FROM GOLDEN ROCK TO HISTORIC GEM

A HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MARITIME CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF ST. EUSTATIUS, DUTCH CARIBBEAN

Ruud Stelten

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Sidestone Press

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Published by Sidestone Press, Leiden
www.sidestone.com

Imprint: Sidestone Press Dissertations

Lay-out & cover design: Sidestone Press
Photograph cover: A diver exploring an eighteenth-century anchor in St. Eustatius' roadstead, photo made by Ruud Stelten.

ISBN 978-90-8890-789-0 (softcover)
ISBN 978-90-8890-790-6 (hardcover)
ISBN 978-90-8890-791-3 (PDF e-book)

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Acknowledgements

A study of this magnitude is hardly ever conducted by just one person. Over the years, I received help and advice from countless people. First and foremost, I would like to thank my promotor Prof. Dr. Corinne Hofman, head of the Caribbean Research Group at the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University. She has given me continuous advice and guidance over the years, and made available the necessary funds to carry out the research, without which this study would never have been possible. Furthermore, she has been instrumental in my development as an all-round Caribbean archaeologist by inviting me to several of her excavation projects throughout the region. Thanks also to my co-promotors Mark Hauser, associate professor at the Department of Anthropology at Northwestern University, and Robert Parthesius, associate professor of Heritage Studies at NYU Abu Dhabi, for their help, advice, and constructive comments on the drafts of the dissertation. I would like to thank Gay Soetekouw, close friend and President of the St. Eustatius Center for Archaeological Research (SECAR). She has supported my research and professional career on St. Eustatius in numerous ways during the past seven years. Her continuous support and enthusiasm for Statia's archaeology have been instrumental in keeping SECAR operational even during the most difficult times. The fieldwork would never have been so pleasant, safe, and effective without the great staff at Scubaqua Dive Center who assisted with the diving and geophysical surveys: Mike Harterink, Marieke van de Wetering, Menno Walther, Ingrid Walther, Thijs Aberson, Noortje de Boer, Laura Aubac, and Vincent Bourcier. Mike Harterink took many beautiful photos during the fieldwork campaigns, for which I am very grateful. I am also greatly indebted to Anna Brodrecht for her elaborate constructive comments on the draft of this dissertation, which improved the text tremendously. Last, I would like to thank Richard Grant Gilmore III, former island archaeologist of St. Eustatius and co-founder of SECAR. He introduced me to the island and provided me with many opportunities to conduct research. Much of the knowledge I gained from working with him forms the foundation of this study.

1

Introduction

For over seven millennia, people's lives have been shaped by the rhythms of the Caribbean Sea. Starting with the first settlers of the islands from the South- and Central American mainland, the history of the Caribbean has been characterized by a constant exchange of people, goods, and ideas that was facilitated by the sea (Versteeg 1992, Hofman et al. 2007, Hofman & Hoogland 2011, Keegan & Hofman 2017). These exchanges intensified through time, particularly during the colonial period when the region was settled by people from all over the world and extensive inter-island trading networks were developed on a scale not seen before. In addition, the sea has been instrumental in shaping the islands and the cultural landscapes that existed on and around them. There have always been countless links between the maritime and terrestrial worlds of the Caribbean, the study of which can shed new light on the complex and multifaceted history of the region. In this dissertation, the multitude of connections between the maritime and terrestrial worlds will be examined through a detailed analysis of the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius, a small island in the Caribbean Sea that was once one of the busiest ports in the region and played a determining role in shaping Atlantic World history. This work aims to investigate the ways in which the complex interplay of local, regional, and global social, economic, political, and natural forces have shaped the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius through time. The analysis adopted consists of the combined results from archaeological excavations, material culture studies, documentary research, and an examination of the land- and seascape. By adopting this multidimensional approach with the archaeological record as its backbone, we can more fully appreciate the role the sea played in the lives of those living on the islands and gain a better understanding of the fascinating history of St. Eustatius and the role it played in the Age of European expansion.

For centuries, the small Lesser Antillean island of St. Eustatius has fascinated all who set foot on it. Dramatic topography, a lush rainforest, and healthy coral reefs are some of the things that continue to attract small groups of adventurous visitors. St. Eustatius, affectionately called Statia by its 3,200 inhabitants, is a quiet, volcanic island of 21 km^2 in size.[1] Since the Netherlands Antilles were dismantled on October 10th, 2010, Statia has been a special municipality of the Netherlands. St. Eustatius is situated among several other islands: 13 km northwest of St. Kitts, 26 km southeast

1 Population number as of 31 December 2015, http://statline.cbs.nl/Statweb/publication/?DM=SLNL&PA=80539ned&D1=a&D2=2&D3=0-1,3-4,7-8&VW=T.

of Saba, 44 km south of St. Barths, and 53 km south of St. Maarten. Nevertheless, as a result of limited airlift, the lack of a ferry service, and the absence of mass tourism such as that found on neighboring St. Maarten, the island is relatively isolated. The majority of people live on the leeward side and central part of the island. Statia's only settlement, Oranjestad, is divided into two parts: Lower Town on the waterfront and Upper Town on the cliffs and plain above. The government is the island's largest employer, followed by NuStar, an American company that owns and operates a large oil storage and transshipment facility on the northern side of the island. Because of this limited development and a relatively small population, the island is an archaeological treasure trove that provides a fascinating case study in examining the maritime cultural landscape of a Caribbean island in a relatively undisturbed setting.

The formation of St. Eustatius and its community has been shaped by a complex interplay of many different factors, including globalization, the (forced) migration of people, acculturation, religious beliefs, conflicts, and the natural world. Before outlining the research problem that will be addressed in this study, it is essential to provide a short natural, environmental, and historic sketch of the island to place the research and research questions into perspective. The locations of all topographical, geological, and archaeological features mentioned in the text are shown in several maps found in Appendix VII.

1.1 Natural and environmental setting

In order to fully understand the development of Statia's maritime cultural landscape, it is important to gain an understanding of the natural and environmental setting of the island first. As will be argued in this work, the natural environment played an important role in the lives of people on the island. Many of their choices were influenced by the natural environment, but as will be shown, their lives were never completely dictated by it.

St. Eustatius is part of the Lesser Antilles, a chain of volcanic islands with a length of 740 kilometers stretching from the South American continental margin in the south to the Anegada passage in the north. In this area, the North and South American tectonic plates subduct beneath the Caribbean tectonic plate, creating the Lesser Antilles subduction zone. The immense friction generated by this process causes sediment to melt and build pressure. This pressure is released by volcanic activity which has created the Lesser Antillean archipelago. The Lesser Antilles island chain can be regarded as a double arc. In the southern part, from Grenada to Dominica, the arcs appear tightly superimposed. Northwards the arcs bifurcate, resulting in an inner arc of active volcanic islands and an outer, extinct arc of limestone islands (Roobol & Smith 2004:3-6).

Statia is located in the active, inner arc of the Leeward Islands and measures 8 x 4 kilometers at its widest points. It lies on a continuous submarine bank that also contains the islands of St. Kitts and Nevis (Roobol & Smith 2004:99). The island's topography is dominated by two volcanic areas. The northern part, called the Northern Hills, comprises a cluster of five coalesced older volcanic centers composed of lava flows, Pelean domes, and their pyroclastic aprons of block and ash deposits. These are are estimated to be between 500,000 and one million years old (Roobol & Smith 2004:107). The highest of these hills is Boven Hill, reaching

Figure 1.1 Aerial image of St. Eustatius, looking south. The Northern Hills are in the foreground, behind which is the Quill. The island in the background, only 13 kilometers south of St. Eustatius, is St. Kitts.

a height of 289 meters above sea level. The Northern Hills once constituted a separate island surrounded by cliffs bordering the sea. The Quill, a morphologically young, dormant stratovolcano, is situated two and a half kilometers to the southeast. It has an open crater with a diameter of 800 meters that rises to 601 meters above sea level at Mazinga Peak. The Quill's flanks become increasingly steep as altitude increases, sweeping up to 50 degrees at the crater rim. The lowest point on the crater floor has an elevation of 278 meters above sea level (Roobol & Smith 2004:101). The Quill began forming between 40,000 and 50,000 years ago. Its last eruption dates to around 1600 BP, when the island was inhabited by Amerindian people (Roobol & Smith 2004:104). The Quill is almost entirely composed of varied pyroclastic deposits. The presence of heated groundwater with increasing temperature zonation towards the crater is a clear indicator that the Quill is not extinct, but dormant. Two thick, white limestone formations, known as White Wall and Sugar Loaf Hill, are present on the Quill's southern slopes. These formations were formerly part of the sea bed, but were thrust upwards to the surface at an angle of 40 degrees during one of the Quill's active volcanic periods. Between the Northern Hills and The Quill is a relatively flat plain, called the *Cultuurvlakte*, on which most habitation is located. This plain, with an area of circa 5.7 km^2, varies in elevation from 30 to 76 meters above sea level. Its seaside borders are composed of steep cliffs which vary in height between 18 and 45 meters. Geographic features such as cliffs, hills, and volcanoes constitute prominent parts of the Statian landscape and have shaped the formation of the island's maritime cultural landscape in various ways. As will be shown throughout this work, on the one hand they restrict human agency while on the other, people used these features to their advantage.

Soil fertility on St. Eustatius is poor due to a dry climate, extensive erosion, and very effective runoff drainage. Soils in the Northern Hills and The Quill are mostly shallow and the land here is stony. Soil on the central plain has built up over pumice to form a loose layer composed of sandy volcanic ash. This soil retains more moisture, but it can suffer severely from droughts and drying out by the trade winds (Barka 2001:106). The poor condition of Statian soils greatly reduced the island's agricultural potential which, as will be shown in the following chapters, played an important role in deciding the island's economic direction and its maritime cultural landscape.

It is important to realize that the island's modern-day landscape is far different from that encountered by its first human inhabitants, in which the first Europeans settled, and subsequent settlers established agricultural ventures. Originally, much of the island was probably covered by an evergreen seasonal forest. As a result of deforestation by humans, this has been replaced by thorny woodland, including acacia shrubs (*Acacia sp.*) mixed with West Indian cherry (*Malpighia emarginata*), sugar apple (*Annona squamosal*) and cacti (*Melocactus intortus, Opuntia sp.*).[2] These plants constitute the most common vegetation on the island today. Along the coastal areas there are low, flattened trees and bushes as well as sea grapes (*Coccoloba uvifera*) and patches of manchineel (*Hippomane mancinella*). The foothills of the Quill are home to a variety of fruit trees, including tamarind (*Tamarindus indica*), mango (*Mangifera indica*), and guava (*Psidium guajava*). At a height of about 250 meters the thorny woodland changes into semi-evergreen seasonal forest with trees such as the silk cotton tree (*Ceiba pentandra*), mappoo (*Pisonia subcordata*), white cedar (*Tabebuia heterophylla*), yellow plum (*Spondias mombin*), and gum tree (*Bursera simaruba*). Some of the natural vegetation is preserved on the higher slopes and in the crater of the Quill. There is a small patch of elfin woodland on the crater rim. In the crater, a dense evergreen seasonal forest interspersed with cultivated plants such as cacao (*Theobroma cacao*) and coffee (*Coffea sp.*) can be found. The island is also home to sixteen species of orchids and many other types of plants, including two endemic vines (data from St. Eustatius National Parks mini guides and information panels).

Faunal biodiversity on St. Eustatius is also high. The island is home to a wide variety of birds such as the brown pelican (*Pelecanus occidentalis*), magnificent frigatebird (*Fregata magnificens*), and red-billed tropic bird (*Phaethon aethereus*). Reptiles include the red-bellied racer snake (*Alsophis rufiventris*), the Lesser Antillean iguana (*Iguana delicatissima*), and anoles lizards (*Anolis wattsi* & *Anolis bimaculatus*). Caribbean hermit crabs (*Coenobita clypeatus*) and land crabs (*Gecarcinus ruricola*) are found all over the island. Due to human activity such as habitat fragmentation caused by development, many native animals are threatened with extinction (data from St. Eustatius National Parks mini guides and information panels). Originally there were few mammalian species present on the island, but in colonial times humans have introduced cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, donkeys, horses, dogs, cats, rats, and mice. Most of these were used for human consumption or other purposes. Native animals, however, were eaten

2 Deforestation on St. Eustatius already started by Amerindians at least in the first millennium AD. They cut down trees to build houses and canoes, and practiced slash-and-burn agriculture (Schinkel & Versteeg 1992). More extensive deforestation, however, probably took place in the seventeenth century when trees had to make way for plantations.

as well. Perhaps the best example is the Lesser Antillean iguana, whose Latin name is a testimony to its superb taste.

The waters around St. Eustatius boast an abundance of marine life including many species of reef- and pelagic fish, invertebrates, and mollusks. People's ability to exploit these resources has been tremendously important in establishing a maritime economy on the scale seen on eighteenth-century St. Eustatius, as large quantities of food were needed to sustain the insular population and the thousands of sailors calling at Statia each year. Many species can be found on the coral reefs around the island which have covered the Quill's lava flows. Migrating dolphins and whales are occasional visitors to Statian waters. Important subsistence species include Caribbean spiny lobsters (*Panulirus argus*) and queen conch (*Lobatus gigas*). The long beach on the east coast, called Zeelandia, is Statia's main nesting site for three species of sea turtles: the green turtle (*Chelonia mydas*), hawksbill turtle (*Eretmochelys imbricata*), and the leatherback turtle (*Dermochelys coriacea*) (data from St. Eustatius National Parks mini guides and information panels). Due to the prevailing eastern trade wind, seas on the leeward side are relatively calm and flat while seas on the windward side are usually rough. This was a determining factor in the decision to choose a place to establish a settlement.

St. Eustatius has a maritime savannah climate (Barka 2001:105). The average daytime temperature is about 29°C, while nighttime temperature averages 24°C. The average water temperature is 27°C. There is a light constant northeastern trade wind averaging twenty knots and the weather is mostly dry and sunny. Rainfall occurs in showers of short to medium duration throughout the year and ranges between 940 and 1220 mm annually. The island is located within the Atlantic hurricane zone. Hurricane season runs from June to November, with a peak from late August to mid-October. During these months, Statia regularly experiences the effects of tropical storms and depressions, which can bring large amounts of rain, strong winds, and rough seas. Usually once every few years, the island is struck by a hurricane. One of the issues this dissertation addresses is how the natural setting of St. Eustatius, particularly hurricanes, impacted the island's maritime cultural landscape.

1.2 Historical setting

As will be explained in more detail in Chapter 2, the analysis of the maritime cultural landscape focuses on three different timescales, the island's connection with other colonies, and the influences of developments elsewhere in the Atlantic World on St. Eustatius. Therefore, a brief historical background is necessary to put the island's maritime cultural landscape in a wider perspective.

Christopher Columbus was the first European to lay eyes on St. Eustatius on his second voyage in 1493 (Hartog 1976:14). At this time, Amerindian groups that had occupied the island since the second millennium BC had moved away for reasons unknown (Schinkel & Versteeg 1992).[3] Deemed *islas inutiles* (useless islands) by the Spanish due to a lack of silver and gold, the Lesser Antilles were of no importance to the Spanish conquistadors. As the sixteenth century progressed, other European powers came to have a presence in the West Indies as well, and over time they were suc-

3 There are no documented interactions between Amerindians and Europeans or Africans on St. Eustatius.

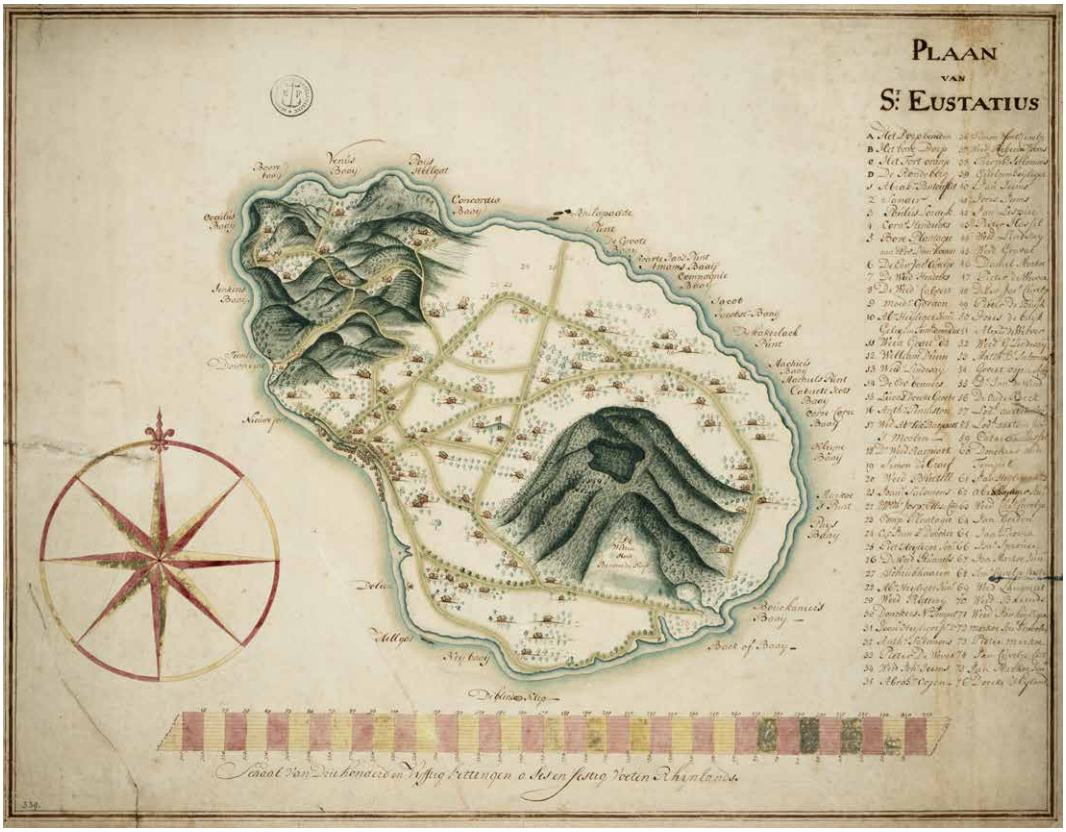

Figure 1.2 Map of St. Eustatius made by Alexander de Lavaux in 1741 showing dozens of sugar plantations that dot the island's countryside. This map depicts a rather peculiar view of the island. The Northern Hills are drawn much smaller than they actually are – an error more historic maps of the island contain. Nevertheless, the network of roads is similar to that of later maps and even resembles today's road network, so the southern part of the island is fairly accurately depicted. Source: NA 4.MIKO 3.A.2.5.1. – 339.

cessful in making dents in the Spanish monopoly. The Spanish, forced to defend their major ports and the treasure fleets, directed their attention to the Greater Antilles. The Lesser Antilles, including St. Eustatius, served as entry points for pirates, buccaneers, and later, merchants, leading eventually to a presence in the Caribbean for, among others, the English, French and Dutch. They soon realized that the islands had more potential than just points from which to attack the Spanish. In the early seventeenth century these European powers started to see opportunities for agriculture and commerce, resulting in rapid colonization of the Lesser Antilles (Palmié 2011:138).

The Dutch began to colonize several Caribbean islands in the 1630s. St. Maarten was colonized in 1631, Curaçao in 1634, Aruba, Bonaire and St. Eustatius in 1636 and Saba around 1640. In December 1635 the Zeeland merchant Jan Snouck and his partners received permission to establish a colony on St. Croix. They outfitted a ship, appointed Peter van Corselles as leader of the future colony and sent him with sufficient men to the West Indies. Upon arrival, St. Croix did not appear to live up to expectations regarding soil fertility and suitable anchorages, so they concentrated on nearby St. Eustatius. This island was occupied by the Dutch in the spring of 1636.

Upon arrival, Van Corselles and his men found the ruins of a deserted French bastion on the island that was built during a short stay in 1629. On its remains they built Fort Oranje (Attema 1976:17).

The new population of St. Eustatius consisted of about 50 settlers. These were mainly Flemings, Walloons, and people from the Dutch province of Zeeland (Attema 1976:16). Tobacco and cotton plantations were established in an attempt to develop a plantation economy. As plantations increased in size, so did the numbers of imported African and Amerindian enslaved people. Several European merchants settled on the island to take part in the growing and very lucrative transatlantic trade. In 1665, the population had grown to 330 white people and 840 enslaved Africans and Amerindians (Attema 1976:16). Yields from the plantations were exported to Zeeland, causing prosperity to increase steadily. When the tobacco market collapsed in the 1680s, the Dutch West India Company turned to its commercial instincts and converted St. Eustatius into a trading entrepôt. Dutch activity on the island caused envy among the English, particularly since a royal patent of 1627 declared England the owner of St. Eustatius (Attema 1976:18). Despite these irritations, these first few decades of St. Eustatius as a Dutch colony were peaceful.

Peace was disrupted in 1663, however, when Statia was sacked by Englishman Robert Holmes. The English occupied St. Eustatius in 1665 during the Second Anglo-Dutch War following a subsequent attack led by Edward Morgan. The island was returned to the Dutch two years later. In 1672, during the Third Anglo-Dutch War, Statia was under English control again but a year later the Dutch retook the island. At the Treaty of Westminster in 1674 it was officially returned to the Netherlands, but the English were afraid it would fall into French hands, so they held on to it. This was agreeable to the *Heren XIX*, the board of the Dutch West India Company (WIC), as they preferred not to spend any money on the island's defense. St. Eustatius was taken back into Dutch hands in 1679. In the same year, though, the French attacked the island and destroyed the entire settlement. A year later a joint English-Dutch attack placed the island in Dutch hands once again (Attema 1976:21).

At this time, the WIC saw Statia's potential as a transit harbor for enslaved Africans. The trade in enslaved Africans grew in subsequent decades, and by the 1720s, large numbers of enslaved Africans were passing through the island (Postma 1990:225,320-348). In 1682, St. Eustatius came under full control of the WIC. Until then, Statia had been owned by various 'patrons' (Attema 1976:19). These were individual merchants and representatives of the WIC's Zeeland Chamber who had large amounts of capital at their disposal and were responsible for law and order and the appointment of a commander. The Zeeland merchants who had owned the island gave it to the WIC, as the constant disruption to planting and trading activities by pirates and privateers proved too difficult for them. In 1689, St. Eustatius was captured by the French during King William's War. The French hauled away a large booty, which indicates that there was already a considerable amount of wealth present on the island. The Dutch found themselves again in possession of the island in 1697 after the English recaptured it for them. The poor state of the island's defense, including cannon that refused to fire or would even explode, was one of the main reasons why Statia was often given over without any significant opposition during the last four decades of the seventeenth century. Moreover, the inhabitants gradually

lost the will to resist, since the mother country continually failed to supply them with sufficient ammunition.

The political instability and economic shifts in global trade led to great poverty on the island at the end of the seventeenth century. People from other islands moved to Statia to take advantage of low real estate prices during this time. Between 1705 and 1715, the population on the island more than doubled from 606 to 1,274 inhabitants (Hartog 1976:34). The first three decades of the eighteenth century were characterized by family feuds and rivalries, ruining all chances of maintaining a stable government and undermining a solid basis for prosperity. Since Statia was not very productive at this time, the WIC was not concerned with this turmoil.

The economic situation of Statia changed for the better after 1730 (Hartog 1976:36). In 1739, a synagogue was built in the center of Oranjestad for the island's growing Jewish community (Barka 1988:8). All arable land was under cultivation at this time as the demand for sugar soared on the global market. The residential and commercial areas on the island were enlarged in the eighteenth century despite various setbacks and difficulties like lazy workers, conflicts about landownership, and devastating hurricanes. St. Eustatius was declared a free port in 1756, causing it to become the nexus in the Caribbean and Atlantic World trade networks. Lower Town became the commercial center of the island in the second half of the eighteenth century. While today the Caribbean region plays only a small role in the global economy, the situation in the eighteenth century was the exact opposite. Called variously the 'Golden Rock,' 'Diamond Rock,' and the 'New Tyre,' St. Eustatius could supply almost any product manufactured in the Atlantic World (Gilmore 2013:44). Millions of products were sold each year from its warehouses, including enormous quantities of raw materials such as sugar, cotton, and tobacco that were produced in the region. Statia became one of the busiest ports in the world, where thousands of ships dropped anchor each year. Its population, composed of permanent inhabitants and an equivalent number of transient visitors, reached 20,000 people, which equaled the population of New York City at the time (Monkkonen 1990:259). Enslaved laborers, who were actively involved in trading activities in town, constituted over half of the population. This was unusual compared to sugar islands such as Barbados and Jamaica, where up to 90 percent of the population would sometimes consist of enslaved people (Wells 2015:282).

Statia's prosperity increased even more during the American War of Independence (1775-1783), during which trade with the North American colonies – particularly the arms trade – flourished. Even British merchants on the island were willing to sell whatever the enemies of their country needed. Statia's support of the North American rebels infuriated the British, who declared war on the Dutch in 1780 (the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War). In 1781, St. Eustatius was sacked by a large British force under the command of Admiral George Brydges Rodney, who put an end to the trade with North America. They hauled away the largest booty taken in time of war in the eighteenth century (Gilmore 2013:49). Statia was captured by the French just nine months later in a surprise attack. The island was returned to the Dutch in 1784 and the economy flourished once more, with the volume of trade rising to what it had been before the capture (Hartog 1976:98).

Statia's success did not last for very long after these events. The island's importance as a transshipment harbor declined around 1795 as the United States became

independent and trade moved to North America. To make matters worse, the end of the slave trade was looming and the struggling island and its withering economy fell to the French in 1795. The French policies governing trade inhibited the free transactions that built the island's wealth (Gilmore 2006:91). These events signaled the end of prosperity on what was the richest trading center in the Caribbean only fifteen years earlier. In 1801, the British seized St. Eustatius again, but a year later Dutch rule was reinstated with the peace of Amiens. St. Eustatius surrendered to the British again in 1810. The Dutch flag reappeared on St. Eustatius in 1816 when the island was returned to the Netherlands (Hartog 1976:105). In the following decades, the warehouses that used to be stuffed to their roofs decayed, just like the fortifications around the island. The houses in Upper Town fared a bit better. In 1840, there were just ten plantations left. The size of Oranjestad rapidly decreased along with its population density. After the abolition of slavery in 1863, former enslaved people left the countryside to settle in town and as a result the large-scale cultivation of crops came to an end. One way Statians kept their heads above water in these years was by exporting yams, potatoes, and trass, a volcanic earth that makes good mortar, to other Caribbean islands. A slight revival in cotton production and the frequent visits of whalers in the early twentieth century brought some prosperity. Devastating hurricanes at the turn of the twentieth century caused significant damage and exacerbated Oranjestad's decline. The population decreased from 2,668 people in 1816 to a mere 921 in 1948 (Hartog 1976:125-127). The island that was once known as one of the leading ports of the world became an almost forgotten colony.

Several hotels were built on St. Eustatius with the advent of tourism in the Caribbean in the 1960s and 1970s. A small airport, constructed in 1946, facilitated tourists' transportation to and from the island (Hartog 1976:145). Statia's rich history has been a main attraction for tourists ever since. Because comparatively little development has taken place on the island since the eighteenth century, it is now an archaeological treasure trove, covered in hundreds of well-preserved archaeological sites which include plantations, warehouses, religious structures, fortifications, and shipwrecks.

1.3 Previous research

The first person to carry out archaeological investigations on St. Eustatius was J.P.B. De Josselin de Jong, an anthropologist at Leiden University who collected Amerindian artifacts at several sites in 1923 (De Josselin de Jong 1947). Several of these sites were excavated by a team from Leiden University under the direction of Aad Versteeg in the 1980s, among which was a Saladoid settlement called the Golden Rock site (Schinkel & Versteeg 1992). It did not take long before historical archaeologists started to take an interested in the island as well. When Norman Barka and Edwin Dethlefsen visited St. Eustatius in 1979, they were amazed by the density of colonial-period artifacts and archaeological sites on the island. In an article in Archaeology Magazine, they termed St. Eustatius "The Pompeii of the New World" (Dethlefsen et al. 1982). Under the auspices of the College of William & Mary, they set up an archaeological field school on the island in 1981, returning every summer to investigate colonial-period sites. For nearly two decades, staff and students of the College of William & Mary studied numerous sites, including the Government Guest House, synagogue *Honen Dalim*, several sugar

plantations including English Quarter, Concordia, and Princess, the Dutch Reformed Church, Battery de Windt, and various warehouse ruins in Lower Town (Barka 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1996). The William & Mary field school started underwater investigations as well. Assisted by amateur archaeologist Wil Nagelkerken, William & Mary students mapped the extent of the historical anchorage zone between 1983 and 1984 (Nagelkerken 1985, 2000). William & Mary also teamed up with researchers from East Carolina University to investigate several shipwreck sites. A magnetometer survey was carried out in 1986, followed by underwater surveys and test excavations in 1987 and 1988. Barka's students completed several Master's theses dealing with a variety of topics and sites, including fortifications, cemeteries, architectural styles, submerged archaeological sites, and the spatial organization of sugar plantations (Bequette 1986, 1992; Delle 1989; Howard 1991; Paonessa 1990; Sanders 1988).

In 2004, after the William & Mary field school had come to an end, the St. Eustatius Center for Archaeological Research (SECAR) was founded. Grant Gilmore, one of Barka's former students, was appointed the first director. Gilmore completed his doctoral dissertation the same year, which investigated slavery on St. Eustatius in a comparative perspective (Gilmore 2004). Under his direction, a continuous field school was held until his resignation in 2011. During Gilmore's seven-year directorship, many archaeological research projects were carried out, including the excavation of a warehouse in Lower Town, a *mikveh* next to the synagogue, a free black village on the outskirts of Oranjestad, enslaved African burials at Union plantation, and the great house at Schotsenhoek plantation (Labiau 2008; Miller 2008). These sites were excavated with the help of students and volunteers from all over the world. In 2011, after two internships and one temporary paid position at SECAR, the author became SECAR's director. At this time, a great increase in construction activities resulted in numerous commercial archaeological projects which were led by the author. Prior to proposed development, Schotsenhoek, Benners and Steward plantations were investigated, and a slave quarters was discovered and excavated at Schotsenhoek plantation in 2012 and 2013 (Stelten 2011, 2012, 2013). Another slave quarters was excavated in 2014 at Fair Play plantation. The author also directed several watching briefs in Lower Town and Upper Town, and carried out an underwater survey for NuStar, the island's oil terminal (Stelten 2014, 2015). In addition, the author created an archaeological predictive model of the entire island in cooperation with Leiden University (Stelten 2013).

In addition to extensive archaeological investigations, documentary research has revealed a wealth of information on Statia's past. Historical research into St. Eustatius commenced in the eighteenth century, when several travelers commented on its history in published diaries. Throughout the twentieth century, several short articles on the island's past were published in the *West Indische Gids* (Jameson 1903; Grol 1921; Hartog 1948). It was not until 1976, however, that serious attempts were made to write a comprehensive historical synthesis. In that year, Hartog and Attema both wrote overviews of the island's history (Attema 1976; Hartog 1976). Goslinga followed in 1985, when he wrote a comprehensive volume on Dutch history in the Caribbean and the Guianas (Goslinga 1985). Wim Klooster published a volume on Dutch trade in the Caribbean in 1998, focusing heavily on the free ports of St. Eustatius and Curaçao (Klooster 1998). Various other smaller publications over the years have complemented these major works (Enthoven 2012; Gilmore 2006; Hartog 1997; Roitman & Jordaan 2015).

1.4 Research problem

Despite the fact that a significant amount of archaeological and historical research has been carried out on St. Eustatius over the past four decades, many gaps in our knowledge of the island's history remain. There are three main reasons for this. First, most research has focused on the elite merchant and planter class, their commercial activities, and the archaeological sites related to them. This is particularly true for the first historical archaeological campaigns, which focused on excavating warehouses, religious structures, and Great Houses. Historical research has mainly focused on merchants, trade, the history of Statian monuments, and military history, while largely ignoring the lives of those at the bottom of the social order and daily life in general. With a few exceptions, such as Gilmore's 2004 dissertation and the author's slave quarters excavations, the archaeology and history of slavery has not received much attention. Furthermore, archaeologists working on Statia have employed research methods unsuitable for the study of slave quarters. These sites have only been marginally investigated by excavating 1 x 1 meter units to subsoil by hand. Using this method, it is nearly impossible to develop a comprehensive map of post holes and other features that mark the locations of slave dwellings. The author's research has shown that the best method for obtaining such a comprehensive view of settlement patterns in slave quarters is to excavate a large area using a mechanical excavator that strips the top soil. This method allows entire slave settlements to be excavated in a matter of weeks (Stelten 2013). This method is particularly suitable when later manifestations of slave quarters that did not use post in ground construction methods are expected to have already been disturbed due to plowing or other destructive activities.

Underwater archaeological research has only focused on areas that are relatively close to shore on the island's leeward side, which are situated within practical diving limits. As a result, little to nothing is known about submerged archaeological remains outside of Oranje and Gallows Bays. Furthermore, underwater archaeological research has mainly consisted of surveys of small areas and limited test excavations, which have not provided much insight into the nature of shipping activities around the island and further offshore. For example, to date no archaeological research has attempted to provide insights into the material reflection of shipping activities outside of Oranje and Gallows Bay, which severely limits our understanding of the human utilization of maritime space around the island through time. The present study attempts to fill this gap by presenting the results of a comprehensive underwater survey.

Another topic that has been the subject of comparatively little research is the early colonial period relating to the seventeenth century. This partly has to do with the fact that there is much more historical and archaeological evidence available for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Seventeenth-century sites and deposits are mostly buried underneath eighteenth-century structures and artifacts, and are thus much harder to access. In addition, relatively little archival data exists for the seventeenth century due to the destruction of the islands archives by a hurricane in 1772 and invading British troops in 1781 (Hartog 1976:94). Another reason why this period has received little attention is because St. Eustatius was a fairly insignificant and ordinary colony during the first years of Dutch colonization, very different from the time when it experienced its economic boom and became an important player in a global trade network. To most people, especially those interested in the island's role in world history

and the formation of the United States of America, the study of the latter period is much more appealing.

The second reason why many gaps in our knowledge of the island's history remain is the division between archaeologists and historians. Most research on St. Eustatius has been severely limited in its scope. Archaeological research has been restricted by researchers' limited historical knowledge that allows research results to be properly contextualized. As a result, conclusions derived from archaeological research on St. Eustatius have been largely descriptive with little interpretation. This has, for example, led to incorrect interpretations regarding the size of the historic anchorage area by (amateur) maritime archaeologists. Norman Barka's work, particularly the investigations of the Government Guest House, the synagogue, Princess Estate, and Concordia plantation, are lacking an interpretive framework.[4] There are a few exceptions, such as Gilmore's work on slavery, Miller's research into the island's Jewish community, and Delle's spatial analysis of sugar plantations. Likewise, historical analyses have often only marginally incorporated archaeological data. This has resulted in incorrect conclusions and a view of the past that lacks material data. In an area as rich in archaeological material as St. Eustatius, material data has great potential to nuance, contradict and complement documentary data. The best example in this regard is perhaps Attema's statement that nothing remains of the eighteenth-century weighing house in Lower Town, while this is one of the most prominent and well-preserved buildings in the area (Attema 1976:36). It is therefore of paramount importance for any research into the history of St. Eustatius to combine sound archaeological research with extensive documentary data.

Last, the majority of archaeological and historical studies on St. Eustatius have lacked synthesis and a theoretical register that adequately explains the wide variation in Statia's archaeological record. For example, very few studies have systematically engaged with the island's archaeological record of globalization. For many years, a heavy emphasis was placed on describing site after site and event after event, without examining their precise relations to one another.[5] A lack of theory in most archaeological and historical work has allowed scholars to overlook the complex interplay of social, economic, political, and natural processes that shaped the island's history through time. Moreover, while St. Eustatius' role in the Caribbean and global trade networks is now well documented, this approach has resulted in a dearth of comparative archaeological research with other areas. Comparative archaeological studies between St. Eustatius and other island colonies are few and far between.[6]

The original intention of this study was to investigate submerged archaeological remains around the island, particularly in those areas further offshore where research had not yet been undertaken. In the early stages of the research, however, it became clear that shipwrecks, anchors, and other submerged artifacts and sites did not exist in a vacuum. Rather, they were part of a much wider network of human interac-

4 In his study of Concordia plantation, Barka made extensive use of Johannes de Graaff's probate inventory, but this was the only historical source consulted.

5 It should be noted that Norman Barka published a comprehensive book chapter on Statian settlement patterns through time (Barka 2001).

6 With the exception of Gilmore 2004 and Miller 2011, which are strongly focused on the comparative aspect.

Figure 1.3 Many artifacts in Statia's archaeological record underscore the island's connection with the sea. This maritime-themed eighteenth-century faience plate from the SECAR collection is one example. Photo by the author.

tion spheres that included terrestrial sites and artifacts, and even immaterial aspects. Therefore, it was decided to incorporate the analysis of submerged archaeological remains into a study comprising the entire maritime cultural landscape of the island. The terrestrial-underwater dichotomy, which is present in much archaeological work, is one that does not exist historically on St. Eustatius. In its simplest form, describing the physical location of artifacts and sites on Statia is already problematic, in that some sites or artifacts are found on land during certain times of the year and are submerged during others. The dichotomy becomes even more ambiguous when looking at social, economic, and political processes and events through time. Shipwrecks do not exist in a vacuum; they are inextricably linked with the ports from which they departed and those to which they arrived. They are part of local, regional, and even global trade and communication networks. Goods, people, and ideas transported on ships continued their journey on terrestrial roads once they arrived in ports, making water and land a continuous part of the maritime cultural landscape that transcended geographical differences and boundaries. This is exemplified by the fact that artifact assemblages found as cargo at shipwreck sites are similar to those found on terrestrial sites. Perhaps the best example in this regard are Dutch yellow bricks called *IJsselsteentjes*, which were used as ballast on ships and offloaded on St. Eustatius to make room for locally-produced raw materials. The former ballast bricks were then used in the construction of the warehouses and merchant homes that dotted the island's leeward coast. When Statia's economy collapsed, these structures were dismantled and the same bricks were exported by ships to be used in construction elsewhere. These seemingly trivial artifacts provide a direct connection between activities on land and sea, and demonstrate the symbiotic relationship between the colony and the mother country.

People on small islands such as St. Eustatius were constantly looking at the sea and contemplating what was beyond. Many Statian residents arrived on the island by sea, and nearly all relied on the sea for their livelihood. Despite the fact that people on St. Eustatius lived on land, they formed a maritime community. The sea was not a divider, but a connector. It acted as a highway that linked islands, land masses, and communi-

ties all over the world. In addition, the sea was a place where people lived their lives as well. Countless sea voyages were made during the Age of European expansion, some only lasting a few days, while others took months to complete. Hundreds of these ships would sometimes lay at anchor on St. Eustatius' roadstead for varying periods of time. People, goods, and ideas moved frequently between ships and the island, making the roadstead, its ships, and the people on them an extension of the insular community and the island itself. In the same vein, the shipwrecks, anchors, and other submerged archaeological remains reflecting past events and activities on the road can be regarded as an extension of the island's terrestrial archaeological landscape.

In order to truly make sense of the complex interactions, events, and processes that shaped this maritime world, both land and sea need to be studied in relation to each other. In order to do so, this study is embedded in the theoretical framework of the maritime cultural landscape. Over the past two decades, many maritime environments across the world have been studied using this framework, but to date it has not been applied to a Lesser Antillean island in its entirety. Several studies into historical landscapes have been conducted on islands such as St. John, St. Kitts, and St. Lucia, but these focus heavily on plantations and sugar cultivation (Armstrong et al. 2009; Hicks 2007). In this study, all components that make up the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius will be discussed and analyzed in relation to each other and to other island colonies. This will be done using a variety of methods, including terrestrial and underwater archaeological research and an in-depth analysis of the documentary record.

The current research will be complimentary to historical studies in that it will focus on describing and analyzing the social organization of past lives by conducting a social anthropology of the past. By examining various types of sources, a more comprehensive view of the past can be reconstructed. For example, the documentary record can provide information about the slave trade, while the archaeological record in the slave quarters informs us about the lives of enslaved laborers. Documentary data contains information on the motivations for trade, while the archaeological record provides insights into which goods were actually traded. While historical studies have often asked questions of *why* things happened, this study focuses largely on questions of *how* things happened and how this is reflected in the physical environment.

In today's globalizing world, in which people's lives often appear to be affected more by people, events, and developments overseas than those in their immediate vicinity, it is particularly relevant to investigate not only how global trade networks came into being, but also what their effect was on the physical and social environments of the colonies and port cities involved in these networks. In other words, it is extremely relevant to study how the interplay of internal and external forces in an early globalizing world shaped the communities living at the peripheries and how they are continuing to do so today. The following research questions will be used to reconstruct the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius, investigate its internal dynamics, and examine its role on local, regional, and international scales through time.

Main question

In which ways have the complex interplay of local, regional, and global social, economic, political, and natural forces shaped the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius through time?

Sub-questions

- What are the key elements of the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius?
- Where, why, and when do various themes in the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius overlap and what are the results of these overlaps?
- Which temporal scales characterize the events and processes that created the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius?
- In which ways and to what extent has the natural environment shaped the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius?
- How was the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius connected to other island colonies and the wider Atlantic World, and how was it shaped by these outside connections?

By centering on the maritime cultural landscape in answering these research questions, a refocusing of priorities towards a more inclusive form of maritime archaeology is achieved. In it, the entirety of site types related to St. Eustatius' maritime cultural landscape is studied within a comparative and diachronic framework. It is in this way that the study of the island's past can move beyond an emphasis on descriptive studies and move fully into the realm of interpretation.

It should be noted that the core of this dissertation is formed by section 4.2. The fieldwork conducted for the present study consists of the underwater archaeological survey described in this section. In addition, several other studies conducted by the author in previous years on the island in different capacities will be used to analyse and interpret the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius. The research on a collection of shoe buckles was conducted by the author for his BA thesis during his first visit to St. Eustatius (Stelten 2009). The author's research on cannon and anchors was conducted for his MA thesis a year later (Stelten 2010). As Director of SECAR, the author conducted various commercial archaeological projects, some of which, such as the Schotsenhoek slave quarters excavation and the research in Lower Town, feature extensively throughout this work. The results of these projects are used throughout the dissertation and positioned within the maritime cultural landscape.

The dissertation starts by outlining the theoretical framework of the maritime cultural landscape in which the research has been be conducted. Chapter 3 provides an overview of the research methodology used in the archaeological and documentary research. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 address the first sub-question by discussing all themes that make up the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius. These are divided into economic, social, and political components. Chapter 7 provides a discussion of the research and addresses the remaining sub-questions. The concluding chapter synthesizes the research presented by addressing the main question.

2

Theoretical Framework

For nearly half a century, the majority of archaeological and historical studies dealing with St. Eustatius have lacked a systematic analytical framework informed by theoretical innovations in broader archaeological and anthropological inquiries. They have instead focused heavily on describing historical narratives and trade networks, sites, structures, features, shipwrecks, and artifacts. This is particularly true for maritime and underwater research. Moreover, particularistic studies constitute the bulk of research results for St. Eustatius, which tend to focus on one or a few sites without placing these in a larger social context (For example Barka 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1996; Bequette 1992, Nagelkerken 1985. There are some exceptions, such as Gilmore 2013, Miller 2011, Paonessa 1990, and Stelten 2009). The exact reasons for the lack of a theoretical framework are unknown, but it is clear that this approach has greatly impeded archaeological and historical research on St. Eustatius to move beyond the mere description of sites and address issues on an island-wide or regional scale. The focus of this chapter is to establish such a theoretical framework, which can serve as the foundation for conducting archaeological and historical research on the island and beyond. It centers on the concept of the maritime cultural landscape, which, on a small island where historically nearly everyone and everything was connected to the maritime world in one way or another, is exceptionally fitting.

Moreover, the study of the maritime cultural landscape becomes particularly relevant when dealing with a time period in which globalization played an increasingly important role in peoples' lives. Orser even defines historical archaeology as the study of the global nature of modern life (Wurst 2006:199). In one of his recent works, he stresses the need to think on at least two scales when studying modern-world archaeology: the local and the global scale, or, in other words, to "dig locally and think globally," the reason being that modern-world archaeology inherently concerns trans-regional history (Orser 2016:318). It should be noted that globalization never encompasses the entire world at once, neither does it constitute a rapid, complete cultural change. Rather, globalization is a process with the following characteristics: networks of interdependence at multi-continental distances; connections based on the complex flow of currency, goods, information, ideas, and people; an overarching structure defined by capitalist social relations (Orser 2016:317). The best way to fully understand the impact globalization – and all its characteristics – had on a small Caribbean island is by applying the maritime cultural landscape approach which, by definition, includes and even emphasizes outside influences in regional and global contexts. This framework is

needed to integrate the findings on St. Eustatius into broader archaeological discussions on topics such as trade networks, capitalism, war and conflict, maritime slavery, and the plantation system.

The maritime cultural landscape approach has been adopted by archaeologists in many different regions, most notably by Christer Westerdahl for prehistoric Scandinavia. More recent use of this theoretical framework is presented in studies dealing with the Age of European expansion. Examples include Borelli's analysis of risk management in the harbor of Cape Town, Ford's work on Lake Ontario, and Duncan's study of an Australian coastal community at Queenscliffe (Borelli 2016, Ford 2009, Duncan 2006). While all these studies focus on maritime cultural landscapes in a continental setting, this dissertation will be the first study to adopt this approach in the analysis of a Caribbean island. As will be shown, this work builds on Westerdahl's initial notion and division of the maritime cultural landscape and adapts it to suit the context of St. Eustatius. Before examining the concept of the maritime cultural landscape, its origins and significance for the field of maritime archaeology will be explored briefly.

2.1 The development of theory in maritime archaeology

The discipline of maritime archaeology has seen tremendous changes over the past century. Starting in the early twentieth century, the first underwater archaeological endeavors were aimed at recovering objects of art by people lacking any archaeological training and experience. As the first half of the twentieth century progressed, more scientific underwater archaeological projects started to be carried out. These were often problematic in the sense that divers involved were not trained archaeologists – they stayed on the surface – and their methodology was one of a generally unsystematic recovery of objects from the sea floor (Meide 2013:2). The introduction of SCUBA after the Second World War popularized underwater treasure hunting enormously by providing people easier access to sites.

It was not until the late 1950s that archaeologists themselves started to dive and participate in underwater archaeological fieldwork. Several large underwater projects were carried out in the 1960s and 1970s, including the excavation and recovery of large shipwrecks such as the *Vasa* and the *Mary Rose*. It was around this time that the discipline became more organized: several maritime archaeological organizations were formed, communication and cooperation between maritime archaeologists around the world increased, and in 1972 the *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* was first published (Meide 2013:6).

Despite these developments, there were still very few maritime archaeologists well acquainted with archaeological theory. This was partly due to the fact that maritime archaeologists organized their own conferences and formed their own specialized journals and societies and were therefore not well integrated into the greater archaeological community. Perhaps more importantly, the majority of maritime archaeologists at the time had their origins as avocational archaeologists or had joined the field from other, non-archaeological disciplines. This resulted in a community less conversant with current anthropological debates (Meide 2013:7). Furthermore, the emphasis in the mid-twentieth century lay on the development of sound research techniques and

methods in order to establish proper protocols for maritime archaeological research and to discard the long-held views of maritime archaeologists as treasure hunters.

Maritime archaeological theory took a giant leap forward with the ideas introduced by Keith Muckelroy during the late 1970s, whose approach emphasized a more systematic understanding of underwater site formation processes and a three-part interpretive framework for better understanding the ship in its original social context (Muckelroy 1978). According to Muckelroy, maritime archaeology is concerned with all aspects of maritime culture; not just technical matters, but also social, economic, political, religious, and a host of other aspects (Muckelroy 1978:4). He also stressed the fact that maritime archaeology is first and foremost concerned with people, and not with the material culture in itself with which the researcher is immediately confronted (Muckelroy 1978:4).

Some scholars, such as George Bass, were strongly opposed to Muckelroy's ideas, and emphasized the need for a highly detailed and particularistic approach focusing more on sites (usually shipwrecks) or events themselves rather than their social contexts (Bass 1983). Bass questioned some of the basic tenets of processual archaeology, such as the use of formal research designs, and stressed the need for highly detailed particularistic studies, even if it meant "almost blind and thoughtless cataloguing of types of artifacts (Bass 1983:98). Bass' ideas were countered most notably by Christer Westerdahl, who introduced the term *maritime cultural landscape*, which became widespread in the English language and thus to a large group of scholars after an article published in 1992. Building upon Muckelroy's use of the term *maritime archaeology* in favour of *underwater, nautical* and *marine archaeology*, Westerdahl broadened Muckelroy's definition to include not only all traces of human activities on the sea but also those on land and in lakes and rivers that can contribute to the study of maritime lifeways in order to gain a more holistic understanding of the subject (Westerdahl 1992). Cognitive aspects of the landscape such as place names played an important role in the study of this new concept. The introduction of the concept called attention to the need to study maritime spaces in a larger context through the multiplicity of elements related to navigation and other human occupation of coastlines (Freire 2014:145). The notion of a maritime cultural landscape signifies the enormous amount and range of data available to archaeologists studying the human relation to the marine environment. Westerdahl's work was a reaction against particularism and has influenced maritime archaeology tremendously (Meide 2013:12). His ideas and definitions are now used in regional surveys which are becoming more common than major excavations of individual sites, and a greater emphasis is being placed on the landscape than ever before.

Not long after Westerdahl's ideas gained in popularity, Anthony Firth addressed the opportunities which the concept of the maritime cultural landscape offered historical archaeologists in studying post-medieval colonialism, capitalism, globalization, and industrialization (Firth 1995). According to Firth, each of these processes has a maritime component that may be susceptible to a landscape approach. At the beginning of the new millennium, several maritime archaeological works dealing with post-medieval colonialism have used the study of specific sites and events to interpret processes on a large, even global, scale (Staniforth 2003; Dellino-Musgrave 2006). In this way, maritime archaeologists are trying to find a middle ground between the generalistic and particularistic approaches and use both to reconstruct the maritime past in a more

comprehensive way. A good example in this regard is the work by Richard Gould, who recognized that a particularistic approach is not necessarily wrong. All maritime and underwater archaeologists need to achieve a "thick" historical view of their material in the same way historians do. But Gould did view the strictly particularistic approach as inadequate, especially when it comes to evaluating archaeological results. Gould states that "in underwater archaeology, generalized hypothesis-testing and the search for general principles and historical particularism are complementary" (Gould 20011:4). Moreover, Gould recognized the wider implications for the combination of approaches, as, for example, fine-grained studies of shipping practices tested against the physical evidence of ancient wrecks can provide a picture of what happened that goes beyond the immediate circumstances of the event to connect with the socioeconomic conditions that surrounded them (Gould 2011:4).

