eller anmodet af forrige Opperhoved H. Jens Hansen paa hvis andsvær denne anmodning eller ordinations Rigttidigh alleene ankommér. Imidlertid haver Mr. Bech forrettet Embedet og Varetaget dets Vices, som giver mig andledning at tencke at hand ogsaa burde efterkomme det uej alle dets saa høy nødvendige Puncter, hvoraf jeg uforrigibelig meener denne at Være een af de fornemmeste, at Landmaaleren til sin egen Securité bør indføre udj een Authorisered Protocoll, hvad af hannem Tid efter anden udj hands Embede bliver forrettet, og lade eenhver af Vedkommende Plantere til hvilcke hand udmæler og anviser Plantagier give sig Quitance Ved deres Underskrift udj Protocollen for saadan anviissning, og at de haver bekkommet deres Rettighed, og flydher efter min Opinion dette /; da saadan ey er skedt/ heraf, at ald dred fra 8 October 1749 skede Udmaaling maa gisres over igien . . . henstillende til høyere Decision paa hvis bekostning denne igiengang skal skée, ey at tale om Tid spilde og det derved gjorde arbejde, af Landmaaler Neeger etc: det af Mr. Bech behagelige mentionerede Charta er tilstrækkelig nock til min Efterretning, men det af mig Underdaanigst gjorde forespørsel ervedkommende, da uden derover holdte Protocoll jeg ey kand ansee samme som Sufficant derefter at Indrette Landets Matricul".

J. M. Beck, Tilforladelig Kort over Eylandet St. Croix udi America:

"Tilforladelig Kort over Eylandet St'Croix udi America Saaledes som det ved en accurat udmaaling er befundet med Quarterernes Navne og enhver Plantagies Numner efter hvilke de udi Matriculen findes Indførte og til enhver Klober Cederet beliggende paa 17 Grader 38 Minuter Norder Brede".

Chapter Five – 5.

Vgk. 64, general missive to St. Croix, October 3, 1754:
"Herved bliver eder berettet at det allernaadigst har behaget Hands Kongel. Maj[2], at antage sig alle Compagniets Colonier i America".

Vestindiske lokalarkiver, Vestindisk regering, Reskripter 1739-1779 (1723), April 22, 1733:

"Indhenter J ligeledes fra bemelte Compagnies forrige vedkommende Betiente Forklарing over alle paa Landet værende Plantager, være sig saavel optagne som u-optagne, ingen undtagen samt derefter undersøger hvilke deraf, ved det forrige Compagnies Landbreve ere afhændede, samt hvilke foruden [Princess og La Grange] endnu maatte være [u-solgte og] (?) fælgeligen Os forbeholden til hvilken Ende Planteurerne, paa Eders indkaldelse skal være pligtige Deres Originale Landbreve, med bevislig Forklaring saaer og til hvem betalingen derfor er præsteret udi Raadet at producere".

Rtk. 2249.12, generalbrev from St. Croix, April 22, 1757:

"vi ingen bedre oplysning derom kand give Deres excellense og samtlige høye Herrer, end den som kand fases af et hvert aars Matricul".

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APPENDIX (Continued)

Conclusion


"Landet har dette forud for alle Eylande i America, at det ordentlig og (geometrice?) er udmalt, saa at en fuld Plantage holder 2000 Fod i Breeden og 3000 Fod i Længden eller Dybden, efter hvilket Fodemaal Grundskatten-beregnes. Men endskønt Landet geometrice er udmalt og alle qvarteerlinierne løbe (?) lige, saa er dog denne udmaling i henseende til Plantagerne i Særdeleshed ikke saa accurat, at jo imellem Mand og Mand kand ske dispute om deres Grundstrækninger, thi alle Landmaalerne have ikke brugt lige Sliid og Forsigtighed, men giort skiaeve Linier og givet nogle meere, andre mindre Fod Grund, end de skulle have, hvilket ikke kand redresseres, med mindre et helt quarteer skal ommaales, som er alt for kostbart og besværligt".
VITA

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DOCTORAL EXAMINATION AND DISSERTATION REPORT

Candidate: Daniel Price Hopkins

Major Field: Geography

Title of Dissertation: The Danish Cadastral Survey of St. Croix, 1733-1754

Approved:

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Dean of the Graduate School

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Date of Examination:
May 12, 1987