2.2 The maritime cultural landscape

The maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius is at the core of this study. It is defined by Westerdahl as:

> "The whole network of sailing routes, old as well as new, with ports and harbors along the coast, and its related constructions and remains of human activity, underwater as well as terrestrial"

The maritime cultural landscape signifies the human utilization of maritime space (Westerdahl 1992:6). Shipwrecks and other submerged archaeological remains do not exist in a vacuum; they are closely linked to each other and to terrestrial sites. Therefore, in order to gain a more complete understanding of the context and nature of submerged archaeological sites, these have to be studied as part of a wider cultural landscape which encompasses both marine and terrestrial areas. This is a key difference with Muckelroy's approach, whose definition of maritime archaeology does not include a concern with coastal communities and sites (Muckelroy 1978:6). The reasoning for his omission is due to the fact that Muckelroy believed that "being primarily terrestrial settlements, they will be more closely related to their surrounding communities in their material culture, and will display their maritime connections only marginally" (Muckelroy 1978:6). Throughout this work, it will be shown that Muckelroy's view does not hold up for insular communities such as St. Eustatius.

Before elaborating further on the maritime cultural landscape, it is useful to explore how and when a landscape is or can be culturally significant in order to fully understand and appreciate the importance of the use of this concept in studies dealing with past human behavior. The landscape exists at the intersection between culture (physical and cognitive) and space. The latter is a medium for human activity and does not have cultural significance apart from that activity. Space is always present, but until humans use or acknowledge a particular space and make it a place, it does not exist anthropologically (Ford 2011:1). In other words, a landscape only becomes 'cultural' when people utilize it, give purpose and meaning to it, or are being influenced by it. The landscape is culturally dynamic in that it is constantly altered, both physically and in people's minds. It includes multiple environmental features such as the space a person can

perceive, but also less tangible aspects such as the weather, noises, and smells. Cultures and spaces change through time as they influence each other, constantly creating culturally distinct and frequently overlapping landscapes. These are best understood in the contexts of their neighbors and the landscapes that preceded them and are expected to follow (Ford 2011:2). A cultural landscape can be formed by different processes and the accumulation of years, centuries, or even millennia of human influences. Time thus plays an important role in the study of the cultural landscape.

In this study, the maritime cultural landscape will be addressed using Fernand Braudel's three durations of time: short term (days, weeks, months, a few years), medium length conjunctures (years, decades, portions of centuries), and long-term structures (centuries and millennia). The last duration is called the *longue durée*.[7] At the center of this model is the idea that to understand historical developments and to explain their causes and dynamics, one must know their temporal and geographic scale; one must know what happened at their edges and their center, why they occurred, changed and faded away (Ames 1991:935). This can be achieved by continually assessing different temporal and geographical scales in the study of a particular site, topic, or development. Besides assessing different temporal and geographic scales, the maritime cultural landscape itself needs to be broken down into various elements as well in order to try to understand it to the fullest.

The maritime cultural landscape is composed of several main categories of material and immaterial aspects of maritime human life. The first is underwater archaeological remains, which include shipwrecks and their cargo, submerged settlements, harbors, piers, docks, ballast sites, breakwaters and other anthropomorphic modifications to the underwater landscape, anchorages, and moveable artifacts and ecofacts. The second is terrestrial archaeological remains, which include coastal settlements, ports, docks, piers, breakwaters, slipways, boat yards, lighthouses, industrial sites, warehouses, taverns, stores, weighing houses, military installations, roads, resource procurement sites, anthropomorphic modifications to the landscape, and moveable artifacts and ecofacts. The third aspect is the natural world. Human behaviour can be greatly influenced by the natural environment. This includes underwater and terrestrial topography, sedimentation and erosion processes, the type of soil and sea floor, flora and fauna, weather, and aspects of the ocean such as currents, tides, waves and swells. Taking the natural world into consideration enhances our view of the maritime cultural landscape and elucidates human agency in it. Fourth is what Westerdahl calls *tradition of usage*, meaning the mental map of coastal people (Westerdahl 1992:8). This aspect is almost completely immaterial, but is very much reflected throughout the material world. Cultural landscapes include an entire suite of cognitive perceptions intrinsically tied to physical landscape construction and expression (Duncan & Gibbs 2015:10). Maritime knowledge often lies at the basis of the division and use of space within the maritime cultural landscape. The location and layout of a coastal settlement is nearly always a result of people's extensive knowledge of the maritime environment. For example,

7 Certain researchers have worked with these scales in a different way. For example, within the short term, Sewell distinguishes an event as "sequences of occurrences that result in transformation of structures," as opposed to happenings, which simply reproduce existing social structures without significant change (Bolender 2010:5).

coastal settlements in the Caribbean are almost exclusively located on the islands' leeward sides where environmental conditions are most favorable for maritime traffic. The last aspect concerns place names. These can hold a lot of information about the maritime cultural landscape, and any study into this subject should take into account the names of towns, roads, islands, harbors, lakes, rivers, waterways, bays, mountains, buildings, and other natural and cultural places. They are often clues to the cognitive aspects of a landscape; they transform the physical world of people into something that is culturally recognizable.

From the above it follows that the maritime cultural landscape is much more than just physical attributes; it is the entirety of physical and cognitive aspects that are linked by human agency and perceptions. This idea transcends simplistic notions of a landscape based on binary oppositions such as land/sea and natural/cultural, which differentiate between sources of data based on physical location and historical research frameworks. Within the context of the maritime cultural landscape, the division between land and sea is in many cases irrelevant, as both are considered essential components of the totality of the landscape or of one of its elementary themes which are outlined below. Moreover, its past users often perceived these 'opposing' elements as collective components of the same landscape.

The physical and cognitive aspects of human life outlined above constitute the maritime cultural landscape – they are its basic building blocks. A comprehensive analysis of maritime cultural landscapes will only be possible by taking into account all of these aspects. In order to analyze each social aspect of St. Eustatius' maritime cultural landscape, it is useful to break the concept down into eight elementary components that together create the perception of it in the human mind:

- The *commercial component*: involves things needed for an economy to exist by means of local production and attracting outsiders, such as plantations, warehouses, markets, shops, customs houses, shipyards, and traded goods.
- The *resource component*: involves the resources necessary for sustaining an insular population, including provisioning grounds, fishing, hunting, and water supply.
- The *transport and communication component*: contains things that facilitate the movement of goods, people, and information such as (sailing) routes, seamarks, pilotage, harbors, roads and portages.
- The *power component*: the landscape of the expression of power and wealth including mansions, plantation residences, and merchant houses.
- The *defense component*: military installations such as forts, batteries, entrenchments, powder houses and barracks.
- The *cognitive component*: the mental map as expressed in oral traditions, stories, and place names, including the ritual and symbolic landscape (Westerdahl 2011:747).
- The *recreative component*: the landscape as a place for leisure with beaches, hiking trails, viewpoints, bars, brothels, and places for picnics and parties.
- The *civic component*: contains elements of areas where people settle and live their everyday life, such as coastal settlements and their associated neighborhoods.

It is important to note that the maritime cultural landscape is usually broken down into other landscapes. In this work, these landscape themes are called *components* as they

are constituent parts of the maritime cultural landscape. By adopting this terminology instead of using many different landscapes as done by, for example, Westerdahl, the fact that different constituent parts of the maritime cultural landscape exist and interact in various ways is emphasized.

Breaking the maritime cultural landscape down into these eight components will facilitate a detailed investigation of each constituent element, show by which influences they were shaped, and specifically how they are related to each other and to other elements in the maritime cultural landscape. These themes are, however, slightly different from those identified by Westerdahl, who in the same chapter recognizes the need to adjust the concept to any specific context (Westerdahl 2011:754). The adjustments are due to the fact that Westerdahl's ideas stem from research carried out in Scandinavia with a heavy focus on prehistory, a very different setting from St. Eustatius in the Age of European expansion. Key differences include Westerdahl's division between an outer and an inner resource landscape, whereby the former is concerned with resources required for shipbuilding and the latter with the necessary surplus for maritime voyages and trade. The resource component as defined for this study is called the economic landscape or landscape of sustenance by Westerdahl. The restructuring of Westerdahl's landscapes into slightly different components is valid and necessary in this study for several reasons. First, with the exception of small canoes, the construction of which hardly requires external resources, shipbuilding did not exist on St. Eustatius. The Statian community was not dependent on shipbuilding as it was at the center of a global trade network. Therefore, Westerdahl's outer resource landscape does not exist on Statia. Second, international trade played such an important role in the history and formation of the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius that the economic component of this island is concerned with trading activities. Third, the inner resource landscape (or component in this work) was needed to supply the insular population and sailors from abroad coming to the island to trade. Many of these (food) resources were procured on or around the island itself, but a large amount came from abroad. While these resources were oftentimes trade items themselves, they were also items without which the trading activities occurring on the island, and even the insular community itself, could not exist. For these reasons, food resources can be seen as a separate type of quasi-economic element, and therefore warrant a discussion separate from trading activities that were central to the economic components of the maritime cultural landscape.

Many facets of the past involve more than one type of component. A fort, for example, can be part of the defense component and the power component. A road may be part of all categories. In many instances, components overlap and it is not always clear where one component ends and another begins. This can change through time as people change and adapt their lifeways to permanent or temporary (often seasonal) changes. Furthermore, as mentioned above, the maritime cultural landscape and its components transcend the land/sea divide. The transport component, for example, involves all features that are related to the movement of goods and people. Many times, these movements do not stop on the beach, but continue their way on a different physical terrain that is part of the same landscape. Because of these overlaps, the analysis of the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius will be divided into three themes. The first is *economic components*, comprising the transport and com-

munication component, the commercial component, and the resource component. These three components are very much intertwined, as the first enables the second and third to exist, but at the same time is shaped in profound ways by the latter two. The second theme is *social components*, which includes the civic, cognitive, and recreative components. These three components overlap at various points, as the places where people live their lives on a daily basis consist of various cognitive elements. Moreover, there is often a cognitive foundation to the way these places are structured and perceived. The third theme is *political components*, comprising the power component and the defense component. It is concerned with the use of intrigue or strategy in obtaining any position of power or control.

A focus on the maritime cultural landscape provides a record that is informed by Statia's multiple actors, some of which are more poorly documented in the documentary record than others. As such it is a way to move beyond the grand narratives of history – such as master vs. slave, elite vs. non-elite – and better understand the workings of a colonial economy and society.

2.3 The place of shipwrecks in the maritime cultural landscape

The majority of information gathered by maritime archaeologists originates from shipwrecks. Thousands of wrecks have been investigated by archaeologists over the past century, and these sites have produced an exceptional range of artifacts that are usually remarkably well preserved. Moreover, their value is often enhanced by extensive documentary sources that describe their construction, operation, maintenance, utilization, and eventual wrecking. They are often referred to as 'time capsules' – particular events frozen in time.[8] Ships themselves have been described as the most complex artifact routinely produced prior to the Industrial Revolution, and their crews and material culture as unique manifestations of society as a whole (Gibbins & Adams 2001:280). A vessel's form and design, the processes by which the materials from which it was built were derived and produced, and the detailed anatomy of its construction, are telling indicators of contemporary material achievement (Martin 2001:393). During the Age of European expansion, ships were without a doubt the most technologically advanced artifacts in existence.

In the seventeenth century, ships became the engine of capitalism and commerce, an indispensable part of the maritime empires forged by European powers (Linebaugh & Rediker 2000:150). The growing importance of a capitalist market economy in

8 This view, although popular in the literature, is too simplistic. Shipwreck sites are more often than not influenced by many different site formation processes such as water movement, marine organisms, erosion, sedimentation, degradation and corrosion of materials, etc. Cultural interactions with shipwrecks and associated artifacts, besides being mere site formation processes, are part of a continuum of cultural activities which are often connected to the context in which a ship wrecked. For example, ballast piles can form artificial reefs on which anchors from other ships get hooked, in this way becoming part of the site. Moreover, valuable items (e.g. bronze cannon) were frequently salvaged by divers shortly after wrecking, and sites may have been looted in recent decades by recreational divers and treasure hunters. Gould has coined the term 'ship smears' to indicate locations where wreckage and debris fields overlap and where materials deposited from strandings further complicate the picture (Gould 2011:16).

Europe and the Caribbean colonies at this time meant that a great deal of wealth was transported on board ships (Evans 2007:87). As a result, wrecks may contain valuable cargo that can be an important source of information in the study of regional and global trade networks. Even though the same or similar artifacts that are found in shipwrecks may be found on other (terrestrial) sites, the assemblage on a wreck is usually quite different. The collection of artifacts on a ship can have a particularly high resolution and integrity, and is usually contemporaneous. The diachronic aspect, if present, is usually very small as the nature of a ship was against the retention of significant quantities of redundant materials. The bulk of the assemblage on a ship was usually composed of functional equipment and cargo in transit (Gibbins & Adams 2001:280). An exception to this are the personal belongings of sailors, which may be on a ship for many years and are of paramount importance in the study of shipboard life.

With these characteristics of shipwrecks in mind, it can be very tempting for researchers to adopt an over-particularistic approach in the study of these sites. For a long time, the focus of maritime archaeology has been on events, particularly those relating to the sinking of ships by storms, battles and other unfortunate mishaps. By adopting this approach and viewing shipwrecks merely as 'time capsules,' one ignores the wider context in which these events took place, what processes led to the ships' wrecking, and what impact these may have had on future events. The evidence that a shipwreck site contains does not only relate to the history of the individual ship, its crew and the circumstances of its wrecking, but also to wider aspects of contemporary culture, society, technology, and economy (Martin 2001:383). Shipwrecks, then, are an important element of the maritime cultural landscape, and perhaps one of *the* most important types of sites for understanding the world around them.

3

Research Methodology

The maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius contains many different elements and can be studied from various perspectives. Therefore, several research methods are employed in this study. First, underwater archaeological research, which comprises geophysical and SCUBA diving surveys, forms the backbone for the investigation of the transport and communication component. The data collected during these surveys includes the nature and distribution of cultural remains such as shipwrecks and artifacts on the sea floor, and information on the natural environment and bottom composition. These lines of evidence are crucial to understanding the size and extent of the historical anchorage area and the activities that were carried out here. Second, the results of previously conducted terrestrial archaeological excavations and surveys are used in the study of other components, such as the civic, commercial, and cognitive components. This data comprises excavation results of warehouses along the waterfront, slave quarters on plantations, analyses of plantation landscapes, and material culture studies. Since terrestrial excavations and surveys have been conducted by many different archaeologists from various organizations over the last three decades, the reader is referred to the cited excavation reports to learn about the research methodologies used in these studies. Last, a detailed analysis of the documentary record has provided a wealth of information concerning all aspects of St. Eustatius' history. Documentary information will be used throughout the entire dissertation. It includes newspapers, governmental documents, trade and shipping records, maps and artwork, photographs, traveler's accounts, ship logs, and probate inventories. These documents were found at various institutions across the world, including archives, libraries, and personal collections. They shed light on a variety of topics, ranging from large narratives such as the island's role in regional and global shipping networks to more individual observations such as the personal possessions of the elite merchant/planter class. While all of these research methods combined provide an ideal combination for studying the maritime cultural landscape, each method has its benefits and downsides. These need to be addressed to enable correct interpretation of results generated through their use.

3.1 Underwater archaeological research

3.1.1 Geophysical survey methods

As the relatively shallow submarine bank surrounding St. Eustatius covers over 30 km^2, investigating this large area with a SCUBA diving survey alone would take a long period of time and the costs involved would make a survey of this magnitude prohibitive. Therefore, it was decided to investigate a large area of the sea floor using geophysical techniques first. A significant advantage of geophysical surveying is the ability to collect large amounts of information quickly, often at some distance from a target. This allows search patterns to be much more widely spaced and undertaken at greater speeds than could ever be achieved by divers. Furthermore, restricted underwater visibility and strong currents are less of a problem for geophysical survey instruments and, in many instances, they can be deployed in sea conditions worse than those in which divers can safely operate. These techniques, however, do not substitute underwater diving research but are complementary to it. They are tools that can enhance the effectiveness of diver investigation and extend the range of environments in which underwater surveys can be undertaken. In addition, the results obtained from geophysical surveys provide a good overview on which the locations for more detailed surveys can be determined. Based on the results from the geophysical survey, certain targets were selected that were subjected to a SCUBA diving survey. The most commonly used geophysical methods for marine archaeological survey are acoustic systems. Two such systems, multibeam sonar and side scan sonar, were used in this investigation to study the underwater landscape and locate submerged archaeological remains.

An essential component of all investigations of submerged archaeological sites is the production of a detailed bathymetric (depth) chart using a multibeam echosounder. This device is used to acquire water depth information in a survey area, to determine least water depths over items such as wrecks, obstructions, and dangers to navigation, and to detect objects in general. Multibeam echosounders, like other sonar systems, emit sound waves in the shape of a fan from directly beneath a ship's hull. These systems measure and record the time it takes for the acoustic signal to travel from the transmitter to the sea floor and back to the receiver. In this way, multibeam sonars produce a "swath" of soundings (*i.e.* depths) for broad coverage of a survey area.[9] The coverage area on the sea floor depends on the depth of the water, and is typically two to four times the water depth. The result of a multibeam sonar survey is usually an underwater topographic map that can be used to study a submerged landscape. In 2006, the Dutch Royal Navy carried out a multibeam sonar survey of Statia's leeward side in order to update its bathymetric charts. The raw data generated during this survey, consisting of 35,142,633 points with XYZ values, was used by the Dutch Institute for Sea Research (NIOZ) to create an underwater topographic map or digital elevation model, presented in Appendix I. This map, covering a total area of 33 km^2, formed the foundation of the research strategy. It displays the sea floor on the island's leeward side up to 100 meters deep. Specific features, or targets, on the map were selected for further investigation, based on their location, appearance, and elevation. These will be discussed in Chapter 4.

9 https://www.nauticalcharts.noaa.gov/hsd/multibeam.html.

While a side scan sonar uses an acoustic pulse and swath similar to that of a multibeam echosounder, the results are markedly different. Instead of measuring water depth, a side scan sonar emits acoustic signals to the side of the survey track which propagate out across the sea floor.[10] As the acoustic beam travels outward from the instrument, the seabed and other obstructions reflect some of the incident sound energy back in the direction of the side scan sonar. The travel time of the acoustic pulses from the instrument are recorded together with the amplitude of the returned signal. This way, it is possible to visualize the composition of the sea floor and detect elevated features based on the intensity of the sound scattered back to the instrument. Material properties of the area being surveyed determine the strength of the echo from the sea floor. For example, gravel, rocks, and metals are better reflectors than fine-grained sediments and will therefore be recorded as darker elements in the image. As the acoustic signals travel at an angle from the instrument towed behind the survey vessel to both sides, elevated features produce acoustic shadows, which are arguably the most useful phenomenon for archaeology in side scan imagery. Acoustic shadows can provide more information on a feature than the intensity of reflected signals. At the right angle, they can produce a three-dimensional image of submerged features such as shipwrecks. The drawback of a side scan sonar is that it does not emit sound waves directly underneath the instrument, resulting in a dark band that corresponds to the water column along the survey track. The higher the instrument's elevation from the sea floor, the wider this dark band will be. By surveying overlapping transects, however, this problem can be overcome.

The resolution of the multibeam map is such that it provides only a general view of specific targets. In order to obtain more details and to detect small targets, a side scan sonar survey was conducted at various locations. The side scan sonar system used during this survey was a Starfish 452F, which at low survey speeds provides images of the sea floor to a depth of approximately 50 meters. The instrument was towed behind a boat on a 20-meter-long cable, which connected it to a laptop and GPS receiver on board. Data was collected as a waterfall image, which was later stitched using SonarTRX mosaicking software. The side scan survey resulted in very detailed images of several sites, eliminating the need for expensive and time-consuming mapping of sites while SCUBA diving. Furthermore, the side scan sonar survey facilitated a quick assessment of the composition of the sea floor, which is an important factor in determining the size of the historic anchorage as described in chapter 4.

3.1.2 SCUBA diving survey

Based on the results of the geophysical surveys, a SCUBA diving survey was conducted to assess all targets identified on the multibeam and side scan imagery. In addition, several areas expected to house archaeological remains based on historical data and fisherman's accounts were surveyed as well. A total of 97 dives were made between April 2014 and August 2015. While most dives were conducted by one buddy team, additional divers were added on some dives so as to maximize the area that could be visually surveyed. While surveying transects, divers were spaced between 10 and 20 meters apart, but always within sight of each other for safety reasons as well as to ensure

10 https://www.nauticalcharts.noaa.gov/hsd/SSS.html.

all areas of the sea floor between divers were visually surveyed. Depending on visibility, the width of a survey transect ranged between 40 and 60 meters. The length and direction of dives depended on various conditions, including depth, current, and obstacles such as anchored oil tankers. Most dives ranged between 45 and 80 minutes, with an average of approximately 60 minutes per dive. Dives were restricted to the recreational dive limit of 40 meters, beyond which short no-decompression limits make surveying impractical. To enable longer surveys on shallower dives, EANx32 and EANx40 gas mixtures were used to a maximum PO2 of 1.5 ata.

When archaeological remains were encountered, a Surface Marker Buoy (SMB) was inflated to the surface, enabling the captain of the research vessel to take the GPS coordinates of the SMB. Findings were then described, photographed, and drawn. Sites that contained multiple anchors at close proximity to each other were drawn completely by hand by setting up a tape measure serving as a baseline between two control points. By measuring the distances from certain points on the baseline to other points on the site using another tape measure at a right angle to the baseline, the other points were plotted relative to the baseline. This way it was possible to draw up a network of survey points joined by distance measurements. On land, the measurements were used to draw the site plans to scale on graph paper, which were subsequently digitized.

3.2 The documentary record

The documentary record is a valuable tool for archaeologists, as it often contains information that cannot be gleaned from archaeological data. However, the documentary record for a particular time period, area, community, or topic is hardly ever complete. Many documents have not been preserved or are unknown to the general public (such as documents in private collections). Historical documents, however valuable they can be, should be used with caution, as they are often notoriously unreliable, incomplete, and biased. This paragraph will explore the pros and cons of the documentary record, and will assess the value it has for and in combination with archaeological research. The many different types of historical documents that are used in the study of Statia's maritime cultural landscape will all be discussed here.

3.2.1 Maps, charts, and artwork

Some of the most useful and frequently used types of documents are maps, charts, and artwork. A picture says more than a thousand words, and this is certainly true for many historical graphic depictions. Maps can contain a wealth of information on settlement patterns, the extent of settlements, a settlement's development, the locations of certain buildings, the names of buildings and their owners, the locations of roads and paths, the locations of anchorages, the use of the landscape, geographical features, etc. Over twenty historic maps of St. Eustatius are known to exist, dating from 1741 to 1915. While several of these are reproduced in Renkema's *Kaarten van de Nederlandse Antillen: Curaçao, Aruba, Bonaire, Saba, Sint Eustatius en Sint Maarten tot 1900* (2016), extensive research into digitized archives and collections by the author over the past eight years has located many more. The study of these forms the foundation for the study of many aspects of Statia's maritime cultural landscape, such as the

cognitive component. Given the importance of the maritime world to St. Eustatius, it is interesting to note that most maps of the island provide limited nautical information such as the location of anchorages, water depths, and navigational hazards. Nearly all maps, however, provide information about plantations. This suggests that most maps of the island were not made specifically for sailors.

Artwork such as drawings, engravings, and paintings can provide similar information as maps, but often also depict the shapes of buildings, people, clothes, artifacts, interiors, markets, activities, street views, etc. These sources can be an enormous help in reconstructing the past. Due to Statia's importance in the eighteenth-century Atlantic World trade network, the island became the subject of much artwork through time. Many of these depict the island from the sea, as might be expected given the large numbers of visiting sailors who called at Statia each year. Drawings and sketches of a variety of Statian scenes, however, are found in archives and private collections all over the world.

One should take into account a number of factors when using these types of documents. Maps might not be completely accurate or can emphasize certain elements while neglecting others, depending on the purpose of the map, the intended audience, and the bias and skill/accuracy of the cartographer or compiler. Maps can vary greatly in their accuracy. This is clearly visible in the cartographic record for St. Eustatius; the most geographically accurate historic map dates to 1915, while those of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are often drawn to incorrect proportions. It is also evident that some maps of St. Eustatius are reproductions of older maps and may therefore not be an accurate depiction of the situation at the time the map was reproduced. Artwork might also be heavily biased depending on the artist, and is often not completely accurate. A large number of images were, for example, made by people who never visited the places they depicted. This is the case with several well-known engravings of historic St. Eustatius, such as the image on the cover of this work by Bendorp. It is therefore of paramount importance that the researcher using an image is acquainted with its origins. To complicate matters even further, images can be idealized and can be made from a political point of view, and buildings are often stylized versions of their actual appearance while some structures that are depicted may have never existed at all.

3.2.2 Photographs

Early photographs form another category of 'documents' that can be helpful in reconstructing the past. The first photo ever taken dates to 1826, but it was not until the last quarter of the nineteenth century that photography became widespread. Photographs can be relevant to a later period of study, but can sometimes also be used to extrapolate a situation further back in time, particularly when things are depicted that are not prone to changing quickly such as certain rituals or celebrations. A photograph never lies, but it should be kept in mind that photographic scenes are often set up and might not depict the daily activities of people, the clothes they normally wore, etc. Moreover, photographs do not necessarily depict an entire scene, but sometimes just a small part of an environment or a specific event. This can substantially influence the ideas they are conveying. Many late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century photographs depicting St. Eustatius are in existence, mostly found in private collections and in archives of various Dutch institutes. They depict a multitude of scenes and environments. As Statia's

economic, social, and cultural development was very slow around this time, many photographs give the viewer a sense of how life must have been up to several decades before they were taken.

3.2.3 Wills, deeds, and probate inventories

The category of historical documents that provides one of the most detailed insights into past peoples' lives are wills, deeds, and probate inventories. A probate inventory is a list of all the property of a person. It was made for people that had just passed away or were heavily in debt. A probate inventory ensured that all property to be inherited or to be distributed amongst creditors was accounted for. This type of document contains a lot of information about a person's life. It can show if a person was rich, had a large house, what lifestyle he/she had, what hobbies he/she had, what religion and profession he/she practiced, if he/she owned enslaved laborers, cattle, and land, how he/she valued his/her possessions, etc. Furthermore, it also shows the (estimated) value of all possessions listed. Probate inventories that will be discussed in this study include those of two of the wealthiest Statian merchants, Johannes de Graaff and Herman Gossling. Both are held at the National Archives in The Hague and provide a detailed look at these men's possessions and the things they valued in life. For example, the 84-page inventory of De Graaff includes a list of all the books he owned, while both men's inventories contain a list of all enslaved people in their possession, including their names, sex, and frequently also their profession. These types of documentary data cannot be gleaned from the archaeological record and are therefore extremely useful in reconstructing the lives of those whose inventories are left behind. Compared with evidence from archaeological excavations, a probate inventory may be used to measure the completeness of the archaeological record.

Different to a probate inventory, a will is a legal document that determines who gets a person's property when he/she dies, while a deed is a legal document that deals with a legal transfer, usually of property. Wills and deeds contain information about family relations, differences in the lives and needs of men and women, the organization of households and communities, and who or what the person who composed the will or deed valued.

These documents, despite appearing relatively straightforward in their composition and use, should be used with some caution. Probate inventories, wills, and deeds can be biased towards wealthy old men. As such, these documents usually give information about upper class males, and can often not be extrapolated when studying topics related to women, young people, or individuals belonging to lower classes of society. Another complicating factor in the reliability of these documents are the people who composed them. These appraisers had considerable bearing on the final form of these documents, and the identity of the appraisers and the means employed to compile the inventories could have influenced their composition. For example, an inventory usually omitted clothing or items that had no market value such as fruits and vegetables. Sometimes not every individual item was listed, but lumped together and described as a group of objects, such as Gossling's 'fifteen paintings.'

The Dutch National Archives in The Hague contains many wills, deeds, and probate inventories for St. Eustatius. This collection is heavily biased in that it represents almost exclusively Statia's middle and upper class citizens. It does not, however, only

depict men: just over one third of all documents are related to women. Some of these describe the enormous wealth that Statian elites possessed, which is used to reconstruct the power component. By carefully analyzing and comparing these documents, it is possible to discover trends, similarities, and differences between members of the Statian elite.

3.2.4 Traveler's accounts and ship logs

Of particular interest to the study of the maritime cultural landscape are traveler's accounts and ship logs. These can provide very detailed views on a situation in a particular place at a specific time. Being outsiders, travelers can have a more objective look on another society and can notice certain things that others might not even think about and experience as normal. These accounts can, however, be heavily biased depending on the author's ideas, values, customs, and political views. As a result, they might not always describe the situation as it actually was. Many people from all over the Atlantic World visited St. Eustatius during its apogee, including merchants, sailors, captains, soldiers, pirates and privateers, enslaved Africans, clergymen, and travelers. Their accounts describing the island and its community are preserved in the documentary record. Of particular interest is the diachronic perspective that can be gleaned from all these accounts combined, as they span from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth century. As most visitors commented on similar topics, the study and comparison of these accounts among each other and with other types of data enables one to circumvent the pitfalls outlined above and gather a wealth of information about all aspects of Statian society. Lacunae, errors, and bias in accounts can often be discerned based on other sources of archival data.

Ship logs contain very detailed accounts of day-to-day activities on and around a ship, but also on the place where they were anchored. A ship log is usually composed by one or a few persons, and can therefore be biased. Most ship logs, however, contain very descriptive information in a structured way. Based on several studies ranging from climate to vocabulary, Wheeler argues that eighteenth-century ship's logbooks are a reliable source of information (Wheeler 2004:23). Anchoring depth, weather conditions, activities on the ship, trading activities, repairs, misbehavior, deaths and disease, and activities on other ships are some of the types of information held in these documents. Ship logs from Dutch warships and Dutch slavers contained in the National Archives in The Hague and the Zeeland Archives will be used to reconstruct daily life on board ships on Statia's road, safety on the road, and the location and size of the historic anchorage. Most of these date to the second half of the eighteenth century, the time at which the island's economy flourished.

3.2.5 Newspapers

Historic newspapers are a unique type of documentary source, containing information on a multitude of subjects. They were outlets for commentary and opinion on political, economic, and social issues. Furthermore, they often contained advertisements which can be helpful in dating artifacts, especially ceramics. Newspapers can provide the archaeologist with a glimpse into the worlds of trade and exchange, ideas, values, customs, political views, events, and local and international affairs. The people who voiced their opinions in newspapers were usually, however, middle- and upper class males

(Beaudry 1993:189). Newspapers should thus not be viewed as representative of the lives of an entire community. In some places, such as the Caribbean plantation islands, they are mostly only relevant to a small segment of society. When enslaved people appear in newspapers, it is often in sales- or runaway advertisements. Another thing that should be kept in mind when studying colonial newspapers is the fact that most were published in urban centers. Although they are a tremendous help in studying urban societies, one should be careful in extrapolating the information from newspapers onto rural communities. In this study, newspapers will, among other things, be used in the study of shipwrecks. After every major hurricane, newspapers in Europe and North America published accounts on these disasters. These accounts are usually very brief and to the point, and came from sources on the islands directly or through word of mouth.

3.2.6 Public records

The final group of historical documents used in the present study includes public records such as census data, church records, tax records, criminal records, laws, etc. These contain information on large groups of people in a community. They can list the names of inhabitants, where they came from, their age, when they were born and died, when they married, their occupations, how involved they were in the community, how much tax they paid, how well they behaved, etc. They can also give insights into the bigger picture, such as demographic information of a community, dominant religions, and the ratio of locals to immigrants. A problem with these documents is that they only contain information on people who were actually legally living in a particular place – who were known to the authorities. Furthermore, they hardly ever provide information about the relative powerless part of society such as the poor and the enslaved, and are often not complete for the full period of occupation of a settlement or island. For example, population numbers on Caribbean islands are usually known for a select number of years. Researchers frequently extrapolate these to estimate population numbers for the years for which there is no information presented in census records. This can be a misleading exercise, and should be corroborated by other evidence such as urban development and the volume of imports/exports. Even population numbers in historical records can be estimates, which makes estimating population numbers for years for which there is no census information available even more unreliable.

The exact same situation applies to St. Eustatius. Population numbers found in records in the Dutch National Archives are available for only a select number of years. For many years, particularly during the first decades of settlement, there exists no data. A large number of laws and proclamations spanning the entire colonial period do survive. These deal with everyday topics such as the price of certain types of food, the conduct of enslaved laborers, taxes, curfews, and roaming cattle. They will be used to elucidate everyday life on St. Eustatius and address topics that have mostly been neglected by previous researchers. Information contained in laws and proclamations often complements traveler's accounts. By combining these two sources, a reliable and highly detailed reconstruction of daily life can be made.

4

Economic Components

Economic components contain features that made Caribbean colonies desirable to the mother countries. Making a quick fortune was the main goal for most free people on St. Eustatius, and even enslaved people as will be shown in this chapter. While there is no denying that Statia's economy was global, the people living there had to make money in local ways. Very little academic discussion has gone into the topic of how this global economy was practiced and lived by the people on St. Eustatius, and how it shaped the island itself. A multidisciplinary maritime cultural landscape approach is well suited to answer these questions. To increase the wealth of the colony and the individuals living in it, a complex network of transportation routes and commercial buildings was created that facilitated the import and export of goods. When trade increased to levels beyond everyone's imagination, practical problems arose that needed to be dealt with in order to sustain and improve the island's economic success. As the numbers of ships calling at St. Eustatius grew exponentially, the size of the roadstead and the number of warehouses increased, causing the transportation of goods and people to become more complex. In addition, to ensure the insular population could survive and was able to attract outsiders, various ways of acquiring food and water were employed. Economic components are divided into three distinct but highly interconnected aspects: the commercial component, the transport and communication component, and the resource component. Without a well-developed transport and communication component and resource component, there would have been no commerce. On the other hand, the fact that the resource component developed the way it did was largely a result of the increasing commercial activities on the island. By combining documentary data with archaeological evidence gathered by the author over the past four years, several key elements of economic components that proved instrumental to the island's success story will be examined.

4.1 The commercial component

Historically, St. Eustatius is best known for its role in the Caribbean and Atlantic World trade networks during the eighteenth century. It was during this time that the island attracted people from all over the world to engage in the lively commerce at this free port. These activities have left behind a wealth of archaeological and documentary evidence which is used to reconstruct the Statian commercial component. While mainly focused on the historic port district of Lower Town, the commercial component also includes the plantations in the countryside.

4.1.1 Lower Town

During the second half of the eighteenth century, St. Eustatius became known as the Golden Rock of the Caribbean, with Lower Town as its beating heart. This one-and-a-half-kilometer-long stretch of land on the island's leeward coast became one of the most important and busiest trading centers in the eighteenth-century Atlantic World, where millions of products were bought and sold each year at auctions held in the many warehouses at Oranje and Gallows Bay's shores. After the establishment of St. Eustatius as a free port in 1756, Lower Town quickly expanded its role as the focal point for the island's international trade. The origins of Lower Town, however, can be traced back to the preceding century. In historical records mention is made of a warehouse to store tobacco as early as 1639, and by 1658, there were several well-stocked warehouses on the island (Attema 1976:18). In his work *Histoire naturelle et morale des îles Antilles de l'Amérique*, published in 1658, French Protestant pastor Charles de Rochefort wrote that on the island "there are also storehouses so well furnish'd with all things requisite to life." Although no location of the warehouses can be derived from the documents, it is likely that these were located in Lower Town as their proximity to the sea facilitated relatively quick and easy loading and offloading of goods.

While the various military installations on the island will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, it is important to mention Fort Amsterdam's role in the economic development of Lower Town. Built in 1687 at Oranje Bay's northern end, Fort Amsterdam, or the Waterfort as it is sometimes referred to, was initially used as a work of defense. Due to several changes of flag on the island, it was neglected and quickly fell into disrepair, until Commander Johan Lindesay turned it into a slave depot in 1724. St. Eustatius provided the French, Spanish and English West Indian islands with enslaved people as early as 1675. By the 1720s, the Dutch shipped 2,000 to 3,000 enslaved people per year to Statia, almost all in transit (Postma 1990:225,320-348). Slave ships brought their cargo to Statia to be auctioned to buyers from surrounding islands. Fort Amsterdam became the location of slave auctions and served to store enslaved people. When the fort acquired its new function in 1724, its main building was only one story tall. Two years later it was expanded to two stories to accommodate additional enslaved people. A total of 450 enslaved Africans could be housed in a building no larger than 17 by 6.5 meters (Attema 1976:29). The Waterfort played an important role in the economic development of Lower Town, where merchants, planters, and sailors all gathered to buy and sell hundreds, sometimes even thousands of enslaved people per year.

People from all over the Atlantic World came to St. Eustatius to engage in trading activities. International weights standards were not yet established in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As people from different countries used different weight measurements, a weighing house was needed where goods were weighed according to the same standards. It is not known when the first weighing house was built on the island, but it must have been before 1738. In this year, a new weighing house was scheduled to be built, but it is unclear if this plan ever came to fruition. Commander Johan Heyliger commented in 1743 that the weighing house's woodwork was rotten and the walls were crumbling (Attema 1976:36). Some repairs were made to the building soon after. In 1771, the WIC was informed that a new weighing house was

Figure 4.1 View of St. Eustatius from the northwest as it appeared in 1774. The large building in Upper Town is the residence of Jan de Windt. To the left of the church tower is the town hall. The first building (with the blue roof) at the front of Lower Town is the weighing-house. The building behind the weighing-house is the headquarters of the Dutch West India Company. The topographical details of this image and Figure 4.2 clearly indicate that their maker was on the island and spent an extended period of time at these vantage points. They are two of the most accurate historic representations of the island known to exist. Watercolor by Emants, after a drawing by A. Nelson. Source: SECAR collection.

Figure 4.2 View of St. Eustatius from the southeast as it appeared in 1774. The house left of the church tower, with the flag, is the Governor's house. Fort Oranje is located between this house and the church tower. Saba can be seen in the background on the left. Most ships are flying the Dutch tricolour, but there are also English flags (the St. George's Cross) to be seen on the ships. Watercolor by Emants, after a drawing by A. Nelson. Source: SECAR Collection.

needed because of the small size, unfortunate location, and poor state of the present one. Permission to construct a new weighing house on the sea side of the road was soon received (Attema 1976:36). This weighing house, made of imported yellow Dutch bricks and still standing after 240 years, has recently been restored. It is now in a good state of preservation and houses a dive center. The wall on the side of the

road contains a basalt stone with a very rare GWC inscription of the Dutch West India Company.[11]

Lower Town started to become a trade locus towards the end of the first half of the eighteenth century. Various mid-eighteenth-century maps and drawings show several structures along the shores of Oranje and Gallows Bay. It was not until the second half of the eighteenth century, however, that Lower Town started to grow significantly. When import duties were abolished and St. Eustatius became a free port in 1756, an increase in trade and building activities resulted in the construction of a one-and-a-half-kilometer-long strip of hundreds of buildings including two-story warehouses, merchant homes, shops, trade offices, brothels, and taverns along the bay (Hartog 1976:38). These were made of red and yellow bricks imported from Europe, Bermuda limestone, and local volcanic rock. According to Marten Douwes Teenstra, an early nineteenth-century visitor to the island, the buildings in Lower Town were spacious and located close to each other. They were laid out in a double row but placed very irregularly, thereby forming narrow alleys between them (Teenstra 1837:326).

By the 1770s, Lower Town was completely built up and rent on the warehouses totaled an enormous 1.2 million pounds per year. An account from Scottish Lady Janet Schaw, dating to 1775, shows Lower Town to have been a continuous market displaying goods of different types and qualities sold by people from all over the world:

> "Never did I meet with such variety; here was a merchant vending his goods in Dutch, another in French, a third in Spanish, etc. etc. They all wear the habit of their country, and the diversity is really amusing. […] From one end of the town of Eustatia to the other is a continuous market, where goods of the most different uses and qualities are displayed before the shop doors. Here hang rich embroideries, painted silks, flowered Muslins, with all the Manufactures of the Indies. Just by hang Sailor's Jackets, trousers, shoes, hats, etc. The next stall contains the most exquisite silver plate, the most beautiful indeed I ever saw, and close by these iron pots, kettles and shovels. Perhaps the next presents you with French and English Millinary wares. But it were endless to enumerate the variety of merchandise in such a place, for in every store you find every thing, be their qualities ever so opposite." (Schaw 1921:137)

Schaw called the island "a place of vast traffick from every quarter of the globe." After 1760, the number of vessels arriving on Statia ranged between 1,800 and 2,700, reaching a maximum of 3,551 ships in 1779 (Gilmore 2013:44). Ships came from Europe, Africa, North and South America, and other Caribbean islands. Eyewitness accounts indicate that there were frequently well over 100 ships at anchor on Statia's roadstead (De Jong 1807:96; Enthoven 2012:241). Approximately 20,000 merchants, enslaved laborers, sailors and plantation owners were crowded on this small island in its heyday (Gilmore 2004:54).[12] In the 1770s, imports exceeded the capacity of the island's warehouses and sugar and cotton, destined for Europe, were piled up high in

11 GWC is the acronym for *Geoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie*, or Chartered West India Company.

12 A large proportion of these were visitors and temporary residents. The island's population reached its peak in 1790, when there were 8,476 permanent residents (Gilmore 2004:54).

Figure 4.3 Polychrome Dutch delftware plate dating to 1730-1740. Eight of these plates, all with the same decoration, were found on top of each other in a ditch on the southwestern side of the slave quarters at Schotsenhoek plantation. The photo shows different plate fragments overlaid. Photo by the author.

the open air. This was the time at which St. Eustatius reached its greatest prosperity and earned its nickname the 'Golden Rock.'

Luxury goods sold on the island as described by Schaw were not only consumed by members of the upper classes. Due to the favorable economic climate, enslaved had access to these goods as well. While the documentary record contains hints of the social and economic positions of the enslaved, the archaeological record contains numerous examples of how the wealth that slaves amassed was experienced and exercised in specific situations. In an excavation of a slave quarters at Schotsenhoek plantation, described in more detail in Chapter 5, the author found many luxury items such as shoe buckles, folding knives, and wine glasses (Stelten 2015b). The ceramic assemblage at this settlement indicated that slaves were mainly using expensive refined earthenwares and only very few cheap Afro-Caribbean wares. With the exception of porcelain, which was found in low quantities in the excavation, enslaved laborers were using more or less the same types of ceramics as their masters. They even used entire sets of high-quality earthenwares (Figure 4.3). This is quite remarkable. In his study on Brazilian sugar plantations, Symanski noted that while enslaved people received refined earthenwares from their masters, they received only the cheapest – outdated and undecorated – pieces (Symanski 2012:132). Singleton's observations at the slave quarters at El Padre coffee plantation on Cuba are similar, where less expensive undecorated or minimally deco-

rated wares occur in higher quantities than the more expensive, decorated wares (Singleton 2001:109).

Enslaved laborers on St. Eustatius were in this favorable position because they were often granted a large amount of freedom to conduct business on their own, and were therefore not entirely dependent on their masters to provide them with everyday objects. For example, because enslaved laborers were charging increasingly high fees for transporting people and goods to and from ships in canoes, a law was issued in 1803 that set a maximum amount that could be charged for these services (Schiltkamp & Smidt 1979:408). Another example is the story of the famous Olaudah Equiano, an enslaved laborer who made his first money by trading between Montserrat and St. Eustatius while working on his master's ship.[13] Upon his first arrival on St. Eustatius, he owned a half bit, with which he bought a glass tumbler. When he got back to Montserrat, he sold it for one bit. He made several more voyages between Statia and Montserrat, each time buying tumblers on Statia and selling them with a profit on Montserrat (Equiano 1794:155). After a few years of sailing and trading in different places, he made so much profit that he was able to buy his own freedom.

It should be noted that not everyone wanting to make a fortune on St. Eustatius succeeded. For example, American Captain John Stevens sailed to St. Eustatius in 1785, where he obtained a warehouse and became co-owner of the vessel *Favourite*. The *Favourite* was used for inter-island trading, mostly between St. Eustatius and St. Kitts. Business seemed to be going well, until he was placed under arrest in late 1786 for debts he contracted during his stay on the island. He passed away in a Statian prison in March of the next year (Skemp 2009:153).

Zimmerman l'Ainé, a temporary resident of St. Eustatius, wrote a letter to a friend of his in the Netherlands in 1792 which provides a vivid description of life on the island (NA 3.01.26 – 161). Among other things that will be discussed later, Zimmerman remarked on the languages used on the island, and noted that everyone in all classes of society spoke English. Despite the fact that people from all around the world were conducting business on the island, English was the main language that nearly everyone used. A small group of elites continued to use the Dutch language, and Dutch was also used in government papers. As contacts with British colonies in the Caribbean and North America intensified, the Dutch language moved to the background. In the early nineteenth century, there were only a few Statian residents who could express themselves properly in Dutch, the Governor not included (Hartog 1976:29).

Gallows Bay, at Lower Town's southern end was, as the name suggests, the place where criminals were hanged. It was likely also the location of a shipbuilding yard. That there was a shipyard on Statia capable of repairing and outfitting vessels of moderate size cannot be doubted, for the outfitting of privateers on the island was one of the principal charges made by the British in their note to the States General in connection with the salute to the *Andrew Doria* (De Graaff 1779:17).[14] This was probably done in Gallows Bay, as here the Lower Town road comes to an end and this area used to house a sloping beach ideal for hauling up ships. In 1961, an American man named Phillip

13 Equiano's autobiography, published in 1789, was highly influential in gaining passage of the Slave Trade Act of 1807, which abolished the African slave trade.

14 The salute to the *Andrew Doria* will be described in more detail in Paragraph 7.4.4.

Melville visited Statia and, in a letter to one of the island's residents five years later, he described what he thought to be a dry dock that was part of a small shipyard (Letter from Phillips Melville to I. Rosema, dated 26 September 1966). Located on the water's edge in Gallows Bay, the U-shaped structure was 6.1 meters across and could be used for small to medium-sized vessels. No remains of this structure are still visible today.

4.1.1.1 Archaeological research in Lower Town

When archaeologists from the College of William and Mary first visited St. Eustatius in 1979, they were amazed by the richness and density of the island's archaeological remains. They conducted many excavations and surveys during the following two decades, including the first archaeological research in Lower Town, one of the richest archaeological areas on the island (Barka 1985). The researchers quickly realized that the area and its archaeological remains had been affected tremendously over the years by three natural processes. The first is the erosion of the cliffs below which the town was built. Heavy rainfall during hurricane season saturates the cliff, which frequently causes parts to slide down and bury the remaining ruins. Close to the cliffs, nearly all ruins are buried and overall these are in a very good state of preservation. On the cliff side of the road, archaeological remains can be buried by a layer of eroded material up to six meters thick. According to one traveler visiting the island in 1788, the cliff was so undercut in several places, that it was hanging over the houses and waiting to fall down on them (Dieterich 1798:270). The second natural process is destruction caused by strong swells and winds during hurricane season. Swells crash into the shoreline and over time aid in the disintegration of historical ruins. On the sea side of Lower Town, many ruins are exposed. Damage to these is visible after nearly every strong swell. Flora and fauna form the last natural process that destroys Lower Town's ruins. Trees, vines, and other plants growing into historic buildings break their walls apart. In some cases, the roots of large silk cotton trees (*Ceiba pentandra*) are pushing entire walls out of place. Roaming cattle and goats climb the battered structures and thereby increase their rate of decline.

Archaeological research in Lower Town over the past 34 years has provided new insights into the nature of past activities carried out at this important stretch of land. Archaeologists from the College of William and Mary carried out the first excavations in Lower Town between 1981 and 1984 (Barka 1985). A plan drawing of the entire area was made and each site was assigned a number. In addition, several test units were excavated in order to gain a better understanding of the area's stratigraphy, the state of preservation of various structures and deposits, and the functions of particular structures. It was found that stratigraphy was very complex throughout the area. The majority of artifacts found in Lower Town have eroded from deposits in Upper Town, and date predominantly to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Many structural features were found in test units on the cliff side immediately north of the Bay Path which connects Upper and Lower Town, including stone walls and various types of pavements (Barka 1985:31). These were in a much better state of preservation than the seaside ruins. A test unit on a sea side structure, however, yielded good evidence of intact stratigraphy and a yellow brick floor. Below the floor, various early eighteenth-century artifacts were found, indicating that in at least some instances the destruction of archaeological deposits by wave action is not as extensive as might be ex-

Figure 4.4 Locations of archaeological sites mentioned in the text. The red line marks the location of the Eutel trench excavated in 2011; 1. Possible slaughterhouse; 2. Unidentified storage or production vat; 3. Ceramic production site excavated in 2006; 4. Warehouse excavated in 2008; 5. Almost completely intact warehouse excavated in 2013; 6. Oven or rum distillery excavated in May 2013; 7. Oven or rum distillery excavated in March 2013.

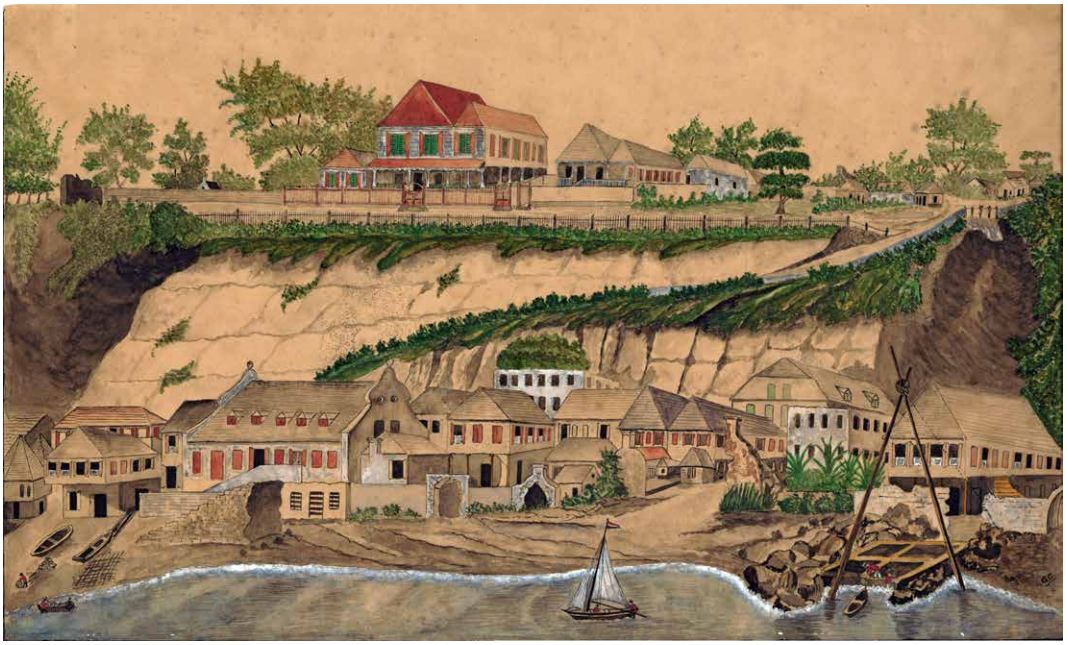

Figure 4.5 Watercolor of Lower Town made by Samuel Fahlberg in 1829 from a boat about 500 meters from shore. The large building with the Dutch gables on the bottom left was investigated in 2008. To the left of this building, behind the canoes, is the weighing-house. Source: Rotterdam Maritime Museum, inv. nr. P2192.

pected. Soil layers above the floor, however, indicated that the upper part of the site was disturbed by natural processes. This was further evidenced by a mixture of eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century artifacts found in the deposits (Barka 1985:37).

From several excavations carried out by the author over the past five years, it has become clear that a wider range of activities were carried out in Lower Town than previously thought. Archaeological research has uncovered evidence of several activities not directly associated with the trade that was such a prominent characteristic of Lower Town in the eighteenth century. In 2011, the island's telecommunications company Eutel excavated a 450-meter-long trench along the northern part of the Lower Town road, from the Bay Path to Smoke Alley where the road turns uphill towards Upper Town. Even though the trench was less than one meter wide, a total of 37 structural features were recorded during this campaign, including many walls, foundations, floors, and steps. Many of these were undoubtedly part of the warehouses that dotted the island's leeward coastline in the late eighteenth century, but due to the limited area that was excavated, it was not possible to link any features to specific buildings known from historical sources. The excavation uncovered features made of a large variety of building materials, similar to the exposed ruins found on the other side of the Lower Town road (Stelten 2015a).

Of particular interest was an area in the northernmost part of the trench where several large basalt steps were linked to a drainage system consisting of at least two plastered drains running perpendicular to each other. Associated with these features was a large concentration of cow bones recovered from an undisturbed archaeological layer. These finds combined may indicate the presence of a slaughterhouse at this lo-

cation, whereby the drains were used to channel the slaughtered animals' blood to the sea (Stelten 2015a:241). The location of this feature in Lower Town suggests that the meat processed here was used to supply ships at anchor. At the southernmost part of the excavation, immediately north of the Bay Path, a feature fairly similar to a cistern was found. It is not, however, interpreted as one. Despite its plastered walls on the inside, the structure's square shape and size do not correspond with other cisterns in Lower Town. The structure lacks any signs of a vaulted roof similar to those found on cisterns. Furthermore, an expansion of the trench around this feature uncovered an intact yellow brick floor, indicating that people walked around the structure, thus pointing to industrial use. The structure is therefore interpreted as a vat that was used in the production and/or storage of an as yet undetermined liquid (Stelten 2015a:241).

In 1907, Frederick A. Fenger sailed from Grenada to St. Thomas in a 5.2 meter long canoe, stopping on many islands along the way. He wrote a book about his adventure, *Alone in the Caribbean*, in which he describes the visit he paid to Statia during his trip. Fenger remarks that he saw an indigo tank at Gallows Bay on a walk through Lower Town (Fenger 1917:306). The location of this tank is unknown; it is likely buried underneath the eroded material from the cliffs. It may be that more of these tanks were present in the area, and that the tank in question was used to store indigo.

In March 2013, over 150 meters of eroded material from the cliff was excavated at Lower Town's northern end for the construction of a new parking area. The two-day excavation was monitored by the author, who recorded an historic cistern, two historic walls with associated yellow brick floor, a single historic wall, and an oven-like structure that was used as an oven or possibly as a rum distillery (Stelten 2015a:241). The latter was found in a vertical cliff face, making it impossible to excavate the structure completely without compromising the integrity of the cliff. It is made of cut basalt stones and some yellow bricks. The front part is in a very good state of preservation. The structure is 247 centimeters wide, with a 43-centimeter-wide and 83-centimeter-deep stokehole. If this structure was indeed a rum distillery, the molasses vat on top was destroyed as far as the structure could be uncovered. An approximately 8-centimeter-thick intact archaeological layer consisting of ash and charcoal, undoubtedly from the stokehole, was found in front of the distillery. Underneath this layer, a compact, natural layer marked the original walking surface. Artifacts found in the eroded material covering the structure included many late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century case gin and wine bottles and several different types of ceramics that had eroded from the top of the cliff.

After a heavy rain storm, another oven or rum distillery was found in May 2013 by the author in Lower Town's southern part (Stelten 2015a:242). Protruding through the cliff face behind the diesel generators that power the island, it posed the same excavation problems as the structure described above. The front part of the structure is 197 centimeters wide, with a 41-centimeter-wide and 52-centimeter-deep stokehole. It is made of cut basalt stones and some yellow bricks. The lower part of this structure was partly destroyed, but part of the possible molasses vat on top is very well preserved. The vat is made of yellow bricks and contains a bottom made of red tiles. As the area in front of the distillery has been bulldozed frequently to keep the diesel generator buildings clear of eroded materials from the cliffs, no intact archaeological layers were present in front of the structure. No artifacts were found during excavation and cleaning.

Several warehouses have been investigated in recent years as well. In 2008, SECAR conducted an excavation in the warehouse next to the weighing house, which is now restored and houses a small gift shop (Labiau 2008). Figure 4.5 depicts the building on the lower left side, recognizable by its Dutch gables. It was built in one phase in

Figure 4.6 The oven or rum distillery found in May 2013. Scale: 1 meter. Photo by the author.

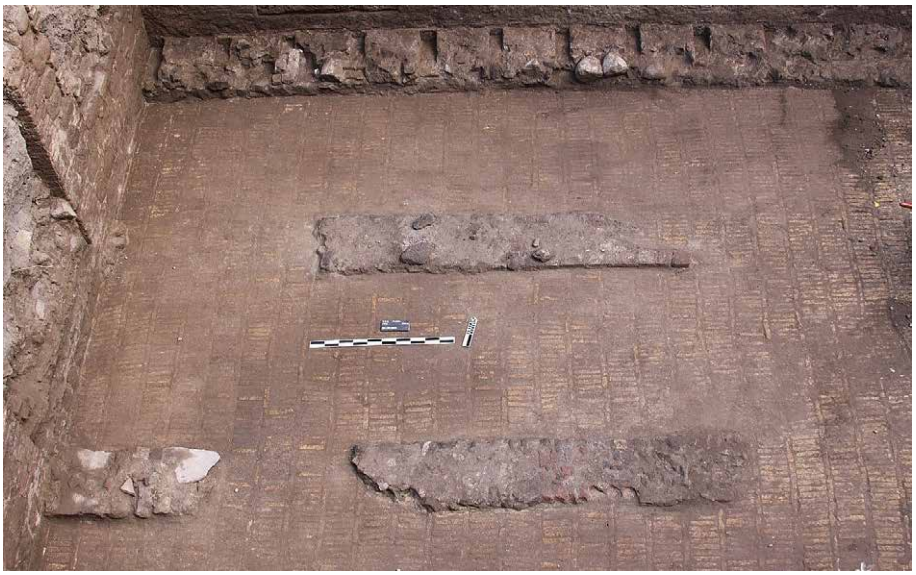

Figure 4.7 The basalt stone foundation piers on top of the nearly intact yellow brick floor from a completely excavated warehouse in 2013. The top of the image shows the slots for the floor joists. Scale: 1 meter. Photo by Pieter Soffers.

the 1730s, as evidenced by the English bond masonry present in the entire building. It was most likely constructed on top of the remains of a previous structure of which parts of a yellow brick floor survive. Although its exact function was not discovered, the research showed that the building was remodeled frequently throughout its existence: new floors were put in, interior walls were demolished, a firepit was made inside the building in the late eighteenth century, and in the latter half of the nineteenth century the Dutch gables were replaced by a new roof (Labiau 2008:48). Frequent changes of power, ownership, and economic climate, combined with a high-energy environment whereby structures were constantly affected by the sea, wind, and the ever-eroding cliffs, is reflected in the changes this building underwent throughout the years, indicating that internal and external, physical and non-physical developments all impacted the working and living spaces of the people in Lower Town and eventually their material reflection in the archaeological record.

Further evidence of the remodeling of a warehouse in Lower Town was found in 2013, when the author excavated several test trenches prior to the proposed construction of a hotel (Soffers et al. 2013). In one of the test trenches, a nearly intact structure was discovered and excavated completely. Located just north of Blue Bead restaurant, the two-story structure measures approximately 15 meters long, 6 meters wide, and 6 meters high. The structure is oriented roughly east-west, and is composed of thick walls made of cut basalt stones, doorways lined with red and yellow bricks, and an almost completely intact yellow brick floor. Much of the plaster, particularly on the walls of the first floor, is still present. The floor was completely covered by an approximately 25-centimeter-thick layer of clay, most likely the result of a flooding event which occurred during a tropical storm or hurricane. In a later construction phase, four low foundation piers made of volcanic rock were erected on top of the yellow brick floor at the entrance of the building on its western side. These supported a wooden floor as evidenced by the presence of several slots in the outer two foundation piers that used to hold the floor joists. Frequent flooding events caused the owner of the building to construct an elevated wooden platform over the yellow brick floor to keep goods that were stored inside dry.

Another warehouse, in the center of Lower Town close to shore, was excavated by SECAR in 2006 prior to proposed development (Miller 2008). The entire warehouse was excavated down to its floor piers at 50 centimeters below the present ground surface. Originally, the warehouse contained a raised wooden floor. Ceramics found in the excavation consisted predominantly of late eighteenth-century creamware and pearlware, corresponding to Lower Town's apogee. In the structure's southwestern corner, a 1 x 2 meter unit was excavated to subsoil. In this unit, a midden was discovered which contained over 4,000 ceramic sherds, of which nearly 3,500 were unglazed coarse red earthenwares. The vast majority of these belonged to sugar molds or molasses drip jars used in the sugar production process. Additionally, the midden contained over 200 pieces of slag, indicating that firing at high temperatures took place at the site. This was corroborated by contemporaneous ash layers in a pit found in an excavation unit outside of the warehouse. The presence of white salt-glazed ceramics, combined with the absence of creamware or later ceramics in the midden and the ash layers suggest that the midden was in use from the 1720s to no later than 1762. The midden was most likely buried to help solidify the foundation of the warehouse on top, which, as

the ceramic assemblage shows, post-dates the midden (Miller 2008:16). On the basis of this evidence, the excavation most likely unearthed the remains of a ceramic production site. The ash pit was part of a kiln or at least associated with one.

The southernmost structure of Lower Town, in Gallows Bay, is a building called Crook's Castle. In late eighteenth-century drawings, the building is depicted with one, two and three turrets, giving it the appearance of a work of defense. It is located at the place where criminals where hanged, hence its name. Archaeologists from the College of William and Mary carried out a small test excavation at the site in 1981. Unglazed red earthenwares were encountered in notably high quantity (Barka 1985:45). These were most likely similar to those found in the 2006 excavation mentioned above, as Crook's Castle is indicated as a sugar refinery on the cover engraving dating to 1780. This shows that not just ceramic manufacture for the sugar industry, but also the processing of sugar was carried out in eighteenth-century Lower Town, providing a direct commercial link to the plantations in the countryside.

4.1.2 Plantations

When the Dutch settled St. Eustatius in 1636, they set up plantations producing tobacco, sugar, cotton, and indigo, which was exported to European markets.[15] After only a few decades, most of the island was under cultivation, and sugar came to dominate local agricultural production resulting from a growing demand in Europe. Various eighteenth-century maps show that nearly the entire island – with the exception of the town and the steepest parts – was under cultivation, with dozens of plantations dotting the Statian landscape (NA 4.MIKO 3.A.2.5.1. – 339; NA 4.AANW – 95). These, however, never became such lucrative ventures as their counterparts in other colonies such as Barbados and Jamaica. The relatively small size and low elevation of the island inhibited the condensation of rain clouds on the Quill. This reduced the quantity of rainfall, restricting the quality and quantity of tobacco, sugar cane and other agricultural products that were produced locally (Gilmore 2004:48). Plantations on St. Eustatius nevertheless produced small quantities of these crops. The real value of these plantations, however, lay in the illegal trade with other colonies. A common practice was to import crude sugar from English and French islands, refine it, and export it as sugar that had been refined on the islands themselves. This was done in order to avoid the mercantilist policies of those islands' mother countries. For example, in 1779 St. Eustatius produced 13,610 pounds of sugar, but it exported a staggering 25 million pounds (Gilmore 2013:44). As the price of Caribbean sugar dropped throughout the nineteenth century, sugar production on St. Eustatius dwindled. By the 1840s, the island's ten remaining plantations produced a total of 250,000 pounds of sugar and 200 hogsheads of rum and molasses (NA 4.MIKO 3.A.2.5.1. – 645).

A number of plantation owners were merchants as well (Gilmore 2013:43). This indicates that a large number of plantations may have been a secondary source of income, or even a front for engaging in illicit trade. This last possibility is underscored by a letter written by Admiral Rodney in 1781, in which he states:

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15 The exact number and size of plantations and the extent of the plantation industry on St. Eustatius at this time is unknown.

> "The very few respectable men in this island were those who owned sugar plantations: few of them were concerned in the pernicious commerce which proved so detrimental to Great Britain." (Tunstall 1930:80)

If few of the planters were involved the trade in arms and ammunition that Rodney refers to, then some of them must have been involved in it. Given the lucrative nature of Statian commerce, is not unlikely that other planters were involved in different types of illicit trade as well. The illegal trade did not only flourish internationally, within the island it was widespread as well. By the late eighteenth century, enslaved people, free blacks, and whites were all involved in selling stolen sugar from the plantations. Enslaved people clandestinely took sugar cane at night and sold it in town. The damage to the plantation output was so great that the plantation owners were "not able to provide the amount that they had planned for" (Gilmore 2004:63). The thieves were not the only guilty party, as there was obviously a demand for the stolen sugar. These examples show that people from all social classes played a role in the commercial component, in both legal and illegal ways.

4.2 The transport and communication component

It is often assumed that islands are relatively isolated places cut off from the rest of the world by the sea, but this is not always the case. Compared to some continental areas, it can take a lot of time and effort to move people, goods, and information to and from islands. On the other hand, islands often benefit from their maritime environment as the sea, in many cases, facilitates much easier transportation than certain types of terrestrial terrain such as dense jungles and mountainous areas. The transport and communication component is consequently one the most fundamental components in an insular environment, which influences many aspects of the lives of people living there. It contains things that facilitate the movement of goods, people, and information such as ships, sailing routes, seamarks, pilotage, harbors, roads, and portages. In this chapter, several elements of this component will be discussed. First is the road, or roadstead, which was the area where most ships anchored throughout the colonial period. Second are areas around the island that were not part of the road but still played varying roles in the transport and communication component. Third are shipwrecks, which are of particular importance to the present study as ships facilitated the actual movement of people, goods, and information to and from St. Eustatius. Fourth is the terrestrial aspect of the transport and communication component, which includes structures in Lower Town, roads, and modes of transportation.

4.2.1 The roadstead

The roadstead, or road for short, was by far the busiest area in St. Eustatius' surrounding waters, where the vast majority of ships destined for the island dropped anchor. Nearly all movements of goods and people between ships and the island took place on the road, making it a very important part of the maritime cultural landscape. The captain of the Dutch frigate *Prins Willem de Vijfde* reported seeing 29 ships on Statia's road in 1761 (NL-MdbZA_20_994, folio 35). As trading activities on the island increased, so did the number of ships. According to Lieutenant Cornelius De Jong, who traveled

through the Caribbean on the Dutch man-of-war *Mars*, there were nearly 200 ships at anchor on the road when he first visited the island in September 1780 (De Jong 1807:96). A few months later, Admiral George Brydges Rodney noted 130 ships on the road (Enthoven 2012:241). Research into the extent and location of the roadstead was conducted in the 1980s, but the author suspected the results of this study to be incorrect based on of several pieces of evidence, which are described below. An in-depth documentary and archaeological analysis of the road was therefore conducted. The research presented in this chapter refutes the conclusions from the previous study, and for the first time provides a detailed and accurate map of the roadstead based on extensive archaeological and documentary data.

4.2.1.1 Documentary evidence

An examination of the documentary record is the first step in determining the size of the roadstead. According to Teenstra, "seeing the church tower in north-northeasterly direction, at 15 to 20 fathoms water depth, one finds a good anchorage."[16] Other good anchorages he describes are located in front of the town between 12 and 15 fathoms water depth, at the northwestern and western ends of the bay at approximately ¾ of an English mile (1.4 kilometers) from shore (Teenstra 1837:324). According to another nineteenth-century source, in order to anchor, one must bring the church tower north-east by east and Interloper's Cape northwest by west, where there is sandy ground in 9 or 10 fathoms (Hester & Bishop 1782:32). Another option was further offshore in 14 or 15 fathoms of water (Teenstra 1837:324). This information is corroborated by a map of St. Eustatius, made by Englishman William Faden in 1795. On this map, the road is indicated between 9 and 15 fathoms. Ship logs also show that many ships anchored in this depth range. In November 1760, Captain Bylandt ordered to anchor his ship *Maarssen* in 13 fathoms of water (NA 1.01.47.17 – 48, folio 63). Eighteen years later, the *Princes Royal Frederique Sophie Wilhelmine* dropped anchor in 14 fathoms, while another ship did the same in 13.5 fathoms (NA 1.01.46 – 2417, folio 135). Even ships carrying human cargo preferred to anchor in deeper waters. The Dutch slave ship *Haast U Langsaam* dropped anchor in 12 fathoms in 1773 (NL-MdbZA_20_532, folio 44).

Table 4.1 shows the anchoring depths of several vessels according to their logs. Most ships only anchored once, but nearly half of them moved closer to shore the next day and anchored again in shallower depths. The reasons for doing so are not described in the logs, but they are probably a combination of several factors, including reduced transportation times between the ship and the island, calmer seas, available space on the road, and more protection from the forts and batteries (see Chapter 6). In several instances, however, ships moved further offshore to deeper waters during their stay. While wave action caused by wind generally decreases closer to the island, the effect of swells increase, causing the *Zeemercuur* to move from 7 to 8.5 fathoms (NL-MdbZA_20_1405, folio 91). The *Haast U Langsaam* moved from 10 to 14 fathoms for unknown reasons (NL-MdbZA_20_518, folio 53). Some traffic on the roadstead was

16 Many different types of fathoms were used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the Netherlands, most common was the *Rijnlandse* fathom, which equalled 1.88 meters. In England, a fathom was 1.83 meters. Teenstra most likely used the *Rijnlandse* fathom, as did the captains of all ships mentioned here. William Faden used the English fathom.

Figure 4.8 Drawing of St. Eustatius and its roadstead made by an unknown artist around 1790. Given the details in the island's topography present in the drawing, it is almost certain that the artist visited the island himself and drew this scene from aboard a ship. The image clearly shows that many ships anchored far offshore. Source: Library of Congress, G5032.S5A35 177-S8.

regulated, and it was also because of certain regulations that ships had to move. For example, in 1830, the regulations for the roadstead stipulated that captains of ships carrying gunpowder had to notify the Governor and harbormaster of their cargo, and had to anchor at some distance to leeward from the regular anchorage for safety reasons. If this location was deemed undesirable by the Governor or the harbormaster, they would choose a new anchoring location for the vessel (Curaçao Archives, Gouvernement van het Eilandgebied St. Eustatius, Inv. Nr. 248, article 9). Given the fact that the road could be very crowded in the 1770s and 1780s, it is likely this rule was in effect at that time already. North American ships obtaining gunpowder during the Revolutionary War (1775-1783) therefore likely anchored on the outskirts of the road.

Historical artwork provides many clues about the location and extent of the anchorage. Numerous eighteenth- and nineteenth-century historical drawings and watercolors of Statia's road exist, spread across private collections and archives all over the world. These show that some ships anchored close to shore, but most dropped anchor further away from the island. Ships are also depicted as far south as Kay Bay and as far north as Signal Hill. From historic artwork, it can be deducted that the road covered a large area on the island's leeward side. This is not surprising given the fact that there could be as many as 200 ships on the road. There was simply no room for so many ships to anchor close to shore.

4.2.1.2 Archaeology

The documentary record contains a wealth information about the location, size, and depth of the historic anchorage. Nevertheless, this information does not provide a complete picture. Archaeological research is necessary to complement this information by trying to understand what other insights the material reflection of past activities on the road can provide. As will be shown, a wealth of material culture is present on the

sea floor that can provide new insights into the historic anchorage and its relation to the natural landscape.

The research conducted on the road comprised an extensive survey of the anchorage areas as described in the documentary record. The locations of survey transects were determined on the basis of a multibeam sonar map made by the Dutch Institute for Sea Research (NIOZ) from data collected by the Dutch Royal Navy in 2006 and a side scan sonar map made by the author. The first map, found in Appendix I, displays the underwater topography on Statia's leeward side and shows many natural features that will be shown to be of particular interest in this study. Appendix II contains the side scan sonar map that was used to visualize small targets and particular sites in more detail. Appendix III shows the transects surveyed by SCUBA divers during all three fieldwork seasons. Appendix IV shows all major archaeological features and sites encountered during the survey, while Appendix V contains the extent of the historic anchorage zone based on the combined findings of the documentary and archaeological research. The survey relied on two basic principles. First, as the road is the area where many ships dropped anchor, the distribution of lost anchors will reflect the size and extent of the road archaeologically. Second, natural topography and the composition of the sea floor played a major role in determining where to anchor. By combining anchor distribution with information about underwater topography and the documentary data discussed previously, it is possible to produce a precise map of the historical anchorage.

Several anchors were already known and described in 2010, when the author documented all anchors on the popular dive sites (Stelten 2010). These will be summarized briefly before discussing the results of the present survey. Numbers 8, 9, and 10 are located on a coral reef at a popular dive site called *Nursing Station*. All three anchors are of English manufacture and date to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries.[17] Numbers 11 and 12 are found at a dive site called *Crook's Castle*. The shank of anchor 12 is completely stuck in the reef, a curious position not seen in any other anchor found around the island. Anchors 6, 15, and 16 are hooked on reefs formed by the ballast piles of two shipwrecks (discussed in paragraph 4.2.2.2) and are missing parts of their shanks which probably broke off as they were attempted to be weighed. Anchors 4, 5, and 14 are intact anchors associated with shipwreck sites as well. Anchor 4 is of English manufacture and dates to the early nineteenth century, while anchor 5 is Dutch and might be slightly older. Anchor 14, of Dutch manufacture and dating to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, is resting on the sand next to the ballast pile of shipwreck site SE-505.[18] Anchors 4 and 5 are located in the sand to the north of shipwreck site SE-501. Anchor 13, a French anchor dating to the third quarter of the eighteenth century, has one arm stuck in the reef at a popular dive site called *Anchor Point*. With the exception of anchor 4, which has an iron stock, all anchors documented during this survey contained wooden stocks that have long decayed. Wooden anchors provide a *terminus ante quem* of early nineteenth century on small anchors, and mid-nineteenth century for larger anchors (Stelten 2010).

17 A discussion on anchor identification and dating can be found in Stelten 2010.

18 The shipwreck sites are discussed in detail further on in this chapter.

In addition to the twelve previously documented anchors, 29 more anchors were discovered during the present survey. The first site surveyed is a rocky outcrop named SE-510. From the multibeam imagery, the site seemed like a high-probability site for anchors due to its prominence, location, and depth. It is oriented southwest – northeast at a heading of 39 degrees and measures 900 meters long and between 3 and 10 meters wide. Its 350-meter-long central part consists of a high reef structure that protrudes between 3 and 4 meters from the 25-meter-deep sandy bottom surrounding it. The outcrop, covered by a dense reef, forms an impressive structure on an otherwise sandy sea floor, with large chunks of rocks about to slide off the top. It contains many cracks in which anchors could easily get stuck. Because of its dramatic topography, it attracts large quantities of fish and is overgrown by a variety of corals and sponges. Six anchors were found to be associated with this reef: two intact anchors on top of the reef (numbers 25 and 28), one intact but heavily overgrown anchor immediately next to the reef (number 26), and three anchor pieces embedded in the reef (numbers 27, 29, and 30). The intact anchors were all missing their wooden stocks which have decayed over the years. The absence of iron stocks provides a *terminus ante quem* of mid-nineteenth century for these anchors. Anchor 25 is of English manufacture, while anchor 28 was made in France. Four anchors were found on top of the reef, but anchors 26 and 30 are stuck in the reef from the southern side, indicating that ships mainly anchored to the south of the reef. This is to be expected, since the area to the south of the reef is very sandy, while the area to the north consists mainly of rocks and is therefore unsuitable for anchoring. As the size of the site made it impractical to map by hand, a side scan sonar survey was conducted to visualize the reef's central part (Figure 4.9).

The second site surveyed is a reef named SE-511. It is located 240 meters east of SE-510, and is oriented in the same direction. The reef is 700 meters long, and sits on a 3- to 10-meter-wide rocky outcrop which protrudes between 50 centimeters and 1 meter from the sandy sea floor. This site is does not contain the abundance of corals, sponges, and fish found at SE-510. Eight anchors and one anchor piece were found along this reef: six on the reef and three in the sand next to it. The absence of iron stocks provides a *terminus ante quem* of mid-nineteenth century for all anchors. The northernmost two anchors, numbers 19 and 20, are located in close proximity to each other at 11 meters apart (Figure 4.10a). No other artifacts were found in close proximity to these anchors. One hundred meters to the southwest, a concentration of anchors was found, containing anchors 21, 22, 23, 24, 34, and 41 within a 70-meter-long zone (Figure 4.10b). With the exception of two anchors, all were intact besides the wooden stocks that have decayed. Anchor 34 is a 112-centimeter-long four-armed grapnel anchor, which was probably used on a small boat that transported goods between larger ships and the island. This type of anchor had enough holding power for a small vessel such as a canoe or a row boat, but not for larger ships. Anchor 41 consists only of a piece of shank and a ring. The remaining part of the shank and the arms could not be located and may be buried in the sand around it. Anchors 22 and 24 are of English manufacture. No indications of a shipwreck – a ballast pile, cannon, large quantities of artifacts – were encountered at the site. It is therefore safe to assume that these anchors came from different ships. A few artifacts, however, were found among the anchors. These include a yellow brick, part of a delftware plate, and an unidentified 2-meter-long metal object. As many ships obviously anchored at this location, artifacts

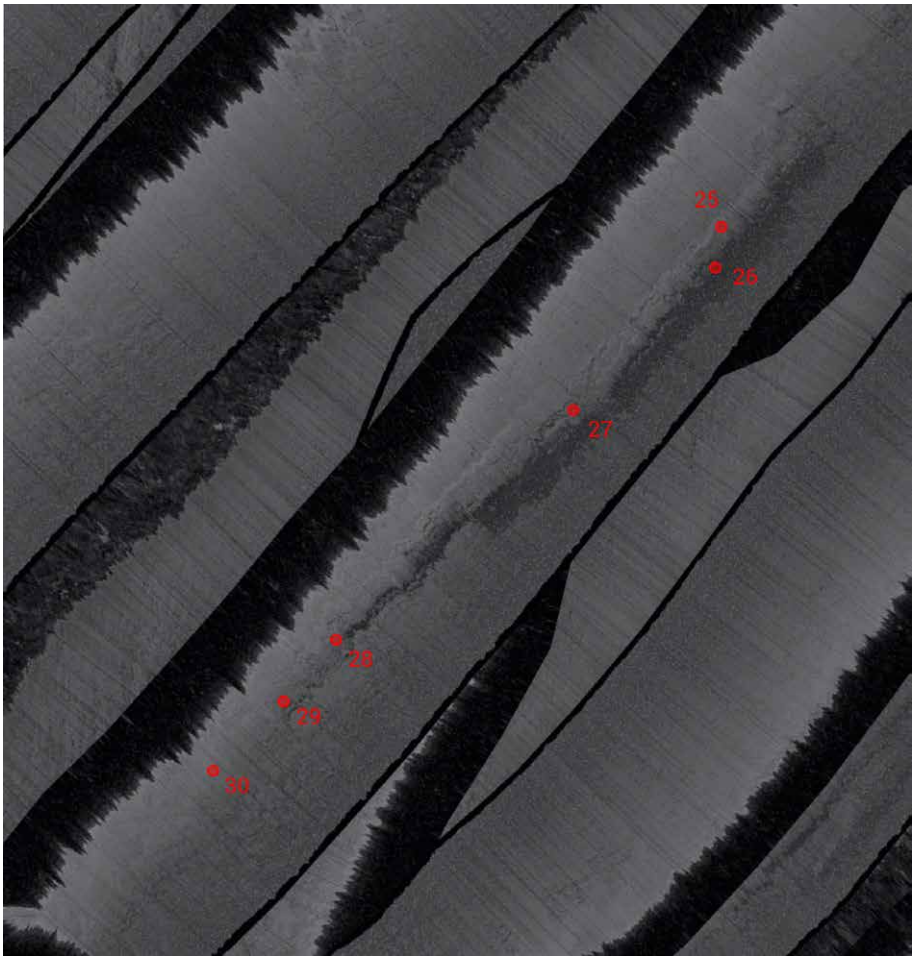


Figure 4.9 Side scan sonar mosaic of the central, elevated part of SE-510. The higher parts of the reef produce acoustic shadows which provide an indication of relative height above the sea floor. The distance between anchors 25 and 30 is 320 meters. The reef is oriented north-east-southwest. Anchor 30 marks the southwestern tip of the site.

discarded by sailors are expected to be found among the anchors. Furthermore, a large 2 x 0.5 meter object resembling a rock was found next to anchor 23. Several of these objects were encountered along SE-511. The objects contain grooves, determined to be holes that once contained rebar. It appears that these are blocks of concrete that were dumped here, most likely after Lower Town's old pier, built in 1976, was dismantled in the 1990s. The site is surrounded by a sandy bottom, ideal for anchoring. As discussed above, the position of anchors on SE-510 indicates that ships anchored between this reef and SE-511. All anchors on the latter reef, however, were found directly on top or on its southern side. This indicates that ships also anchored to the south of SE-511, which is a very sandy area as well.

The next site surveyed is a 900-meter-long structure resembling SE-510 and SE-511 on the multibeam imagery. Named SE-512, it is located 800 meters southeast of SE-511, and runs southeast – northwest at a heading of 70 degrees for 900 meters. The

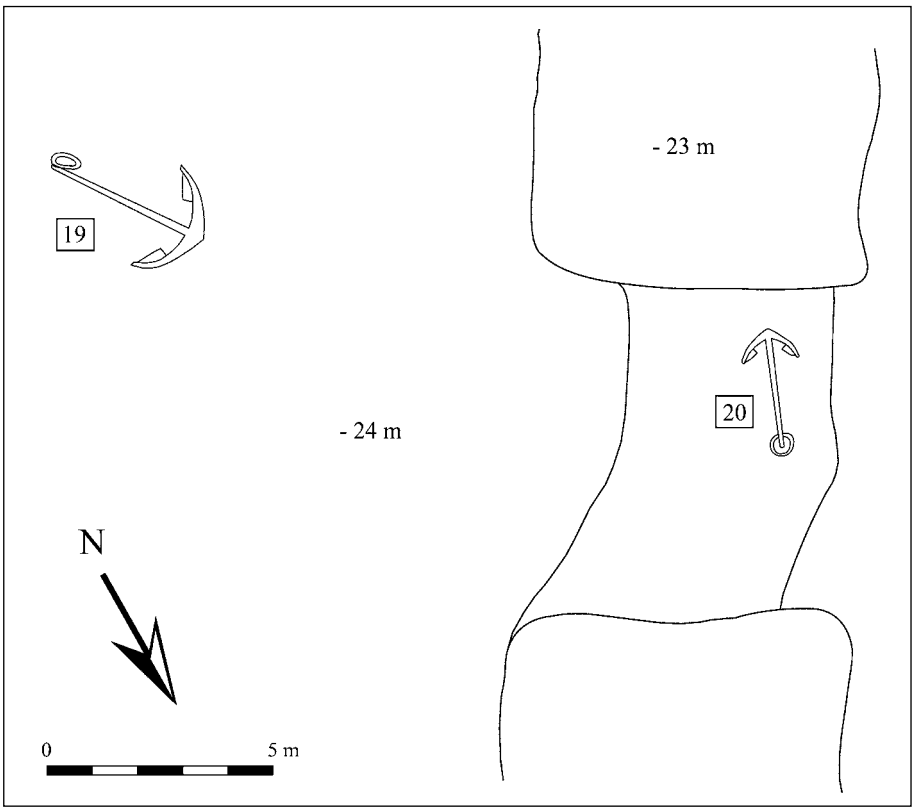
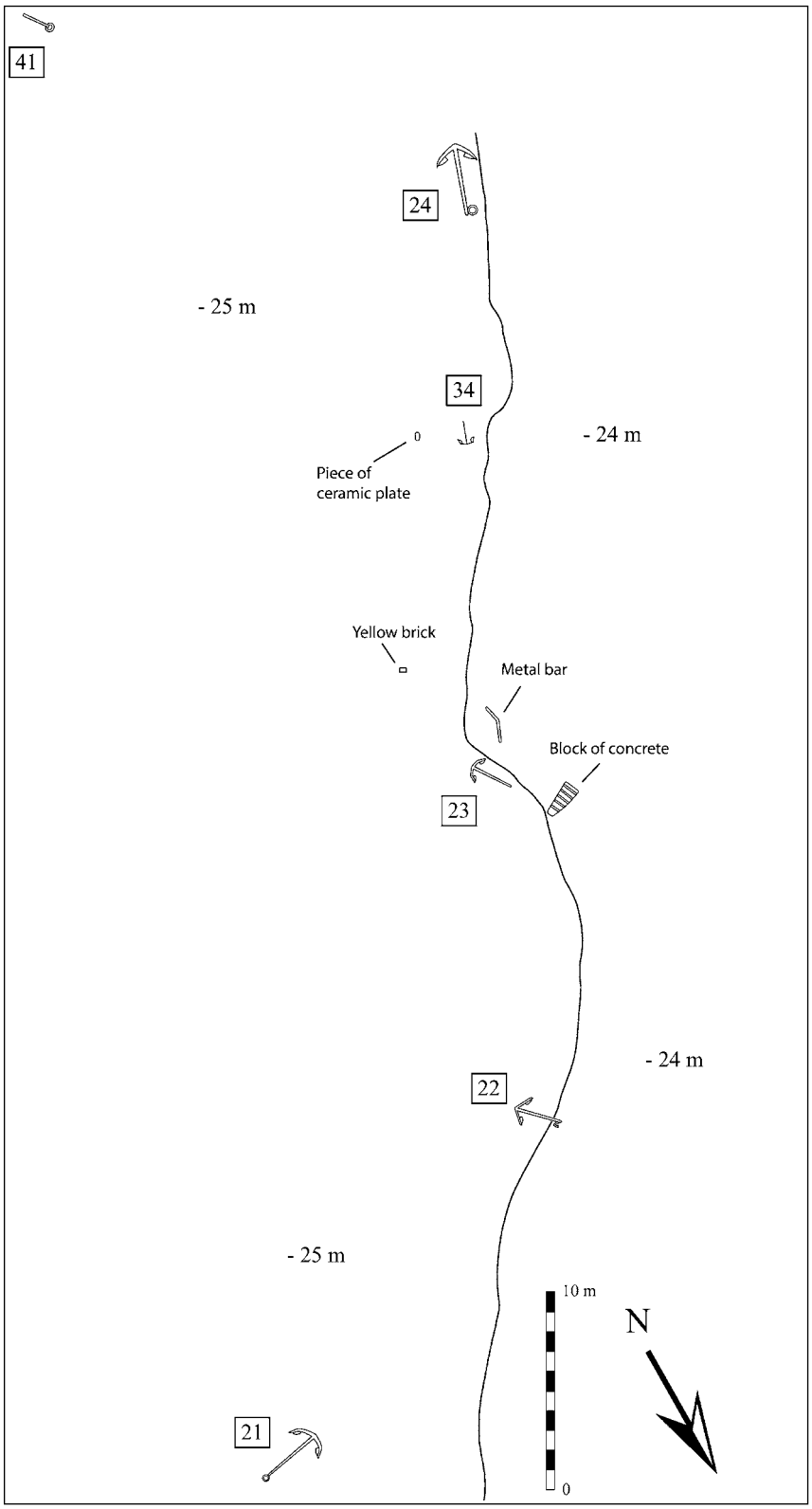


Figure 4.10a Drawing of the northern part of SE-511, where two anchors were found in close proximity to each other. Anchor 20 is laying on a narrow stretch of reef, while anchor 19 is laying in the sand.

Figure 4.10b (opposite page) The anchor concentration of SE-511 at 100 meters to the south-west of the anchors in Figure 4.10a. Six anchors were encountered here, of which numbers 21, 22, 23, 24, and 34 are intact. Number 34 is a grapnel anchor. Number 41 consists of part of the shank and a ring. Among the anchors, several artifacts were encountered. The line in the center of the drawing marks the edge of the reef, which is on the right side of the drawing. To the left of the reef is a sandy area.

reef sits on a rocky outcrop, measuring between 3 and 35 meters wide. Its prominence from the sea floor ranges from 50 centimeters to 5 meters. As SE-512 appeared to share many similarities to the previously surveyed sites in terms of shape and location amidst a sandy bottom, the site was surveyed completely. Three anchors, intact except for their wooden stocks, were found within 145 meters of each other in the northeastern part of the site. Two of these, numbers 37 and 39, had one arm completely stuck in the reef. Anchor 38 was found on top of the reef's northern side. No other artifacts were found in close proximity to these anchors. The site is surrounded by a sandy bottom, providing a suitable place for anchoring. All three anchors on SE-512 were found on its northern side, indicating that ships mainly anchored to the north of this reef. This fact, coupled with the anchoring depths known from ship logs, demonstrates that the sandy area between SE-511 and SE-512, which is between 12 and 13 fathoms deep,


41
24
- 25 m
34
0
- 24 m
Piece of
ceramic plate
Yellow brick
Metal bar
Block of concrete
23
- 24 m
22
- 25 m
10 m
N
0
21

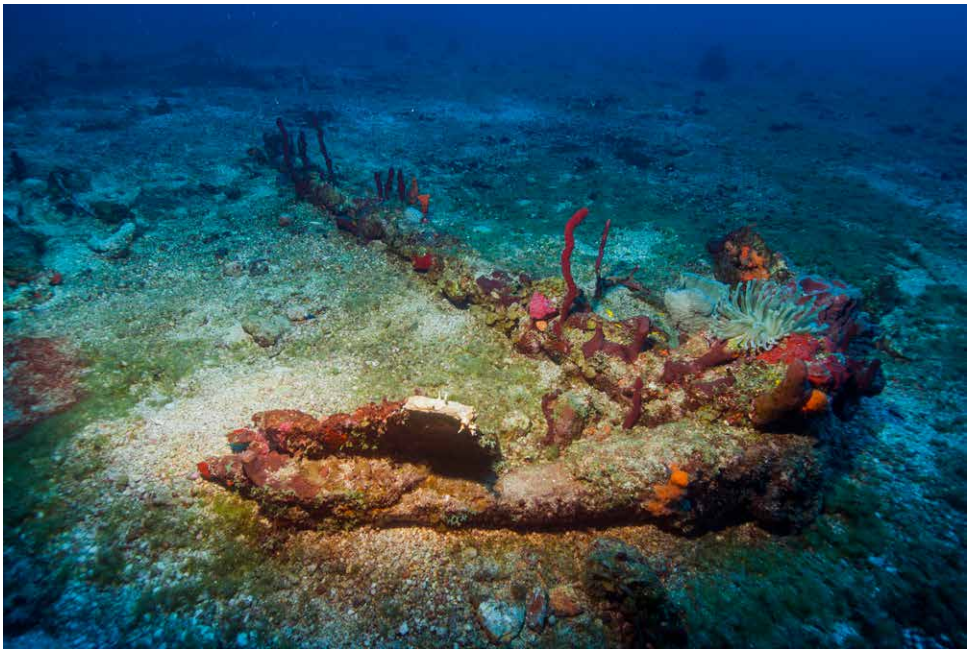


Figure 4.11a Anchor 17, lost in a 22-meter-deep sandy area in the middle of the historic anchorage zone. It is 306 centimeters long and heavily overgrown with corals and sponges. The fluke in the foreground had become partly detached. Photo by Mike Harterink.

Figure 4.11b Anchor 2, lost on a reef just outside of Jenkins Bay at a depth of 13 meters. This anchor, measuring 222 centimeters in length, is the only one found in the northern part of the island. Photo by Mike Harterink.

was a popular anchorage area. Visual comparisons from the diving vessel indicate that the drawing in Figure 6.2 was made from a ship anchored in this area, close to SE-512.

A site that did not contain any anchors or other archaeological remains, but is similar in appearance and composition to SE-510 and SE-512, is a reef located just 190 meters northwest of SE-510. It is an impressive structure, up to 6 meters tall, that is composed of several elevated, elongated ridges and depressions. The site was completely surveyed as it seemed highly likely that it contained anchors. Curiously, nothing was found. The reason for this may be that the sea floor to the east of the reef is very rocky and therefore unsuitable for anchoring. Another site surveyed was a large rocky outcrop southwest of Jenkins Bay, which on the multibeam imagery appeared to be a promising target. It consists of a 32-meter-deep, rocky plateau of 90 meters in diameter, surrounded by a sandy bottom. Ships anchoring outside of Jenkins Bay could have easily gotten their anchors stuck at this site. No anchors or any other archaeological remains were found here, indicating that this area might have been too far away for vessels to anchor. This can be explained by the fact that Jenkins Bay was associated with smuggling activities, which would have taken place closer to shore to avoid detection.

Several other areas were investigated based on information provided by people on the island. The area in front of Corre Corre bay, the island's only barrier reef located on the east coast, was surveyed as local fishermen reported the presence of an anchor at a depth of 22 meters. A transect at that depth was dived, but the anchor could not be located. A U-pattern survey in the shallows closer to the reef was conducted as well, as fishermen reported another anchor in this area. This anchor, number 31, was found directly in front of Corre Corre battery at a distance of 150 meters from shore at a depth of 4 meters. It is resting on a rocky bottom with no archaeological remains in the vicinity. The anchor's length of 312 centimeters indicates it was used by a large vessel which may have run aground here. When ships ran aground, heavy objects such as cannon and anchors were often jettisoned to decrease draft and free the vessel. Another U-pattern survey, this time by snorkeling, was conducted on the east coast. Local fishermen reported an anchor present in the shallows in front of Concordia battery. The area was surveyed extensively but the anchor could not be located. Marine park rangers provided the location of yet another anchor they once found during a survey to the west of Boven Hill. Their exact transect was dived, but the anchor could not be relocated. Due to the sandy nature of the sea floor in this area, this anchor may have been buried.

Anchors 1, 7, 32, and 33 are isolated anchors found at anomalies on the multibeam imagery. Anchor 1 was found in the sand next to an elongated rocky outcrop 60 meters from shore in front of Smoke Alley at the northernmost part of Lower Town's road. Its small size indicates that it was used by a small ship, most likely a canoe or row boat used to transport goods and people to and from ships. Anchor 7 was found in the sand next to a low elongated ridge between SE-512 and *Nursing Station*. The anchor was found on the ridge's southern side. The three anchors at *Nursing Station* are located between 250 and 300 meters to the east, indicating that this was also a popular anchoring area. Further to the southeast, anchor 32 is partly buried in a coral reef slightly to the west of dive site *The Humps*. It is completely overgrown with corals and sponges and therefore very hard to recognize. This anchor is not located in a sandy area or historic anchorage. It may be that the vessel's captain was not knowledgeable about

Figure 4.12 Left: Anchor 22, found on top of the reef at SE-511 at a depth of 24 meters. It is 242 centimeters long. Right: Anchor 1030, found inside the reef of SE-510 at 22 meters deep. Of this anchor only one arm remains. The anchor got stuck underneath the ledge in the center of the image. The force of the ship pulling on the anchor caused this arm to break off. Photos by Mike Harterink.

Statian waters, but the anchor could also represent a last attempt to save a ship headed for the cliffs during a storm. Anchor 33 is located close to shore, 30 meters to the west of the *Twelve Guns* site discussed below. It is laying among several large rocks next to a coral-encrusted boulder. Its modest length of 177 centimeters indicates it was probably used on a small- to medium-sized vessel with little draft, allowing it to sail and anchor relatively close to shore.

Besides surveying anomalies on the multibeam and side scan imagery, several transects were dived in the sandy areas between anchors in order to determine the potential for archaeological remains and to assess the condition of the sea floor. Due to the presence of anchored oil tankers which made diving too hazardous, several areas far offshore and to the northeast of SE-510 and SE-511 could not be investigated. Anchors 3, 17, 35, and 36 were found in these transects. These are isolated anchors on a sandy bottom with no other artifacts or significant natural features in the vicinity. Anchor 35 was found to be of English manufacture. Sea floor conditions were noted on each transect and this information was used in the determination of the size of the historic anchorage.

Besides anchors, other large artifacts are present on the roadstead as well. About 50 meters from shore, between batteries Bouillé and Nassau, is a pile of cannon at a

snorkel site called *Twelve Guns*. This site was assigned site number SE-513. The cannon are resting on a 4-meter-deep sandy bottom immediately next to a large rocky outcrop extending to a few centimeters below the water surface. The facts that it was customary to salvage cannon after the wrecking of a ship in shallow water due to their high value, and the absence of ship remains or other artifacts at this site, rule out the possibility that these cannon are part of a wrecked ship. In the nineteenth century, merchants traveled around the Caribbean looking for old cannon that could be used in forts and museums in the United States or that had a value as scrap iron. These merchants are known to have visited St. Eustatius as well. One such instance was described by Frederick A. Fenger, In his book, he mentioned that an American schooner called at Statia in the late 1870s to collect scrap iron, and bought four cast iron cannon. It must have been around this time, when cannon had become obsolete, that the cannon at *Twelve Guns* ended up at their present location. These guns were probably discarded from the nearby batteries and were thrown off the cliffs to be picked up on the beach. The vessel transporting the cannon between shore and ship most likely hit the nearby rocky outcrop and capsized, causing the cannon to fall overboard. The site is called *Twelve Guns* because often twelve cannon can be seen, but this is dependent on the movement of the sand. Some people have reported as many as seventeen cannon here, while others have never seen more than six. Eight cannon were visible at the time of this survey. Although they are too encrusted to be identified, they are all small caliber guns, ranging from 135 to 176 centimeters in length.

4.2.2 Shipwrecks

With thousands of ships calling at Statia each year during the late eighteenth century and its location in the middle of the Atlantic hurricane belt, the island is likely to be surrounded by shipwrecks. Historical records about ships wrecking around the island abound, and in the 1980s, several wrecks in Oranje Bay and Gallows Bay were investigated. Even though shipwrecks are only a small component in the entire maritime cultural landscape, they can offer unique information not found on any other type of site. They represent a particular event – the wrecking of a ship – more or less frozen in time. On the other hand, they contain a wealth of information about years of life on board and are the links between the island and the rest of the world. In this section, several lines of evidence regarding shipwrecks in Statia's surrounding waters will be discussed.

4.2.2.1 Documentary evidence

Many historical documents contain references to ships wrecked around St. Eustatius. The study of these can shed light on the locations of wrecks, their identification, the nature of their cargo, and the circumstances which led to their unfortunate fate. The documentary record contains information on dozens of ships that wrecked in the waters surrounding St. Eustatius. Newspapers are an important source of information on this topic. The September 7, 1733 edition of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* mentions that in the summer of that year, a storm caused eighteen ships to founder or wreck against the shore, leaving the "whole sea to leeward of Statia and Saba cover'd with wrecks." Four decades later, the same newspaper published an extract of a letter from a gentleman at St. Eustatius to his friend in New York, dated September 5, 1772:

> "I am sorry by this Opportunity to have Occasion to mention to you the unfortunate Situation we are in at this Island: On the 28th of last Month, we had a violent Gale of Wind, that drove all our Shipping out of the Road, except a Spanish Sloop, from Campeachy, and a Schooner ready to sail, with a large Quantity of Fire-arms, for Margarita. A Sloop, belonging to Richard Quince Esq. of North-Carolina, which had just arrived, loaded with Lumber, and a small Vessel from Anguilla, were drove on Shore, the Vessels lost, but their Cargoes and People saved."

Governor Jan de Windt, writing to his superiors of the West India Company about the hurricane of 1772, remarks that three days before the hurricane, several ships had already wrecked due to rough seas preceding the storm. All ships on the road then fled out to sea, but De Windt does not mention what happened to them (NA 1.05.01.02 – 629, folio 337). An article in a contemporary newspaper stated that four ships foundered while at anchor, a number of other vessels were driven ashore, and some fled to open sea (Caledonian Mercury, November 18th, 1772).

Ship logs also provide detailed accounts of the wrecking of ships around the island. The log of the *Princes Royal Frederique Sophie Wilhelmine* mentions the wrecking of a North American ship that was being chased by an English privateer in 1779. At the southeastern point of the island, it capsized and its cargo of tobacco, flour, bread, and tea was lost. Several small boats were sent to save the crew. A barrel of rum was salvaged two days later, but the vessel was destroyed. It most likely hit the shallow rocks close the shore at the southern side of the island and was battered by the waves. On November 29, 1789, the log of the *Zeemercuur* reports that a bark crashed into shore due to a lot of wind and swell, hinting at a passing storm as the culprit (NL-MdbZA_20_1405, folio 93).

Most devastating to ships were hurricanes, some of which have been described by survivors. An account of the deadliest recorded hurricane in the Caribbean, the Great Hurricane of 1780, describes the situation on St. Eustatius:

> "On the 10th [October 1780] instant, at eleven in the morning, the sky on a sudden blackened all around; it looked as dismal as night, attended with the most violent rains, thunder, lightning, and wind ever before known. In the afternoon the gale increased. Seven ships were drove on shore near North Point, and dashed to pieces on the rocks; they were bound for Europe, and every soul, officers and men, perished. Nineteen other ships cut their cables, and stood to sea; only one of which is returned, in a most dismal situation. We fear others have not weathered the storm." (Fowler 1781:71)

Twelve years later during another hurricane, five ships wrecked around the island:

> "Captain Saltus, of the sloop Mary, who arrived here last week from St. Kitts and St. Eustatia, brings accounts of a very severe gale of wind, which came on the first of the present month, at four o'clock p.m. the wind looked from east, to N.N.E., beginning to blow a hurricane. […] At St. Eustatia, a Dutch ship, with 500 hogsheads of sugar, was driven on shore, and lost, the people saved;

> also went on shore, an American sloop and two English vessels. On the 2nd of August, a brig in putting to sea went on shore on the west side of St. Eustatia, her crew all perished." (The New-York magazine 1792:574)

Sometimes ships were intentionally sunk, or scuttled. In 1828, Thomas Harper described a situation in which a ship was brought onto the road as a prize. Several boatloads of goods were taken off the ship, after which it disappeared. It was said that the ship was sunk (Wood 1830:25). Various other accounts do not specify the reasons for wrecking, but these are interesting nonetheless. In 1758, the Italian merchantman *Duke Compagni* had just weighed anchor when she was wrecked in an attempt to round the northern side of the island. The ship was carrying several chests of silver coins, most of which were salvaged. All crew survived the wrecking as well (Marx 1987:264). It is likely that the *Duke Compagni* was wrecked due to a navigational error rather than a storm. During a storm or hurricane, it was usually impossible to salvage the cargo, and many sailors would drown in the violent sea. This is particularly true for the northern side of the island, where high waves crash onto steep cliff during storms, causing ships to shatter to pieces and crews to perish. The fact that the wrecking of the *Duke Compagni* seems to have happened on a clear day points to a navigational error.

4.2.2.2 Shipwrecks in St. Eustatius' archaeological record

Material remains of these unfortunate events abound in Statian waters. In 1986, archaeologists from the College of William & Mary and East Carolina University conducted a magnetometer survey of approximately 2.5 km^2 in Oranje Bay and Gallows Bay. The magnetometer identified magnetic signatures generated by iron artifacts on the sea floor, and in this way the locations of two shipwreck sites were determined (Bequette 1986). Two other shipwrecks were located during visual surveys of the harbor area. The sites were named SE-501, SE-502, SE-504, and SE-505. Appendix VI contains the site plans of all four sites. Documentation and excavation of the wreck sites was conducted in 1987 and 1988 (Bequette 1992). All four shipwreck sites are similar in appearance in that they consist of piles of ballast stones that are completely overgrown with a variety of sponges and corals and inhabited by large numbers of fish and invertebrates. Most wood has been completely destroyed by shipworm (*Teredo navalis*), a species of saltwater clam that is notorious for burrowing through submerged wood. The wrecks were drawn and 1-meter square test trenches were excavated at select locations. As many artifacts found on top of the wrecks may have originated from other ships and therefore postdate the wrecks, the only way to date the sites and study the ships in more detail was by carrying out excavations.

SE-501, located approximately 650 meters from shore, is now a popular dive site called *Double Wreck*. The site is 45 meters long, 7.5 meters wide, and oriented in a north-south direction along its main axis. It consists of five separate ballast piles that are located on a sandy bottom at a depth of 18 meters. The northern part's narrowing shape may indicate the bow of the ship, while the southern part's rounding in the ballast structure may be indicative of the stern. Ten 1 m^2 test trenches were excavated to depths of around 1 meter, below which was a hard layer of rocks and dead coral that proved impossible to excavate. The 104 recovered artifacts, which included red, orange, and yellow bricks, clay tobacco pipe fragments, glass bottle fragments, a large variety of

ceramics, and several metal objects, did not produce a good analysis for identification. Based on the artifact assemblage, the investigators concluded that this vessel dates from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, and could be of English or Dutch origin (Bequette 1992:136).

SE-502, located 600 meters from shore, used to be a popular dive site called *Stingray City*. The site is 40 meters long, 12 meters wide, and oriented in a north-south direction along its main axis. The site is located on a sandy bottom at a depth of 16 meters and consists of one large ballast pile which gradually slopes into the sand on the western side. The investigators believed that the southern end of the site was the ship's bow due to its rather pointy shape. Near the bow, two anchor chains were documented, one of which went into the structure on both ends of the chain. Other artifacts laying on top of the ballast structure two years prior to the investigation included a ship's bell, muskets, and swords. These objects were reported to have been looted, as they were not present when archaeologists studied the site. According to a former dive shop owner, these artifacts were taken to Australia by a treasure hunter (Personal communication with Rudy Hees, former dive shop owner). On the starboard bow side of the site, an 85-centimeter-long swivel gun was found among the ballast stones. Ten 1 m^2 test trenches were excavated, situated along the starboard and port sides. These yielded numerous artifacts, ranging from the ship's cargo and tools to personal items of the crew. A second swivel gun was found on the port side near the bow of the ship, at a depth of 30 centimeters. Many red and yellow bricks, as well as several pieces of slate, were uncovered indicating that these may have been transported in the hull as ballast. During a visual survey of the site in August 2015, many yellow bricks were encountered in the southern and central parts of the ballast scatter. The forward section of the vessel contained several metal and wooden tools, indicating that this area may have housed the ship's stores. Among the other artifacts collected from the test trenches were many fragments of glass, ceramics, and clay tobacco pipes, cutlery handles, musket balls, fragments of wood, guns, leather objects, many pieces of iron, and a glass lens that may have been part of a telescope. On the port side, two wooden plank fragments were excavated that were thoroughly eaten by shipworm (*Teredo navalis*). Several pieces of charred wood were found in the center of the ship, which could be evidence of a burnt ship or they could have been from the galley stove. Based mainly on the clay tobacco pipe fragments and the ceramic assemblage recovered from the test trenches, the researchers believed this ship dates to the mid-eighteenth century and is of Dutch origin. The wreckage was believed to be that of a merchant vessel due to the large amount of ballast encountered (Bequette 1992:137).

SE-504, part of a popular dive site called *Triple Wreck*, is located 80 meters southwest of SE-501. The site is 61 meters long and 12 meters wide, and oriented in a north-south direction along its main axis. The site is situated on a sandy bottom at a depth of 20 meters. It consists of a ballast pile in the shape of a ship's hull and a small area of ballast scatter on the eastern side. Several ballast deposits on the site's southern end may indicate a possible breakup of the vessel as it sank and touched bottom. Yellow and orange bricks were scattered over the surface of the site and over the sand on the western side of the ballast pile. Towards the southeastern part of the wreckage, a pile of coral-encrusted anchor chains was found in the sand. No test excavations were conducted at this site due to time constraints. A broken anchor was found on the

southeastern part of the site, with part of the shank and one arm visible and the other arm embedded in the ballast pile. The researchers removed some of the sand in order to find the fluke on the buried arm, which they located 12 centimeters deep in the ballast pile. While doing this, they removed pieces of wood, bricks, and rocks, and found a small intact rice bowl beneath the anchor. It is believed that the anchor became hooked on the wreckage and had to be cut free, indicating that it postdates the wreck.

SE-505, located approximately 60 meters to the west of SE-504, is also part of the *Triple Wreck* dive site. The site is 109 meters long and 25 meters wide, and oriented in a north-south direction along its main axis. The site is located on a sandy bottom at a depth of 20 meters and consists of a ballast pile of which the entire western side is a ballast scatter. It is believed that this resulted from the vessel's side spilling open as the ship decomposed. The site's northern and southern ends, and the entire eastern side, rise approximately 1 meter from the bottom. The southern part of the site contains a double set of anchor chains and a metal object that may be associated with an anchor. No excavations were conducted on the site due to time constraints. The limited research on sites SE-504 and SE-505 did not produce sufficient information necessary to support any conclusions about these vessels regarding their age, origin, or nature (Bequette 1992:138).

Remains of ships are not only found on shipwreck sites, but as isolated artifacts as well. A large number of artifacts were encountered during the investigation of the location of the historical anchorage carried out in the 1980s (Nagelkerken 1985). The vast majority of these are portable objects, but the collection, now curated by SECAR and used as a study collection, also contains some ship parts. These include metal oar locks from row boats and wooden pulleys and pulley blocks used in ships' rigging. Unfortunately, these artifacts were never documented properly during the initial investigation, so their exact provenance remains unknown. They are useful nonetheless, in that they offer a material reflection of shipping activities and provide an indication as to the potential for shipwreck research and preservation in this part of the road.

One passage in Frederick Fenger's work *Alone in the Caribbean* is of particular importance for the study of shipwrecks, in which he describes the location of a shipwreck and the nature of its cargo:

> "Passing the walls of the last sugar refinery in operation on the island [St. Eustatius], we came to the beach. A blue spot in the sand caught my eye and I picked up a slave trading bead of the old days. It had been part of a cargo of a ship bound for Africa; her hulk lay somewhere out there in the darker waters of Crook's reef where it had lain for the last century or more, sending its mute messages ashore with each southwest gale, ground dull on their slow journey over the bottom of the Caribbean." (Fenger 1917:306)

At this point, it is necessary to deviate from the topic of shipwrecks in order to provide a context for the blue slave trading beads mentioned by Fenger. Glass beads have been found in colonial-period archaeological sites throughout the Atlantic World. Among their many uses and meanings, these beads were often traded for enslaved people in West Africa. There is a scarcity of decorated beads in the Caribbean compared to West African sites such as Elmina in Ghana and Bunce Island in Sierra Leone.

Figure 4.13 Blue beads of the WIIf(d) type. The beads in the top image were found at Blue Bead Hole. The left bead is 16 millimeters long and 13 millimeters wide. The beads in the bottom image were found in a hoard during an archaeological excavation by SECAR north of the Old Gin House hotel in Lower Town in 2013. Nearly every terrestrial archaeological site excavated on St. Eustatius, with the notable exception of the slave quarters at Schotsenhoek, contains blue bead of the WIIf*(d) type. Photos by the author.*

Plain blue seems to have been the preferred bead color in the Caribbean. Whether the scarcity in decorated beads reflects a general disdain for them in the Caribbean, their unavailability in the local markets, or some other factor is unknown (Karklins & Barka 1989:67). On St. Eustatius, one particular type of blue glass bead predominates. It was classified as the WIIf*(d) type by Karklins and Barka in 1989 (Karklins & Barka 1989). Beads of this type are dark blue and pentagonal in cross-section. Made in Amsterdam by Venetian glassblowers as early at the first half of the seventeenth century, they are of the wound bead type, made by winding a strand of molten glass around a rotating metal mandrel until the desired size and shape were achieved (Karklins 1974:67).

The resulting elongated glass tube was then cut into several pieces, each of which was a bead. While beads of the WIIf*(d) type have also been found on colonial-period Amerindian sites in North America and slave trading posts in West Africa, nowhere are they present in such large quantities as on St. Eustatius. During the 1981-1987 field seasons on St. Eustatius, archaeologists from the College of William and Mary recovered 325 beads from various terrestrial excavations, 25 percent of which were beads of the WIIf*(d) type. These beads are found all over the island, but particularly on the beach in Gallows Bay, where Fenger reported to have found one. This suggest that this particular type was either especially popular with the local population or that Statia was a major distribution point for them (Karklins & Barka 1989:67). It is said that these 'Statia blue beads' were used as a type of currency by the enslaved population and were worn as body ornaments on necks, arms, and legs. Bead use among enslaved people throughout the Caribbean seems to have been widespread according to many historical sources (Karklins & Barka 1989:75). They were acquired by trading, stealing, or as gifts. Local legend has it that when enslaved people on Statia were emancipated on July 1, 1863, they stood on the edge of the cliffs and threw their beads into the sea as a sign of their freedom. This may be one of the reasons why many blue beads are found on the beach in Gallows Bay, where Fenger found one himself.

The shipwreck Fenger described is located at a popular dive site called *Blue Bead Hole*, located a few hundred meters west of the harbor in Gallows Bay. Here, divers often find blue beads of the WIIf*(d) type which they can take home as souvenirs.[19] Over the last three decades, thousands of blue beads have been found in this area. They are usually found after heavy swells which cause the sandy bottom to stir up, thereby exposing beads that were previously buried. The area where the blue beads are found is a few hundred meters across, but most are found in a very small area that contains a large concentration of beads. It is in this small area where the ship described by Fenger must have sunk. The loss of a cargo of blue beads is the only logical explanation for their abundance in this area, as the legend whereby former enslaved people threw their beads into the sea at emancipation does not account for the large numbers of beads that are found here. Moreover, the former enslaved people could not have thrown their beads that far into the sea, as the site is located several hundred meters from shore.[20] In this case, an oral historical account of the island's inhabitants about the wrecking of a ship told to and written down by Fenger provides an explanation for the presence of large numbers of blue beads in this area.

Four dives were made at *Blue Bead Hole* in order to find the remains of the sunken ship that is mentioned by Fenger. The site was surveyed systematically in a U-pattern by two divers swimming roughly 15 meters apart. *Blue Bead Hole* consists of a sandy

19 Even though local law forbids the export of archaeological artifacts, an exception is made for blue beads, as it is customary in Statian culture to give these away to visitors.

20 That the theory set forth in section 4.2.4 about wave action moving artifacts from shallow to deeper waters is not the case with the Blue Bead Wreck is demonstrated by the fact that the beads are found in a high concentration in a small area, and lower concentrations further away on all sides. If they were deposited there from shore, a more evenly-spread pattern would be the result. It is likely that the Blue Bead Wreck sunk at a time when the sea floor was at a very low point, causing some beads to be unearthed and wash up on shore but many to stay buried even at times when much sediment is moved to shore.

Figure 4.14 Divers measuring ballast piles at Blue Bead Hole. Next to this 8-meter-long pile, an elongated, completely encrusted metal artifact was found that is thought to be a musket. It was left in place due to limited conservation possibilities at SECAR. Photo by Mike Harterink.

bottom, ranging from 15 to 17 meters deep. Despite the fact that many – undoubtedly the most intact and most visually appealing – artifacts have been looted from this site over the past 30 years, an abundance of artifacts besides the famed blue beads is still found here, including ceramics fragments, glass bottle fragments, ballast bricks, and metal artifacts. There is said to be a swivel gun present at the deeper part of the site as well, but it was not found during the present survey. The site is also covered in ballast stones, indicating that many ships anchored in this area.[21] The ballast stones are scattered across the site, with concentrations at various locations. One of the largest concentrations is located near the center of the site, where most blue beads have been found. The stones appear in small piles across the sandy bottom, some of which are up to eight meters long and half a meter high. It is possible that some of these larger piles may be the remains of shipwrecks instead of ballast that was thrown overboard, but this is impossible to determine without excavating underneath the structures. It could be that only the tops of these piles are visible, as the depth of the site can be reduced or increased by several meters due to erosion and sedimentation of sand caused by storms. Despite the fact that many artifacts and ballast stones were encountered, it was impossible to link any of these, except for the blue beads, to the Blue Bead Wreck. The concentration of blue beads, which marks the (approximate) location where the ship went down, was named SE-506.

Even though no specific remains of the Blue Bead Wreck could be identified, the nature of its cargo can provide some insights into the type of vessel this could have been. The cargo of the Blue Bead Wreck has several parallels in the archaeological re-

21 Ballast stones were thrown overboard to make room in the hold for locally-produced products.

cord. Perhaps the most well-known is the wreck of the *Henrietta Marie*, which met her unfortunate fate in 1700 off the coast of Florida after delivering 190 enslaved Africans in Jamaica (Cottman 1999). When she left London the year before, she carried 790 kg of trade beads. Archaeologists have recovered around 13,000 beads from the wreck site since the 1980s. The *Henrietta Marie's* collection is dominated by Venetian rounded beads in the colors green, yellow, and blue.

Another parallel was found in Bermuda, where divers in 1975 discovered a site that contained over 10,000 glass trade beads. It was investigated by archaeologists in the late 1990s, who determined it to be a debris field of a slaver that ran aground in the eighteenth century. To free the ship from the reef, 21 cannon and some of the ship's cargo were jettisoned. This cargo contained over 10,000 glass trade beads of various types, including some of the typical Statia blue beads. The most likely place of manufacture of the beads was determined to be the Netherlands (Karklins 1991:36). Other items recovered that related to the slave trade were manillas. The cannon were found to be cast in the Netherlands. Smith & Maxwell put forward a convincing argument for attributing the debris field to the French slaver *Amazon* which operated out of Nantes (Smith & Maxwell 2002). In the mid-eighteenth century, the Dutch were supplying Nantes-based merchants with goods used in the slave trade, resulting in Dutch cargo and even ordnance to be found on French slave ships. While the beads carried by the Blue Bead Wreck were made in the Netherlands and could have been transported by a Dutch vessel, the ship transporting them could also have been French. Even though this example by no means provides a definite identification for the Blue Bead Wreck, it provide a clue as to its possible origin.

It is interesting to note that the cargo of blue beads ended up on St. Eustatius in the first place. As the examples above demonstrate, slave trade beads were mainly used to purchase enslaved in West Africa, but they remained part of ships' cargoes in the New World. The fact that such large quantities are now found on Statia indicates that the ship carrying them may have been involved in the slave trade and had the intention of trading the beads in West Africa at a later date. This is mentioned by Fenger as well, who heard this story from people on the island. It may also be that these beads, all of the same type, were shipped to Statia specifically because they were so commonly used by the island's (enslaved) population. Considering the fact that the cargo was of such homogenous nature, particularly compared to that of the Bermudian debris site, this is a plausible scenario. Whatever the reason is for their presence on Statia, the large numbers of beads found on the sites discussed above indicates that there may still be thousands of beads left on the Blue Bead Wreck site.

Several other areas around the island that are likely to contain shipwrecks were surveyed. The entire area around Boven Hill was surveyed up to 25 meters deep in order to find evidence of the *Duke Compagni*, the seven ships that wrecked here during the Great Hurricane of 1780, or any other vessels that may have shattered against the hill's rocky shoreline. The underwater topography around Boven Hill consists of large boulders forming a steep slope to depths beyond 30 meters. Ships that crashed into the hill's rocky shoreline would have shattered to pieces. These could either be wrecked very close to shore or could have foundered further out to sea. No archaeological remains were encountered during the survey around Boven Hill. Some shipwrecks may have been buried underneath the large boulders that have fallen

off the higher parts and are now littered along the drop off. Even though it was not possible to determine when these large rocks fell down into the sea, the presence of large pebbles among and even op top of these boulders indicates that the erosion of the cliff is a slow process and may have preceded the wrecking events described in the historical record. The fact that no wreckage was found therefore indicates that most ships probably foundered further out to sea.

Bordering the southwestern part of Boven Hill is Jenkins Bay, the landing site of the French invading force in 1781. The story of the French invasion will be discussed in more detail in chapter 6; suffice to note here is that a contemporary drawing of this invasion (Figure 6.3) depicts a relatively large vessel that is being torn apart after crashing into a large rock. The image shows several French troops walking out of the water and five large wooden planks falling off the vessel. According to an eyewitness account, this was the ship of Count Dillon that had shattered against the rocks due to rough seas (Moret 1994:13). It was decided to survey Jenkins Bay in its entirety in order to find any remains of this vessel or any other ships that may have wrecked here. From a mooring in Jenkins Bay located 170 meters from shore, 22 transects were dived from 0 to 210 degrees at 10 degree intervals, covering the entire inner side of the bay. The southern side of the bay comprises a sandy area, while the northern half consists of rocks ranging from small stones a few decimeters in diameter to large boulders several meters across. Another transect was dived at 340 degrees towards the *Twin Sisters* dive site along the outer edge of the rocky sea floor towards the northwest. No archaeological remains were found in the bay, but an anchor was found at *Twin Sisters* just outside of Jenkins Bay. The anchor, number 2, is resting on top of a large rocky outcrop and is completely intact besides the wooden stock that has rotten away. No archaeological remains were found in the anchor's vicinity. It is therefore unlikely that it belonged to the French vessel that wrecked in Jenkins Bay in 1781. Moreover, the drawing places the location of the wreck nearly 500 meters to the southeast of anchor 2.

As several historical accounts mention ships wrecking on the island's leeward side in general and some specifically mention shipwrecks on the southeastern coast, a survey was conducted in the shallow area in and directly north of Kay Bay. Here, the sea floor is characterized by large rocky outcrops, some of which come up to a few decimeters below the surface. Where the outcrops end towards the west, a steep 3 to 5 meter drop leads to a sandy bottom. Directly in front of battery Nassau, a cannon was found at a distance of 85 meters from shore. The cannon, number 1001, is resting on a small sandy patch at a depth of 2 meters, surrounded by rocky plateaus approximately 50 centimeters below the surface. The cannon was too encrusted to determine its age or place of manufacture. No archaeological remains were found in the vicinity. Given the cannon's extremely shallow surroundings, it is unlikely that it was jettisoned by a ship that ran aground, as the draft of a ship carrying artillery was more than 50 centimeters. The cannon could have been part of a wrecked ship, whereby other – lighter – parts of the ship were deposited in other locations such as the deeper waters further to the west. This is not unlikely given the fact that heavy swells and waves can turn this area into a true 'washing machine.' The cannon may also have been thrown off the cliff by people at battery Nassau. Cannon were often discarded when they had become too rusty and therefore not fit for use. Wave action during hurricanes could have moved the cannon further away from shore.

The last area investigated was Tumble Down Dick Bay. This bay was frequented by smugglers, as indicated by the cliff bordering its southern side, which is named *Interlopers Cape*. In 1701, Dominican missionary Jean-Baptiste Labat noted upon arrival to Statia that:

> "As we were approaching this island we saw a ship at anchor to leeward of the fort off a place known as l'Interloppe, because this is the usual spot where these ships anchor, and as a matter of fact, this vessel was an interloper." (Eaden 1970:210)

When anchored close to shore in this sandy bay, ships could conduct their business out of sight from Fort Oranje. At the time Labat visited, independent Dutch slave traders, called *lorredraaijers*, were regularly selling enslaved people directly to French, English, and Spanish ships anchored at Tumble Down Dick Bay. It is not unlikely that due to all this activity close to shore, ships would wreck and shatter against the steep cliffs when a change in the weather occurred.

Four dives were made in Tumble Down Dick Bay as part of a commercial project carried out for NuStar by the author in 2014 (Stelten 2014). The aim of this project was to investigate if there were any archaeological remains, particularly those related to shipwrecks, present in close vicinity to NuStar's jetty or underwater pipes. Several artifacts were found in depressions in the sand around the jetty's central pilings around 500 meters from shore. These included fragments of ceramic and glass and several pieces of animal bone. The artifacts may have originated from anchored ships or even shipwrecks, but as no remains of ships were encountered, this could not be confirmed.

Figure 4.15 The cannon in front of battery Nassau which may be part of a wrecked ship. Photo by Mike Harterink.

The entire sea floor in Tumble Down Dick Bay was found to be composed of a thick layer of sand, so shipwrecks or other archaeological remains may have been buried at the time the survey was carried out.

4.2.3 From sea to shore

The transport and communication component did not end with ships on the road, but also included the harbor area and the island's extensive road network. Many enslaved laborers on St. Eustatius worked in port. Here, one of their main tasks was transporting cargo between ships and shore using canoes, and hauling it up the steep paths connecting Lower and Upper Town. Many small vessels were also used for other purposes that were hard to monitor. In 1790, Governor Pieter Godin issued a law whereby fishing canoes could only be used if there was at least one white person on board, as it was found that these vessels were often used by enslaved people to secretly take criminals off the island and to steal fish from other people's pots. Further measures to curtail these practices were taken two years later. From then on, all canoes had to be numbered and hauled ashore in front of the weighing house, and could not be used between sunset and sunrise (Schiltkamp & Smidt 1979:347). Sometimes there were so many old and discarded canoes on the beach in front of the weighing house that they prevented other canoes from landing there (Schiltkamp & Smidt 1979:325).

In 1834, when slavery was abolished in most of the British Empire, the Governor of St. Eustatius complained about enslaved people escaping to neighbouring English colonies in canoes, particularly to St. Kitts. As there were no penalties on attempts to escape or even successful escapes, it happened time and time again. Two years earlier,

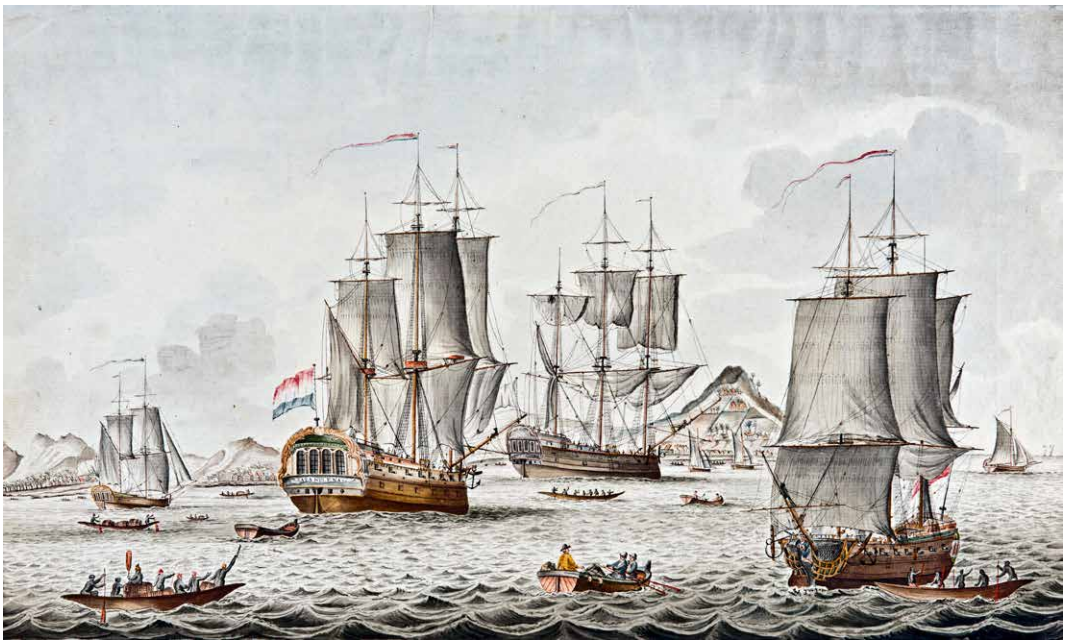


Figure 4.16 Drawing by S. Weuijster depicting slave traders on the roadstead of St. Eustatius in 1763. Goods and people are being transported between ships and the island by enslaved people in canoes. The ships in the foreground are anchored far offshore. Source: Atlas van Stolk collection, 9583, Rotterdam.

a law was passed whereby all canoes had to be attached to a chain and were watched by a guard at night, which made it harder for enslaved people to escape. This would not stop enslaved people from trying, as this resulted in them sneaking into the crater of the Quill and making at least two canoes from trees growing inside. To make matters worse, sometimes people from St. Kitts were actively involved in taking enslaved people from St. Eustatius, which happened at the remote bays out of sight from town (NA 1.05.08.01 – 730).

On many days, goods could not be transported safely between ships and shore due to heavy swells in the surf zone. G.B. Bosch, an early nineteenth-century traveler, described the landing he made on Lower Town's beach, whereby he got drenched in the surf when they approached the shore in a small sloop. Whenever the sea was rough and swells near the beach were high, landing here was not an easy task. During Bosch's stay on the island, the sloop of the captain of the ship he came with even capsized when he was trying to get back to the ship. Undoubtedly, many sloops loaded with goods would share the same fate, whereby their cargo disappeared into the sea. According to Bosch, enslaved laborers were skilled at maneuvering small boats in the swell, but European sailors who were not used to these conditions often experienced difficulties performing this task (Bosch 1829:28). A few years after Bosch's experiences, Kidder provided a colorful account of the landing in Lower Town:

> "In order to land persons or goods in St. Eustatius with safety, boats are built with very sharp keels, long, narrow, and deep. They have, of course, a greater hold in the water, and are not so easily upset as a shallow, flat-bottomed boat would be. […] Boating, porterage, and everything of that kind, is done by either free persons of color, or slaves, who hire out and pay their owners for their time. Now in St. Eustatius there is a gang of boatmen, of strong muscular frames, and such a complete knowledge of the surf, that let the beach be white with the foam of the restless surge, they scarcely ever hesitate to take off or land passengers or goods. […] On the arrival of a vessel on the roadstead of the island, boats are immediately seen pushing off from the sandy beach on the bay, and making towards it. On their arrival along side, which each endeavors to be the first to accomplish, should there be passengers, the usual question, "Want to go ashore, sir?" leads to a regular negotiation. Bargains being made, the passengers get in the boat, and it is shoved off. Each boat has two oarsmen, who are so expert and well trained that they require no helmsman. […] As they draw near the beach […] they cease rowing until a good opportunity offers. […] By common consent, each man comprising the gang of boatmen, if on shore at the time a boat draws near, is bound to come out and stand ready on the beach, to aid in the landing. Thus six, eight, or more of these fellows may be seen ready, in two lines, to seize the boat the instant she is within their reach. At a moment which they judge the most propitious, the men resume their rowing; the boat is now fairly within the influence of the surf; with terrific velocity the surges bear her onwards, and when the passenger, unused to such kinds of landing on foreign shores, imagines that the boat and its crew must of necessity be dashed on the shore, and upset in

> the foaming, roaring surf, the men on the land, the moment the boat is within their grasp, seize the gunwale, and, keeping her upright, walk her up high and dry far above the reach of the next wave." (Kidder 1849:31)

There appear to have been other, less exciting options for small vessels to land as well. In 2014, SECAR students mapped parts of Lower Town's submerged remains in order to gain a better understanding of how the port operated. Several large walls are present in the shallows next to the weighing house, in front of the Waterfort, and approximately 50 meters south of Golden Era Hotel. It was always assumed that these walls were part of warehouse structures, but careful examination resulted in a different interpretation. The walls are 120 centimeters thick – much thicker than the walls that make up the warehouse structures – indicating they were used as protection against the sea. On several historic drawings of Lower Town, square docks are shown at various locations. The thick walls in shallow water are the remains of these docks, which were used by row boats and canoes to load and offload goods for transport between larger ships and the island. According to Janet Schaw, "one half of the town is gained off the sea, which is fenced out by barracadoes" (Schaw 1921:136). The docks are most likely the "barracadoes" mentioned by Schaw. These facilitated easy loading and offloading of goods, while at the same time protecting Lower Town from erosion and destruction by wave action. The locations of these walls mark important areas in Lower Town: on either side of the weighing house in the center of town, and on Lower Town's northern side in front of the Waterfort, where enslaved Africans were offloaded and stored.

There was one road running through Lower Town, which was connected to Upper Town by several steep paths. Teenstra mentioned three: the oldest path going up to Fort Oranje that was paved in 1787, a path to the north leading to Rotterdam battery, and the so-called 'new path' in the southeastern part of Lower Town. The latter, he said, is very steep and hard to climb (Teenstra 1837:327). A map of the island made in 1781 by P.F. Martin shows an additional path at Crooks Castle at Lower Town's southern end. These paths were used by enslaved laborers to transport goods from Lower Town to the rest of the island and vice versa. Most goods were transported on foot or by cart, but as indicated by early twentieth-century photographs, mules and donkeys were used at this time as well. Kidder resumed his account of the landing in Lower Town with a vivid description of the transportation of goods on the island:

> "In a similar manner all articles of importation, of whatever description, are landed; with this difference, however, that when the boat is safely on the beach, out of the reach of the surf, all smaller parcels being lifted out, she is then carefully turned on one side on her beam-ends, and being propped up, larger and heavier things, such as barrels of flour, beef, or pork, puncheons of corn-meal, or boxes of dry goods, are all rolled out upon the dry sand and deposited in the warehouses. But one of the most laborious pieces of work, is to transport heavy articles up or down the zig-zag road previously alluded to. No wheeled carriage or cart, drawn by beasts of burden, can carry a load either up or down so steep a path. Some of the inhabitants will ascend or descend on horseback, but even this others are afraid to risk. The conveyance of all merchandise, then, is performed by manual labor altogether. The pro-

> ductions of the country, such as sugar, rum, molasses, yams, and a few other things, if in barrels or boxes, are lashed to two poles, and four men, with the ends of these poles on their heads, sometimes on their shoulders, for a change, convey them down the beach. If these products of the island are put up in larger vessels, such as hogsheads or puncheons, a little hand-cart called a "truck," – with very heavy axles, four small wheels constructed of one solid piece of the hardest wood, and only a few inches in diameter, and a very long pole, – is used. It is an operation not free from danger to the poor slaves to use these trucks, in conveying down the hill a large cask of sugar of twelve or fifteen hundred pounds. Eight men or more lay hold of this long pole, and cautiously, step by step, let down this little cart with its immense weight over the round paving stones of this precipitous path. Barrels, lashed to poles, are conveyed up the hill on the heads or shoulders of men; and heavier articles, such as corn-meal in puncheons, or large boxes, are rolled up the hill – a long and tedious process." (Kidder 1849:34)

The urban area was connected to the rest of the island by a network of roads and paths which facilitated access to even the most remote parts of the island. These roads were constantly deteriorating and therefore needed regular maintenance, as is evidenced by an ordinance aimed at slave owners to provide enslaved laborers for road repairs, which was issued sixteen times between 1782 and 1815 (Schiltkamp & Smidt 1979:316). Enslaved people thus played a pivotal role in the transport and communication component, from transporting goods to maintaining the main traffic arteries on the island. Given this knowledge, combined with the findings from paragraph 5.1.1. in which the locations of slave housing are discussed, and the fact that trade increased exponentially during the second half of the eighteenth century which caused a fluctuation in the need for port workers, Klooster's statement that "throughout the century […] the majority of them [enslaved people] were put to work on the sugar and cotton plantations" seems an overgeneralization (Klooster 1998:89).

After the collapse of the island's economy, Lower Town remained the place where the import and export of goods took place, albeit on a much smaller scale. In 1829, Governor Van Raders started the construction of a breakwater to protect the weighing house and adjacent beach from rough seas. It was to become 220 meters in length and the total cost was budgeted at 60,000 guilders, which is the equivalent of 627,000 US dollars in today's terms.[22] The plan for this breakwater is preserved in the National Archives in The Hague (NA 4.MIKO 3.A.2.5.2. – 336). The actual construction of the breakwater is shown in the bottom right corner of Figure 4.5. According to Teenstra, the breakwater was never finished due to cutbacks. When he visited the island in 1834, the structure was in a very dilapidated state and had largely washed away (Teenstra 1837:325).

In 1906, a new 45-meter-long, T-shaped pier was constructed in front of the weighing house for the export of cotton, sisal, and trass, a type of pumice from the White Wall area that was used in the production of mortar (Hartog 1976:106). The pier rested on metal posts, had a wooden deck, and a staircase on its southern end. At

22 Calculated using the website http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/calculate.php.

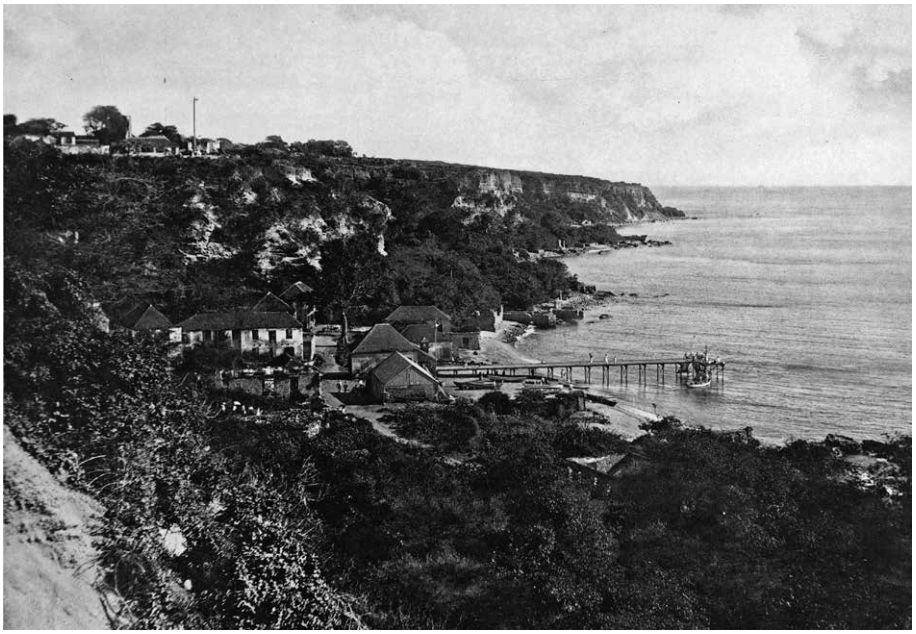


Figure 4.17 The pier and Lower Town in 1910 or shortly after. At this time, the stone docks had already been destroyed by the sea. Source: private collection, St. Eustatius resident.

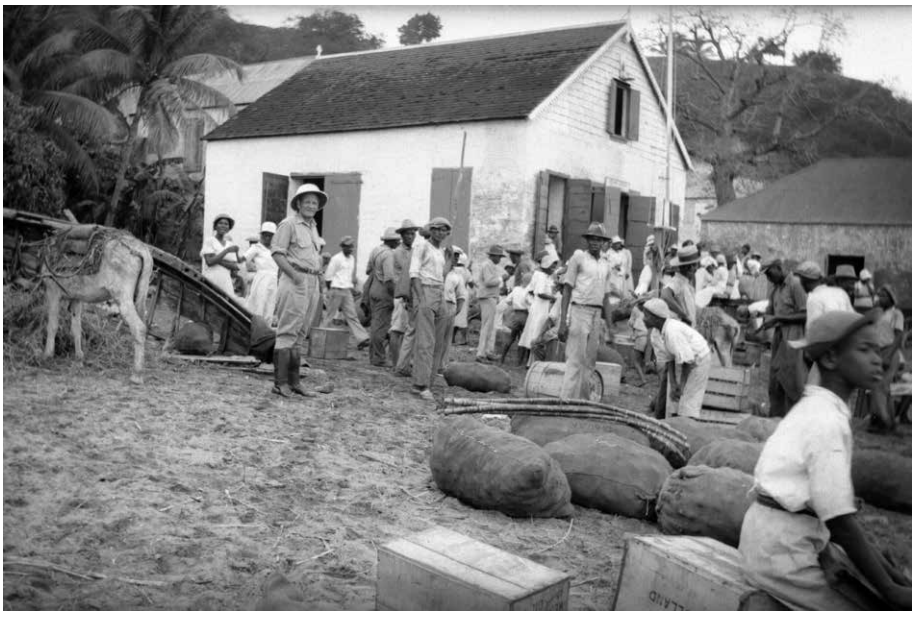


Figure 4.18 People picking up newly arrived goods at the customs office (the old weighing house) in 1928. Photo courtesy of June Bolton.

some point in time it was reinforced with concrete at its base, but the exact year this was done is unknown. The pier made it easier for vessels to load and offload goods as they did not have to go through the swells and onto the beach anymore. The end of the

pier, however, was still fairly close to shore in shallow water, so vessels using the pier were often affected by swells too. To tackle this problem, a 23-meter-long extension of the structure was planned, but this project never came to fruition (Grol 1921:161). The pier fell into disrepair after 1935, when the export of trass came to an end. The area around the old weighing house remained the focus of the island's import and export until well into the twentieth century. This was the place where people came to pick up imported goods. The pier has remained a unique Statian landmark until the present day.

4.2.4 Discussion

The abundance of archaeological remains related to the transport and communication component underscores its prominent role in the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius. The historic anchorage zone, ships, and terrestrial structures were all part of a complex and dynamic system aimed at facilitating the transport of large numbers of people, goods, and ideas in the best way possible. In this section, the findings discussed above will be examined to determine their significance and the role each element played in the transport and communication component of the maritime cultural landscape.

The present research into the size of the roadstead refutes the conclusions of a previous study into this topic. In 1983 and 1984, a survey of Oranje Bay was undertaken by the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology of the Netherlands Antilles (AAINA) and the College of William & Mary in order to gather information about the size and location of the historical anchorage (Nagelkerken 1985). Besides a visual survey, artifacts were collected that provided information on the nature and uses of the harbor area. Surveys and artifact collection were conducted using two lines running perpendicular to the shoreline, one measuring 400 meters, the other 300 meters. After each side of the line was surveyed to a distance of 10 m from the line and artifacts were collected and documented, the lines were moved 50 to 100 meters further in a northern direction parallel to the previous transect. This was done nine times (eighteen transects) during the 1983 campaign, and seventeen times (34 transects) in 1984. An area of 1,200 meters long and 600 meters wide was surveyed in this way. Artifacts found included glass wine and gin bottles, ceramic bowls and plates, clay tobacco pipes, muskets, shoe buckles, cutlery, furniture handles, candle holders, tankards, chisels, axes, hinges, locks, and keys. It was determined that five or more artifacts per transect mark the main historic anchorage. The width of the anchorage was defined by determining the point where a minimum of ten artifacts per given distance from shore were found. This was done for four different areas along the shore. The main historic anchorage was determined to be around 900 meters long and located in a zone between 500 and 900 meters from shore on a central bearing of about 60° from the Dutch Reformed Church. The width was found to be greatest in front of Fort Oranje (325 meters), and narrowest in front of the King's Well (50 meters). It was concluded that the greatest activity of ships could be found in front of Fort Oranje and the Dutch Reformed Church with a gradual slow decrease in activity in northwestern direction and a quick one in southeastern direction (Nagelkerken 1985:40).

The researchers of the above-mentioned study based their conclusions on the assumption that the absence or low concentration of artifacts is an indicator of the absence of anchorage zones. The area where the densest concentration of artifacts was

found, between 500 and 900 meters from shore, was marked as the main anchorage. It seems reasonable to assume – as researchers did in the 1980s – that artifacts on the sea floor reflect the actions of sailors discarding them. In other words, the more artifacts present at a certain location, the more artifacts were thrown overboard, and thus the more ships anchored there. This theory, however, is based on the principle that the current distribution of archaeological material is similar to that in the past. The author has made over 400 dives in the waters of St. Eustatius, many of which were done in the area surveyed in the 1980s. The sea floor in this area – and in many other places around the island – was found to be extremely dynamic. Every year around March and April, swells move sand from deeper waters to shore, thereby extending and widening the beaches. During hurricane season from August to November, much if not all of this beach sand is taken away by storm surges and deposited in deeper waters again. The depth of certain areas can thus change several meters after a hurricane due to large amounts of sediment being moved. It is not only sand that is moved; small artifacts are moved around relatively easily as well. A wave's strength and impact – its ability to move water molecules – decreases with depth (Richardson 2008:2-29). This means that the relatively small and light sand particles will be eroded and deposited by a wave at greater depths than relatively heavy artifacts will. Sand particles can stay in suspension even if the wave strength at depth is minimal, but the same wave strength is not sufficient to keep artifacts in suspension. This results in artifacts and other types of heavy sediment being eroded and deposited in particular areas or depth ranges. The distribution of artifacts on the sea floor is therefore much more the result of natural erosion and sedimentation processes than it is a reflection of the location and size of the main historic anchorage area as indicated by past human activities. Even though artifacts were undoubtedly thrown overboard by sailors, given the above, it is likely that many artifacts found in the area that was designated as the main anchorage zone in the 1980s were not discarded by sailors at all; they may have been discarded by people on shore and moved to deeper waters by wave action. The nature of the landing on Lower Town's beaches, as described above, also contributed to artifacts ending up in the sea.

From the above it follows that artifact densities cannot be used to determine the location and size of the road. The only way to accurately determine the size and extent of the roadstead is by combining the results of the three analyses used in this study: contemporary accounts of anchoring depths and ideal anchoring locations, the composition of the sea floor, and the distribution of lost anchors. The maximum depth of the area designated by the researchers in the 1980s as the main historic anchorage, at 900 meters from shore, is 20 meters or 11 fathoms. As shown above, the documentary record contains many accounts indicating that a large part of Statia's anchorage was located further offshore in deeper waters, and was thus much larger than previously thought. The distribution of lost anchors corroborates the findings from the documentary record. Many anchors were found at the anchoring depths described in ship logs, on maps, and in traveler's accounts. The fact that these anchors were lost at these locations indicates that ships dropped their anchors in the vicinity.

It is, however, too simplistic to use anchor distribution as the only variable in determining the size of the road. Another important variable is the composition of the sea floor, which was a determining factor in deciding where to anchor. The composition of the sea floor was found to be sandy around most anomalies that were investigated,

indicating that good anchoring grounds existed around the coral reefs and rocky outcrops that anchors got hooked on. Based on the results and observations from the side scan sonar and diving surveys, areas were marked as good, reasonable, or bad anchorage zones depending on the composition of the sea floor.[23] This information, combined with the anchor distribution and documentary evidence – such as anchoring depths – discussed above, was used to determine the extent of the road. These findings are presented in Appendix V. The total area of the anchorage zone was approximately 4.2 km^2. It measured 2.5 kilometers at its widest points on a northwest – southeast axis. The westernmost tip was 2.5 kilometers from shore. This information has important implications for various aspects of the maritime cultural landscape, which will be discussed in the section dealing with safety on the road in Chapter 6. Taking into consideration that there could be up to 200 ships in port during Statia's economic boom, this area would have been of sufficient size to accommodate all these vessels. With 200 ships at anchor in this area, the average space for a vessel was 21,000 m^2, which is a little over two hectares.[24] Several anchors were found in locations other than the road, such as Corre Corre Bay and Jenkins Bay. These remote bays, out of sight from town, were ideal for carrying out smuggling activities at times when the colonial administration tried to curtail these practices. Anchors 2 and 31 may have come from ships involved in the illicit trade, although this is impossible to confirm.

The anchor is the most numerous type of artifact found during the survey of the road. One important issue that warrants discussion is how and why anchors ended up on their present locations. The documentary record holds some answers to these questions. Several eighteenth- and nineteenth-century visitors noted that Statia's road was dangerous during hurricane season, as it was too exposed (Dieterich 1798:272; Teenstra 1837:324). A sudden change in the weather therefore meant that ships could not find refuge in a protected harbor but had to move to open water quickly in order to avoid being driven ashore. The sudden appearance of strong gusts of wind may have caused ships to drag their anchors, causing them to be buried deeper into the sea floor. In this situation, weighing the anchor would have been a lengthy, if not impossible task. The quickest way to start moving was to simply cut the anchor cable and sail away. A lost anchor was a small price to pay given the likelihood of being dashed to pieces on the island's rocky shores. Another reason why many anchors were lost was because of the underwater topography, which exhibits many reefs containing cracks in which anchors could easily get stuck. When an anchor was thrown overboard, the movement of the ship dragged it along a sandy bottom causing the anchor to bury itself. Sometimes, when the anchor was being dragged, it would encounter such a reef. Once stuck, it could be very difficult to free an anchor, particularly during strong

23 Sandy areas are perfect for anchoring, while areas containing many rocks, reefs, or rocky outcrops are unsuitable as these do not allow an anchor to bury itself. Areas designated as reasonable are those that were sandy but contained some rocks and/or rocky outcrops. It should be noted that, particularly in shallow areas close to shore, sand is moved around by wave action each year, which may change the designation. A good anchorage area in October may be a bad anchorage area in April.

24 It should be noted that De Jong's estimate of 200 anchored ships is most likely not representative for the entire period of Statia's economic boom during the latter four decades of the eighteenth century. According to the 1787 shipping records discussed in paragraph 7.4.1, 2,755 ships dropped anchor on Statia's road in that year, an average of 7.5 ships per day. Most ships only stayed for one or a few days, meaning that there were on average per day perhaps no more than a couple dozen ships in port in 1787.

winds and storms. A rocky composition of the sea floor could cause ships to lose an anchor as well. The captain of the *Middelburgs Welvaren* commented that on the day before her return voyage, an anchor rope snapped, but they were still able to weigh the anchor with another rope. Apparently the rope had scraped too much on the rocks or a loose anchor on the sea floor, causing it to break (NL-MdbZA_20_787, folio 63). Not just environmental conditions played a role in losing an anchor, sometimes this was caused by human errors as well. In 1761, Captain Bylandt described an unfortunate situation in the log of the Dutch warship *Maarssen* (NA 1.01.47.17 – 48, folio 81). The *Maarssen* had planned to depart St. Eustatius with a number of other ships and sail back to Europe in convoy. As several ships weighed their anchors simultaneously, one ship came too close to the *Maarssen* and almost crashed into her. To prevent a crash, the *Maarssen* needed to move away so Captain Bylandt ordered more rope to be added to his anchor. The extra movement this generated to his ship caused its anchor to become detached from the sea floor and the *Maarssen* to crash into the bow of another ship that lay just downwind from her. In order to become detached, the other ship had to cut its anchor rope, thereby losing an anchor.

Previous research by the author in 2010, during which twelve *in situ* anchors were located and documented on popular dive sites, demonstrated a high correlation between anchors and coral reefs. Most anchors were found in, on, or near reefs where they got stuck and could not be weighed. The main goal of the present survey was to investigate all those reefs that had never been dived before and were located within practical diving depths. As is shown in Appendix IV, a total of 41 anchors were found around the island, 29 of which were discovered during the survey presented here. In addition, at least four more anchors, known by local fishermen and marine park rangers, could not be located. Most anchors are located on, in, or near reefs, the only exceptions being anchors 17, 35, 36, and 43, which are located on a sandy bottom with no reef in the immediate vicinity. With 90 percent of all anchors associated with reefs, it is clear that the main reason for losing an anchor on Statia's road was by getting hooked onto these structures which made it difficult and sometimes even impossible to weigh the anchor. This information is extremely useful as it can be used to predict anchor concentrations on other islands. The four anchors that are located in the sand may have been cut loose as ships were quickly trying to get away due to bad weather, or ended up here due to human errors like the one described in the *Maarssen*'s log.

The places of manufacture for several anchors found during this investigation could be determined, but it was extremely difficult to assign the majority to a particular nation or ship. The reason for this is the many similarities between anchors manufactured in different countries. Differences are usually very subtle, and often not apparent on anchors that are partly buried or completely overgrown with corals and sponges. Even when an identification can be made, information on an anchor's origin does not necessarily provide any information on activities in Statia's surrounding waters. For example, prior to the United States' independence, the North Americans imported all their anchors from Great Britain. They were exported by merchants such as Englishman Ralph Carr, who established a successful trade with the North American colonies. In the mid-eighteenth century he shipped so-called 'ballast commodities' – among which were anchors – used to fill partially laden vessels on the westbound voyage from Newcastle to New York and Boston (Stelten 2010:31). This example demonstrates that

it is impossible to determine whether an eighteenth-century English anchor found on the bottom of the sea signifies the presence of an English or a North American ship.

The situation can be even more complicated, as shown by the example of the *Sancta Barbera* in Chapter 6. The *Sancta Barbera* had been under Dutch command, was captured by a British privateer off Nevis, and sold in St. Kitts to a Spanish captain. It was flying the Spanish flag, but the ship still bore its original name *Maria Christina* on the back. This example shows that a ship was not necessarily Dutch, British, or Spanish – it could change hands frequently and new owners each left their mark on it. If this ship had lost an anchor, it might have been a Dutch one, if one or all of its anchors had not already been replaced throughout her lifespan.[25] However, the loss of a Dutch anchor, which enters the archaeological record, does not at all signify the presence of Dutch people or even a Dutch ship. While the ship in question was made in the Netherlands, its activities were not reflected in the lost anchor as it had changed hands several times. If one of its anchors had been replaced by an English anchor in St. Kitts, and this anchor was lost on Statia's road, its country of manufacture would equally provide no information on the complex life of the ship. Thus, the presence of, for example, a Dutch anchor, does not necessarily signify the presence of a Dutch ship or Dutch people. For this reason, the origins of the Statian anchors cannot be used to determine the origins of the ships anchoring on its road and the shipping activities that were taking place here. Any attempt in trying to do so will most likely result in misleading interpretations. Therefore, this information is not included in the analysis.

The size of an anchor reflected its use. Generally speaking, smaller anchors, called *kedgers*, were used in calm weather. *Stream anchors* were a little larger, and used in light currents. The largest anchors, called *bowers*, were used during rougher conditions. No correlation between anchor size and location was discerned from the available evidence. Anchors of varying sizes are distributed randomly. This is to be expected given the exposed nature of the road. There is not necessarily much difference in sea conditions between areas that are close to shore and those that are further away. Moreover, conditions could be extremely variable: one day it could be very calm, while the next there could be a hurricane passing through. Ships were therefore not always using the same anchors in the same areas, resulting in a random distribution of anchors on the roadstead.

The documentary record provides numerous examples of shipwrecks around St. Eustatius. It was expected that these would be more conspicuous in the underwater archaeological record. This seems, however, not to be the case. Four wreck sites were encountered and studied during the 1980s field seasons. In addition, one more shipwreck location – that of the Blue Bead Wreck – was identified during the present survey. The cannon in front of battery Nassau may have ended up here due to wrecking events, but this could not be confirmed. It was expected that many more remains were to be found along the northern shores of the island. The reason for the relative lack of shipwreck sites around the island in general can be attributed to several factors. First, the

25 Evidence of a ship replacing lost anchors with those of a different country of manufacture is found in a letter from the captain of the *Princes Royal Frederique Sophie Wilhelmine* to his superiors. In it, he mentions that another ship lost two of its anchors, and that he will try to get a new one at Martinique or Antigua. It is unlikely that there was a supply of Dutch anchors on those islands, so the replacement anchor was almost certainly of French or English manufacture.

ever-changing sea floor can obscure shipwreck sites. During certain times of the year, large amounts of sand are moved from the beaches and shallow water to deeper waters, and vice versa. This sand can be several meters thick, and can easily bury archaeological sites. The absence of shipwreck remains on the sea floor does therefore not necessarily mean that they are not present. Second, after a wrecking event, many parts of a vessel were usually salvaged. As many ships calling at St. Eustatius required repairs performed by shipyards on the island, items such as masts, spars, rigging, metal fittings, anchors, and cables were very useful. Particularly those ships that wrecked close to shore in shallow waters would have been stripped of many of its constituent parts. Third, ships crashing into shore may have drifted to deeper water, where they eventually foundered. It is not unlikely that shipwreck remains may be located at greater depths that could not be investigated.

The study of shipwrecks on St. Eustatius has thus far not provided any indications of the types of ships that were wrecked or even attempted to determine what types of vessels were coming to the island. More research, in the form of large-scale excavations, needs to be conducted to determine which ship types made their way into the archaeological record. Nevertheless, as documentary evidence about ship types abounds, some general observations about ship types on Statia's roadstead can be made. Many different types of ships frequented the island. The Bermuda sloop was a type of ship regularly found on the roadstead. Bermuda sloops were one-masted, fore-and-aft rigged vessels which, as their name suggests, were developed and built in Bermuda from the seventeenth century onwards. They are frequently depicted on eighteenth-century drawings of the road. These fast, lightweight ships were relatively easy to maneuver upwind, and were mostly used in the inter-island trade or *kleine vaart* and as privateering vessels. Trading activities of Bermudian sloops were characterized by opportunistic voyages within a very irregular pattern. In one journey, they could sail to several different North American and Caribbean ports to buy and sell whatever goods local market conditions dictated. The type of ship frequently used by the Dutch to transport enslaved Africans to St. Eustatius was the snow, a fast, two-masted ship that was employed in both navy and merchant service from the seventeenth century onwards. Interestingly, frigates – fast-sailing and relatively small warships – often called at St. Eustatius with a cargo of enslaved Africans as well. In eighteenth-century ship logs, frequent mention is also made of large ships calling at Statia, such as the barque and the barquentine. Dutch men-of-war also visited St. Eustatius, such as the *Maarssen,* the *Princes Royal Frederique Sophie Wilhelmine*, and the *Mars*. French and British men-of-war did so too, particularly in times of war and when the island was about to change hands once again.

Despite the shortcomings outlined above, the research into shipwrecks and the road has provided many useful insights into maritime activities around St. Eustatius and the potential for future research. First, as most ships probably wrecked against the island's rocky shorelines and shattered to pieces, the greatest potential for shipwreck research lies in those ships that foundered on the roadstead. These vessels and their cargoes still form coherent sites. Some shipwrecks even contain wooden remains. Second, their cargoes provides unique insights into goods traded on the island. For example, blue beads were shipped to St. Eustatius in large quantities, probably by the tens of thousands. While the exact role(s) these enigmatic objects played in Statian society are not very well understood, it is clear that they were very prominent given the large numbers of

beads found at the wreck site associated with them and on virtually all terrestrial sites investigated on Statia thus far. Third, the anchor survey combined with documentary information has enabled the creation of an accurate map of the roadstead that for the first time depicts where thousands of sailors lived their lives. This map can form the basis for an underwater predictive model that will be a first step in the management of Statia's underwater cultural heritage. The survey information can be used to determine areas with low, medium, and high expectancy for archaeological remains, which will be an important tool in managing archaeological sites and even the underwater archaeological landscape as a whole. Its use can be expanded beyond the waters of St. Eustatius, as it can be utilized to predict the locations of archaeological sites and artifacts on other islands as well. Last, this research has provided a new methodology for analyzing historical anchorage areas. Only by studying archaeological remains in conjunction with the documentary record, the natural landscape, and geomorphological processes can the size, location, and extent of a roadstead be fully investigated.

4.3 The resource component

The resource component involves the resources necessary to sustain an insular population. It includes foodstuffs grown and collected locally and a variety of imported products that could not be acquired on the island itself. This component played a key role in Statia's economic development. It will be argued that without a well-developed resource component, the island could not have become such an important player in the Atlantic and Caribbean trading networks. At the height of its prosperity in the late eighteenth century, there were almost 9,000 mouths to feed, not including the thousands of sailors that were present on the island at any given time. Ensuring an adequate supply of food, water, and other necessities of life on a small island was a constant challenge, but one that needed to be overcome for Statia's community to exist and have a chance of succeeding on the world stage.

4.3.1 Water supply

Compared to neighboring islands such as St. Kitts, a large part of St. Eustatius is very dry. During hurricane season, however, there is generally much more rainfall than during the first eight months of the year. The long dry season coupled with a lack of running water meant that maintaining an adequate water supply was not as easy for people on St. Eustatius as it was for those on nearby islands like St. Kitts. On Statia, water was obtained in three ways: collecting rain water in cisterns, obtaining ground water from wells, and importing water from other islands.

There are countless cisterns spread across the island. As Upper Town was the main residential area, most cisterns are found here, but a significant area of Lower Town was dedicated to the collection and storage of rain water as well. During a survey in Lower Town, the author recorded a total of seventeen cisterns, but there are undoubtedly more to be found beneath the eroded sediment from the cliffs. The large number of cisterns and three wells in Lower Town indicates that maintaining an adequate water supply was a very important aspect of life in this part of the island. Not only did the local population collect water for themselves, they also supplied tens of thousands of sailors calling at St. Eustatius each year. On a dry island like Statia, ensuring that every

drop of rain was collected was thus very important and much-needed warehouse space in Lower Town was reserved for cisterns and wells.

Urban areas were not the only places where large numbers of cisterns were built; many are found in the countryside as well. Most estates had several cisterns of varying sizes. During a survey conducted by the author on Steward Plantation, three differently-sized cisterns were found within 150 meters of each other (Stelten 2012). One of these contained a drinking trough for animals. Most cisterns on the island were fed by rainwater collected on the roofs of nearby buildings. However, one cistern at Steward Plantation was not located beside a roofed structure but was instead fed by a plastered catchment basin at ground level. While some cisterns could only hold a few thousand liters of water, one cistern found by the author near Benners Plantation could hold a staggering 29,000 liters.

A total of twenty historic wells dot the Statian landscape, but because these have never been dated, it is unknown if these were all in use simultaneously. Many are located on larger estates such as Golden Rock, Concordia, English Quarter, and Fair Play. Because of their large size, these plantations employed more people than their smaller counterparts. A larger employee base meant more mouths to feed, requiring more land dedicated to provisioning grounds and more water for irrigation. Besides people and crops, animals that were used in the sugar production process – for example those used to power the mills that crushed the cane – also needed water. The presence of animal troughs around many wells on Statia indicates that they were important in providing water to cattle and other farm animals.

Only two short accounts provide historical data on the quality of ground water. One is from Daniel Rolander, a Swede who visited the island in 1756 and commented on the water from one of the wells:

> "Its water was cold, potable and without salt. Many ships put in at the island for its sake. We also bought its water, although I do not remember what was paid for a barrel of the water. Clearly the island made a good amount of money from this well." (Dobreff et al. 2008:343)

The other account dates to 1819 and was written by Governor Johannes de Veer, who states that the water from the wells was mostly brackish (De Hullu 1913:431). It was consumed by cattle and sometimes by enslaved people as well. He does not mention free people using water from the wells. Recent studies into ground water geochemistry of St. Eustatius has indicated that the water from several wells in the interior of the island is composed of rain water that has filtered into the volcano's superstructure (Roobol & Smith 2004:257). Several other wells, such as those at Crook's Castle and Lynch, are located less than 50 meters from the sea. These most likely produced brackish water of inferior quality.

During the dry season, water was sometimes imported from St. Kitts, where several streams ensured a more reliable source of water (Teenstra 1837:323). Many ships on the road sent smaller vessels to St. Kitts to get water as well. There were exceptions, such as the frigate *Middelburgs Welvaren* and the *Maarssen* (NL-MdbZA_20_787, folio 61-63; NA 1.01.47.17 – 48, folio 63-81). The *Maarssen*'s captain was concerned about pirates and privateers sailing between Statia and St. Kitts who might capture his vessel

while getting water. Despite the fact that it was the end of hurricane season and there was plenty of water on the island, at six reales per hogshead, water was nonetheless very expensive on Statia. Because of the aforementioned security concerns, Statian water was the preferred choice for the *Maarssen*. The *Princes Royal Frederique Sophie Wilhelmine* got most of her water from Old Road in St. Kitts, but also took in water from a well, presumably on St. Eustatius (NA 1.01.46 – 2417, folio 135-169).

4.3.2 Provisioning grounds

The importance of provisioning grounds for the economic success of St. Eustatius cannot be overstated. Even though enslaved laborers were provided with rations by their masters, these were often supplemented by food grown, collected, or caught by themselves. Enslaved laborers cultivated a variety of fruits, vegetables and root crops in provisioning grounds near their living quarters. A 1701 proclamation stated that all plantations had to be prepared for planting sugar cane, cassava, potatoes, and other fruits within three years to avoid confiscation (Schiltkamp & Smidt 1979:279). Besides enslaved people, poor whites and free people of color were also producing their own food. In town there were small gardens behind people's houses, where food was grown on a very small scale for private consumption or to be sold in the streets or at the market, which was located at the site of present-day Wilhelmina Park.

The total land area in possession of planters in the 1830s was 1059 hectares, of which 332 hectares was dedicated to sugar cane and 61 hectares to provisioning grounds. Based on cartographic evidence, Gilmore calculated that on average, 22 percent of each plantation on St. Eustatius was dedicated to provisioning grounds in 1781 (Gilmore 2004:169). This is slightly higher than in the 1830s, which is to be expected given that, during this time, there were far fewer mouths to feed than half a century earlier.

Figure 4.19 The only known historic drawing of a Statian sugar plantation and provisioning grounds, dating to 1761. In the foregrounds coconut trees, pineapples, and root crops are depicted. Source: Nederlands Scheepvaartmuseum Amsterdam, no. A.1710 (03).

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century visitors commented on the vast quantities of yams produced on the island, which had a reputation for being the best in the West Indies (Teenstra 1837:350). Statian pineapples were also regarded as the best in the Caribbean. Other crops that were grown included sweet potato, maize, cassava, and various herbs and vegetables (Teenstra 1837:350).[26] Fruit trees that are common on the island today are tamarind, coconut, guava, mango, breadfruit and orange. Some, if not all of these were certainly exploited by enslaved people as well. Zimmerman noted that lemon, orange, coconut, and banana trees were found around people's houses to provide shade (NA 3.01.26 – 161).

In 2012 and 2013, the author excavated a slave quarters on Schotsenhoek plantation. The results of this investigation provide some insight into enslaved peoples' subsistence strategies. A grinding stone found in a feature that marked a corner post of one of the huts indicates that enslaved people were most likely preparing their own food in this settlement (Stelten 2015:298). The grinding stone could have been used in the processing of cassava or maize. Provisions grown by the enslaved people were probably located immediately north of the settlement, marked by a row of posts indicating a fence that may have been used to protect the crops from being eaten by roaming animals.

Not all locally-produced food, however, was grown on provisioning grounds or near the house. Teenstra described the lush vegetation he encountered on his hike into the Quill's crater: "Everywhere one can see banana trees, nice cacao and coffee beans, soursop, and many others" (Teenstra 1837:336). Four decades earlier, Zimmerman visited the crater and noted seeing grapes, large water melons, papaya, oranges, coconuts, lemons, figs, and many other fruits unknown to him. It seems that the crater housed an abundance of food, so it is likely that people frequently hiked up and in the mountain to collect it.

The large variety of crops grown in provisioning grounds and available in nature ensured a healthy diet among the island's population which increased life expectancy and productivity among the enslaved work force. This made the difficult lives that many enslaved laborers led a little more bearable. Osteological research at Galways Plantation on Montserrat, where extensive provisioning grounds were also present, has indicated that slaves there did not suffer the nutritional stress that has been shown for enslaved people in Caribbean environments where gardening was restricted due to climatic conditions or repressive plantation management (Pulsipher 1990:27).

4.3.3 Fishing

Besides provisioning grounds, enslaved people supplemented their diets – and the diets of others – by fishing. They used canoes for this purpose, which were beached at Lower Town. Stealing fish from other people's pots was a common practice among

26 Growing up on a farm in the Netherlands, and eventually buying one himself, Teenstra might have been particularly interested in Statia's agriculture; in his work this topic is described in detail. Early on in his career, Teenstra traveled to South Africa and Java, and worked as a superintendent for construction projects in Surinam. In these locations, he experienced the horrors of slavery and developed a strong aversion against it which he voiced publicly. This might have biased his writings. Nevertheless, the view that emerges from his work is that there was plenty of food available on St. Eustatius, even for the enslaved population.

Figure 4.20 A 265 kg leatherback turtle that was caught at Zeelandia in 1932 when she came up to the beach to lay eggs. She was brought into town by donkey cart and butchered a few days later. Source: SECAR collection.

enslaved people (Schiltkamp & Smidt 1979:340). Turtle was heavily exploited by enslaved people on St. Eustatius and even exported throughout the colonial period (Gilmore 2004:170). One bay on the east coast of the island was, and still is called Turtle Bay, hinting at the significance of this resource. This bay exhibits a wide beach, which is used by turtles to lay eggs. Coming up to the beach at night, they would have been easy prey and once caught, provided ample food.[27] Zimmerman remarked on the excellent quality of fish, and turtle in particular. While turtle meat was consumed by enslaved people on St. Eustatius and throughout the Caribbean, visitors to the island consumed turtle as well; ship doctor Joannes Veltkamp reports having eaten it in 1761 (Baars 2014).

In the nineteenth century, fishing on Statia was practiced on a smaller scale than it was on other islands. According to Teenstra, a lot of fish were poisoned, which resulted in many deaths. Therefore, most fish was imported from elsewhere (Teenstra 1837:359). Teenstra was most likely referring to ciguatera poisoning, which still occurs in predatory fish around St. Eustatius, Saba (including the Saba Bank) and St. Kitts such as barracuda (*Sphyraena barracuda*), grouper (*Mycteroperca spp*) and red snapper (*Lutjanus campechanus*). Cornelius de Jong, who mentioned that sailors spent large amounts of time on fishing, reported a case of ciguatera poisoning after eating two freshly caught fish. Within three hours after consumption, the crew became extremely sick and it took over a week for them to recover (De Jong 1807:174).

A six centimeter long fish hook, found in a ditch in the northwestern part of the Schotsenhoek slave quarters excavation, provides archaeological evidence of fishing by the enslaved population at Schotsenhoek (Stelten 2015:298). They most likely fished

27 Leatherback turtles that nest on this beach can weigh up to 500 kg.

for pelagic species such as tuna (*Thunnus spp*) and wahoo (*Acanthocybium solandri*) that are not affected by ciguatera poisoning. An ordinance from 1783 specifies the prices of certain types of fish that were caught and sold locally, including scad (*Selar crumenophthalmus*) and jacks (*Caranx latus* & *Caranx ruber*) (Schiltkamp & Smidt 1979:320). Herbivorous reef fish such as parrot fish (*Sparisoma viride*) were also part of the local diet; parrot fish bones were found in excavations on Pleasures Estate by Gilmore (Gilmore 2004:168). Many fragments of West Indian top shell (*Cittarium pica*) were also encountered in the Schotsenhoek excavation, indicating that this was an important part of the diet. Given the large numbers of queen conch (*Lobatus gigas*) present in the waters around the island, this resource was most likely exploited by enslaved people as well (Gilmore 2004:168). On many islands, conch shells were also used as musical instruments and means of communication, for example to produce a wakeup call before starting work.

4.3.4 Animal husbandry

St. Eustatius has housed farm animals ever since its first Dutch settlement. As was the case with every other food resource on the island, farm animals were used to feed the white elite and the hungry population of enslaved laborers. Cattle, poultry, and other animals were frequently stolen by enslaved people and sold to people of all classes, but some livestock was undoubtedly kept for their own consumption (Schiltkamp & Smidt 1979:339,439,442). Besides being used for meat, some cattle also produced milk which was used to make butter.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, pigs were roaming freely around the island, even in town. Eleven plantations had been converted into cattle ranches by the 1830s. Statians could choose from a variety of meats. Teenstra noted that the island housed 132 horses, 130 mules, 90 donkeys, 302 head of cattle, 91 calves, 570 sheep, 52 goats, and 55 pigs (Teenstra 1837:350). Chickens were not listed, but these were probably found all over the island. Numbers of livestock increased slowly during the nineteenth

Figure 4.21 Harvesting yams in the Statian countryside in 1928. Source: SECAR collection.

century. It is unknown how many farm animals were present on the island during the eighteenth century. Considering the much higher population numbers compared to the nineteenth century, one would expect more livestock to have been present in the preceding century. This might not have been the case, however, as meat was also imported and the plantations that were converted into cattle ranches in the nineteenth century were producing sugar in the 1700s (NA 4.MIKO 3.A.2.5.1. – 645). It is therefore unlikely that ships were supplied with large quantities of local meat at the height of the island's prosperity.

4.3.5 Imports

Travelers' accounts indicate that a wide variety of fruits, vegetables, root crops, meat, and fish was available on St. Eustatius (Teenstra 1837; NA 3.01.26 – 161). This was, however, not enough to feed the island's entire population and all sailors visiting the island each year. Zimmerman noted that food was imported from St. Maarten, St. Kitts, and Saba (NA 3.01.26 – 161). Eighteenth-century shipping records show large quantities of food being imported from all over the Atlantic World: corn, flour, rusk, and bread from Maryland and Philadelphia; butter from St. Kitts; herring from Nevis, Guadeloupe, Virginia, and New York; mackerel from Baltimore, Virginia, New York, and Martinique; potatoes from New Haven; peas from Virginia, beans from Grenada; bacon from St. Maarten, Philadelphia, and Baltimore; salt from Curaçao and St. Maarten; fish from St. Lucia, Martinique, Tobago, and Bedford; and meat from Trinidad and Guadeloupe (NA 1.05.01.02 – 1330, folio 2965-3771). It is not clear how much of this was consumed locally and how much was transshipped, but considering that Statia had a large population in the second half of eighteenth century, a significant percentage of all imports was probably consumed on the island.

Large quantities of flour were imported from North America. The bread that was made with it was considered by Zimmerman to be better than that in Europe. It was baked in stone ovens, of which 87 were recorded in Upper Town, Jeems, Golden Rock, and Concordia during a survey in the 1980s (Monteiro 1990). The two additional possible stone ovens found by the author in Lower Town may have been used to bake bread on the waterfront in order to facilitate quick delivery to merchants and sailors working in the area.

Despite the wealth and variety of food on the island during most periods, the Statian government dealt with intermittent periods of food scarcity by imposing bans on the export of food products. This happened at least three times, in 1793, 1799, and 1804. During another period of food scarcity in 1801, a tax was levied on the export of yams (Schiltkamp & Smidt 1979:384). Seven years later, the export of yams was allowed again, but strictly regulated. There were several reasons for the fluctuations in the island's food supply. First, periods of drought may have reduced the quantity and quality of locally-produced food. Second, fluctuations in the island's economy could have caused food imports to decline and food exports to increase. It is no coincidence that measures were taken to curb the export of yams in 1801, shortly after the island lost its significance in the regional and transatlantic trade networks.

4.4 Conclusions

This chapter has provided a detailed insight into the economic components so central to Statia's success. While historical research has informed us about the nature, scale, and significance of the island's economy and trade networks (the *why*), this multidisciplinary approach adopted in this chapter has sought to outline *how* this was made possible by the Statian community locally.

The commercial component contains elements that the island historically is most famous for. Countless warehouses, shops, shipyards, and even a weighing house and slave depot facilitated commerce and attracted people from all over the world. While much of this history has been explored through documentary research, archaeological data has provided many new insights into specific uses of Lower Town, the island's commercial heart. Trading activities on St. Eustatius did not only involve legal commerce; a large part – if not the majority – of trade was conducted illegally. Sugar plantations on St. Eustatius were unlike those on other islands, in that the cultivation of sugar cane was not their primary purpose. They were mainly used to grow provisions to feed the island's increasing population and visitors, while at the same time being utilized to refine illegally-imported sugar from other islands.

The transport and communication component is perhaps the most extensive component of the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius. By combining archaeological and historical data, it has been possible to produce a precise map of the historical anchorage zone or roadstead, which was found to be much larger than previously thought. Its large size was necessitated by the fact that hundreds of ships could be at anchor here simultaneously. While many ships visited without any problems, others had difficulty maneuvering in such a large anchorage and sometimes lost their anchors due to rocky sea floor topography. Anchors themselves are a reflection of the size and locations of historical anchorages, but due to several factors, their use in studying trading activities is problematic at best. They do indicate that ships not only anchored on the roadstead but also in remote bays such as Corre Corre Bay and Jenkins Bay, most likely to partake in smuggling activities.

Historical accounts of shipwrecks in St. Eustatius' surrounding waters abound, and to date, five shipwreck sites have been discovered. These provide some preliminary insights into the material reflection of maritime trading activities and the cargoes of these vessels. One shipwreck was even identified just by its cargo of blue beads and a historical account. Given the fact that many vessels were lost in hurricanes, many more shipwrecks are undoubtedly present around the island. Due to the constant movement of large amounts of sediment, some of these may be buried. To complicate matters even further, some wrecks may have foundered in deeper waters, making them hard to access.

The transport and communication component was not confined to the sea. On land, it consisted of piers, docks, roads, and paths. These two realms were connected by numerous canoes that facilitated the transport of people and goods between ships and shore. The transport and communication component was of paramount importance to people on the island. It provided the means by which social, economic, cultural, and political ties with other islands and regions were maintained.

A wide variety of food products were available to the Statian population through time. Much was grown and collected locally, but significant amounts of food were

imported as well. It is interesting to note that comparatively few fruits and vegetables were imported; the island must have produced (nearly) enough of these to sustain the population and supply ships on the road. Provisioning grounds therefore played an important role in providing both locals and sailors with much needed sustenance. While the island has always housed farm animals, these were never present in such great numbers as to supply all inhabitants and sailors with meat. Enslaved peoples' diets most likely consisted of very little meat, while the white elite consumed more of it. Based on the imports of food, it seems that Statians relied more heavily on fish, turtle, and shellfish than they did on meat. Root crops such as yams, potatoes, and cassava have always been staple foods, particularly for the enslaved population.

Statians have always had to be creative when it came to the water supply. Wells were dug across the island to ensure an adequate supply of water. Cisterns were constructed wherever people were living to collect as much rain water as possible. After extended periods of drought, water was sometimes even imported from St. Kitts. Ensuring an adequate supply of food and water was never easy on St. Eustatius, but Statians managed to overcome these challenges and thereby enabled the island's population to grow to a number twice that of today. In addition, they managed to supply thousands of sailors each year. Without a well-developed resource component and a transport component that facilitated the movement of food and water, the island could not have developed into such an important player in the Atlantic World trade network.

5

Social Components

Perhaps the most fundamental elements in the maritime cultural landscape are those found in social components. They include the civic, cognitive, and recreative components. These are concerned with the world in which people live, what they do in this world, how it is perceived, and how they create their own place in it. This chapter seeks to analyze how people from different social backgrounds occupying the same spaces experience these differently. Various elements or areas in social components overlap and can have multiple meanings. Social components reflect the dynamics and composition of a community, and are constructed in particular ways that are dependent on how individuals and communities view themselves and the world around them. Social components are material and immaterial reflections of people's attitudes, beliefs, and desires in both life and death.

5.1 The civic component

The civic component comprises areas where people live and settle, such as coastal settlements and their associated neighborhoods. Population numbers on Statia, and thus also the extent of the civic component, fluctuated greatly through time. The island saw a steady growth from less than 1,000 people in the seventeenth century to nearly 2,000 in 1740. By 1790, the population had increased to nearly 9,000 individuals. This number is estimated to have more than doubled by transient visitors (Gilmore 2013:45). After the collapse of the island's economy, population numbers dwindled to 2,500 in 1817, and by 1863 just over 1,000 people were left. Table 5.1 shows historic population numbers for St. Eustatius. It should be kept in mind that these numbers do not represent the actual number of people living on the island, as many people such as sailors were unregistered because they did not reside here permanently. In addition, for many years the number of free colored people was not registered, so the total known population numbers for these years is lower than the actual numbers.

The civic component on St. Eustatius is comprised of three elements: Upper Town, Lower Town, and the plantations in the countryside. In addition, there is one other area where people lived their lives: the roadstead. In each of these settings, the experiences of day-to-day life were very different from each other. Although the roadstead is not traditionally conceived of as a purely civic place, it will be included in this chapter in order to provide an analysis of all those places where people lived and what life was like in different areas on and around the island.

5.1.1 Upper Town

Throughout St. Eustatius' history, most middle- and upper-class citizens resided in Upper Town, the island's first and main settlement. In the seventeenth century, habitation in this area most likely consisted of scattered farms around Fort Oranje. Urbanization in Upper Town started to take place in the eighteenth century when prosperity and population numbers increased. The built environment of Upper Town was quite different from that in Lower Town and on the plantations. Zimmerman provided a detailed description of typical Statian houses, presumably in Upper Town (NA 3.01.26 – 161). They were usually one story high wooden constructions topped with a shingled roof. Some houses were two stories high and exhibited stone founda-

Year	Whites	Free Coloreds	Enslaved people	Total
1665	330	N/A	840	1170
1699	399	N/A	385	784
1702	359	N/A	401	760
1705	306	N/A	300	606
1715	524	189	561	1274
1720	N/A	N/A	N/A	1294
1722	N/A	N/A	N/A	1204
1723	426	N/A	871	1297
1729	431	N/A	944	1375
1732	532	N/A	911	1443
1733	502	N/A	904	1406
1734	531	N/A	973	1504
1735	517	N/A	839	1356
1736	530	N/A	1066	1596
1738	627	N/A	1191	1818
1740	706	N/A	1277	1983
1741	539	N/A	1239	1778
1742	860	N/A	1586	2446
1743	883	N/A	1377	2260
1747	1002	N/A	1513	2515
1748	744	N/A	1414	2158
1750	802	N/A	1513	2315
1758	868	N/A	1479	2347
1762	778	N/A	1339	2117
1768	872	N/A	1226	2098
1779	1574	N/A	1631	3205
1781	1426	N/A	1340	2766
1784	872	113	2962	3947
1789	2375	511	4944	7830
1790	2886	548	5042	8476
1795	2400	584	5140	8124
1817	507	336	1748	2591
1818	501	302	1865	2668
1819	507	336	1747	2590
1843	350	N/A	1113	1463
1847	766	N/A	1137	1903
1850	782	N/A	1150	1932

Table 5.1 Historic population numbers for St. Eustatius. Source: Gilmore 2004:54.

tions and masonry work on the ground floor. Wealthy people decorated their houses with English wallpaper and the interior consisted of beautiful mahogany furniture. Few houses contained glass windows but had shutters instead. Glass windows were impractical as they blocked the refreshing breeze and were easily destroyed during storms and hurricanes. Most houses had three rooms: one central room that served as a public space and two bedrooms to the sides. Most men slept in hammocks to avoid being bothered by insects during the night. Officer De Jong provided a similar description a decade earlier. He noted that the houses in Upper Town were built irregularly and were not very beautiful, as they were mostly made of wood and painted white (De Jong 1807:107). Bosch observed that houses only had a ground floor and a basement that served as a hurricane shelter. They were built close together and contained small gardens.

Buildings in Upper Town reflected a combination of Dutch, English, and French architectural styles. French and Dutch room designs were combined with English building techniques (Gilmore 2013:50). Outdoor kitchens contained typically French and Dutch ovens. Several eighteenth-century houses in Oranjestad have been well preserved. One of the best examples can be found on Kerkweg, the road leading from the Government Guest House to the Dutch Reformed Church. One of the houses on this street, called the Godet House, is almost completely intact and contains many original eighteenth-century elements. Perhaps the most interesting feature can be found in its basement, where several yellow-brick columns support the weight of the structure above. Spanning the space between these columns are large curved oak beams very atypical in Statia's architecture. Closer inspection reveals that these beams are actually repurposed ribs of a ship, revealing an unmistakable link between the maritime world and the island's urban area (Gilmore 2013:50).

Despite the fact that Upper Town was not the commercial center of the island, it served many important public functions. It was in Upper Town where people vended provisions and merchandise in the streets and on the market, government officials lived

Figure 5.1 Litograph of Upper Town in 1860 by G.W.C. Voorduin. Many buildings shown here are preserved in good condition to the present day. Source: Collection Rijksmuseum, RP-P-1909-1782.

and worked, and where the largest fortification on the island was located. Most goods entering or leaving the island passed through Upper Town at some point. In addition, all religious sites and many graveyards were located in this part of the island. While the atmosphere in Upper Town must have been quite different from the hustle and bustle of its seaside counterpart, it was a busy place nonetheless.

People of all social classes resided in Upper Town. The probate inventory of Johannes de Graaff, an extremely wealthy merchant and Governor of the island from 1776 to 1781, shows that he owned two plots of land in Upper Town containing "negroe houses" (NA 1.05.08.01 – 729, No. 42). John Bailen owned six enslaved laborers who were housed in two dwellings on his urban property in Upper Town (Gilmore 2004:60). The August 17, 1792 edition of the *St. Eustatius Gazette* contains an advertisement of a house for sale in Upper Town that contained "negroe houses" as well. Many enslaved laborers worked in port, transporting goods to and from ships and hauling these up the steep paths connecting Lower and Upper Town. Due to its proximity to the port, and given the fact that many merchants did not own any property in the countryside, it is likely that many other merchants housed their enslaved laborers in town as well.

Free blacks also resided in Upper Town. At least some were living on the edges of town, where Gilmore excavated remains of dwellings between 2008 and 2010 that are believed to have housed a free black community. Architecture on the site evolved from wattle-and-daub post-in-ground housing to shingled wooden structures on stone foundations (Gilmore 2013:52). Statia had a sizeable free black and colored population in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, which fluctuated between 3 and 13 percent of the total population. While they did not make up as large a segment of the population as on the other Dutch entrepôt Curaçao, where in 1790 more than half of the free population was non-white, the Statian free black and colored group consisted of several hundred people at this time (Jordaan & Wilson 2014:290).

5.1.2 Lower Town

Upper Town stood in stark contrast to the bay area where Lower Town was located, where the built environment and way of living was quite different. A sketch of the island made in 1723 shows a battery and nine unidentified structures resembling residences or warehouses present in Lower Town at the time (NA 1.05.01.02, 1182, stuk 14). While this number is probably not an actual representation of the number of structures – Fort Amsterdam is omitted, for example – the drawing clearly shows that there had already been some development taking place in Lower Town. The text accompanying the sketch indicates that the structure behind the battery was the house of Jan de Windt, most likely the father of the man bearing the same name who became Governor of the island from 1753 to 1775. Besides warehouses and military installations, this indicates that there were also people living in Lower Town at this time.

In 1738, Commander Isaac Faesch devised a plan to build a village on the bay, but disagreements about ownership of the land prevented the project from coming to fruition (Attema 1976:35). It did not take long, however, before Lower Town's population increased. The oldest known map of the island, made by Alexander de Lavaux in 1741 (Figure 1.1), shows a long row of structures in Lower Town, so it seems that despite the failed plan of a few years before, development of the area was increasing. Due to

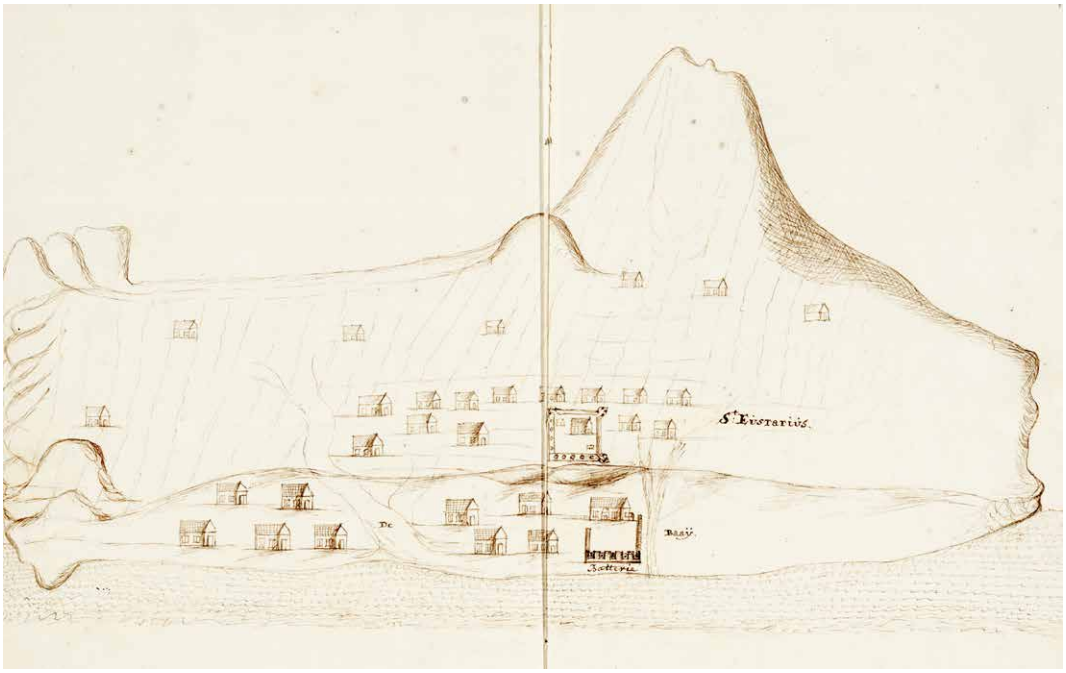


Figure 5.2 Sketch of St. Eustatius made in 1723 by Jan Stalperts. Source: NA 1.05.01.02, 1182, stuk 14.

the scarcity of housing in Upper Town, merchants started to build houses on the bay after 1760, some of which were of palatial dimensions. One such house, belonging to merchant Vaucrosson, was described by Teenstra as being very large and decorated with expensive wallpaper and gold. A bridge connected it to the roof of a warehouse across the road, on which there was a garden (Teenstra 1837:333). An estate inventory for deceased landowner William Hill and his wife Margaretha Gravall, dating to 1786, provides a detailed description of their property in Lower Town: A house and property, consisting of a front room; besides which two bedrooms; behind which a gallery besides which two smaller rooms; underneath the house a cellar and two rooms; next to or behind this house another house provided with a gallery besides which a hallway or front room and besides which two bedrooms. Underneath this house a kitchen, three negro quarters; in the yard a house with a front room, a bedroom, a small bedroom, a gallery, a cellar and a separate small house; in the courtyard a horse stable, a blacksmith shop, a place to keep turtles, a pigeon shack with storage space underneath, a cistern, a toilet (Labiau 2008:16).

Despite the many warehouses in Lower Town, there were too many products to be stored in them. According to Cornelius de Jong, sugar and cotton were piled up high in the open air in 1780, as all warehouses – many of which appeared to be constructed of wooden boards in a haphazard fashion – were stuffed to their roofs (De Jong 1807:123). Renting a house, particularly in Lower Town, was extremely expensive for this reason. People that did not belong to the wealthiest merchant-planter class could hardly afford a place to stay. It is likely that many people who had yet to make their fortunes rented any small space they could afford and used it only for sleeping. They then lived their lives in public places.

Several travelers commented on the general living conditions in Upper and Lower Town (Bosch 1829; Teenstra 1837; Wentworth 1835). Lower Town is usually sheltered from the wind by steep cliffs. As a result, it was – and still is – the hottest place on the island. The fact that buildings in Lower Town were closely packed did not help to relieve the heat. It appears that Upper Town was a more pleasant place to live as it was exposed to a constant breeze and the houses were better maintained than those in Lower Town (Bosch 1829:42). Besides the heat, the crowdedness could make for an unpleasant atmosphere.

The collapse of the island's economy as a result of decreasing trading activities and the loss of the island's role in the regional and transatlantic trade networks also signaled the downfall of the economic center of the island. As merchants moved to other islands to participate in free trade, Lower Town slowly became a ghost town and the buildings started to decay. By the 1830s, not much was left of Lower Town's glory, as one traveler describes:

> "Dilapidation and fallen credit were undeniably stamped upon the aspect of the place, but in them could be clearly traced the proof that great wealth had once given an impetus to industry, and favored the designs of extensive enterprise in trade. […] Many of the buildings, which are in the Dutch style of architecture, are capacious and imposing in appearance, but the mortar between the stones and bricks appears to have suffered premature decay, and having worked out of the interstices, increases the desolated effect produced by other signs of dilapidation and depopulation." (Wentworth 1835:114)

A few years later, Teenstra's experiences were similar when he noted that the buildings of Lower Town were in a particularly dilapidated state, which left an unpleasant impression. The buildings were soon to decay even further. As early as the 1830s, the cliffs were showing signs of collapse and wave action had begun to expose the foundations of several structures (Teenstra 1837:326). It was not only the hurricanes and rough seas that destroyed Lower Town's buildings; throughout the nineteenth century, people destroyed houses to sell their bricks. In 1855, for example, 80,000 bricks were exported from the island (Hartog 1976:126). Even though Lower Town was largely in ruins by the mid-nineteenth century, the area was not completely deserted. In the 1830s there were still some bars and a billiard house in operation, and people continued to live here until well into the twentieth century. By 1917, only twenty people were living in Lower Town, while in 1961, only one family was still residing here.

5.1.3 Plantations

While many enslaved people lived in town, a large part of the enslaved population lived on the plantations. Historically, very little is known about slave quarters on Statian plantations. The few references that do exist only provide some general observations. Zimmerman briefly described the slave quarters on the island: "On each plantation there is usually a village of 30 to 40 little huts, where the poor creatures live" (NA 3.01.26 – 161). A sketch accompanying his description shows six huts, each of which appear to have a thatched roof, a door, and a window. Multiple people usually lived in one dwelling. For example, the 1791 inventory for Jacobus Seys Sr.

Figure 5.3 Examples of features found in the Schotsenhoek slave quarters excavation. Left: post hole indicating the location of one of the posts of a slave dwelling, scale: 50 cm. Right: ditch located in the northwestern part of the site, scale: 2 m.

includes "ten wooden shingled negro houses" in which 42 enslaved people lived (NA 1.05.13.01 – 132, folio 490-501). A 1792 inventory for John Marlton shows he owned 23 enslaved people who were housed in ten separate dwellings (NA 1.05.13.01 – 133, folio 686-697). Most of the dwellings were described as wooden structures that were occasionally shingled. Other dwellings in town were mostly made of straw or contained a thatched roof. These posed a fire hazard as indicated by a proclamation issued in 1806, which stated that all huts in town that were made of straw had to be dismantled (Schiltkamp & Smidt 1979:426).

Because the documentary record contains only some very general observations on slave housing that were recorded by the white elite, the only way to gain a better insight into the structures themselves and the experiences of the people who lived in them is through archaeological excavation. The only archaeological evidence of slave housing on St. Eustatius was found in 2012 and 2013, when the author excavated a slave quarters at Schotsenhoek plantation to the north of Oranjestad.[28] In the excavation, seven complete house plans were found, which represents the largest slave quarters excavated in the Caribbean to date (Stelten 2015b:291). In three campaigns involving numerous volunteers and students, a 45 x 15 meter trench was excavated to subsoil with a mechanical excavator.[29] A total of 363 features were found, including many post holes, ditches, pits, a hearth, and two animal burials. Dwellings in the slave quarters were each made of seventeen or eighteen wooden posts that provided support for wattle walls and thatched roofs. A large number of nails found in the ex-

28 The excavation was conducted as a mitigation measure prior to leveling in the area by NuStar.

29 The depth of the excavated trench ranged from 20 to 80 centimeters.

Figure 5.4 A reconstruction drawing of the Schotsenhoek plantation and slave quarters created after the excavation, based on all available archaeological and documentary evidence. Seven slave dwellings and provisioning grounds are shown in the foreground. The building in the background is the plantation owner's residence. In the center, from left to right, is an animal mill, boiling house, well, and curing house. Drawing by Andy Gammon.

cavation suggests that some dwellings may have contained wooden boards. Structures varied considerably in size, from 8 to 21 m^2. The structures were all rectangular, ranging from 2 x 4 m to 3.5 x 6 m. Two of the dwellings were connected at the rear by a wall, while one dwelling even exhibited a small porch. The Schotsenhoek slave quarters did not exhibit an organized settlement pattern; dwellings were oriented east-west and north-south, were spaced irregularly, and their entrances faced different directions. The dwellings were built around a central, open area approximately fifteen meters across. A hearth was found in the center of the open space, indicating that this area may have been a communal place where cooking activities took place. Ten meters to the north of the dwellings, a row of posts was found that comprised a fence. It is likely that the fence marks the area where a house yard or the provisioning grounds were located, as it would have protected crops from being eaten by roaming animals. It was not possible to determine whether all structures were in use simultaneously, but given the spatial relationship between them and the site's relatively short period of occupation, as discussed below, it is likely that they were.

The Schotsenhoek slave quarters were located immediately west of the plantation's boiling house. Based on artifacts contained in the features, the occupation of the slave quarters dates to the early to mid-eighteenth century. Curiously, on a map made in 1781, the slave quarters at Schotsenhoek plantation is depicted far away from the rest of the plantation complex (Figure 5.5). This indicates that sometime between the 1750s and 1781, the slave quarters were relocated. An 1811 inventory of all posses-

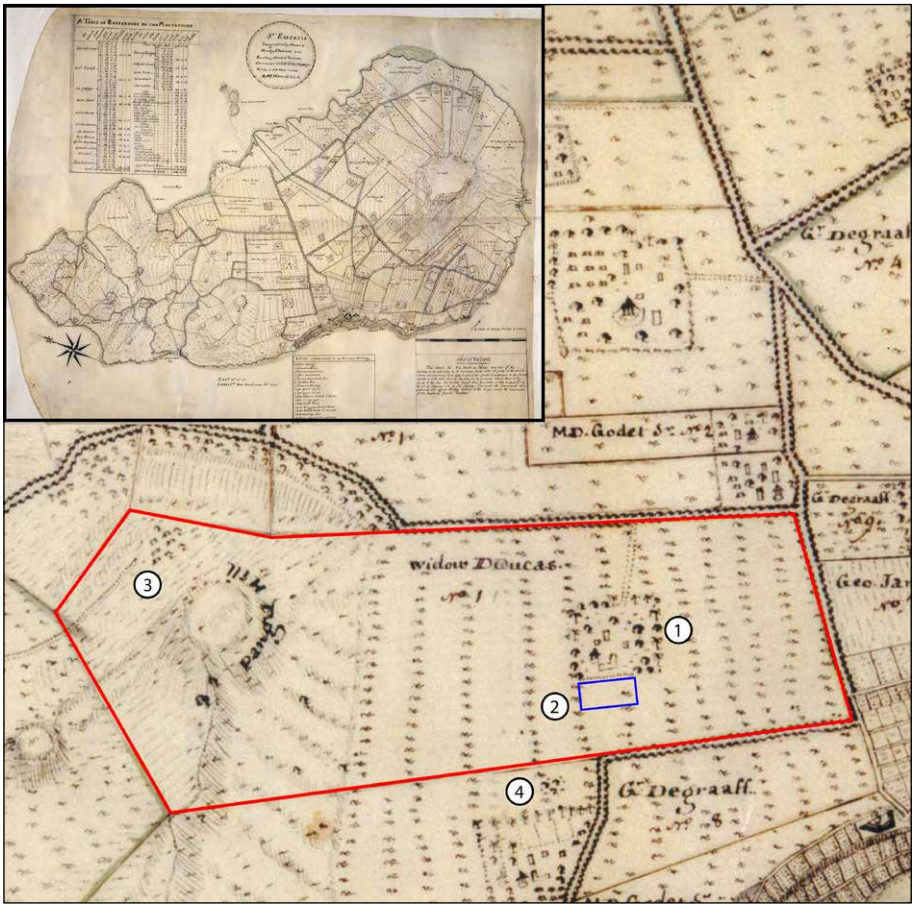


Figure 5.5 Excerpt of the 1781 map of St. Eustatius made by P.F. Martin during the British occupation of the island. The red polygon marks the boundaries of Schotsenhoek plantation; 1. Plantation buildings; 2. Location of slave quarters excavation in the blue rectangle; 3. Slave quarters in 1781 indicated by tent-like structures; 4. Benners plantation cemetery marked by three trees. This is the most detailed historic map of St. Eustatius known to exist. The map was composed by the British occupiers. The map's road network matches the modern road network closely. Many of the numerous plantation boundary walls depicted on the map are still visible in the Statian landscape today. Attesting to its accuracy, this map has been used by the author successfully in the past to locate archaeological sites such as slave quarters, burial grounds, and specific plantation structures. As is the case with the Schotsenhoek slave quarters, however, the configurations of plantations, depicted so detailed on the map, could change through time. Source: University of Michigan, William L. Clements Library Image Bank, ID 892.

sions of Mr. Venancio Fabio lists "two rows of negroe houses built of wood, consisting of fourteen apartments" at Schotsenhoek plantation (NA 1.05.13.01 – 209, folio 315-320). These are listed among all other plantations buildings, suggesting that the slave quarters was relocated close to the plantation complex again. One reason for slave quarters to be moved regularly may have been their vulnerability. The types of dwellings found in the excavation could have easily been destroyed during a hurricane, thus the rebuilding and relocation of slave quarters were not uncommon practices. The

slave quarters on the 1781 map was located on the slopes of a hill, which was a more sheltered location that provided some protection against hurricanes. Another reason for relocation could be that, as the plantation changed owners, altered production methods or a new division of labor demanded a change in the plantation's spatial organization.

5.1.4 The roadstead

In the eighteenth century, tens of thousands of people were living their lives on Statia's road, some only for a few days, others for months on end. Everyday life in Lower Town was characterized by crowded conditions, but people living and working on ships on the road had even less personal space. Living in close quarters for extended periods of time, some sailors developed a short fuse. On the *Princes Royal Frederique Sophie Wilhelmine*, sailor Willem Polaan was detained for hitting someone on the head with a sabre after being yelled at (NA 1.01.46 – 2417, folio 149). A few months later on the same ship, an Irish sailor cut his own throat "out of despair" (NA 1.01.46 – 2417, folio 167). Clearly the mental challenges inherent to shipboard live proved too much for some sailors. Sometimes, sailors who misbehaved were even sent ashore or to other vessels for punishment. This happened on the *Jonge Wilhem* in 1746, when four sailors who got into a fight were jailed in the fort for seven days . In another instance in 1761 on the frigate *Prins Willem de Vijfde*, the captain let his men go ashore while anchored on the road, but three of them did not return until the next day. When they returned they were drunk and refused to work any longer. The captain reported them to the captain of a Dutch man-of-war that was also on the road (NL-MdbZA_20_994, folio 12-20).

Some sailors deserted, or at least tried to do so. On the *Jonge Wilhem*, two crew members ran away, but these were apprehended and jailed in the fort. Frequent trips to St. Kitts to get water also provided ample opportunity for the *Jonge Wilhem*'s crew to escape. In one instance, two sailors jumped off the boat and managed to get away, but one of them drowned (NL-MdbZA_20_994, folio 17). During the *Haast U Langsaam's* stay in 1776, a carpenter and a sailor ran away (NL-MdbZA_20_537, folio 72-75). On the *Maarssen*, two sailors did not make it back to the ship on time due to drunkenness. They were suspected of deserting and both received corporal punishment (NA 1.01.47.17 – 48, folio 72). Perhaps the most remarkable instance of deserting happened in 1750, when the *Young Elias* lay at anchor at St. Eustatius. The only people on board were four enslaved Africans, who hoisted sail and escaped to Puerto Rico, where they did not have to worry about being sent back once they were baptized (Hartog 1976:51).

At times, sailors had a fairly heavy workload. Many captains kept their men occupied by sending them on regular trips to St. Kitts to get water. Much time on the road was spent repairing, cleaning and maintaining the ships, which could be badly damaged during rough weather they encountered on the Atlantic crossing. In October 1789, the *Zeemercuur* went to St. Eustatius to carry out repairs after traveling through a hurricane (NL-MdbZA_20_1405, folio 91-97). Loading and offloading of goods and ballast could also take a considerable amount of time. On slave ships, the slave quarters and slave kitchen inside the ship needed to be disassembled when all enslaved people were offloaded. Enslaved people were not always immediately sold or taken ashore, requir-

ing their further care by sailors. On some ships, there were showings whereby groups of enslaved people were bought over a period of several days. The *Prins Willem de Vijfde* had a showing of 70 enslaved people, which were sold two days later. During the next few days they sold another 80, 70, and nine enslaved people (NL-MdbZA_20_994, folio 35-39). The sailors aboard the *Prins Willem de Vijfde* would have shouldered the burden of caring for these people until they were sold.

Activities on the road were to a large extent determined by regulations from shore. It is unknown if sailors on Statia's roadstead in the eighteenth century were allowed to work on Sundays or not. In 1830, however, the regulations for the roadstead stipulated that no working, loading, or offloading of goods was allowed on ships anchored on the road on Sundays and holidays (Curaçao Archives, Gouvernement van het Eilandgebied St. Eustatius, Inv. Nr. 248, art. 10). Many other things that demonstrate the strong connection between the roadstead and the island were regulated at this time as well. For example, on Sundays and holidays, and whenever the government building raised the flag, ships on the road had to do the same. Despite strict regulations on who could come ashore at certain times during the day, in case of a fire in Upper or Lower Town, captains of anchored ships had to send as many of their men ashore as they could spare in order to help combat the fire (Curaçao Archives, Gouvernement van het Eilandgebied St. Eustatius, Inv. Nr. 248, art. 17). Some regulations had an effect on the archaeological record as well. No vessels on the road were allowed to throw ballast or any other sinking object overboard. Instead, these had to be offloaded and deposited at a location determined by the harbormaster (Curaçao Archives, Gouvernement van het Eilandgebied St. Eustatius, Inv. Nr. 248, art. 12). Sailors undoubtedly discarded objects into the sea, particularly on ships anchored further offshore. Nevertheless, this rule may have curtailed these practices a bit, causing fewer artifacts on the bottom of the sea and more in designated dumping areas on land.

Long periods at sea were not beneficial to a sailor's health. Weeks or even months without fresh food and water caused many to become sick or die. Moreover, disease spread quickly when living in close quarters. Even in port, many sailors succumbed to the ailments they had to endure at sea.[30] The captain of the *Jonge Wilhem* reported that one sailor and the first mate died while they were at anchor. During their stay, two captains from other ships on the road died as well (NL-MdbZA_20_649, folio 12-20). Multiple sailors and enslaved people died during the *Drie Gezusters*' stay on St. Eustatius in 1759 (NL-MdbZA_20_333, folio 37-42). On the *Prins Willem de Vijfde*, two sailors died while at anchor, while eight sailors passed away during the *Princes Royal Frederique Sophie Wilhelmine's* five-month stay (NL-MdbZA_20_994, folio 35-39; NA 1.01.46 – 2417, folio 135-169). Many enslaved Africans died during the transatlantic crossing, but once they arrived on Statia, they were not out of harm's way either.[31] Over

30 It is said that quarantine rules were instated by Jan de Windt, but the extent to which these were adhered to given the large numbers of ships in port is unknown. When the British invaded the island in 1781, a smallpox epidemic killed hundreds of people including many British soldiers. It is not unlikely that in many other instances, diseases came from the sea as well.

31 Mortality rates among enslaved Africans during the Middle Passage varied, but were generally higher in the seventeenth century than they were in the eighteenth century due to modest improvements in living conditions. Estimated mortality rates during the Middle Passage range from 10 to as high as 25 percent.

the course of one month, fourteen enslaved Africans died on the slave ship *Phoenix* while anchored on the roadstead in 1729. Another thirteen enslaved Africans brought in by the *Phoenix* died on the island in the same period. The deceased were usually thrown into the sea, but in one instance, a sailor was buried ashore (NA 1.05.01.02 – 1183, No. 33/34). In many ways, life on board was tied to life on the island, and in the case of the buried sailor, left a permanent mark.

5.2 The cognitive component

The cognitive component is the mental map as expressed in oral traditions, stories, and place names. It includes the ritual and symbolic components and therefore also the religious component. People tie life, events, and continuity to places, as evidenced by narratives connected to these environments. St. Eustatius attracted people from all over the world with a multitude of backgrounds, which is clearly reflected in the cognitive component of the maritime cultural landscape. There is a story connected to every rock, road, building, and hill. Some of them find their origin in factual history, while others are legends and ghost stories. Whether they are true or not, these stories were and still are part of the local culture. The cognitive component comprises perhaps the most fundamental part of the maritime cultural landscape, which ties people to the place they live and which people use to create their identity and a connection to the island. In this section, aspects of the cognitive component that will be explored include place names, religious buildings, cemeteries, and stories.

5.2.1 Place names

Both historic and modern maps of St. Eustatius depict a multitude of peculiar place names, making the island an ideal case for toponymic analysis. It appears there is almost no place on the island that does not have at least one name. Some of these are very straightforward, while others are more obscure. This has partly to do with the fact that, due to the frequent changes of power and the cosmopolitan nature of Statian society, many names are English corruptions of Dutch words and vice versa. Much toponymic information has never been written down, but simply exists in peoples' minds.

There is not a single stretch of the island's coastline that is unnamed, underlining the community's close relationship to the maritime world. The southernmost bay of the island is called *Back Off Bay*. This seems like a curious place name in English. This is, however, one of many examples of English corruptions for an original Dutch toponym. Originally this place was called *Bekaf Baai*, 'bekaf' meaning 'dog-tired' in Dutch (Hartog 1976:26). The name derived from the fact that it was a tiring walk to get there all the way from town. To the northwest is another corrupted place name: *Kay Bay*. This name is derived from the Dutch *Keij Baai*, meaning 'rocky bay' (NA 4.MIKO 3.A.2.5.1. – 339). The name is a reference to the underwater topography around the bay, which is covered in rocks that were a navigational hazard for ships. Dutch corruptions are also present on Statia's coastline. To the northwest of town there is a bay called *Tommelendijk*, a name with no meaning in Dutch. It is derived from the English *Tumble Down Dick*. The story goes that a certain Dick, who was involved in illicit trade, fell to his death while climbing the steep cliffs surrounding the bay (Hartog 1976:31). The coastal cliffs to the south of this bay are called *Interlopers Cape*,

connecting this area to smuggling activities that took place out of sight from town (Boston Public Library, Norman B. Leventhal Map Center, G5167.S4 1795.F33x). The northwesternmost bay of the island is called *Jenkins Bay*, named after Mr. Jenkins who landed here. Upon arrival to the island, he had nothing but the canoe he came in, under which he spent his first night on the island. Over the years, he became one of Statia's most successful merchants, so the name stuck (Hartog 1976:32). Other bays around the island have more descriptive names. *Great Bay*, also called *Turtle Bay*, is the largest bay on the east coast. Many turtles, which used to constitute part of peoples' diets, nest here.[32] *Gallows Bay*, at the southern part of Lower Town, got its name from the gallows that was once present here. Whether purely descriptive or not, these names reflect important elements in the coastal landscape and reveal some of the perceptions people had of these areas.

Due to the prominent places they occupy in the landscape, there are few mountains and hills located in populated areas that are unnamed. Those on St. Eustatius are no exception to this rule. Most of these names on Statia are purely descriptive. The most dominant feature of the island's landscape is the volcano called the *Quill*. This name is an English corruption of the Dutch word *Kuil*, meaning 'pit', which refers to the crater (Hartog 1976:30). *White Wall* is the name given to the large slab of white limestone that rests on the southern flank of the volcano. On the *Quill's* northern slope sits a small, round hill aptly called *Round Hill*. Next to it there is a large rock at a T-junction that is called *Big Stone*; the name is even painted on the rock. The southeastern part of the island, situated on the other side of the volcano from Oranjestad, is simply called *Behind the Mountain*. The northernmost hill of the island is called *Boven Hill*, 'boven' meaning 'up' in Dutch. Another purely descriptive name is *Bergje*, Dutch for *Little Mountain*, also located in the Northern Hills. Although it does not seem like much thought went into the naming of mountains and hills, there is one exception: *Gilboa Hill*. Located in the southeastern part of the Northern Hills, *Gilboa* may have been named after the Gilboa mountain range in northern Israel. The only group on St. Eustatius that had a connection to this name would have been the Jewish community. Given the fact that the elongated hill somewhat resembles the shape of the Gilboa mountain range, it is likely that the Statian Jews named the hill after a topographical feature in their homeland, thereby connecting the natural, physical landscape to something that was culturally recognizable to them.

Most areas in the island's countryside are named after former sugar plantations, such as *Fair Play*, *English Quarter*, *Pleasures*, *Glass Bottle*, and *Bengalen* (NA 4.MIKO 3.A.2.5.1 – 2107). Some are even named after the planters that owned them, such as *Mussenden*, *Steward*, *Godet*, and *Benners*. Because little development has taken place in most rural areas around the island, these names have remained in use. Interestingly, there is usually only one name for a rural area and nowhere on the island are rural place names corrupted into another language. This most likely has to do with the fact that these areas were much less influenced by the multicultural sphere of influence that was so prominent in the urban areas and along the coastline, which caused place names to change more frequently. Sailors would spend most of their time on the ships or in town; the countryside therefore did not experience such a high influx of

32 The consumption of and trade in turtles is described in more detail in paragraphs 4.3.3 and 7.4.1.

people. Thus the cognitive rural component remained more static due to its relative isolation from the urban center.

Roads are one type of feature that changed names regularly, and different people used different names for the same roads and paths. The oldest path connecting Upper and Lower Town, next to Fort Oranje, is popularly called the *Slave Path*. Officially, however, it is called the *Bay Path* (Hartog 1976:98). A slave path existed further north, between Jenkins Bay and Tumble Down Dick Bay. It was called *Negro Path*, a name derived from the fact that this was a path that enslaved people often used to escape. Another significant road name is *Halfway Path*, located on the eastern side of the island (NA 4.MIKO 3.A.2.5.1 – 2107). Despite the island's small size, it was a long walk from town to the other side behind the Quill. *Halfway Path* was located exactly halfway between these two areas, so this was an important landmark for anyone making the journey. From various eighteenth- and nineteenth-century wills and deeds it becomes clear that many roads were unnamed, at least officially. That does not mean that these features were inexistent in the cognitive component. The contrary might actually be true. People on St. Eustatius were very mobile: enslaved people would visit other plantations at night and were actively involved in (illicit) trading activities, while the white merchant and planter elite traveled across the island by horseback on a regular basis to conduct business or simply for pleasure (NA 3.01.26 – 161). The island's network of roads and paths was inextricably linked to and firmly anchored in the cognitive component. Due to the island's small size, people would have generally been aware of most of the places where other people lived and how to get there. Because of this familiarity, and the fact that all other features in the landscape were named, there may have been little need to name the roads that connected all corners of the island. This is something that can be observed to the present day; postcodes do not exist on the island, and many people's addresses simply say *White Wall* or *Big Stone*, for example. Everyone on the island knows where everybody else lives, so there is no need to make this more complicated by adding street names, house numbers, and postcodes. The level of familiarity in the Statian community is so high that the author has even had his mail delivered in his car that was parked in a public place.

Military installations are another type of feature that was prone to name changing. Several fortifications were named after important people. The island's main fort, Fort Oranje, was named after the Dutch royal family, as were many other forts in the Dutch colonial empire.[33] Battery De Windt on Statia's southern tip was named after Jan de Windt, the Governor who commissioned it. It comes as no surprise that when the British took possession of the island in 1781, the names of many fortifications changed. Fort Oranje was renamed Fort George, after George III, the then ruling monarch of the British Empire (University of Michigan, William L. Clements Library Image Bank, ID 892). When the French took possession of the island, they too named their newly-built fortifications after important people. Battery Bouillé was named after the Governor-general of the French West Indies, while battery Jussac derived its name from the commander of artillery during the French occupation of the island from 1781 to 1784 (Hartog 1997:68,120). The practice of naming these

33 Forts with the same name were found in many other places such as Bonaire, New Amsterdam (later New York), and the Brazilian island Itamaracá close to Recife.

structures symbolizing power and control after important political figures reinforced the power of the persons they were named after, even if they themselves were not physically present on the island.

5.2.2 Religious buildings

As a result of the multicultural society that developed on Statia during the eighteenth century, the island exhibits a rich religious landscape. Perhaps more than any other type of site, religious sites are laden with ritual meaning and symbolism. There were various religious buildings on the island in the late eighteenth century: Catholic, Lutheran, Anglican, and Dutch Reformed churches, and a synagogue. In addition, the first Methodist and Seventh Day Adventist churches were established in 1825 and 1961 respectively (Hartog 1976:102,115-117). Nowadays the island even houses a mosque.

Churches had to be rebuilt every so often as they were frequently destroyed by hurricanes. The Dutch Reformed Church was once located on the outskirts of town, but following its destruction a new one was constructed next to Fort Oranje in 1755 (Attema 1976:65). This second church was destroyed in the hurricane of 1772, but quickly rebuilt. This time, the congregation wanted to rebuild it in such a way that it would be the most impressive religious structure on the island. In historical documents it is explicitly stated that the Dutch Reformed congregation did not want to be second to the Jewish congregation, which had erected an attractive synagogue earlier in the century (Hartog 1976:62). Their effort made an indelible mark. The new T-shaped building was an impressive 27 meters long and 19 meters wide. The church tower reached a height of 21 meters and was plastered white, making it visible from as far away as Saba. The fact that the tower is one of the most visible structures on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century drawings and watercolors of the island underscores the

Figure 5.6 The Dutch Reformed church and cemetery. Photo by Mike Harterink.

effect it had on contemporary observers. The highly visible tower, located near the edge of Upper Town's cliff, served to impress people on the island, but visitors sailing past perhaps even more so. The tower eventually became a landmark used to determine the place where to drop anchor, so there was no doubt about its significance (Teenstra 1837:324). By erecting such an impressive structure, the Dutch Reformed congregation wanted to show the Statian community and the outside world that their religion was the most dominant one on the island, and therefore also the most important. In this they clearly succeeded.

In stark contrast to the Dutch Reformed Church stands the Jewish synagogue, which occupied a completely different position in the cognitive component. The growth of the Jewish community on the island by the 1730s prompted the decision to build a synagogue. Its construction was completed in 1739 and the synagogue was named *Honen Dalim*, which translates as "she who shows mercy to the poor" (Hartog 1976:58). The building was leveled during a hurricane in 1772 but it was quickly rebuilt. Made of yellow bricks and skillfully cut basalt corner stones, the synagogue is one of the most visually appealing buildings in the center of Oranjestad. The two-story building's interior measures 12.4 x 7.8 meters. The second story contained a wooden balcony that was accessed by an exterior stone stairway still present next to the ground floor entrance. As men and women were separated during religious ceremonies, the balcony was the women's area while the ground floor was reserved for men. Excavations carried out in 1983 by archaeologists from the College of William & Mary indicate that the building used to have a wooden floor that was supported by four walls running parallel to each other across the building's main axis (Barka 1988). The floor was covered by white sand that, besides being aesthetically pleasing and muting the noise of

Figure 5.7 Synagogue Honen Dalim. Photo by the author.

people's movements inside, symbolized the Jews' continual journey through the desert as they were repeatedly displaced from their homeland.

The synagogue is located amongst several residential structures in a narrow alley that ends at Fort Oranjestraat, the town's main street. Despite its prominent location in the center of town and in close proximity to the Dutch Reformed Church, the Government Guest House, and Fort Oranje, it stands in a very secluded place. The Governor of St. Eustatius at the time of its construction, Isaac Faesch, designated a place where "the exercise of [the Jews'] religious duties would not molest those of the Gentiles" (Barka 1988:8). The location of the synagogue had to be such that it did not disrupt the much larger Christian community. The streets of Oranjestad would have had a certain rhythm, with different people moving through the streets at different times for different purposes. The Jews' holy day, Saturday, was an ordinary work day for most other people. *Honen Dalim*'s location in a narrow, quiet alley meant that it could be largely ignored by the non-Jewish community and ensured that the Jews would not interfere with everyday life of the rest of the population (Miller 2013:122).

Yet the synagogue was not an isolated Jewish structure in a largely non-Jewish urban environment. *Honen Dalim* was the centerpiece of a larger Jewish community center. Next to the synagogue, the remains of a *mikveh* – a ritual bath for Jewish women – were uncovered in 2005. While women could have purified themselves in the ocean, the congregation chose to construct a *mikveh* within the confines of *Honen Dalim*'s property, enforcing the notion of the synagogue as the center of the Jewish community on the island (Miller 2013:129). Directly opposite the synagogue, on the other side of the alley, was another building of importance for the Jews. This was the house of its religious leader, the cantor (Miller 2013:131). He would read from the Torah and was the leader of songs during religious services.[34] The building was originally composed of two stories as evidenced by a stone stairway that still stands today. The first story was built out of basalt stones, while the second story would have been made of wood, a common architectural style on St. Eustatius in the eighteenth century. The first story of such buildings often served as an area of commercial or communal activities, while the second story housed the living quarters. It is likely that the cantor's home had a similar configuration, as he must have played a major role in organizing religious activities. This notion is reinforced by the fact that the building could be accessed from the alley.

In the eighteenth century, the location of the Jewish buildings and the almost separate world it created within the hustle and bustle of Upper Town would have been firmly anchored in the cognitive component and in people's minds. Despite being located in the center of town, the Jewish community center was barely visible from the surrounding roads. Given the religious and mercantile freedoms the Jews enjoyed on the island, they never sought to hide their presence as is evidenced by the construction of these buildings and a burial ground. They could, however, mute their presence to non-Jews who lived and worked in town. The community core represented a purely Jewish place on the island with little to no outside influence, where Jews could gather with like-minded people and practice cultural and religious traditions in seclusion (Miller 2013:135).

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34 The Statian congregation did not have a rabbi due to its small size.

The Jewish synagogue is perhaps the best example of the marginalization of a religion other than the Reformed Church, but there were other examples in Statia's religious landscape. English and German merchants constructed Anglican and Lutheran churches in Upper Town. Like the synagogue, these churches were located off of the main roads in places that were not very visible. Their presence was tolerated due to the importance of the merchants for the island's economic prosperity, but only in such a way that they did not challenge the dominance of the Reformed Church. The Roman Catholic religion practiced by French inhabitants was, however, completely muted in the landscape. Eighteenth-century St. Eustatius did not have a Roman Catholic church. Documentary evidence indicates that there was at least one but perhaps more private Roman Catholic chapels in people's homes that did not stand out as religious buildings, a situation very similar to that in the United Provinces a century earlier (Miller & Gilmore 2016:72).

The spatial layout of religious buildings in Upper Town reflects the attempts to maintain a stable society while incorporating religious diversity. Jewish, Anglican, and Lutheran merchants were essential to the island's prosperity, but practicing their religion in public besides the Reformed congregation could be a recipe for social conflict. Therefore, the Dutch sought to produce a built religious landscape that highlighted religious homogeneity (Miller & Gilmore 2016:57). This philosophy was a direct result of the thirteenth article of the Treaty of Utrecht (1579), which guaranteed freedom of conscience in the United Provinces. This article meant that one was free to believe as one wanted, but it did not mean that one was free to exercise his or her religion in public. The Dutch Reformed Church became the public Church throughout the country, while other religions were muted in the landscape by being practiced behind closed doors in attics of what appeared to be houses or businesses. The Dutch sough to represent a sense of shared religious practices by only having one visible church. This tension between freedom of conscience and religious homogeneity was the driving force behind the Dutch attempts to shape the island's physical religious landscape (Miller & Gilmore 2016:61). However, the appearance of religious homogeneity was not easy to achieve on St. Eustatius. Merchants from all over the world brought different religions to the island. These merchants were central to the island's economy, a value they leveraged for the right to construct their own sacred places. As the eighteenth century progressed it became increasingly harder to sustain a homogeneous landscape where religious differences were hidden, so the religious landscape turned into a landscape of religious hierarchy where other religions were marginalized.

This does not explain why the first Reformed Church on the island was built at an inland location on the edge of town, largely out of sight from the sea. The reason for this was another tension present in seventeenth-century Dutch society: the balance between capitalist accumulation and Protestant asceticism. It often proved difficult to reconcile these two ideals at a time when the Dutch experienced their Golden Age and the nation's wealth increased exponentially. Early Statian economy was largely geared towards agriculture, and the early colonists believed the island's wealth lay within its soils. This wealth was expressed through the plantations in the countryside. By placing the church close to these plantations, the Statian community was reminded to curb their desires of increasing their wealth and remind the planters of their connection with God and the church's religious morals (Miller & Gilmore 2016:65). When plans

were made to construct a new Reformed church following the destruction of the previous one, it had become clear that the island's prosperity rested on international trade instead of agriculture. Statians shifted their attention by looking outward towards the sea instead of inwards towards the plantations. If the church was to represent the ideal Dutch social space, then it needed to be both visible to the majority of the public and in a place that overlooked primary economic activities (Miller & Gilmore 2016:67). This explains the church's new location on top of Upper Town's cliff towering over the harbor. Furthermore, the church at this highly visible location signified to outsiders that this was a moral society. It provided a veneer of legitimacy in a place that was characterized by immoral behavior such as illegal trade, smuggling, prostitution, gambling, and drinking.

5.2.3 The deceased

All over the world, death and the deceased occupy a prominent place in the cognitive component. This is true for places where deceased are physically present, such as cemeteries, but also for locations where the dead are believed to interact with the living – haunted places. Stories of hauntings abound in Statian oral history and folklore. These are an interesting topic of study, as they reveal fundamental and important issues that the community perceives as essential parts of their heritage. For example, uphill from Halfway Path is a place called Rodney's Furnace. Legend has it that Admiral Rodney buried part of the treasures he took from the island's merchants at this location. It is said that, standing at Halfway Path at night, one can hear the galloping of Rodney's horse.

There exists another story related to Rodney that is quite remarkable. After he conquered the island, the Admiral set up his headquarters in the Simon Doncker house.

Figure 5.8 The tomb of former Governor Jan de Windt (1717-1775), decorated with a skull and crossbones and a winged hourglass. Photo by Mike Harterink.

This eighteenth-century building now houses the historical museum, but at the time belonged to a wealthy merchant. Several people have spent the night in this building in recent times, many of which report to have experienced hauntings. Their story is that, in the middle of the night, loud noises such as talking and music till the air with the atmosphere of a party – presumably an eighteenth-century party. To put an end to the noise, one must tell the ghosts to be quiet because someone is trying to sleep. This is when the party ends and the ghosts disappear. As Rodney's conquest is one of the most important events in the island's history, it is no coincidence that ghost stories find their stage at two locations Rodney frequented during his stay on the island. These stories emphasize the prominent role he occupies in people's minds and, therefore, in the cognitive component.

The aspect of history that has put the largest mark on the island, however, is not the frequent changes of power, but slavery. The majority of the island's inhabitants today are descendants of the enslaved population, so it comes as no surprise that many elements of the cognitive component are related to this part of people's heritage. Some trees, for example, play a part in the cognitive component. When slavery was abolished on July 1, 1863, the flamboyant trees all across the island were blooming. The newly-freed enslaved people decorated their houses with branches and flowers of the blooming trees, a tradition that continues to the present day (Crane 1999:135). The flamboyant, which has become a symbol of freedom, has been called the July Tree ever since.

Oral history accounts abound with stories about Mr. Moore, the cruelest slave owner during the mid-nineteenth century (Crane 1999:6,115,188,271,278). He lived at Golden Rock plantation, where he frequently had enslaved people whipped for his pleasure when he was drunk. It is said that he used to have his enslaved people, including pregnant women, whipped for as long as it took him to smoke two cigars. It seems that Mr. Moore was well aware of his reputation. It is said that he had a tunnel built under his tomb as he was afraid that people would one day bury him alive (Personal communication with Gay Soetekouw, President of the St. Eustatius Center for Archaeological Research board). There are several stories surrounding the cruel slave owner's grave. Many people report to have felt an evil presence when walking on the road running past his grave at night, even people who, at the time, were not aware they were passing his tomb. The story goes that, on the day Mr. Moore was buried, Statia had not experienced such a clear sky in living memory. However, as he was being lowered into the grave, a very loud clap of thunder occurred, followed by a severe flash of lightning. The people in the graveyard ran away in a state of panic and Mr. Moore had to bury himself as no one wanted to come near the grave to finish the job.

Statian cemeteries are covered with symbolism, not only through the stories they are connected to but also through their physical attributes. Many are elaborately decorated with symbolic elements and inscribed with elaborate texts. In addition to being symbols of status (see Chapter 6), these tombstones are laden with messages and reminders of people's mortality – so-called *Memento Mori*. A particularly popular decoration was the skull and crossbones, sometimes accompanied by an hourglass. Besides being reminders of the inevitability of death, they were also a source of comfort as they reminded people of the fact that those who are now dead once lived. Several inscriptions directed to the reader of the text are also particularly interesting in

this regard. Henry Jennings' grave in the Anglican cemetery, for example, is inscribed with the text "Stop Passenger and Shed a Tear, for Worth uncommon's buried here." Johannes Salomons Gibbes' gravestone, located on the Benners plantation cemetery (Figure 5.5), contains a similar inscription: Stop pensive passenger – these lines peruse, tis virtue summons and you can't refuse, then pay where due the tribute of a tear, for merit, candour, truth concentre here. Alive rever'd – now dead his worth applaud, here tranquil rests the noblest work of god.

These texts sought to move the reader to pay extra attention to a particular grave and celebrate the deceased's life by reminding them of the virtues of the person buried there. Because of their emphasis on the celebration of life, which had come to an end, they were also reminders to mourn. People should feel remorse for the departure of the individuals buried there – they should "shed a tear," as the inscriptions say. The fact that a short epitaph seeks to evoke such mixed feelings may have to do with Statian mortuary behaviour. According to Zimmerman,

> "Little or no sickness is known here [on St. Eustatius]. As soon as someone is sick he is either better or dead in three or four days; everything goes expeditiously here. It is so with burying; dead in the evening, buried the next day." (NA 3.01.26 – 161)

The quick departure of people is aptly illustrated by a rather ironic gravestone inscription in the Anglican cemetery, which reads: "Michael Heathcote Esqr. of Petersburgh, Virginia. He came to this island for the recovery of his health, but died the eight day after his arrival." This epitaph summarizes the popular cognition of death; as people on the island generally did not have a long sick bed, those left behind simultaneously mourned and struggled to accept what seemed to be an untimely passing.

5.3 The recreative component

The recreative component played an important role in the lives of Statian residents and sailors calling at the island. Strangely, this topic has never been subjected to an in-depth historical analysis. Recreation – particularly the consumption of alcohol – provided a welcome distraction and break from daily routines and hardships for the enslaved population. Elaborate parties organized by the white elite provided entertainment on a small island far from European and American metropolises. People on the island engaged in all vices imaginable. To gain a better understanding of the historic Statian community, all aspects of the recreative component will be explored.

5.3.1 Alcohol consumption

As was the case in many New World colonies, the consumption of alcohol played a prominent role on St. Eustatius. Accounts of drinking excessive amounts of liquor abound in the historical record. Archaeologically, evidence of the consumption of alcohol is found on virtually every site on the island in the form of bottle fragments, bottle stoppers, and wine glasses. Rum, wine, and gin seem to have been the spirits of choice for the Statian population. Zimmerman remarked on the excessive quantities of Madeira wine consumed on the island. He mentioned that it was drunk like water,

and that many cellars on the island contained the best European wines. According to Zimmerman, people always found an excuse to drink. He wrote, "When someone dies, people cure their sorrows with Madeira wine" (NA 3.01.26 – 161). Upon Frederick Fenger's arrival on the island more than a century later, he went to see the harbormaster. Wanting to show him his papers, the harbormaster insisted that they should first have a glass of rum (Fenger 1917:293).

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many laws and proclamations were issued to curtail the excessive consumption of alcohol which was widespread and common among people from all classes on the island. As much as alcohol was enjoyed, it was also abused. In 1700, it was forbidden to sell alcohol to the inhabitants of the island (Schiltkamp & Smidt 1979:275). A century later, in 1801, a proclamation was issued that regulated the sale of alcohol. Many inhabitants were retailing liquor until the middle of the night and were providing lodging for sailors and vagabonds, which led to "disagreeable circumstances." Therefore, people wanting to sell liquor and those holding billiard tables were requested to obtain a license to do so (Schiltkamp & Smidt 1979:383). In 1810 and 1811, proclamations were issued that forbade the sale of alcohol to soldiers. They stated:

> "Whereas many men belonging to the garrison in this island have given themselves to drink spirituous liquors to an excess of which several persons occupying themselves in the line of retailing rum and other spirituous liquors are mostly the cause of and notwithstanding all former publications still attempt to sell such kind of liquors to military men, tending to their very great prejudice and in disobedience to the orders of government." (Schiltkamp & Smidt 1979:435)

As discussed previously in this chapter, ship logs contain countless accounts of drunk sailors who got into trouble on the island and became rebellious once they were back on board. Lower Town was *the* place for sailors to unwind from the long voyages at sea. G.B. Bosch described the conduct of sailors arriving at St. Eustatius:

> "Upon arrival to the island, most sailors go straight to the first rum house, where they entertain themselves in three ways: by drinking, fighting with other sailors, and by being seduced by women, who rob them of everything they own." (Bosch 1829:29)

There were a number of brothels on the island, the one in Lower Town next to the Bay Path being among the most famous. It was called The Balcony, and its yellow-bricked remains can still be seen today (personal communication Gay Soetekouw, president of the St. Eustatius Center for Archaeological Research board). Excessive alcohol consumption on ships led to dangerous situations on the roadstead as well. In one instance, the captain and crew of a vessel were so intoxicated that they ran into another ship laying at anchor (Kidder 1849:62).

The playing of games often accompanied the consumption of liquors. It seems that these regularly got out of hand. In 1784, a proclamation was issued that forbade the playing of dice and other games in bars, inns, and all other public and private places

Figure 5.9 Evidence of alcohol consumption found in the Schotsenhoek plantation slave quarters. Top: wine glass dating to the period 1705-1715. Bottom: early eighteenth-century wine bottle fragments. Photos by the author.

(Schiltkamp & Smidt 1979:323). Enslaved people frequently played cards, dice, and other games as well. In 1797, the Governor of Statia forbade the playing of games by enslaved people anywhere on the island. It was concluded that games among enslaved people too often led to disturbances, probably in part because games were accompanied by the consumption of alcohol. These escapades were understood to have a negative effect on their work ethic (Schiltkamp & Smidt 1979:372). There is clear evidence of the consumption of alcohol at the Schotsenhoek slave quarters, as indicated by numerous wine bottle fragments. Two wine glasses found in the ditches on the southwestern part of the excavation hint at a more sophisticated practice of alcohol consumption which mimicked that of the elite merchant-planter class (Stelten 2015b). Yet, probably more important than wine was rum, of which copious quantities were consumed. Enslaved people were known to sell rum, and thus they probably consumed much more of it than would have been provided to them by their masters (Gilmore 2004:64).

5.3.2 Smoking

Besides alcohol, tobacco played a prominent role in colonial life as well. There is ample evidence of smoking in Statia's archaeological record. Clay tobacco pipe fragments are found all over the island, particularly in Lower Town. Large quantities of these have been found in archaeological contexts since the 1980s. The majority of these were imported from the Netherlands, as is evidenced by their heel marks. In 2012, Huijsmans analyzed a collection of pipes from the island, and concluded that 75 percent of all pipes on St. Eustatius were made in the Dutch town of Gouda (Huijsmans 2012:31).

Figure 5.10 One of the many clay tobacco pipes in the collection of the St. Eustatius Center for Archaeological Research. Many pipes found on the island are elaborately decorated. This one is decorated with a three-masted sailing ship, underscoring the importance of the maritime world to the people of St. Eustatius. Photo by the author.

Smoking was not only widespread among merchants, planters, and sailors, but also among the enslaved population. Many pipe fragments were encountered in the Schotsenhoek slave quarters excavation, indicating their widespread use by enslaved people living in the countryside. Janet Schaw provides some insight into smoking in Lower Town during the eighteenth century, as she writes: "The town consists of one street a mile long, but very narrow and most disagreeable, as every one smokes tobacco, and the whiffs are constantly blown in your face" (Schaw 1921:136).

5.3.3 Parties

With so much drinking and smoking going on, it is not surprising that there are numerous references to Statian parties in the historical record. Rich merchants, planters, and government officials all organized elaborate gatherings where people indulged in eating, drinking, and dancing. This was a way to display one's wealth and undoubtedly also served as a way to strengthen business relations. Sailors were often invited as well. It is not hard to imagine that, on a small island like St. Eustatius, there was a desire to keep up with what was happening in the world, and visitors could entertain people with stories and inform them on the latest news from Europe and the Americas.

The ship log of the *Maarssen*'s captain, Lodewijk Count of Bylandt, provides some insight into these events. He visited the island in 1760, and during his six weeks' stay, was invited to several parties, lunches, and dinners by various people, including the Governor, the government Secretary, merchants, and planters. Each New Year's Eve, the Governor hosted a dinner party for 40 guests. The following day, he offered a large buffet of food and drinks exclusively for people of the white middle and upper classes

(NA 1.01.47.17 – 48, folio 63-81). It was customary for the Governor to invite captains of Dutch warships. For example, the captain of the *Princes Royal Frederique Sophie Wilhelmine* was invited to a party on New Year's Day 1779, where many other people were present (NA 1.01.46 – 2417, folio 154). According to Zimmerman, people on the island loved to dance. He mentions being invited to several parties, including one where he found 64 women, all beautifully dressed. One day, the Governor invited him to go to a party organized by enslaved people. At the party, two singers and several instrumentalists provided live music. They were very friendly to the white visitors; the white elites even danced with several enslaves women (NA 3.01.26 – 161).

It appears that New Year's Eve was a particularly popular holiday. According to Captain Bylandt, this night was accompanied by the excessive – and uncontrolled – use of fireworks (NA 1.01.47.17 – 48, folio 79). This resulted in several accidents, and caused a dangerous situation as the wooden houses and the merchandise in Lower Town's warehouses could easily catch fire. As a result, in many years during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, proclamations were issued that banned the lighting of fireworks and firing of guns on New Year's Eve and the preceding days. In addition, it was forbidden to engage in illegal parties in and around the streets (Schiltkamp & Smidt 1979:318). As the population of the island grew during the latter half of the eighteenth century, gatherings became harder to control and people partied more elaborately than ever before. Strict rules were instated to ensure safety on the island and to prevent a state of anarchy among the island's loose-living citizenry.

5.3.4 Tours and picnics

There were more wholesome ways to enjoy oneself on the island as well. Picnicking was a favorite pastime for visitors and residents and is mentioned many times in travelers' accounts. De Jong elaborately remarks on a trip he made by horse (De Jong 1807:124). An enslaved accompanied him with wine, bread and other types of food. After riding for one hour, he stopped at the hut of an old enslaved person where several other people were waiting for him. In the quiet countryside they enjoyed themselves over a picnic. To De Jong, this was a welcome break from the hectic life on board and in town. Several days later, he hiked up and into the Quill where he also enjoyed a picnic. He mentioned that picnicking was a common activity among travelers and that many ventured into the crater specifically to enjoy a picnic away from the hustle and bustle of town. A decade later, Zimmerman followed in his footsteps. He made many trips around the island; every day at four o'clock in the morning he and his friends went horseback riding for two or three hours, after which they had breakfast or stayed at a friend's estate (NA 3.01.26 – 161).

In the 1820s, Trelawney Wentworth made a trip to the Quill. He provided an elaborate description of his experiences in his *West India Sketch Book* published in 1835. The Governor provided him with a horse and guide to help him ascend the mountain. He meticulously describes the nature of the trail and the surroundings on his ascent. At a certain point, the trail became too steep for the horse and he had to continue on foot. A dense forest led him to the crater rim, where he was struck by the beautiful scenery, both inside the crater and in the panoramic view of the island. He decided to go into the crater as well. After a difficult descent, he found the bottom of the crater to be very serene and home to a dense forest containing large trees,

including a gigantic silk cotton tree on whose trunk were carved the names of several people who visited before him.

Teenstra did exactly the same as Wentworth: during the short time he was on the island, he visited the Quill's crater and went horseback riding around the island (Teenstra 1837:338). Around the same time, Daniel Kidder also described his experiences in the Quill and remarked that people regularly ventured into the crater where they spent the day accompanied by servants who would take care of their needs. According to Kidder, "As this is the greatest natural curiosity in the island, Europeans or Americans visiting St. Eustatius rarely omit to make a journey to the Quill" (Kidder 1849:17). Clearly, this activity was very popular among both visitors and residents, as it was perhaps the only adventure one could pursue on the island in those days.

5.4 Conclusions

Experiences of everyday life were very different depending on where one lived. In Upper Town, the quality of life was much better than it was in Lower Town due to cooler temperatures and less crowded conditions. In addition to these inconveniences, the built environment in Lower Town was under greater stress due to heavy wave action on one side and eroding cliffs on the other. Slave housing stood in stark contrast to the large residences of the island's elite. The enslaved population was housed all over the island, but enslaved people living on the plantations were probably housed in a similar way to those in town. On the roadstead, sailors experienced a very different quality of life, characterized by cramped conditions and little privacy. This caused them to frequently lash out on board as well as on shore. Varying civic environments on St. Eustatius resulted in diverse ways of living that each shaped the maritime cultural landscape and the experiences of the people in it.

The cognitive component comprises many different features, some of which are tangible, but perhaps many more of which are not. Place names indicate a clear division in the island's cognitive component. Names of places found in the countryside did not change very often, as these rural places experienced relatively few outside influences. In contrast, names of populated places along the coast and in town changed more frequently as people from all around the world came and went and life happened at a much faster pace. Tangible features included a multitude of religious buildings such as churches of many denominations and a synagogue – one of the oldest in the Western Hemisphere. Throughout history, people have used religion to influence the cognitive component in several ways. In the case of the Dutch Reformed Church, this was very noticeable, while other groups such as the Jewish population tried to achieve the exact opposite. Nevertheless, members of all religious groups tried to convey messages beyond the grave, as is evidenced by elaborate symbolism in the island's cemeteries. The entirety of the cognitive component may be beyond description simply because most of it existed and continues to exist solely in people's minds, and many of those thoughts have never been written down. Yet, through detailed analysis of tangible features, stories, and modern and historical perceptions, which are direct and indirect reflections of historic thoughts and thought processes, it is possible to study this landscape to a certain degree in order to recreate the mental map that Statia's former inhabitants created to experience the world in which they lived.

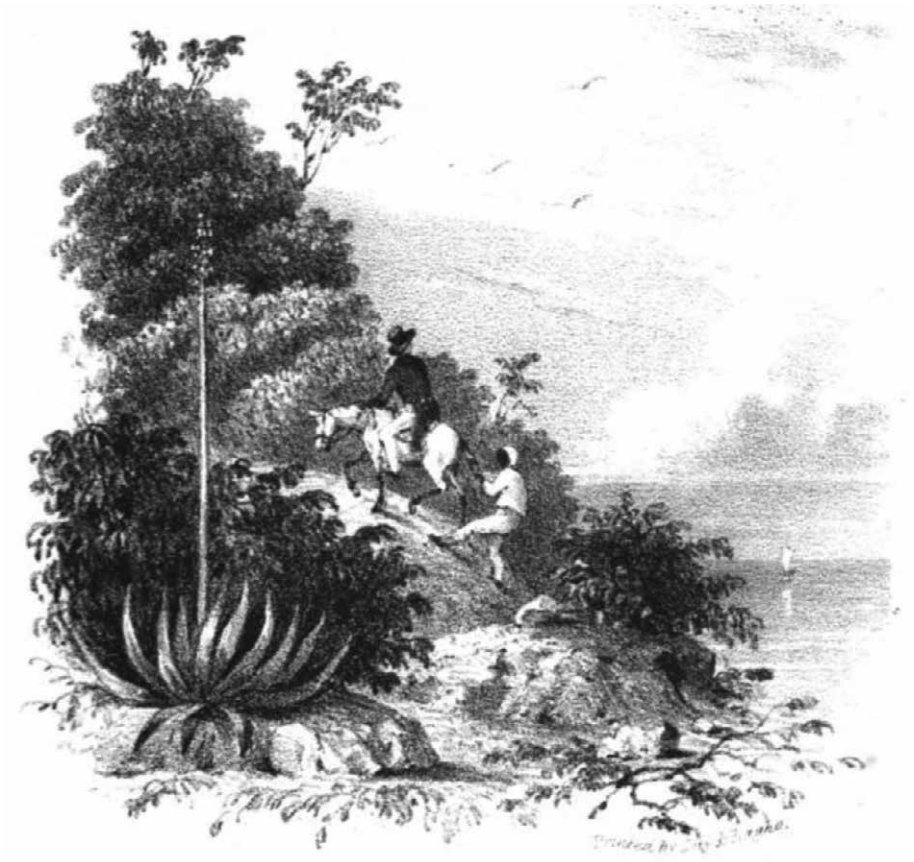


Figure 5.11 Ascent to the crater, from Wentworth's The West India Sketchbook (1835). Accompanied by this drawing is the following text: "You instinctively cast a look behind to measure the distance of a retrograde movement that would insure you a broken neck, and about ten chances to one, you discovered your guide hanging by the horse's tail, as if to promote the catastrophe".

By combining documentary and archaeological data, it has become clear that Statian residents and visitors engaged in a wide variety of recreational activities. In this regard, documentary data usually provides general observations about people's behavior, while the archaeological record reveals how this behavior was exercised in specific situations. Vices such as drinking, smoking, prostitution, and gambling were widespread among the population and transient sailors. There were, however, more wholesome ways to enjoy oneself, such as horseback riding, picnics, and excursions into the crater. The recreative component encompassed the entire island – the natural world, plantations, and the urban areas – and was represented in public as well as private spaces. Many activities did not leave behind any material evidence, while others, such as drinking and smoking, are represented extensively in the archaeological record. Curiously, the historical record makes no mention of swimming as a recreational activity. It could be that this was so common that travelers did not find it worth mentioning, or perhaps people simply did not swim very much. Whatever recreational activity one engaged in,

they served as ways to escape daily routines and to break the monotony and hardships of life on a small island. The civic component is composed of a multitude of cognitive aspects that, in turn, facilitate the recreative component. The built environment is not just a place where people exist; it is a place that has multiple layers of meaning produced by the inextricably interlinked needs, beliefs, attitudes, and desires of communities and individuals.

6

Political Components

Political components include the defense component and the power component. These are concerned with the use of intrigue or strategy in obtaining or retaining any position of power or control. People of all social classes participated in the political component to improve or retain their social and economic positions, including government officials, merchants, planters, and even enslaved people. Political components was heavily influenced by external factors, largely out of control to Statian society. They were adaptable to both internal and external threats, and even though it was constructed to impose a sense of awe, fear, or control, political components were often nothing more than pretense. Several elements contained in political components, such as the expression of wealth, are still present in modern-day Statian society.

6.1 The defense component

Far away from the mother country and surrounded by colonies from different colonial powers, safety was a primary concern for people living in the West Indies. Many wars that originated in Europe were fought in the colonies and the islands often became bargaining chips when peace needed to be established again. To complicate matters further, pirates and privateers were a constant threat to an island's safety and slave revolts posed a significant threat from within as the enslaved constituted the majority of the population on most islands. To combat these problems, works of defense were built to protect the islands and their people. These ranged from small coastal batteries to fortified mountains such as Brimstone Hill Fortress on St. Kitts or even completely enclosed cities such as San Juan, Puerto Rico. Batteries were installations used in the defense of an island against pirates and privateers, while forts and fortified cities could house entire regiments or even populations in the event of an enemy takeover. As land-based structures looking out towards the sea, military installations occupy a central role in the maritime cultural landscape. Their location, size, and type of construction are heavily influenced by the landscape – on land as well as under water – and provide important clues as to the decisions made by people defending their settlement. In turn, these structures determined to a large extent the behaviour of people on the water, particularly the roadstead.

Statia's fortifications are found all over the island (Hartog 1997). By studying the distribution of Statian forts and batteries, one gets the impression that the island was a well-defended stronghold. This was the way colonial administrators wanted the island

to appear to the outside world, as the danger of invading forces and raiding pirates and privateers was ever present. Interestingly though, the island changed hands 22 times among the Dutch, English, and French between 1636 and 1816 (Hartog 1976:23). The island was repeatedly surrendered without any fight. This raises the question of how effective the military installations on Statia actually were in defending the island. Moreover, the fact that late eighteenth-century Statia was one of the busiest ports in the world and its warehouses stored an enormous amount of wealth warrants a thorough look at the island's state of defense. This issue will be explored through an analysis of the various forts and batteries, artillery employed in them, the safety situation in the waters surrounding the island, and by examining the events of 1781, the most turbulent year in Statian history when the island was sacked by the English and captured by the French several months later.

6.1.1 The first fort

The English were the first Europeans to settle on St. Eustatius in 1625, but they moved soon after, probably due to unsuccessful attempts to set up agricultural ventures (Alofs 1997:76). When Pieter Van Corselles and his men took possession of the island for the Dutch in 1636 they found the ruins of a deserted bastion that had been built by the French in 1629. It was on this bastion that they built Fort Oranje. The French temporarily settled on Statia in 1629 because they were afraid the Spanish were going to use the island as a base from which to attack the French settlement on St. Kitts (Hartog

Figure 6.1 Oblique aerial view of Fort Oranje in 2014. The fort was restored in 1979. To the right is the Dutch Reformed church. The Quill is in the background. Photo by Fred van Keulen.

1997:24). Insufficient quantities of drinking water made their stay a short one. Van Corselles wrote to his superiors in Flushing that he built a fort "on a mountain 150 steps high" that he called Fort Oranje. The fort was armed with ship cannon, and its location offered a wide view over the entire bay. A report made by Spanish spies in 1640 mentions that sixteen guns were present in Fort Oranje (Hartog 1997:25).

Originally Fort Oranje was built with four bastions, but in the early eighteenth century the bastion *Kleene Bockepunt*, which was closest to the edge of the cliff, collapsed and fell down due to erosion that had taken place below it (Hartog 1997:29). The bastion was never rebuilt; up to this day the entire cliff side of the fort is enclosed by a low wall. A moat was excavated on the other side of the fort. This moat was a project started by the French in 1689 and completed in the 1730s when the island was again under Dutch rule (Hartog 1997:29). Due to the island's dry climate and the moat's connection to a gut where water flows down the cliff instantly, it is unlikely that it ever contained water. It was, however, completely overgrown with thorny vegetation, making it almost impossible to cross (Hartog 1997:29). The fort contained various buildings, including the commander's residence, barracks for soldiers, a powder house, three cisterns, and a prison. Throughout its lifespan, Fort Oranje and its artillery were plagued by a lack of maintenance and insufficient numbers of soldiers, causing the island to be taken with relative ease time and again. In 1785, a man by the name of Philip O'Reilly compiled a report in which he described the state of fortifications on St. Eustatius. He described Fort Oranje as utterly useless:

> "Fort Oranje is situated in Upper Town at the corner of a hill dividing it from Lower Town. It is of no strength, heavy artillery cannot be used due to the danger of the collapse of the cliff, and the small pieces employed in there [the fort], are not sufficient to be used on ships or to defend the town or ships on the road, because the firing of these guns can cause fires in Lower Town, as has happened before. The embrasures are too narrow, the guns can only shoot straight ahead, the parapets are so high, that during an attack they would do more harm than the enemy's cannon." (NA 1.05.01.02 – 635, folio 432-435)

After St. Eustatius changed hands for the last time in 1816 and warfare in the Caribbean came to an end, Fort Oranje remained in use as a saluting battery until 1925. By 1829 it was very much decayed, and sixteen years later, it was abandoned by the remaining garrison. Fort Oranje remained the seat of government until the 1970s (Hartog 1997:59).

6.1.2 A ring of fortifications

The first record of a fort other than Fort Oranje is found at the end of the seventeenth century. In 1687, Fort Amsterdam or the Waterfort was built. It contained sixteen cannon but was hardly ever used. As a result, it quickly fell into disrepair and was converted into a slave depot in the 1720s (Hartog 1997:130). When Isaac Lamont accepted the post of commander in 1701, he found the island's works of defense in a deplorable state. He asked the *Heren X* of the WIC for building materials and craftsmen to strengthen them, but his needs were never met. French filibusters captured the island in 1709. Out of joy at their easy conquest, they wanted to fire off a cannon,

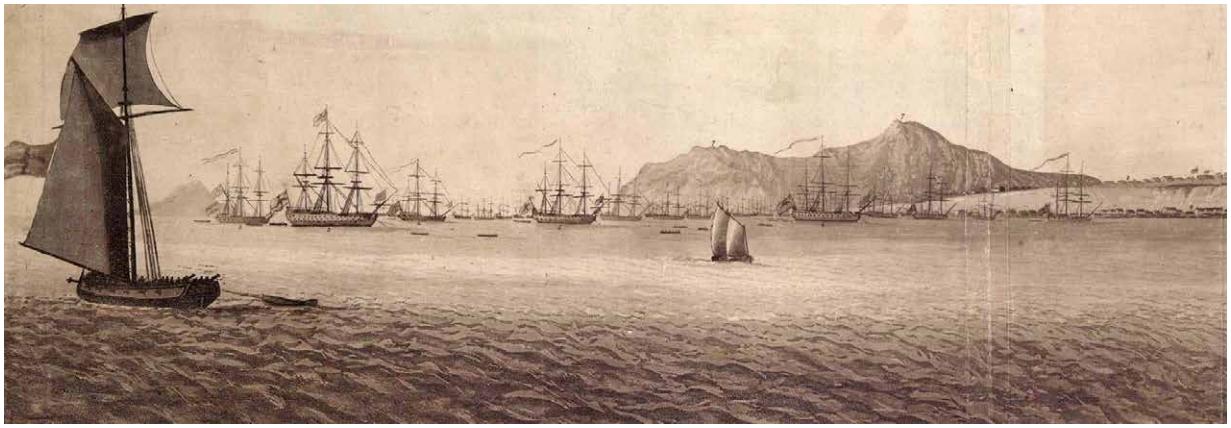


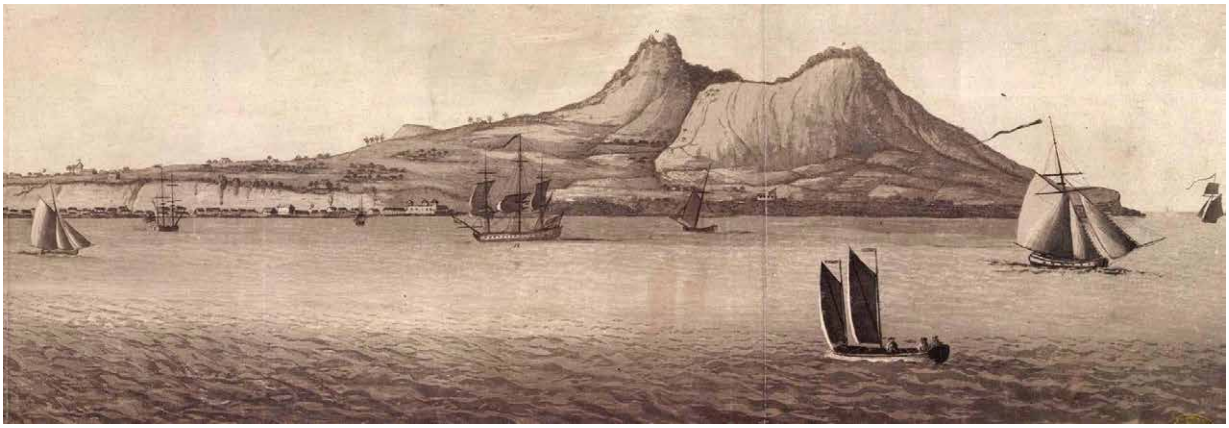
Figure 6.2 "View of St. Eustatia" by Charles Forrest. This drawing was made in April 1781, two months after the British conquered the island. British men-of-war are depicted on the left while smaller vessels used in the inter-island trade are shown in the foreground. Source: British Library, Ktop CXXIII, 76.

but not a single one was fit for use. The French soon took off with a large booty, after which Lamont resumed possession of the island (Attema 1976:23). By this time there were three other batteries in use apart from Fort Oranje: Dolijn, Tommelendijk and a newly constructed fort between Tommelendijk and Oranje (Attema 1976:23). During the command of Isaac Faesch nearly 30 years later, not much seems to have changed, for the forts were still in a poor state. In 1737, taxes were raised to finance their repair and the WIC sent 30,000 bricks for the forts' renovation. Walls were strengthened and the platforms for the cannon were rebuilt, but despite these developments everything remained much as before (Attema 1976:24).

In 1748, during the command of Johannes Heyliger, the citizens voluntarily raised a sum of money for the construction of some new coastal fortifications. Two new forts were built: Hollandia and Zeelandia. The *Heren X* supplied the forts with cannon, but they forgot to send the cannonballs. Fort Oranje was renovated as well, but by 1755 its condition had again deteriorated (Attema 1976:24). It was around this time that the situation seemed to change. Governor Jan De Windt built various batteries along the northern coast of the island: Turtle Bay, Concordia, Corriecorrie, and Lucie. In the south he built a battery named after himself – Battery De Windt. Slightly to the northwest, he built battery Nassau overlooking Kay Bay (Hartog 1976:27). By 1781, fourteen military sites were present on the island but they had all fallen into severe disrepair. The attitude of the WIC was one of the reasons why the fortifications time and time again fell into negligence: everything had to be done as cheaply as possible. This was not exceptional in the Caribbean, since fortifications on the British and French islands fared no better (Hartog 1976:28).

6.1.3 The year 1781

On February 3, 1781 a British fleet appeared on Statia's horizon. The fleet, consisting of 22 ships of the line, five frigates, and a number of smaller vessels was commanded by Admiral George Brydges Rodney and his rear-admiral Sir Samuel Hood. On board



were three regiments of soldiers. Great Britain had just declared war on the Dutch Republic two months earlier (the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War), and Rodney and Hood were ordered to capture the island to put an end to the arms trade between St. Eustatius and the North American rebels (Hartog 1976:84). The capture of St. Eustatius was of paramount importance for the British, as is aptly illustrated by a quote from Lord Stormont in British Parliament in 1778: "If St. Eustatius had sunk into the sea three years before, the United Kingdom would already have dealt with George Washington" (Nielson 2010:IV).

Nothing could have been done to prevent the capture; the Statian garrison numbered 60 men stationed in dilapidated fortifications containing rusty, unserviceable artillery. According to a report compiled three days before the capture, there were 41 cannon present in Fort Oranje, of which only eight were barely serviceable. Nine new cannon and carriages had apparently arrived just before the capture, but these were still waiting to be installed. Even the Dutch man-of-war *Mars*, carrying 36 pieces of artillery and 230 men, was useless against the British fleet (Hartog 1976:85). With hundreds of cannon aimed at the island and thousands of troops ready to disembark, St. Eustatius quickly surrendered without a fight. Rodney took command of the island and treated the Statian population as prisoners of war. He confiscated ships, property, warehouses, and the merchandise stored in them. The Dutch flag was left flying from Fort Oranje for a month in order to seize the cargoes of unsuspecting ships arriving on the island. The Jewish population endured even more hardships than the rest. Ten days after the capture, all Jewish men had to appear at the weighing house where they were searched for money they had on them. Thirty of them were deported to St. Kitts, while the remaining 71 were imprisoned in the weighing house for three days (Hartog 1976:92).

Fort Oranje was renamed Fort George after the British King George III, but nothing was done to improve its dilapidated state. During an exercise with several guns on one morning, part of one of the parapets broke off and fell down the cliff (Hartog 1997:49). To improve the defense of the town and the road a new battery was built on the cliff edge called Battery Vaughan, after General John Vaughan who commanded the invading regiments. Existing works of defense around the island were strengthened by the British, who stationed 650 men on Statia (Hartog 1997:50).

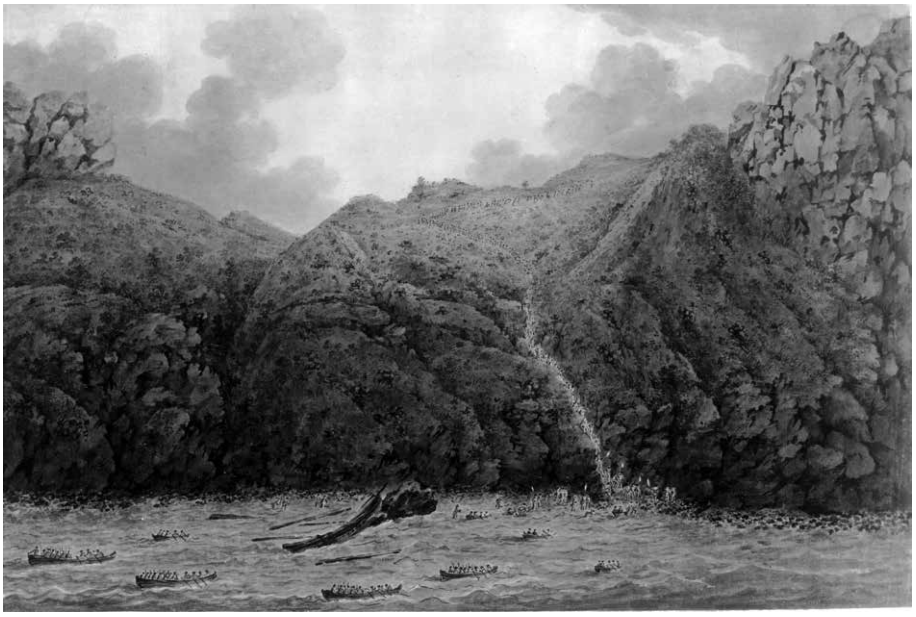


Figure 6.3 The French landing at Jenkins Bay on the night of November 26, 1781. Displayed at Windsor Castle.

The island remained British for a mere nine months, after which the French took control in one of Statia's most comical episodes. On the night of November 26, General de Bouillé together with 400 men landed unnoticed in Jenkins Bay. In the dark of night, they marched through the Northern Hills down to Fort Oranje, where they waited in hiding until British troops exited the fort for a marching exercise. When they did, the French – far outnumbered – fired their guns, thereby dispersing the British troops. The French troops entered the fort, closed the draw bridge, and took command. To complete the British humiliation, the commander of their troops was taken prisoner (Hartog 1997:51). With hardly any resistance encountered, the island became French. The state of the island's military installations was one of the reasons why this happened with relative ease. The nine-gun battery at Tumble Down Dick Bay was manned by only four people, while the battery at the site of the landing was not manned at all. To make matters worse, the signal post on Panga Hill – offering views over the Northern Hills – was only manned during the day. Had people been stationed there at night as well, they would have easily spotted the French troops marching towards town, and with the firing of one shot, could have alerted the garrison in Fort Oranje (Moret 1994:16).

St. Eustatius remained French for nearly two and a half years, during which much was done to improve its state of defense. The neglected fortifications were restored and four new ones were built: Panga, Jussac, Royal, and Bouillé. The French also constructed a network of roads linking the forts and batteries. At the end of 1782, Johannes de Graaff mentioned that the island had been brought "in a formidable state of defense" (Hartog 1976:97). The French recognized the flaws in the Dutch and British defense system on the island, as they had made use of these themselves. Fort Panga and bat-

tery Jussac were constructed on Signal Hill. Connected by a deep trench, these two fortifications were aimed at defending the island once an invading force had already managed to land.

6.1.4 Safety on the roadstead

Given the size of St. Eustatius' road and the enormous value of the anchored ships' cargoes, safety on this vital stretch of water was of utmost importance and played a major role in defining the defense component of the maritime cultural landscape. At the time of Rodney's conquest in 1781, there were five batteries and one fort protecting the road. When the French returned the island to the Dutch three years later, the number had risen to two forts and eight batteries. An important question that needs to be answered is whether these fortifications were able to provide safety to vessels on the road. Failure to do so could have influenced Statia's position in the regional and Atlantic World trade networks. The answer to this question can be found in various eighteenth- and nineteeth-century letters and ship logs.

In 1760, Captain Bylandt, anchored on Statia's road in the Dutch warship *Maarssen*, described a scene whereby the French pirate ship *Catherine* sailed into port with an English prize, taken on the western side of the island within reach of the fort. One of the batteries, the fort, and the *Maarssen* had fired their cannon at the pirate ship, but to no avail. The prize was left on the road after the pirates had taken over 80 enslaved Africans from it (NA 1.01.47.17 – 48, folio 63). Even bolder was a situation described by the captain of the *Jonge Wilhem* in 1746, whereby an English privateer came on the road in the middle of the day and took a French ship (NL-MdbZA_20_649, folio 18). The French immediately abandoned ship by jumping in the water. Everyone on the road and on land saw it happening. One Dutch warship and the island's batteries fired several shots at the privateer, but he managed to get away with the French prize. In another instance, on a night in 1778, English pirates took a North American schooner on the road which went unnoticed by other ships and the fortifications. The Americans on board were dropped off at Saba but returned to Statia a few days later. When the pirate ship returned to Statia a few days after, its captain and crew were detained in Fort Oranje (NA 1.01.46 – 2417, folio 165). Threats did not only come from the sea; a few days after the event in 1746, in the middle of the night, several French and Spaniards swam from the island to a barque on the road and sailed away with it. Several shots were fired from a Dutch warship at anchor, but to no avail (NL-MdbZA_20_649, folio 19).

Interestingly, ships were not only attempted to be taken by force; sometimes a formal request was submitted. A letter sent to Philadelphia from St. Eustatius, dated July 11, 1776 describes such a curious situation. At this time, the frigate *Pomona* sailed from Antigua to Statia, where she lay on the road for several days. Its captain was aware of the fact that the North American brig *Booker*, also on the road, was buying arms and ammunition. As soon as the *Booker* left, the *Pomona* followed, took her, and brought her to St. Kitts. This in itself was not an exceptional situation as shown above. Interestingly, however, while the *Pomona* was waiting in Statia's road, its captain sent a letter to the Statian Governor, requesting permission to take possession of several American vessels that were on the road as well, among which was the *Booker*. The permission was not granted by the Governor and council, but this did not stop the

English captain from carrying out his plan. On this occasion, Governor and council determined that if any English frigates or cruisers came within reach of the guns of any fortification on the island with the intention to obstruct trade, the forts' commanders had orders to fire at them (S5-V1-P01-sp04-D0195).

From the log of the *Princes Royal Frederique Sophie Wilhelmine*, a 50-gun warship anchored on Statia in 1778, it becomes clear that privateering was a common practice in Statia's surrounding waters. Over a four-and-a-half month period, sixteen instances of privateering were described, fourteen of which were stopped by the batteries on the island. Battery Nassau played an important role in this regard by providing much needed protection to ships against pirates and privateers (NA 1.01.46 – 2417, folio 135-169). Built in 1753 by Commander Jan de Windt, battery Nassau is located on top of a steep cliff overlooking Kay Bay and the southwestern coast of the island (Hartog 1997:81). According to De Jong, there were three cannon employed at the battery in 1780. He mentions in his account that when the constable recently fired one of them at an English pirate, the gun exploded and the constable was "split into several pieces" (De Jong 1807:112). Five years later, the battery housed five guns: three 18-pounders and two 12-pounders (Hartog 1997:81). In 1789, there were five 18-pounders present, hinting at the increased importance of this battery as the eighteenth century progressed (NA 1.05.01.02 – 256). Three cannon were left in 1801 (Stelten 2010:61). For such a small battery – the width of its embrasures is approximately 13 meters – it was very well armed. The reason for this can be found in the log of the *Princes Royal Frederique Sophie Wilhelmine*, which shows that battery Nassau was the most important, or at least the most active, fortification in the battle against privateering. In November 1778, a North American vessel was being chased by an English pirate. As they approached, some 50 or 60 shots were fired from battery Nassau at the pirate ship. Of the fifteen other instances of privateering that were described, eleven were stopped by battery Nassau. Privateering happened mostly south of St. Eustatius with the pirates and privateers being almost exclusively English. The *Princes Royal Frederique Sophie Wilhelmine* also fired shots at various pirate ships, indicating that warships at anchor were sometimes an extension of the defense component into the sea (NA 1.01.46 – 2417, folio 135-169). Privateering continued until well into the nineteenth century. In 1828, Thomas Harper wrote that "privateers have certainly been seen hovering off this port [St. Eustatius] every day since my arrival" (Wood 1830:23).

Several ship logs mention prizes being brought to Statia, which were frequently taken close to the island (NA 1.01.47.17 – 48, folio 63-81; NA 1.01.46 – 2417, folio 135-169). One night in 1778, the *Sancta Barbera*, flying a Spanish flag, came on the road. The ship, which had previously been under Dutch command, was captured by a British privateer off Nevis and subsequently sold in St. Kitts to a Spanish captain. The ship still bore its original name *Maria Christina* on the back. Because the captain could only show the papers from a previous ship he had lost he was ordered not to leave the road, presumably awaiting further investigation of the matter. In another instance a few days later, a three-master flying the Dutch flag arrived on the road. This particular ship had previously been a French slaver but was captured by the English. It was then sold on St. Kitts to a Statian merchant by the name of Mr. Jennings (NA 1.01.46 – 2417, folio 150). Statians did not only buy prizes on other islands, they were sometimes sold on St. Eustatius as well. These examples illustrate the complicated situation regarding

ships that frequently changed owner, crew, and flag, and show that Statian merchants were encouraging privateering practices themselves by buying captured ships.

A common practice for ships leaving the road was to sail in convoy in order to protect themselves from attacks by pirates and privateers. In 1760, the *Maarssen* accompanied seven merchantmen back to the Dutch Republic, as their captains were very concerned about the privateering carried out by the English in the region (NA 1.01.47.17 – 48, folio 79). In 1778, an even larger convoy of fifteen North American ships left the road carrying large quantities of rum, sugar, and salt (NA 1.01.46 – 2417, folio 170). Statia's road was not entirely safe despite repeated efforts aimed at improving the island's works of defense. As these examples show, there was always a chance of being attacked no matter where a ship was anchored. It was, however, much safer to be on the road within reach of the island's and anchored warships' guns than it was further offshore where there was a constant threat of being attacked by pirates and privateers.

6.2 The power component

The power component involves the expression of power and wealth. On St. Eustatius, this component comprised plantation residences, mansions, merchant houses, cemeteries, and military installations. It was also found in the possessions of the island's elite. Many people that moved to the island became successful and wealthy merchants. "The riches of St. Eustatius are beyond all comprehension," Admiral George Brydges Rodney wrote to his wife after capturing the island in 1781 (Jameson 1903:700). When he landed, the rent on Lower Town's warehouses totaled £1,200,000, which is the equivalent of £135,400,000 or 167,000,000 US dollars in today's terms.[35] Goods he had auctioned amounted to £3,000,000 and an additional £4,000,000 in bullion was confiscated from the island's residents (Gilmore 2013:49. To put these numbers into perspective, Gilmore calculated that this amount of wealth equaled Great Britain's entire public spending for four months in 1780 (Gilmore 2013:49). This £7,000,000 loot in 1781 is the equivalent of a staggering £789,700,000 or nearly one billion US dollars today.[36] This wealth and the power it generated were found throughout the Statian landscape in various ways, from the smallest artifacts to the largest buildings.

6.2.1 Moveable objects

Perhaps the best example of a merchant's success story is that of Mr. Jenkins. When he arrived on a deserted bay in the north of the island, he had nothing but the canoe that brought him there. He spent his first night on the island sleeping on the beach underneath his canoe. Over the years he became one of Statia's wealthiest merchants, so wealthy that he even had his own coins minted (Hartog 1976:31). One side of the coins contained an image of a canoe on a pebbled beach, emphasizing his rags to riches story. The archaeological record informs us that coins minted by Herman Gossling, another successful Statian merchant, were an even more explicit display of power and wealth. His coins, called "Gosslings," were a glorification of himself and his success. The obverse side of the coins, minted in the denominations of one bit and a half bit,

35 Calculated using the website www.measuringworth.com, based on the real price commodity value in 1781.
36 Calculated using the website www.measuringworth.com, based on the real price commodity value in 1781.

Figure 6.4 Coins minted on St. Eustatius. The top coin was minted by Mr. Jenkins. The obverse side shows a canoe on a pebbled beach which represents his past. The reverse side shown the name of his firm, R.D. Jenkins Co. The bottom coin was minted by Herman Gossling in 1771 as shown on the reverse side. The denomination "1 Bit" is indicated in the center. The obverse side shown an image of a grazing gosling surrounded by the text "GOD BLESS ST. EUSTATIUS & GOVERNOR."

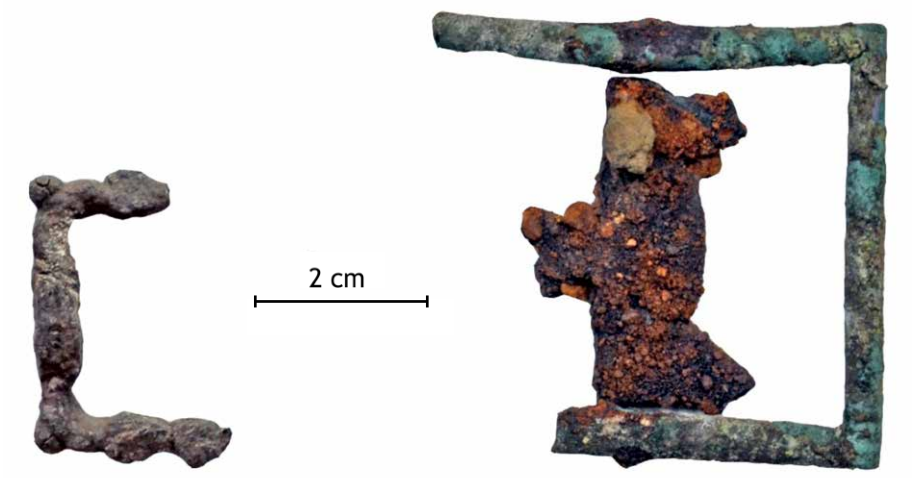


Figure 6.5 Shoe buckles found in the Schotsenhoek slave quarters. The left buckle is composed of a lead alloy, while the right buckle is made of a copper alloy and contains an iron alloy backpiece. Both types date to the period 1720-1800. Photos by the author.

depicted a grazing young goose, or gosling, while the reverse side contained his own name – something that was normally reserved only for kings. At the time of his death in 1827, long after the economic collapse of the Golden Rock, he still owned beautifully furnished houses and properties in Upper and Lower Town, thirteen enslaved people, and a number of farm animals (NA 1.05.13.01 – 209, folio 340-345).

This is but one example of wealth that is represented throughout the historical and archaeological records. Many other artifact categories reflect the prosperity of the island's elite. In 2009, the author studied a collection of 54 shoe buckles recovered from Oranje Bay (Stelten 2009). From the late seventeenth until the end of the eighteenth

century, shoe buckles were regarded as articles of high fashion and were worn by men, women, and children from nearly all social classes. The Statian collection contains many relatively expensive buckles. Almost two-thirds of the shoe buckles were elaborately decorated and/or were made of valuable materials such as silver. Some buckles were even gold-plated. These objects clearly reflect the economic prosperity the island enjoyed but perhaps more importantly, they are a very explicit expression of wealth by the people who wore them on a daily basis. While the documentary record could inform us about the trade in buckles, it is through archaeology that the social context of the buckles is revealed.

The discovery of two shoe buckles at the Schotsenhoek plantation slave quarters indicates that the use of these items was not restricted to the island's free population (Stelten 2015b:298). These findings point to a few things. First, it implies that enslaved laborers were allowed to wear shoes, a privilege not necessarily experienced by enslaved people in other colonies. Second, it shows that enslaved laborers had the economic means to buy shoe buckles and were willing to spend their hard-earned money on them. Given the fact that these items were true symbols of wealth, they must have given enslaved people a feeling of having an elevated economic and even social status. An enslaved person wearing similar buckles as his master and, as was shown in Chapter 4, eating from more or less the same plates, would have felt a bit closer to becoming a free person as his or her material culture mimicked that of a free person. This is a very explicit yet subtle way of exercising power, and interestingly, might have had a greater effect on the one experiencing it than on the one exercising. Through the display of material wealth, the white elites saw their subjects – considered their property – moving higher up the economic ladder and in a way gaining more independence, thereby threatening the elite's relative status in the process. As might be expected, the free black community also used material culture in similar ways. At the free black village excavated by Gilmore, material possessions developed to the point that even hand-painted porcelain was relatively common (Gilmore 2013:52). These examples show the enormous potential of archaeology in studying the lives of enslaved people, by providing information on material culture which cannot be gleaned from the documentary record.

6.2.2 Plantations

The power component is most noticeable in the countryside, where plantation residences once dominated the scene. These so-called "Great Houses" were usually located in prominent locations on the estates. Some Great Houses, such as those at Pleasures and Glass Bottle plantations, were located high up the Quill and dominated the Statian landscape. These could be seen from most places on the island and even by sailors at anchor on the road. Their prominence is reflected in their depiction in many eighteenth-century drawings of the island. Great Houses on plantations in lower parts of the island were often situated on the most elevated areas of the estate. The most notable example of this is Godet plantation, located just north of the town close to the Caribbean coast. Other examples include the great houses at neighboring Benners plantation, Princess Estate, and Fair Play plantation. These large and beautiful residences were very explicit expressions of wealth built in highly visible locations. Their importance was often enhanced by the fact that large parties were held here (see Chapter 5). The

Figure 6.6 Wind mill at Fair Play plantation with the Quill in the background. Part of the mill, including the inscribed keystone, collapsed during hurricane Lenny in 1999. Photo by the author.

Great House at English Quarter plantation was particularly famous for this. Parties at English Quarter even drew people from neighboring St. Kitts, who could all behold the great fortunes that were bestowed upon St. Eustatius' upper class.

What is perhaps even more important in the configuration of plantations on St. Eustatius is the relationship between the Great House and the slave quarters. On many Statian plantations the slave quarters were located in the lowest parts of the landscape, behind the industrial complex and out of sight from the Great House. The elevation difference between the Great House and the slave quarters can be regarded as a quintessential expression of power over the enslaved population.[37] This is most noticeable at Godet, where the elevation difference is at least 15 meters. The fact that the slave owner lived in a physical location higher than that of his enslaved workers enforced the notion of his social and racial superiority. In many cases, however, the plantation owner could not view the slave quarters from his house. While this indicates that enslaved people on St. Eustatius may have enjoyed a little more freedom than those on other islands, it is also a clear sign of the power the slave owner held over his subordinates. Given the small size of the island and the scarcity of hiding places, a successful escape must have been extremely difficult to achieve (NA 1.05.08.01 – 730). Slave owners therefore might have not felt the need to watch their workers constantly.[38]

Theodore Godet Heyliger's windmill, completed in 1831, is another poignant example in which an individual instilled power in the landscape. Many plantations had to shut down as sugar prices dropped throughout the region during the nineteenth century (Richardson 1992:60). While there were still dozens of plantations in 1775,

37 This was also observed by Symanski in Brazil (Symanski 2012) and Singleton in Cuba (Singleton 2001).

38 Nevertheless, slaves frequently tried to escape. An issue of the *St. Eustatius Gazette* from 1792 contains two runaway advertisements, whereby one mentions that the slave in question escaped several times before.

this number had diminished to a mere ten plantations by the 1840s (NA 4.MIKO 3.A.2.5.1. – 645). Nevertheless, in 1831, a new windmill was built at Fair Play plantation as evidenced by an inscription in a keystone of one of its arches. The keystone is inscribed "TGH, FP, 1831." The letters represent the plantation owner's name, Theodore Godet Heyliger, the name of the plantation, Fair Play, and the year of construction. In his analysis of sugar plantations on the island, James Delle attributes the construction of the windmill to the owner's determination to make a profit from sugar production at a time when it was becoming increasingly difficult to do so (Delle 1989:180). In this way, the construction of the windmill is just as much an attempt to symbolize the power of the planter elite at a time when this power had been dwindling for decades. The fact that the owner had his own initials carved in the keystone, a marking which is not seen at any other plantation on the island, is a case in point. Furthermore, the windmill was and still is a structure that dominates the surrounding landscape. It was also one of the few windmills on the island, as most were much cheaper and less visible animal mills. The structure therefore clearly indicated the planter's status; even though the island's economy had collapsed, he was still able to erect an imposing building that many plantations did not even have in the prosperous times of the eighteenth century. He could just as easily have constructed a new animal mill, but instead Theodore Godet Heyliger chose to construct an expensive, highly visible, and relatively unique windmill which, to top it all off, contained his own initials.

Several years later, in 1857, the owner of nearby English Quarter plantation erected an impressive arch at the entrance of his estate. The arch contained a beautiful marble keystone with the inscription "EQ 1857." While not as explicit as the Fair Play windmill, this is another example of the display of power and wealth after the collapse of the island's economy, particularly because the arch did not serve any real purpose besides impressing people visiting the plantation or anyone who passed it on the road.

6.2.3 Johannes de Graaff

While St. Eustatius was home to a large number of wealthy merchants in the eighteenth century, perhaps no one was richer and more famous than Johannes de Graaff. He can be regarded as the embodiment of the power component. His wealth and influence was virtually unchecked. Born in 1729 of wealthy parents on St. Eustatius, he was appointed Governor in 1776 following the death of preceding Governor Jan de Windt. De Graaff was educated in the Netherlands and later returned to the island of his birth. Being both a planter and a merchant, De Graaff was extremely rich. He owned a quarter of all privately-owned land on the island and is said to have possessed 300 enslaved people. As Governor of the island he made a modest 500 US dollars per year. As a merchant, however, he earned 30,000 US dollars annually, an enormous amount of money in the eighteenth century (Barka 1996:6). De Graaff's annual income in 1781 was the equivalent of 13,200,000 US dollars in today's terms.[39] The rich planters on the island formed an oligarchy in which the richest one rose to the highest rank. The richest planters and merchants extended protection to one another; together with De Graaff, they formed the island council and the church consistory. Both the

39 Calculated using the website www.measuringworth.com, based on the relative labor earnings income or wealth value in 1781.

Figure 6.7 Portrait of Johannes de Graaff (1729-1813), currently held in the State House at Concord, New Hampshire.

government and the administration of justice were in their hands and, as members of the church consistory, they were charged with supervising the daily life of the rest of the population (Hartog 1976:67). It was during De Graaff's administration that the American flag was first saluted on November 16, 1776. His official power on the island came to an end when Admiral Rodney occupied the island in 1781. De Graaff was sent to England and returned to Statia as a private citizen a year later (Hartog 1976:88).

Historical testimonies regarding De Graaff's personality portray him as a tyrant. In one instance, he fined a butcher who refused to sell meat at the price De Graaff demanded. On another occasion, in 1777, De Graaff attempted to extract a confession from a young cabin boy accused of a minor offense by allowing him to be hoisted up by tackle with his hands tied behind his back and a heavy shot around his neck. His cruel personality was present in government as well: De Graaff once sent councilman Dirk Groeneveld to prison for contradicting him during a meeting (Hartog 1976:69).

De Graaff's probate inventory, held at the National Archives in The Hague, provides a detailed list of his possessions at the time of his death in 1813 (NA 1.05.08.01 – 729).[40] It shows that he was still a very rich man at this time, even 32 years after leaving

40 It should be noted that this probate inventory, despite the shortcomings outlined in paragraph 3.2.3., appears to be very reliable. While some items, such as food, might indeed have been omitted (at least they are not listed), other items such as books and ceramics are described in great detail. Moreover, as shown below, archaeological evidence matches one of the most remarkable items listed in the inventory.

office as Governor. The possessions listed – including real estate, enslaved people, and material goods – are extensive. In the countryside he owned seven plantations and 25 other parcels of land; his possessions in Upper Town included 25 parcels of land and sixteen houses; on the bay he owned fifteen parcels of property and at least fourteen buildings, some of which were at prime locations close to the weighing house. The inventory includes many moveable objects such as countless sets of porcelain tableware and silver cutlery, mahogany furniture, silver and golden buckles, a cane with a golden head, books, golden watches, and much more. While his slave ownership was greater while he was in charge of the island, the inventory indicates that De Graaff still owned 133 enslaved people in 1813, a staggering number for a Statian planter in his 80s.

What is most interesting with respect to the power component are those possessions De Graaff used to display his political power and wealth. Needless to say, the many expensive goods he owned were a clear indicator of his wealth to anyone invited to his residence. Many rich planters and merchants, however, had these kinds of possessions. De Graaff needed something that would set him apart from the rest. In 1994, archaeologists from the College of William & Mary conducted extensive research at Concordia plantation, the estate where he lived (Barka 1996). Numerous structures, including a residence, sugar train, and outhouses were excavated and recorded. One unusual feature drew the researchers' immediate attention. Located next to the residential building is a peculiar structure resembling a cistern. It is 10.4 meters long, 3 meters wide, 2.3 meters deep, and plastered on the inside. Based on the plastering it is clear that this structure once held a body of water approximately 1.5 meters deep. The structure was very well built, consisting of red and yellow bricks and nicely curved basalt cornerstones uncharacteristic of a cistern. Unlike other cisterns on the island, one side of the structure contains an arch, the base of which would have been at the same level as the water it contained. Further, the walls of the structure were topped with decorative coping rather than the vaulted roof normally constructed over a cistern. These features suggested that the structure was not a cistern after all (Barka 1996:46). De Graaff's probate inventory lists all structures at Concordia plantation, which includes a duck pond. Based on the archaeological research at the property, William & Mary archaeologists concluded this unusual structure was in fact the duck pond that was listed. Its location next to the residence meant it would be visible to anyone visiting Johannes de Graaff on his estate. As no ducks ponds are known to have existed on St. Eustatius or neighboring islands at that time, and ducks were not native to the island but had to be imported, this feature was truly one of a kind. De Graaff used it to set him apart from other wealthy merchants and planters on St. Eustatius and beyond.[41]

41 It is interesting to note that extravagant displays of wealth could be very different on other islands. The interiors of Bermudian mansions, for example, were very similar to those of their Statian counterparts where the owner's wealth was displayed by mahogany furniture, sets of Chinese porcelain and silverware, musical instruments, and other exotic and expensive goods. While these types of goods were status symbols in most island colonies, on Bermuda these imported possessions were so ubiquitous that they did not convey a particularly high status. One's standing in society was instead reflected in the size of the mansions themselves, cedar trees, and the ownership of horses (Jarvis 2010:312).

6.2.4 Cemeteries

To the inhabitants of St. Eustatius, graves were clear status symbols that reflected the deceased's position in the community. St. Eustatius is home to no less than fourteen marked graveyards which are spread across the island. Many are located in Upper Town, but they are also present on the plantations. Together they contain hundreds of graves that can be quite different in appearance. In her study of gravestones on St. Eustatius, Paonessa found that there were many ways in which graves indicated an individual's status: the height of the gravestone, the use of imported materials, decorative motifs, location, and the display of status information such as title, occupation, and/or familiar relationships (Paonessa 1990).

Not surprisingly, the graves of former Governors are among the most conspicuous ones found on the island. Governor Jan de Windt's tomb, for example, contains a marble slab that is beautifully inscribed and decorated. His tomb is located next to the entrance of the Dutch Reformed Church where it can easily be observed from the outside, but also through the first window on the left as one enters the church. The Dutch Reformed Churchyard contains the graves of many other high-status individuals, such as former Governor Johannes de Veer and British Brigadier General David Ogilvy who replaced Admiral Rodney as commander during the British occupation. Governors were also buried in more secluded places. The gravestone of Johannes Salomons Gibbes, former Governor of the Dutch part of St. Maarten, is found on a cemetery at Benners plantation. Despite the fact that his grave is much less visible than those of many high-status people buried in town, the grave is marked by a two-meter-long marble slab that is inscribed from top to bottom. It is by far the most elaborate gravestone in the cemetery, and a clear indication of his higher status in life compared to the people buried around him.

Elaborate mortuary display was not only reserved for the island's political elite. A Jewish cemetery is located on the edge of Upper Town. Among the eighteenth-century Jewish community on the island were many successful merchants (Miller 2013:112,137). Their economic success would have given them an elevated status in Statian society which is reflected in their tombstones. While not as tall as many graves in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard, the Jewish cemetery boasts an impressive array of beautifully decorated marble and granite slabs not found anywhere else on the island. The slabs contain carved religious scenes, decorative motifs, and texts in Hebrew, English, Spanish, and Portuguese. These types of gravestones were very costly and were therefore reserved only for the richest members of society, who used them to continue their display of wealth in death.

6.2.5 Military installations

In addition to merchants, politicians, and plantation owners who sought various ways to assert their dominance, there existed another element in the power component. Forts, batteries, and other types of military installations were a very explicit representation of military and political power. As outlined earlier in this chapter, the island's fortifications could never have prevented a large invading naval force from capturing the island. Nevertheless, they could be very effective in repelling pirates and privateers and providing safety for ships on the road and those sailing near the island.

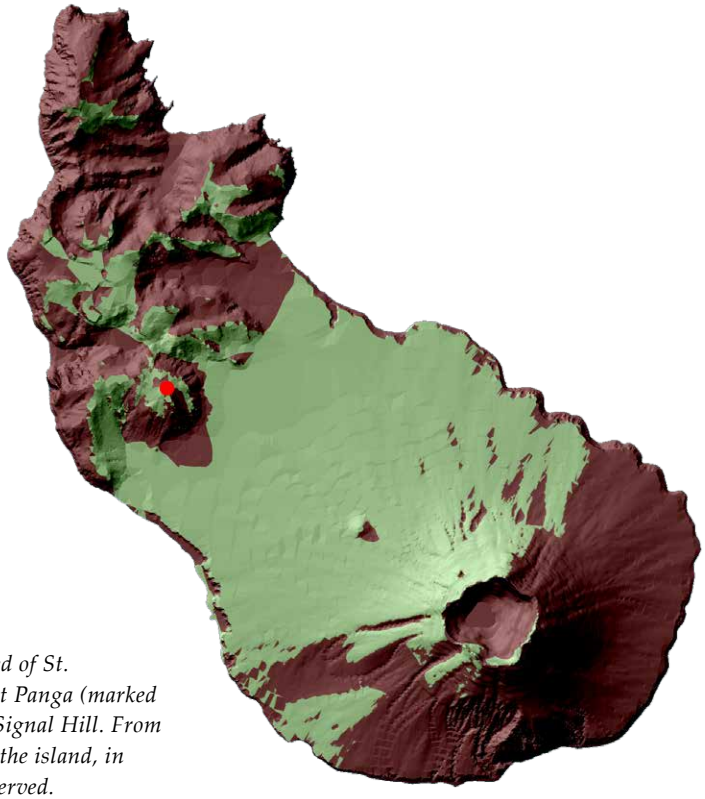


Figure 6.8 Viewshed of St. Eustatius from Fort Panga (marked by the red dot) on Signal Hill. From here, 47 percent of the island, in green, could be observed.

All Statian fortifications, without exceptions, were located at highly visible points in the landscape. This served two functions: soldiers in the forts and batteries always had an unobstructed view of their surroundings while, on the other hand, ships sailing past the island were able to see the many works of defense and their artillery pointed at them. Even though a lot of these guns were not fit for service and proved to be more dangerous to the people firing them than to the people they were firing at, and there were never enough skilled soldiers and gunners on the island to operate all pieces of artillery simultaneously, pirates and privateers sailing near the island would not have necessarily known this. From the outside, St. Eustatius and its surrounding waters would have appeared to be an impenetrable stronghold. The fact that all fortifications were located on top of steep cliffs at elevations tens or even hundreds of meters higher than passing vessels meant that these could easily fire at ships, but ships could not fire back at them. Perched on steep cliffs often inaccessible from shore, the natural landscape ensured that the forts and batteries exerted a form of control, power, and dominance over anyone who came within the reach of their guns. This way, their impact stretched much further than the island itself; up to three kilometers of sea around the island – the reach of some of the heaviest pieces of artillery – was added to their sphere of influence. On islands with less dramatic differences in elevation, such as Bonaire and Curaçao, fortifications would not have been as imposing and would not have played such a prominent role in the power component. Using SECAR's digital elevation model, a viewshed analysis of the island's forts and batteries was conducted

in order to explore the visibility of these structures from their surrounding areas. Only ships approaching the island from the north and sailing towards Boven Hill would not have been able to see any works of defense, while ships coming from any other direction would have seen several fortifications at once.

Military installations were not only built to impress outsiders; some also served to reinforce the notion of the power component to people living on the island itself. The best example in this regard is Fort Panga, built by the French in the 1780s after they captured the island from the British (Hartog 1997:110). Contrary to almost all other fortifications, this one was not coastal but located on Signal Hill, an inland location. From here one has a magnificent view of large parts of the island. A viewshed analysis conducted from this location shows that soldiers stationed at Fort Panga could observe 47 percent of the island, including the entire *Cultuurvlakte*. This also meant that the majority of the island's population could see Fort Panga, contrary to the coastal batteries that were much less visible for people on the island. Fort Panga emphasized the military power to the Statian population, particularly the enslaved. Slave revolts were not an uncommon occurrence in the West Indies; a small revolt even occurred on St. Eustatius in 1848 (Juang & Morrissette 2008:817). This uprising was quickly suppressed but not without bloodshed. The presence of a fort from which soldiers kept a constant eye on the island's enslaved population, while perhaps not actually being able to prevent a rebellion, must have had an effect in the minds of people as they were constantly reminded of the fact that someone could be watching them at any given time. In the same way, however, the power component created an element of resistance, whereby the enslaved population resisted that authority. This resistance was reinforced when authority on other islands decreased, for example at the time of abolition on the French islands in 1848.

The role of the military installations in the power component was reinforced by a very noticeable object: the flag. Flags were found on many, if not all, Statian fortifications as evidenced by historical drawings. In historical artwork flags are usually depicted disproportionately large which underscores their significance. The flag flown from a fort or battery served to link the authority of the colonial power in charge to the physical influence that the fortifications exerted over people within their reach.

6.3 Conclusions

The fortifications of St. Eustatius never provided much safety to the island's inhabitants. The frequent changes of power were a direct result of the dilapidated state of its military installations. Besides the neglect and mismanagement, however, many attempts were made at improving the island's defense. British, Dutch, and French commanders all tried to defend the prized colony in various ways. Large invading forces such as that of Rodney may never have been possible to stop, but a more robust system of military installations and a well-trained garrison may have prevented smaller takeovers. The defense component played a determining role in the maritime cultural landscape. It shaped the island's history in profound ways and influenced decisions made by government, captains, merchants, and even people from the lowest social classes. The fortifications provided a relatively safe haven to merchant vessels but were no guarantee for safety. Some batteries proved extremely useful in providing protection to merchant

vessels against privateers, but given the size of Statia's roadstead and the large numbers of ships at anchor, they could not protect every vessel that came within reach of their guns. Nevertheless, the military installations are testimonies to the ingenuity and ambition of the colonists in an attempt to protect themselves and their trading partners against a multitude of threats in the ever-changing mosaic of people and alliances, and political and economic forces that shaped the history of the Caribbean.

The expression of power and wealth formed an integral part of Statian society. It is evidenced throughout the archaeological record, from small coins to imposing great houses. As Hicks argues, in order to retain this wealth within the family, the planter aristocracy of the eastern Caribbean carefully developed pedigrees through marriage relations that would ensure political and economic influence, especially in the face of a newly emerging Atlantic merchant class (Hicks 2007:47). On St. Eustatius, however, many members of the elite class were both planters and merchants.

Throughout the island's history, merchants and planters sought to display their economic and political influence in various ways, even in death. The natural environment played an important role in shaping the configuration of plantations and determining the layout of the military landscape, resulting in the expression of power and wealth. Not just the white Christian elite expressed their power and wealth, the Jewish community did so as well by erecting elaborate and expensive tombstones. Enslaved people challenged their masters' status by using similar material culture that was originally meant to set the elite apart from their enslaved subjects.

One group of people that experienced power struggles perhaps more than any other class in society were free blacks and coloreds. On the one hand, despite being free they were regarded as racially inferior by the white elite and were living on the periphery of Upper Town. Free blacks and coloreds were required to have the proper manumission papers in order to remain free, and had to wear red ribbons as a sign of their freedom (Schiltkamp & Smidt 1979:327,426).

On the other hand, some did have substantial economic means. The free negro Cloé, formerly the property of a "Mr. Rieboo", owned an enslaved person called Marian. Her economic prowess is illustrated by the fact that she purchased her own freedom and she owned a number of houses that she rented to other free blacks on the island. Joseph How, another free black, owned four enslaved people. The free negro May Harvis owned three enslaved people in her house in the New Town. The potential economic power of free blacks is illustrated by the purchase of Glassbottle plantation, including fourteen enslaved people, by the free black woman Fraces Cuffey in 1818 (Gilmore 2004:59). As former enslaved people, free blacks and coloreds certainly tried to remove themselves further from their former status by owning enslaved people themselves. Another remarkable clue as to the wealth and social status of free blacks was found by Gilmore in the free black village excavation. At the property boundary on the site, an earthen ritual mound containing an offering in the form of a gold nugget was excavated. This indicates that the free black community had the economic means to dispose of gold in this way, and that West African religious practices survived and openly flourished (Gilmore 2013:52).

There are other indications that free blacks and coloreds formed an important middle class on the island. On St. Eustatius, young free black boys were apprenticed for a set period of five to seven years in order to learn specialised skills such as carpentry,

joinery, or blacksmithing. During this time they were expected to work for their master in any capacity that he asked in exchange for his knowledge. At the end of the apprentice period the person was no longer bound to their master and could open up a business of their own or possibly join the master's business. An example of this is found in a 1792 document, in which a free negro woman called Fanny de Windt binds her son Adam for seven years to the free negro Henry Bastiaans to learn the skills of a carpenter/joiner. It is interesting to note that Henry Bastiaans was viewed as a good fit for Fanny's son. She took him to a free negro carpenter/joiner as opposed to one of European descent. In addition, it was a great economic risk for Henry to enter into this contract with Fanny, as he would be responsible for clothing and feeding Adam for seven years. He must have been a reasonably successful skilled workman to take on such a responsibility. It is evident then, that people of African heritage were able to not only obtain their freedom but also to establish successful business ventures within the context of Statian society (Gilmore 2004:62).

This chapter has discussed the complex power relations that existed in Statian society. While historians have often tried to answer *why* these relations existed (for example, from an economic perspective), the archaeological record examined in this chapter has provided new information on *how* these relations existed and *how* power and wealth were expressed by certain individuals. Material expressions of power by all classes in society, on public and private lands, in urban and rural settings, in professional and private capacities, and from one end of the island to the other reinforced the power component as experienced by the island's inhabitants and its visitors.

7

Discussion

As shown in the previous three chapters, the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius comprises a multitude of elements. It is the material and immaterial reflection of centuries of human activity on and around the island. In this chapter, the key components discussed in the previous chapters will be analyzed to answer the remaining sub-questions set forth in the introduction. To truly understand why things happened the way they did, it is necessary to look at the timing of events and social processes, the role of the natural environment, the intersections of various components, their connection to the outside world, and the ways in which Statia's maritime cultural landscape compares to that of other island colonies in the region.

7.1 Differing timescales

Cultural landscapes are not static phenomena. They do not always have an end point, but can carry on into the present and beyond into the future. As has been shown, the history of St. Eustatius is made up of a series of events, which can form short-term or long-term processes. The maritime cultural landscape is formed by a combination of events, medium length conjunctures, and long term structures. The examination of these three time scales helps to contextualize the island's history and its maritime cultural landscape diachronically. The time scales and temporal changes will be examined for each component separately.

7.1.1 The defense component

The turbulent history of St. Eustatius is characterized by many events lasting from a day to as long as several months. Twenty-two such events mark the changes of flag that occurred on the island between 1625 and 1816, when the island changed hands between the Dutch, French, and English until the Dutch finally gained permanent control (Hartog 1976:23). Sometimes an invading force only stayed for a few weeks or months, as was the case with the British invasion in 1781. Other times, the island remained in possession of the invaders for many years. These events were often caused by external influences. Wars that originated in Europe were usually fought in the colonies. When peace was negotiated, overseas colonies became bargaining chips that changed hands. St. Eustatius has been under permanent Dutch rule since 1816. The close of the Napoleonic Wars signaled the end of continuous power struggles in the Lesser Antilles by European nations. As a result, peace finally came to St. Eustatius. These short-term

takeover events did have an influence on the medium timescale. As was shown in Chapter 6, the Statian defense component experienced many ups and downs. Invading forces sometimes built new fortifications, only to be left to the elements after a few years of operation. The Dutch, British, and French all tried to put their mark on the island's defense system in the eighteenth century, but after another change of flag, the newly constructed forts and batteries usually quickly fell into disrepair. The same goes for the artillery employed in them. More often than not, cannon were too rusty to be used, there was no shot available, or their carriages had collapsed. Cannon would often do more harm to the people operating them than to the people they were firing at. Most guns were imported after times of political instability and conquest, particularly during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and in the 1780s (Stelten 2010:68). Changes of flag thus resonated for several years as they provided an impetus for a changing defense component. On a societal level, changes of flag had a profound impact as well. As new powers took control of the island, new laws and regulations were put in place and people had to adapt their way of life to these changing circumstances. Some people may have experienced only slight changes, while for others, such as the Jews in 1781, their lives were turned upside down completely and the entire Jewish community was affected. But conflict could have a deeper impact in peoples' minds as well. Even though most people knew that the forts and batteries could never prevent a large naval force from invading, military installations created a façade to the outside world that put peoples' minds at ease. A successful invasion took away that feeling of security by demonstrating that the enemy had recognized the island's defense system as a sham, thereby prompting the improvement of the defense component.

7.1.2 The commercial component

Wars and the resulting demand in certain commodities influenced Statian trade and the role the island played in trade networks. This changing role could last for many years. The best example is perhaps the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783). St. Eustatius played a key role in this conflict between Great Britain and the rebellious North American colonies (Jameson 1903). Through St. Eustatius, large amounts of arms and ammunition were shipped to the American rebels. In addition, much correspondence between the leaders of the revolution and their European allies went through St. Eustatius. In this way, a changing political environment on a global scale heavily influenced the nature of business conducted on St. Eustatius and the island's role in trade networks for the better part of a decade.

Statia's importance in international trade is an ongoing process. Only two decades after the island was settled by the Dutch, it was reported that it contained warehouses holding "all things requisite to life." Statia had become an important trading depot by the 1680s, importing large quantities of sugar and tobacco from nearby islands (Enthoven 2012:252). After St. Eustatius became a free port in 1756, trade increased exponentially and the island became the nexus of the Caribbean and Atlantic World trade networks. Trade quickly recovered after Rodney looted virtually the entire island in 1781, and took on even greater proportions than before (Gilmore 2013:49). There were several reasons why St. Eustatius became such an important transit harbor. It was ideally situated on the busy sea lanes between the Greater and Lesser Antilles. Perhaps more importantly, the island was surrounded by colonies of other European countries

whose trade was restricted by the mercantilist policies of France and Great Britain. This meant that colonies were only allowed to trade with the mother country against set prices. Planters and merchants could obtain much higher profits if goods were sold illegally through St. Eustatius. The island's change of government to French 1795 signaled the end of free trade and started the economic decline of the Golden Rock (Gilmore 2013:49). The Dutch attempted to revive its role as a major transit harbor in 1828 by declaring the island a free port once more (Hartog 1976:106). No import or export duties, anchor fees, or harbor fees were charged to any ships of allied nations.

These processes are still at work today. Since the 1970s, an oil transshipment facility has been operational on the island. One of the determining factors for constructing a 14 million barrel oil storage facility on such a small island was its location close to a point where shipping routes converge. This is known as the point of minimal deviation, which to a large degree determines where large multinationals such as oil companies erect transshipment facilities. Oil tankers from all over the world, including the Middle East, South-, and North America call each day at St. Eustatius to load and offload petroleum products. Not much has changed since the eighteenth century, as Statia remains one of the largest ports in the Caribbean. Nowadays it is also the second largest port in the Netherlands by tonnage.[42] The cliché that "history repeats itself" is certainly true for St. Eustatius. This interrupted but still ongoing process in Statian history is a perfect example of Braudel's *longue durée*, in that its workings span centuries but the system is not eternal. Statia's importance on the commercial world stage is not a timeless, eternal truth. It had a beginning and it developed in a certain way, with ups and downs, but can cease to exist at any time, never to return again.[43]

7.1.3 The power component

Changing external influences also had a short- to medium-term effect on the power component. A growing demand for sugar in Europe sparked the construction of many plantations, causing the countryside to change dramatically as forests made way for endless cane fields (Carter et al. 1959:133). Perhaps no aspect of the island's maritime cultural landscape changed as much through time as the power component. Power relations were established as soon as the first colonists landed on the island. As time progressed and trade grew to phenomenal proportions, the enslaved and free black population became more involved in maritime trades and used this changing situation to resist the power of the elite. On the other end of the spectrum, some members of the elite class needed ways to set themselves apart from everyone else on the island. What better way to do this than to mint your own currency that can be used for centuries to come and occupy a permanent role in the *longue durée* timescale?

When sugar prices dropped in the nineteenth century, the planter elite improved their plantations with impressive windmills and arches to convey a sense of continued power at a time when this was increasingly difficult to do. These events served to legitimize the planters' power on the largest timescale, the *longue durée*, by showing

42 https://docslide.net/documents/general-overview-st-eustatius-facility-operating-for-over-30-years-largest-non-government-employer-for-30-years-second-only-to-rotterdam-for-most-tonnage.html, accessed on August 12, 2017.

43 Braudel uses the term *la très longue durée* to refer to processes on an extremely long, almost eternal timescale that hardly ever change: a finite planet and 24 hours a day (Lee 1012:13).

they will retain their power, which they had had for centuries, into the future. This was not meant to be, as relations between different groups in society were completely overthrown on July 1, 1863 when slavery in the Dutch colonies was abolished. At this time, all enslaved people became free people of color and could decide what to do with their lives. This event has had a marked effect in the long run, and in many ways still resonates today. On the island itself, many people moved away from the countryside and settled in town and plantations were largely abandoned and ceased to be profitable. Some people took advantage of their newly-acquired freedom to explore the world, enlisting on whaling ships or working on other islands. In the wake of abolition, former enslaved people expanded their horizons and diversified their trades, thereby connecting with the world around them. Nowadays the power relations on St. Eustatius are again being questioned since the island became a municipality of the Netherlands in 2010. Many people on the island feel that this has caused a reversal to the pre-1863 situation, whereby the Dutch are trying to recolonize the island and impose their will on the local population. Foundations as well as the local government are now trying to change the island's geopolitical status again.[44]

7.1.4 The resource component

The *longue durée* perspective in the resource component is best observed in the provisioning grounds of plantations, which have a very strong link to the present. As outlined in paragraph 4.3.2., provisioning grounds were crucial to the economic success of the island and the health of its inhabitants. They remained important after emancipation and are still central in the subsistence economy of some islanders today. Many of the crops that were once grown are still being cultivated on the island today. In addition, many houses are surrounded by fruit trees that provide food for its owners and for the hungry passer-by. Cultivating in the countryside invokes feelings of freedom, independence, and affinity with nature (Pulsipher 1990). It provides a continuity with the past, when ancestors worked those same plots of land and grew the same crops, albeit under much harsher circumstances. For enslaved people, provisioning grounds symbolized feelings of autonomy, security, joy, and pride of ownership just as they do in the present. The names of plots of land on the slopes of the Quill where provisions have been grown for centuries, such as Free Gut, Mount Pleasant, and Retreat, convey these ideas very well. These physical places are important cognitive elements in the landscape that create a strong continuity with the past.

7.1.5 The cognitive component

Many historical processes have formed an integral part of Statian society over time, and some are still ongoing. Religious dominance in the cultural landscape was for a long time reserved for the Reformed Church. In the course of the twentieth century, Seventh Day Adventism became the island's main religion, followed by Methodism and Roman Catholicism. A Roman Catholic church was built at the top of the Bay Path in the early twentieth century. Just like the Reformed church, the Roman Catholic church had a commanding view of the harbor and occupied an even more prominent place in the urban environment. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, a new

44 http://caribischnetwerk.ntr.nl/tag/brighter-path-foundation, accessed on August 26, 2017.

Seventh Day Adventist church was erected on the outskirts of Oranjestad. Even though it occupies a marginal location in the urban environment, it is located next to one of the most important roads on the island. Furthermore, it is by far the largest building on the island besides NuStar's oil tanks. Its enormous size and orange color make it the most visible and prominent building in the island's landscape today. In stark contrast to these two churches stands the island's only mosque. Housed in a small building in a quiet part of Upper Town, it is almost invisible to most people on the island, much the same as the Jewish synagogue and the Anglican and Lutheran churches once were. While St. Eustatius has seen many different configurations of its religious landscape over the years, the division between the dominant and the less dominant religions has always been clearly visible through the locations and appearances of their places of worship in the island's landscape.

A type of event that was particularly dramatic was the wrecking of ships. As was shown in paragraphs 4.2.2.1. and 4.2.2.2., dozens, if not hundreds of ships have wrecked in Statia's waters over the past four centuries. Usually only a matter of minutes or hours, shipwreck events reflect the dangers inherent to conducting business in the paths of Atlantic hurricanes. When the roadstead was full of ships, getting out quickly could be a hazardous task. This may be why the five known shipwrecks are all found in the anchorage zone. Wrecking events were almost inevitable without the weather forecasts of today. Shipwrecks, however, represent more than just an event. They signify the creation of new places in the maritime cultural landscape. According to Gould, these so-called events are embedded parts of ongoing processes linked to behavior involving social, economic, and even symbolic activities. The drama of a shipwreck may focus attention on the event, but the conditions that produced the wreck and the consequences arising from it are as relevant as the event itself (Gould 2011:16). This is reminiscent of Braudel's changing view of the event. Braudel first stated that "events are dust", they are infinite in number, they float here and there, scarcely touching the real soil of history. Later, however, he changed his tone by saying that every event, however brief, has to be sure a contribution to make. Events can even have far-reaching consequences (Braudel 1966:901-902).

The best example – a very symbolic one – in this regard is the Blue Bead Wreck. More than a century after its wrecking, people still knew about the event. It may have been for this shipwreck that – according to the legend – upon abolition former enslaved people threw their beads into the sea as a sign of their freedom. They may have done so to send the beads back to where they came from – the ship that brought them to the island in the first place. The blue bead Fenger picked up over a century ago represents a very fundamental place in the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius. Even today, after heavy swells people flock to that particular beach to look for blue beads, and dive shops take tourists to *blue bead hole* to find their own piece of history. Blue bead hunting has become a local tradition and people on the island talk about these enigmatic glass objects every day. Moreover, people that once lived on St. Eustatius proudly wear their blue beads on necklaces symbolizing their connection to the island. Local lore has it that once you are found by a blue bead, you belong to the island and will always return. Blue beads create a continuity with the past, and a way for people to identify with certain aspects of that past. The beads and the shipwreck they came from are tangible and symbolic representations of historical events, which

have been playing a role in people's lives for centuries and will likely continue to do so long after the last bead has been found.

7.1.6 The civic component

There were other ways in which short term hurricane events resulted in medium length conjunctures or even long term structures. Hurricanes and tropical storms did not only wreak havoc on the sea, they were also a threat to the island itself and had the potential to radically change the civic component of the maritime cultural landscape. As shown in Chapter 5, the slave quarters at Schotsenhoek plantation was relocated every few decades. While these relocations may not always be attributed to hurricanes, the fact that the slave quarters were located on the slopes of Signal Hill in 1781 points to the fact that a more sheltered location than before was preferred. The slave quarters that was excavated may very well have been destroyed by a hurricane. This is not unlikely given the fact that much sturdier houses in town were no match for hurricanes either. Accounts of the 1772 and 1780 hurricanes describe that hundreds of buildings were destroyed on Statia (NA 1.05.01.02 – 629, folio 337; Neely 2012:135). These events obviously had a short-term impact, but certainly also one in the long run. Every few decades – and sometimes even years – people had to rebuild their houses, churches, warehouses, and plantations. In some cases, this may have altered settlement patterns. For some, the costs of rebuilding might have been prohibitive, while for others like the Dutch Reformed Church congregation, it presented an opportunity to reach even higher – literally and figuratively speaking. Whatever one's attitude may have been, once every few years the people on Statia were presented with yet another potentially life-changing disaster. Few places in the world experienced such a constantly changing physical environment. As a result, Statian society needed to be very flexible and highly adaptive to the woes of Mother Nature.

These developments are best categorized and understood by Braudel's medium time frame, the conjunctures, or as Braudel calls it: history with slow but perceptible rhythms (Casini 2010:178). The cycle of destruction, rebuilding and reconfiguration, and adaptation to this new situation is one that can span several years, perhaps even a decade or longer. On one end of the spectrum, the cycle is bordered by the catastrophic events as described above, while on the other end, they form a long process, a rhythm that has been ongoing ever since humans first set foot on the island. They can only change when *la très longue durée*, something on an almost infinite scale, changes, such as the path of hurricanes moving due to climate change.

Connected to the importance of St. Eustatius as a commercial hub is the influx of people. When the island was settled by the Dutch in 1636, the population consisted mainly of Zeelanders, Flemings, and Walloons (Attema 1976:16). It did not take long, however, before merchants and planters from other areas settled here as well. When Admiral Rodney captured the island in 1781, he compiled a list of all merchants on the island that included various types of information, such as country of birth which is stated for 163 merchants (Barka 1991:387). This document presents a fascinating look into the cosmopolitan nature of Statian society. Merchants hailed from all over Europe, including England, Ireland, France, Scotland, Italy, Corsica, Hungary, Germany, Prussia, Flanders, and Dantzig. North American merchants came from Boston, Virginia, Philadelphia, Georgia, and Pennsylvania. Caribbean merchants

came from various islands, including Bermuda, Martinique, Curaçao, St. Maarten, St. Kitts, Antigua, Guadeloupe, Nevis, Grenada, and Barbados. Enslaved Africans, not included in the document, hailed from different places in West Africa, including Congo, Togo, Benin, Cameroon, and Nigeria. As these examples show, Statia was home to an extremely multicultural society. The island has continued to attract relatively large numbers of immigrants as a result of employment offered by the oil terminal. Furthermore, people that fall in love with the island after visiting tend to stay. The author knows people of dozens of nationalities that now live and work on the island, including Peru, Venezuela, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, St. Kitts, Saba, St. Maarten, St. Lucia, Curaçao, the United States, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Switzerland, England, Wales, Sweden, Germany, Austria, and Iran. For centuries, St. Eustatius has thus housed an extremely diverse multicultural and multiethnic community. The influx of people is high compared to mainland areas, as many immigrants tend to stay only a few years due to limitations inherent to life on a small island. This has created a constantly changing social environment that has been a crossroads of people and cultures for centuries.

7.1.7 The transport and communication component

The differing timescales are perhaps nowhere as evident as in the transport and communication component, most notably on the roadstead and in port. From a *longue durée* perspective, the location of the roadstead and port has not changed in the past 400 years. The western side of the island was and remains the safest place for ships to anchor. It will likely stay this way until in *la très longue durée* the physical environment changes drastically, for example during a volcanic eruption. The *longue durée*, however, does interact with medium term conjunctures, in that the use of the roadstead changes through time. It could be extremely busy for decades, only to be nearly deserted after a change in economic conditions. The port has also changed as new piers were built which are protected by breakwaters. The size and location of the roadstead on the island's leeward side can change as well. The best example in this regard are perhaps the oil tankers load and offload petroleum products at Nustar, which operates a port facility in the northwestern part of the island. Due to their size, tankers do not come as close to shore in shallow water as wooden sailing ships used to. They anchor further to the north, at the northern edge of the historical anchorage area. On the level of the event, interactions occur with both conjunctures and the *longue durée*. One example, the significance of the blue bead wreck, has already been discussed. Another example concerns the 1830 roadstead regulations, in which it was stated that ships could not drop their ballast on the roadstead. This created a favorable situation in the long run: as long as these regulations were in place, the roadstead did not fill up with ballast as much.

7.1.8 The recreational component

Recreational activities are an important aspect of human life. They help people unwind, provide distraction from the rhythms of life, and enhance and maintain peoples' cognitive and physical abilities. Recreational activities are perhaps even more important on small islands than they are elsewhere, as the monotony of life in a confined area can easily affect people in a negative way, a condition called 'island fever'. It is therefore

not surprising that recreational activities have played an important role on St. Eustatius through time. It is interesting to note, however, that besides a few newly-introduced activities such as SCUBA diving, many recreational activities have remained virtually unchanged since colonial times.

As shown in Chapter 5, hiking up and into the Quill and picnicking were favorite pastimes of Statian residents throughout the colonial period. One of the modern trails up to the crater rim was in fact already in use in the eighteenth century, as it is featured on the 1781 P.F. Martin map. The trail leading down into the crater first appeared on a map made in the 1840s, but was undoubtedly in use long before (NA 4.MIKO 3.A.2.5.1. – 645). Hiking the Quill is still one of Statia's visitors' favorite things to do. The same tree in which Lieutenant De Jong carved his name in 1780 is still being used in the same way today, the names of former adventurers serving as testimonies to practices spanning centuries.

The consumption of alcohol has also been a major recreational activity on the island for many years. In the colonial period, people from all classes of society engaged in heavy drinking as was noted by visitors. Archaeological evidence supports the documentary record, as colonial period wine and gin bottles are found all over the island and at every archaeological site, including the roadstead. Alcohol consumption provided a way to escape the monotony of life on a small island, the confinement of a ship, and the horrors of slavery. Not surprisingly, the excavation of the Schotsenhoek slave quarters yielded numerous wine bottle fragments and even two wine glasses.

Nowadays, alcohol consumption remains an important part of insular life for many people. It is a well-known fact that people who move to a small island often drink more than they did at the place they came from, and Caribbean islands feature high in the global alcohol consumption ranking.[45] Not surprisingly, Statia's smaller neighbor Saba is said to have the highest consumption of Heineken per capita in the world.[46] This might partly be an island's custom, but it can also be explained by the fact that islands themselves have hardly changed in the sense that they are still small rocks in an endless ocean and inhabitants' lives tend to be more monotonous and limited in many ways compared to the lives of people on the mainland.

Despite the fact that recreational activities are remarkably similar throughout the centuries and can therefore be viewed from a *longue durée* perspective, it should be noted that particular recreational events are more in line with Braudel's original idea of the event: infinite in number, floating here and there, and scarcely touching the real soil of history (Burns 2006:256). In a way, this is true for the recreational component. Drinking a glass of rum, picnicking on the volcano, going for a swim, these events are all unlikely to carry on into the future and change the course of history in any significant way such as the blue bead wreck has done. On the other hand, engaging with nature through hiking or snorkeling inspires people and creates awareness of their surroundings and the beauty and fragility of nature, thereby promoting its conservation which can carry on into the distant future. That this is not something that is only relevant in modern times but was also important in the colonial period is illustrated by

45 https://www.livescience.com/18493-global-alcohol-consumption-top-countries.html, accessed 20 August 2017.

46 This fact is not officially recognized, but a reputation that Sabans proudly uphold.

the Main Ridge Forest Reserve in Tobago, the Western Hemisphere's oldest national park, which was founded in 1776.[47]

7.2 The natural environment

St. Eustatius is situated in a high-energy environment, quite different from the places where the first European colonizers hailed from. It is an environment characterized by constant heat, high levels of solar radiation, earthquakes, storm surge and tsunamis, tropical storms and hurricanes, and volcanic eruptions. These phenomena created a constantly changing environment that people had to adapt to in order to survive. The natural environment of St. Eustatius is composed of many different elements, including steep, barren cliffs, fertile valleys, beaches, and the seemingly endless Caribbean Sea. In many instances, people were at the mercy of the elements and the natural environment dictated their behaviour in it. Frequently, however, agency of people on St. Eustatius was not – or to a lesser extent – determined by their natural environment. In other instances, the opportunities and limitations of the natural environment were actively utilized by Statians to their own advantage. Landscape manipulation was a key element in the formation of the colony and colonial society.

7.2.1 The civic and commercial components

The civic and commercial components were to a large extent determined by the natural environment. The layout of Lower Town was long and narrow with one road running through it. It was connected to Upper Town by three steep paths. This stretch of land on the bay, however, was and still is a difficult area to settle. To the east, the constantly eroding cliffs cause a dangerous situation whereby falling rocks are a constant hazard and entire buildings can be buried under mud slides after heavy rains. Buildings in Upper Town located close to the cliff's edge only increased the danger, for example when one of Fort Oranje's bastions collapsed (Hartog 1997:29).[48] The cliffs also blocked the eastern trade winds which made the area much warmer than more exposed locations such as Upper Town. The heat, however, did not deter people from developing nearly every square meter on the bay. To the west, the Caribbean Sea can be very rough during tropical storms and hurricanes. Storm surges can destroy buildings and erode entire beaches in a matter of hours. Despite these threats, the Statian community was determined to make Lower Town the center of the Caribbean trade network. Limited space caused merchants to build warehouses right up to the water. Several large docks were constructed to protect Lower Town from storm surges. These also facilitated easier loading and offloading of goods as landing on the beach was often impossible due to heavy seas. Nevertheless, warehouses sometimes flooded, but as shown in Chapter 4, merchants were ingenious and coped with this situation in various ways. The warehouse excavated by the author in 2013 contained stone foundation piers on which an elevated wooden floor was built, over the original yellow brick floor.

47 http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5646, accessed 20 August 2017.

48 At the time of writing, Fort Oranje is threatened with another collapse as the cliff on which it is built has eroded significantly over the past several years. Plans are now being made to reinforce the cliff.

In the nineteenth century, in an attempt to revive the island's economy, merchants even tried to build a breakwater to improve the landing in front of the weighing house. A completely new pier was constructed a century later to facilitate shipping activities. Despite the challenges the sea and cliffs brought, for centuries Statians have sought ways to deal with the natural environment, even in the most challenging environmental conditions.

There were times when the natural environment exerted its power over the Statian community, most notably during hurricane season. Many accounts of strong hurricanes survive, some of the strongest being those that occurred in 1772 and 1780 (NA 1.05.01.02 – 629, folio 337; Neely 2012:135). These caused ships to founder, towns and plantations to be destroyed, and many people to perish. Some things could not be controlled, but the Statian community rebuilt their emporium time and again, determined to continue their enterprises. In addition, several hurricane shelters were built over time to keep people out of harm's way. One such shelter, located in Upper Town next to the synagogue, is a fine example of workmanship as it is still in a good state of preservation. The natural environment has determined human agency through time, but due to the ingenuity of the Statian people, their actions were never completely dictated by it.

7.2.2 The recreative component

Another way the natural environment was used by people is found in the recreative component. The Quill is a perfect example of a landscape that is made culturally significant as set forth in chapter 2. The crater was once nothing more than a 'space' which did not exist anthropologically, but was an empirically neutral series of relationships between objects and the environment. However, as soon as people set foot on the island for the first time, looked up at the volcano and wondered what alien world lay within its lush crater, this landscape became culturally significant and was transformed into a 'place'. While at first, this 'place' only existed in peoples' minds, given the curious nature of our species and the need to find resources to maintain the new colony, it probably did not take the first European colonists very long before they ventured up the mountain and the 'place' materialized. As time progressed, it became common practice for visitors to hike up and into the crater of the Quill (Teenstra 1837:338; Wentworth 1835:115). The crater provided a chance to explore a relatively untouched part of the island and for people to have a quiet picnic. Visitors and Statian residents used the Quill's tranquil environment to escape the hustle and bustle of town. The volcano created a separate, secluded world within the island, which provided people with a welcome break from daily life. These activities gave this landscape meaning and a purpose, and made it a cultural landscape. Its cultural significance was enhanced by its unique, secluded setting and environment which included elements such as noises and smells that separated this 'place' from all others on the island. But it was not just the elite who used the volcano to unwind, runaway enslaved people would often seek refuge in the crater as well. It was the only area on the island where they could escape their daily struggles and where they resisted authority by plotting escapes to other islands (NA 1.05.08.01 – 730). This shows that a landscape is culturally dynamic and is constantly altered depending on which person or group of people experience and use it.

7.2.3 The transport and communication component

The transportation and communication component was almost completely shaped by the natural environment, as is best evidenced by the roadstead. Anchorage zones were heavily dependent on a sandy sea floor. Rocks and rocky outcrops, where anchors did not grip or could get stuck, were avoided as much as possible. The composition of the sea floor thus dictated where ships anchored. Nevertheless, the present survey has documented and analyzed 41 anchors around the island. The majority of anchors were found on rocky outcrops and lava flows surrounded by sandy areas, indicating that it was not always possible to avoid these areas. The natural environment, besides directing human agency, also shuffled elements of the maritime cultural landscape. In paragraph 4.2.4 it was shown that the artifact distribution on the roadstead is more a result of wave action and a dynamic sea floor than it is of past human behavior. Moreover, coastal erosion has caused many artifacts discarded in terrestrial context to end up under water.

Depth was an important factor as well, particularly for large ships. The fact that these could not come too close to shore in shallow waters meant that all goods and people needed to be transported by smaller canoes, thereby increasing the complexity of logistics in port. Furthermore, the exposed nature of the road caused many ships to anchor further offshore, so that in case of a sudden change in weather they could quickly move out of harm's way without running the risk of being driven ashore. The location of the port was also a logical choice considering the natural environment. Located on the island's leeward side, the port was located in the most sheltered location. Conducting maritime activities on the east coast, while at times possible, was not a viable option as this area was too exposed and strong winds and large waves frustrated maritime operations on this side of the island.

7.2.4 The defense and power components

On many occasions, the natural environment was used by people to their advantage. The defense and power components were largely shaped by the island's topography. Steep cliffs created ideal locations for fortifications. These elevated locations in the landscape created a sense of power and domination that these forts and batteries may otherwise have lacked. They provided ideal vantage points from which to protect merchant vessels from privateers that were coming within reach of their guns. The fort on Signal Hill, on the other hand, was used to keep an eye on the population of the island itself. Steep cliffs restricted access to the island in many areas, most notably the Northern Hills. This area was easily defendable by erecting batteries at the only places where landing was possible – in the bays. Nevertheless, as was shown in Chapter 6, enemy forces did manage to get ashore, and they too used the rugged terrain to their advantage. Changes in elevation determined the layout of buildings on plantations as well. The mills were situated on the higher parts so that cane juice could flow to the boiling house with little effort. The planter's house was also situated on the higher parts in order to exert a sense of power over the enslaved workers who were living in the lower elevated areas, thereby reinforcing social relations created and maintained by colonial society.

7.2.5 The resource component

The natural environment had a notable effect on the resource component and people's subsistence strategies as well. Statia's dry climate, coupled with a lack of running water, resulted in the construction of many cisterns and wells. As shown in paragraph 4.3.1, sometimes water was even imported from neighboring St. Kitts. St. Eustatius did hold an agricultural promise. Large areas in the countryside were used to grow provisions to support a growing population and to supply ships. This was mostly done on the slopes of the Quill, which was the wettest part of the island. Moreover, higher rainfall on the Quill also prompted people to plant various crops in the crater. The locations of provisioning grounds were thus heavily influenced by the natural environment.

The reefs around the island, created by the Quill's volcanic activity, were home to large numbers of fish and turtles, and these were heavily exploited by the islanders. Yet not all fish were edible. Ciguatera poisoning ensured that several types of fish could not be eaten safely. In addition to fish, the sandy areas of the anchorage zones were ideal habitats for conch (*Lobatus gigas*) and on the rocks surrounding the island, large numbers of whelks (*Cittarium pica*) were collected. In these ways, the natural environment provided a means to sustain the insular population and attract outsiders, but placed limits on the resource component at the same time.

7.2.6 The cognitive component

The natural environment also shaped the cognitive component of the maritime cultural landscape in various ways. Many place names, such as *Kay Bay, Big Stone, the Quill, White Wall,* and *Little Round Hill* were derived from their physical characteristics. This indicates that people used the physical environment – spaces – as a guideline to create places in their minds. These spaces provide the context for culture, as soon as they are noted and perceived in a certain way. The naming of these culturally significant places based on their physical characteristics serves to anchor them firmly in the cognitive component. This is not surprising on an island the size of St. Eustatius. As everyone lived in close proximity and knew one another, physical characteristics of the landscape were used by people to construct a cognitive social network. Additionally, islands on the horizon may have played a role in people's minds. On most days, depending on one's location on the island, one can see Saba, St. Maarten, Anguilla, St. Barths, Ile Forchue, St. Kitts, and Nevis. Good inter-island visibility aided in expanding the mental map of people beyond St. Eustatius.

7.3 Overlapping components

Given the complex interplay between many components in the maritime cultural landscape, most of these belong to more than one theme. They create complex environments that transcend a purely social, economic, or political meaning. All physical components were imbued with meaning and people created mental maps of these places. As a result, all components had a cognitive aspect to it. Moreover, some components may fall into different realms depending on who is experiencing them. People can experience a particular region or feature differently depending on individual or shared communal experience. From this it follows that all components are the result of personal perceptions. Perhaps the best examples of this are the military installations

that dot the island. They can be seen as a means to defend the island, exerting power and control over anyone passing by. By many sailors, however, they marked a relatively safe zone, where they were protected from pirates and privateers. Internally, the forts and batteries were signs of oppression, used to instill fear into the large enslaved population by acting as visual reminders of colonial power. On the other hand, the power component created a situation in which the enslaved population resisted that authority.

There were many ways in which enslaved people resisted authority. At the intersection of the transport and communication component and the economic component, some enslaved people actively brought the power component into play. Maritime slavery was widespread throughout the Caribbean. On many islands, enslaved people worked as crewmen or even captains on merchant and privateering ships, or were engaged in the construction and maintenance of ships as carpenters, caulkers, and sail-makers (Gilmore 2004:57; Jarvis 2010:465).[49] In addition, many enslaved people worked in the fishing industry. Maritime slavery was predominant on eighteenth-century Statia as well. As Cecelski has noted in his study of maritime slavery in North Carolina, enslaved maritime workers actually asserted themselves as the experts in their field. They created a dependence on their skills and then used this dependence as weapons against the regime of slavery which they were subjected to. Their mobility and relative independence empowered them and created a community of resistance that undermined the power and authority of the elite class (Cecelski 2001). This was certainly true for St. Eustatius as well. As was noted by several nineteenth-century travelers, enslaved people were experts at maneuvering small boats in the rough swells of Lower Town's landing (Bosch 1829:28; Kidder 1849:31). Their skills in this particular task surpassed those of every European sailor. This empowered the skilled enslaved people and undermined the authority of the elite, as enslaved workers actually used their position to exploit the elite which depended on their skills. As was shown in paragraph 4.1.1, enslaved people charged increasingly high fees for these highly specialized services which were central to the island's economic activities and therefore also the elite's prosperity. These fees became so high that it was necessary to issue a law that set a maximum amount that could be charged for these services in order to stop enslaved people from taking advantage of free merchants.

Where normally owners of enslaved people were able to underline power relations by differential access to luxury goods, the relative economic freedom enjoyed by the enslaved people of Statia enabled them to use similar objects as their masters, as is evidenced by the Schotsenhoek slave quarters excavation in which objects such as expensive ceramics, shoe buckles, folding knives, and even wine glasses were encountered. This somewhat decreased power differences on the island. Symanski describes

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49 Perhaps the best example in this regard is Bermuda. Like their Statian counterparts, many enslaved Bermudians were employed outside of the plantations. They worked in shipyards and on sloops, traveling large distances to trade for their masters. Enslaved people also constituted large parts of privateering crews, while some crews consisted almost entirely of enslaved people. This resulted in a system of slavery similar to that on St. Eustatius but very different from other island colonies. The high mobility that characterized maritime work and the relative ease with which enslaved people could escape led most slave owners and ship captains to favor rewards over coercion and confinement (Jarvis 2010:465). Bermudian seafaring enslaved people were paid partial wages by their masters, and as was the case on St. Eustatius, they organized their own commercial enterprises when visiting ports far beyond the horizon.

the continual power struggles on Brazilian sugar estates in terms of strategy and tactics. Strategy refers mainly to the built environment that is used by the elite to exert power over the enslaved population, while tactics refers to instances when enslaved people tried to subvert the hierarchy and order of these spaces, such as the two examples above illustrate (Symanski 2012:144). There were, however, countless other instances in which enslaved people resisted power. One example is found in a proclamation dating to 1797, which prohibits the playing of card games and dice by enslaved people, as these often led to disturbances and had a negative effect on their work ethic (Schiltkamp & Smidt 1979:372). Clearly, enslaved people felt they had the leeway to engage in such activities and exhibit disorderly behavior afterwards. It can be concluded that plantations, the town, and in fact the entire island was a fundamentally contested space, subjected to implicit and explicit power struggles by social actors of all levels of society.

Plantations were at the intersection of multiple components as well. They provided the stage for structured but often tense encounters between enslaved laborers and their masters. On the one hand, plantations were economic units that provided provisions for a growing population and were used to refine illegally exported raw sugar (Gilmore 2004:52). On the other hand, they were powerful and highly visible symbols of oppression, power, and wealth. Slaveholders throughout the Caribbean manipulated the spatial organization of plantations in order to control enslaved people (Singleton 2001:105). On the other hand, enslaved people often tried to resist this authority, sometimes explicitly through maroonage, revolt, and suicide, but more often implicitly through covert acts such as theft, misplacing tools, or storing objects in pits under their dwellings (Singleton 2001:108).

The configurations of plantations were used to exert power over the enslaved by placing their living quarters on a physically lower point than the planter's residence. On the other hand, the fact that slave quarters were usually out of sight from the Great House indicates that surveillance of enslaved peoples' lives may have been limited. This situation has been observed at a number of Statian plantations, including Schotsenhoek, Godet, Fair Play, and Benners. Moreover, the yards surrounding slave cabins, which can be considered an extension of the dwelling, created a mediating space between the public world and the private world of the dwelling (Heath & Bennett 2000:38). Yard spaces placed limits on the intrusions of outsiders into the quarter as they signaled a point of mediation across which enslaved people and owners/overseers could meet (Heath & Bennett 2000:51). In this way the yards somewhat eased the tension of the delicate power balance on the plantations.

Even the materials used in the construction of plantation buildings expressed differences in power and status: while enslaved people lived in cabins made of perishable materials, Great Houses were made of stone and tiles. The durable material used to construct the planter's house gave it a character of temporal continuity, serving to legitimize and reproduce hierarchical social relationships through time (Symanski 2012:131). Plantations, however, also contained other messages intended for different groups of people. When plantations became less profitable during the nineteenth century, expensive additions and improvements to sugar estates acted as signs to the outside world, whereby the old planter elite wanted to convey a sense of continued power and influence at times when this became increasingly difficult to do so. Even

in times of prosperity, rich merchants such as Johannes de Graaff used plantations to set them apart from everyone else with things as extravagant as a duck pond (Barka 1996:46). Perhaps more than any other feature in the landscape, plantations epitomized and reflected changing societal structures and status present in various levels of the community.

Lower Town was the nexus of life on St. Eustatius. It was here that elements from most components were found. Warehouses facilitated the storage of goods so central to the island's economic prosperity. The weighing house ensured that commerce was conducted according to a standardized system. Docks and piers enabled efficient transportation of goods and people. Brothels, taverns, and billiard houses provided a means for sailors to unwind after long voyages at sea. Merchant houses conveyed a sense of wealth and power, and enabled merchants to live at the heart of the commercial center. Besides facilities for commerce and sailors, archaeological research has indicated that Lower Town served different functions as well. Among the warehouses were ovens and rum distilleries, ceramic production sites, cisterns and wells, storage vats, a sugar refinery, and most likely even a slaughterhouse. All these elements from different components combined caused Lower Town to become one of the most cosmopolitan places in the Caribbean, in which people from all social classes utilized different components of the maritime cultural landscape for different reasons and were constantly interacting, thereby creating a unique place on the island.

Life in Upper Town stood in stark contrast to life on the bay. Upper Town was at the crossroads of several different components, where the emphasis was not so much on the commercial component but on daily life, governance, and religion instead. Government buildings such as soldier's barracks and the Governor's residence, religious structures and cemeteries, and residential areas for people of all social classes created an urban area very different from the hustle and bustle below. While Upper Town was undoubtedly crowded and busy at times, it contained a more relaxed atmosphere that must have been more pleasant to live in. Even here, the power component came into play, most notably in the configuration of the religious landscape, whereby the Reformed congregation dominated other religions in terms of visibility and prominence and the Jewish community was forced to mute its presence.

Cemeteries and religious buildings were at the intersection of the power and cognitive components. At these locations, people from a multitude of backgrounds came together in both life and death. The deceased's status was conveyed through various types of mortuary display that could be experienced differently depending on one's status, cultural background, or relationship with the deceased. Some people continued to occupy a place in people's minds through oral history accounts decades or even centuries after their death. Other religious sites, such as the Dutch Reformed church, were built to convey a sense of superiority over other religious groups such as the Jews while at the same time providing religious significance to the Dutch Reformed congregation itself and creating the appearance of religious homogeneity on the island (Miller & Gilmore 2016). The Dutch Reformed church was also a place that reinforced the distinction between different social classes. Entering the church and attending ceremonies was reserved for the elite members of society and was certainly not allowed for the enslaved population. For them, the Dutch Reformed church was a place of exclusion that set them apart from their masters. The multiple meanings and messages contained

at religious sites made them special physical places that contained an equally if not more important immaterial part.

The roadstead was the stage of a complex interplay between the defense component and the transport and communication component. The anchorage zone extended from shore for over two kilometers. It comprised a large area which was often packed with ships. Its large size had a marked effect on safety that could be provided by the island's fortifications to anchored vessels. Several instances are known when ships were captured while at anchor (NA 1.01.47.17 – 48, folio 63; NL-MdbZA_20_649, folio 18). It was impossible for gunners in the forts and batteries to ensure a safe stay to all ships with the limited resources available to them. But even if the resources had been present, the road's large size made it impossible to protect those vessels that were anchored furthest offshore. Their captains and crews must have been well aware of this, but due to the crowded nature of the anchorage or the type of cargo their ships were carrying, people had no choice but to anchor out of the safe zone, thereby running the risk of being captured by English privateers. Occasionally, however, Dutch men-of-war anchored on the road extended the defense component by warding off privateers trying to make a move on anchored vessels that were out of reach of the island's cannon (NA 1.01.46 – 2417, folio 135-169). As demonstrated by the presence of at least two swivel guns on shipwreck site SE-502, some safety precautions were taken on merchant vessels themselves as well. Despite the dangers involved in trading at St. Eustatius, the fortunes that could be made greatly outweighed the risks, even at times when an encounter with the enemy was almost guaranteed. Ships constituted separate entities within the maritime world. They transported goods and people, housed sailors, provided protection, were involved in acquiring resources, and could be expressions of power. Ships and shipwreck sites can be regarded as *the* features of the maritime cultural landscape in which most themes converged.

The transport and communication component was the one that connected all others, linking warehouses with plantations, ships with docks, and roads with forts. It forms the backbone of the maritime cultural landscape. Without a well-developed transportation network, batteries could not be supplied with ammunition, warehouses could not be stocked with merchandise from all over the world, plantations could not be supplied with illegally imported raw sugar, and people from all corners of the island would not have been able to participate in trading activities in port. The transport and communication component, however, fulfilled another function that transcended internal needs: it provided the connection to the outside world.

7.4 Regional and global context

While many different types of local events and processes shaped the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius, the island did not exist in a vacuum. It was strongly connected to other island colonies – and their maritime cultural landscapes – in the region, but also to North America. The maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius was largely geared towards the outside world. These links were maintained by mariners, both free and enslaved. They crisscrossed imperial boundaries exchanging goods, people, and ideas. They also served as informants to local communities about rumors and news from other parts of the Caribbean and beyond. These movements were of-

ten facilitated by merchant houses. The merchant community of St. Eustatius formed part of a complicated network that extended throughout the Atlantic World. Many merchants on St. Eustatius acted as agents for larger firms in the Dutch Republic, North America, and other island colonies. Jordaan & Wilson identified 340 merchant houses on Statia that shipped tropical produce to the Dutch Republic in the period 1781-1795 (Jordaan & Wilson 2014:290).

The Caribbean islands in the colonial period were places where the connections among colonies and the people inhabiting them were as important to the region's identity as what separated them as imperial rivals (Scott 1996:141). In this section, the ties St. Eustatius had with other areas will be discussed in order to provide a regional and even global context to Statia's history and its maritime cultural landscape. In addition, the shipping network centered on the island will be discussed to elucidate Statia's role in the commercial networks of the colonial Caribbean and Atlantic World.

7.4.1. Shipping and trade

Shipping and trade for St. Eustatius have been studied extensively by historians over the past three decades (Goslinga 1985; Klooster 1998; Jordaan 2012). These studies focus primarily on numbers of incoming and outgoing ships and the volume of trade of tropical produce such as sugar, coffee, and tobacco with the Netherlands. In his study on Dutch trade in the Caribbean, Klooster includes a small section on Statia's trade with other islands, but by no means is this a comprehensive account (Klooster 1998:92). While these studies are extremely useful in putting trade to and from St. Eustatius in a global perspective, they contain little detail on the intricacies of this network and how it might have shaped the island's maritime cultural landscape. According to Enthoven, the function and character of the island's intra-Caribbean trade is still obscure due to a lack of sources (Enthoven 2012:262). As will be demonstrated below, Enthoven's statement is not entirely true. While it is certainly true that the above-mentioned authors have not focused much of their attention on the *kleine vaart*, the information is certainly there, one just has to take a much closer look at the data contained in shipping records to uncover finer details. By adopting this approach one can move beyond the bigger picture presented in the above-mentioned studies and investigate trade networks in more detail. An example of this will be given below which deals with trade between Statia and Saba.

It has been shown that ship arrivals on Statia increased dramatically during the mid-eighteenth century, from 1,163 in 1744 to 2,016 in 1762, and reaching its apogee of 3,551 ships in 1779 (Enthoven 2012:261; Gilmore 2013:44). It is often said that St. Eustatius' role as the emporium of the Caribbean quickly faded after the British capture of the island in 1781 (Enthoven 2012:242). One might be led to believe this is true by examining shipping records published for 1785, which show that 'only' 1,640 ships dropped anchor on Statia's road in that year (Enthoven 2012:261). Trade on the Golden Rock, however, reached similar proportions in the 1780s to what it did before. As a result, its population increased to a record high of 8,476 people (Goslinga 1985:152). By 1792, the number of incoming ships equaled that of the pre-war years (Jordaan 2012:2). A list of all incoming and outgoing ships for the year 1787 was found in the Dutch National Archives by the author (NA 1.05.01.02 – 1330, folio 2965-3264). That year, St. Eustatius saw a total of 2,755 ships arriving on its road and

2,827 ships departing. This document provides a detailed snapshot of the island's role in Caribbean and global trade networks at the height of its prosperity and provides information on the nature of the connections it had with neighboring islands and ports far beyond the horizon.

In 1787, ships arriving on St. Eustatius hailed from at least 92 different ports in the Caribbean, North America, South America, Africa, and Europe.[50] Departing ships went to at least 86 different ports. Figure 7.1 provides an overview of the origins and next destinations for ships calling at St. Eustatius. Statia's neighboring islands St. Kitts, St. Maarten, and St. Barths were the point of departure and next destination for most ships, followed by the French islands Guadeloupe and Martinique. Large quantities of sugar, rum, provisions, and manufactured goods were shipped to Statia from these five islands. Curiously, only three ships from Jamaica, one of the largest sugar producers in the Caribbean, arrived on St. Eustatius in 1787. Only six ships came from the Netherlands, all from Amsterdam. Trade with the British North American colonies greatly overshadowed trade with Europe. It is not surprising that vessels coming from neighboring and nearby islands constituted the majority of shipping traffic. Provisions and manufactured goods arriving mainly from North America and locally refined sugar were quickly and frequently distributed to these islands from St. Eustatius in return for raw materials and other provisions.

Most vessels, particularly those involved in the inter-island trade, only stayed on Statia's roadstead for one or two days, while some even left the same day. Some ships had a longer stay, which could be up to three weeks for North American ships or even longer for Dutch men-of-war such as the *Maarssen*, which stayed six weeks. Despite some long-stay guests, the high turnover of ships meant that the roadstead was an ever-changing mosaic of ships, all waiting to conduct their business as quickly as possible so as to continue their legal or illegal ventures elsewhere. Outgoing vessels did not always return to the place they came from. About half of all vessels arriving in 1787 departed for a different destination. What is perhaps most striking in the shipping numbers for 1787 is the large difference between incoming and outgoing vessels for some islands. There were many more arrivals from the French islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique than there were departures. On the other hand, there were significantly more departures for the Danish islands St. Croix and St. Thomas than there were arrivals, underscoring St. Thomas' importance as a free port. Departures for North America also greatly outnumbered the arrivals. This demonstrates that St. Eustatius was involved in a complicated network of exchange. Some ventures were very structured, involving a back-and-forth journey that was repeated several times a month. This is particularly true for neighboring islands such as St. Maarten, St. Barths, and St. Kitts. Others had a more opportunistic character, whereby ships sailed to different ports to trade Statian merchandise elsewhere or to acquire goods unavailable on the Golden Rock itself.

The frequent inter-island movements were often conducted with only a few different vessels. For example, six different ships made a total of 71 voyages from Saba to St. Eustatius in 1787, of which two only made a single trip. This meant that some captains

50 The exact number of ports could not be determined, as some ships' origins were unknown to the person who composed the document. Some ships simply came 'from the sea'.

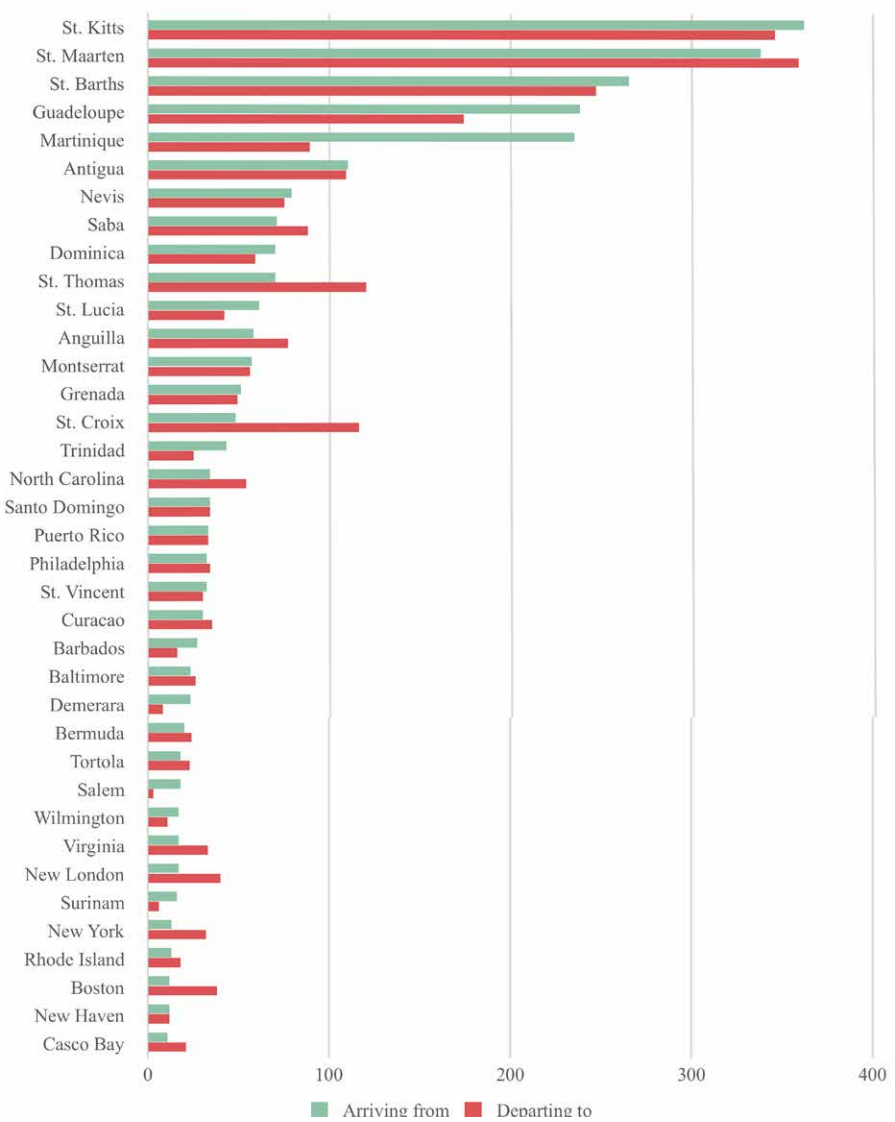

Figure 7.1 Arriving and departing vessels at St. Eustatius in 1787. Over 92 ports of origin and 86 ports of departure were documented. Only those ports involving more than twenty vessels in total are included in the graph. Source: NA 1.05.01.02 - 1330, folio 2965-3264.

were very familiar with Statia's roadstead and must have known the best places for anchoring without running the risk of their anchors getting caught on a rock or reef. In 1787, total imports from Saba comprised 63 bales of cotton, 52 bags of coffee, 3 hogsheads of rum, 46 hogsheads of sugar, and 47 turtles. As Saba was not a transshipment center, these products would have been produced and caught locally and then traded on St. Eustatius for provisions and manufactured goods. Unfortunately, the shipping log does not specify what was exported from Statia. What is particularly interesting to note is the import of turtles. These were brought from Saba on two vessels, the *Eagle* and the *Seaflower*, in July. On November 19, the *Seaflower* arrived on Statia

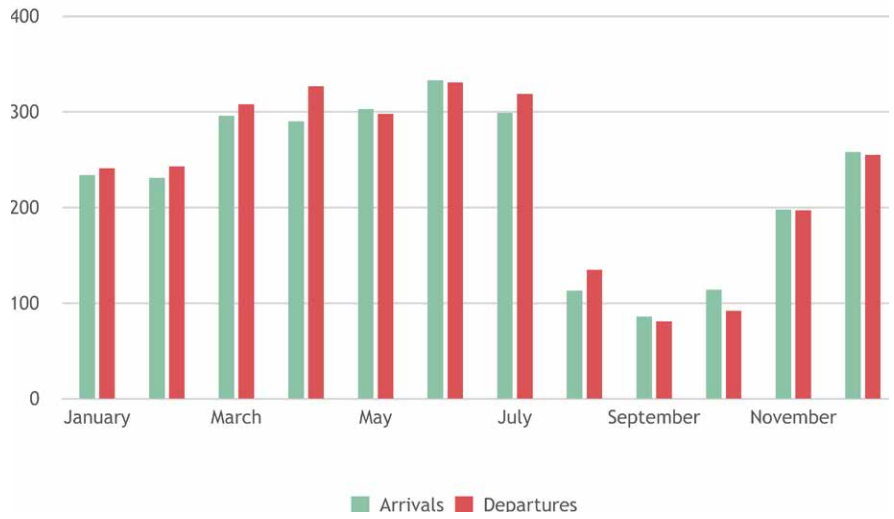

Figure 7.2 Arriving and departing vessels to and from St. Eustatius in 1787. Arriving vessels totalled 2,755, departing vessels totalled 2,827. The sharp decline in August, September and October is a result of the Atlantic hurricane season. Source: NA 1.05.01.02 - 1330, folio 2965-3264.

from Hispaniola with a cargo of 40 turtles. On December 7, the *Eagle* dropped anchor in Statia's road with 13 turtles from Los Roques. This points to two things: first, that there was a demand for turtle meat on St. Eustatius, indicating that there might not have been enough turtles left in Statian waters to satisfy local demand; and second, that Saban captains, after delivering two cargoes of Saban turtles, had learned of this fact as they were actively scouring the Caribbean for more turtles to sell on St. Eustatius. This puts what is known about the role of turtles in the resource component of St. Eustatius into a much broader perspective and indicates that certain aspects of the resource component could encompass the entire Caribbean.[51] Furthermore, the resource component was shaped by complex trade networks and opportunistic endeavors that can only be revealed by studying the intricacies of the shipping network centered on St. Eustatius.

The monthly numbers of ship arrivals reveal the effect of the natural environment, in this case climate, on trading activities. As shown in Figure 7.2, the months of August, September, and October experienced a sharp decline in shipping activities. During these months, the Lesser Antilles are prone to tropical storms and hurricanes. No matter how much money was at stake, these events, or at least the prospect of them, disrupted the shipping rhythms to and from St. Eustatius and caused the island to become less connected to the outside world. This must have had a marked effect, as commercial activities in Lower Town would have been reduced to a minimum, and many people, such as enslaved people, could have engaged in other types of work in different parts of the island. This effect, coupled with the fact that population densities during hurricane season must have been much lower due to a lower number of transients, caused Lower

51 Besides Saba, Margarita, and Hispaniola, turtles were also imported from Curaçao and St. Barths.

Town to become significantly less busy and crowded. At times when the workload was not as high, people could have engaged in more recreational activities or even traveled to neighboring islands or far-flung places to visit friends, family, or business relations. The dark side of this quiet period was that in hurricane season most ships around the island wrecked, and it is not unlikely that the wrecks described in Chapter 4 foundered during these months. Many people on land would perish during these violent events as well, so it was also the most dangerous time of year.

7.4.2 St. Thomas and St. Barths

Two islands that had particularly strong ties with St. Eustatius were the free ports of St. Thomas and St. Barths. After economic and social hardships such as the economic decline of the Dutch colonies in the 1790s, many Statians moved to these islands to seek their fortunes (Wilson 2011:20). St. Thomas was colonized by the Dutch in 1657 but after nine years it was conquered by the Danes. A Dutch Reformed church was erected in 1660 and as time progressed, a Dutch creole language developed on the island (Jordaan & Wilson 2014:279). In 1688, nearly half of the island's 148 inhabitants were Dutch. The Danes declared St. Thomas' capital Charlotte Amalie a free port in 1764 (Jordaan & Wilson 2014:282). Merchants from Amsterdam started to provide plantation loans to planters on St. Thomas by the latter half of the eighteenth century. This happened for the first time in 1766, when Pieter Heyliger Jr. borrowed an amount of 140,000 guilders (the equivalent of 1,560,000 US dollars in today's terms) (Deahl 2012:39).[52] As Heyliger was a common Statian name, it is likely that he hailed from St. Eustatius. According to Lieutenant Cornelius de Jong who visited the island in 1781, Dutch was the most commonly used language, and several Statian merchants had moved there (De Jong 1807:298).

Even though there was a small group of Jews living on St. Thomas, it was not until the British occupation of St. Eustatius in 1781 that there was a permanent Jewish presence here. Several Jews migrated from St. Eustatius to St. Thomas after the British occupation in 1781 and after the French imposed trade restrictions on the Golden Rock in 1795. St. Thomas was home to nine Jewish families in 1789, but this number grew to 60 in 1837 (Deahl 2012:27). The cemetery in Charlotte Amalie contains several graves of Statian Jews up to as late as 1878 (Arbell 2002:188). Not only Jews, but also other merchants and free people of color left the Golden Rock for St. Thomas, where 62 free coloreds from St. Eustatius were living in 1803 (Deahl 2012:63). A sharp increase in the immigration of free coloreds from St. Eustatius to St. Thomas occurred in the 1790s when Statia was losing its economic significance as a transit harbor. At the same time, trade on St. Thomas was growing and the Danish authorities did not have a very strict immigration policy.

When the French island St. Barths became Swedish in 1784, a Swedish trading mission was organized to the newly acquired colony (Wilson 2011:7). The mission did not yield the expected commercial success. Furthermore, it was found that the island was little more than a barren rock with no ground water, so agriculture as the basis of the colony's economy was off the table. The only option for the island was to become a free port, just like neighbouring St. Eustatius. To trade with the sugar-pro-

52 Calculated using the website http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/calculate.php.

ducing French islands Guadeloupe and Martinique, however, trading rights needed to be acquired from the French. Another option was smuggling, and this is exactly what Swedish merchant Jacob E. Röhl proposed:

> "In any case, I do not doubt in the slightest that such a freedom, which I have described [freedom to trade with the French colonies], is readily to be obtained in secrecy, if only correct and forceful measures are observed. Reason for believing my assumption is given to me by the Dutch on S. Eustache, who understand to procure so-called indulgence for their swindles in the French islands, although they must pay for it without exception." (Wilson 2011:8)

Clearly the Swedes were using the model of St. Eustatius to establish a colonial economy for themselves, as it was obvious that St. Barths' only economic success would be through trade and shipping. The decision to establish St. Barths as a free port was made in Stockholm in 1785 (Wilson 2011:9). The island's capital Gustavia experienced an explosive growth similar to Statia's Lower Town a few decades before, from 133 buildings in 1791 to 800 buildings in 1800. In a letter to the Swedish West India Company, Swedish judge Johan Norderling commented in 1795 that "All trade in St. Eustache is ruined, all warehouses at the present closed, and the wealthiest houses gone away, some here, some to other islands" (Jordaan & Wilson 2014:300). Anthony Wachter Vaucrosson bought a warehouse lot in Gustavia in 1787, and by 1796 he was listed in a census as the head of a 23-person household (Wilson 2011:16). Vaucrosson was a well-established merchant on St. Eustatius. He had an imposing warehouse in Lower Town as he was the island's main exporter of coffee and sugar. Another Statian merchant who established himself on St. Barths at this time was the Italian Joseph Cremony (Jordaan & Wilson 2014:302). A shifting focus of the transit trade from St. Eustatius to St. Barths and St. Thomas in the 1790s caused him and many other merchants to seek their fortunes on the Scandinavian islands. Furthermore, Vaucrosson and Cremony became influential people on their new island, being involved in politics as well. Cremony maintained ties with St. Eustatius where an agent of his firm was posted.

Connections between St. Eustatius and the Scandinavian West Indies were bidirectional. In 1784, Swedish doctor Samuel Fahlberg moved to St. Barths where he was employed as a physician and government Secretary. In subsequent years he became the provincial medical officer, customs inspector and cashier, and director of survey of the colony. When a rebellion broke out in Gustavia against the Swedish colonial administration in 1810, Fahlberg's association with the island's pro-British faction caused him to be exiled. He moved to St. Eustatius, where he lived from 1810 to 1816 and again from 1829 until his death in 1834. In between, he lived in St. Maarten. On St. Eustatius he was quickly employed as the garrison doctor (Reinhartz 2012). During his time in the West Indies, Fahlberg produced numerous maps, plans, and drawings of the islands, their fortifications, towns, and plantations. On Statia he produced two drawings and a map of the island, and drew plans for a breakwater and barracks. His wife and son are buried in Statia's Anglican cemetery. Fahlberg had their tombstone erected himself, and on it, he did not forget to mention the injustice experienced by him and his family in St. Barths.

While the connections St. Eustatius had with St. Thomas and St. Barths were to a large extent commercial, Statian merchants had a profound influence on many aspects of life in the other free ports. The economic and social status they had obtained after years of working on St. Eustatius enabled them to quickly move up the political and economic ladders in other colonies. The Jewish community on St. Thomas grew exponentially after the cruelties experienced by the Statian Jews during Rodney's capture. On the other hand, people from these islands, such as Samuel Fahlberg, came to influence St. Eustatius is various ways. These influences left permanent marks in the cartographic record and even in one of the cemeteries, where Fahlberg's struggles in life on the neighboring island are commemorated.

7.4.3 Bermuda

Statia's ties with the outside world went further than the Caribbean, and included many different islands and ports throughout the Atlantic World. As shown above, some relationships went deeper than just commerce, which is particularly true for the island of Bermuda. For the year 1787, only twenty arriving and 25 departing vessels were involved in direct trade between Bermuda and St. Eustatius, yet the connections Statia had with the island in the middle of the Atlantic were very strong (NA 1.05.01.02 – 1330, folio 2965-3264). In the first half of the eighteenth century, many Bermudians moved to Statia to take advantage of Dutch wartime neutrality and free trade. Bermudian agents on St. Eustatius assembled cargoes for shipment and supported their island's mariners when they called at Statia (Jarvis 2012:353). As time went on, some Statians emigrated to Bermuda due to kinship connections they had made through intermarriage.

Locally-built Bermuda sloops were the ships of choice for Bermudian captains, who used these fast vessels in inter-island trade and privateering. Bermuda sloops frequented Statia's road as is evidenced by various eighteenth-century drawings of the island and its anchorage. For example, Figure 4.2 depicts several Bermuda sloops which are easily recognizable by their raked masts. Statian merchant John Coombes hired several Bermuda sloops in the 1720s and 1730s for £40-£50 per month, which is the equivalent of £5,526-£6,907 or 6,900-8,650 US dollars in today's terms (Jarvis 2012:169).[53] These were used by Bermudians to smuggle goods from St. Eustatius to British American ports. Merchants on the Golden Rock did not only rent Bermuda sloops, they also bought them. By the 1720s, Bermudians were selling fifteen to twenty vessels a year at St. Eustatius, which accounted for half their production. Statian merchants such as Abraham Heyliger would often pay for the vessels in goods, which were then smuggled to other colonies (Jarvis 2012:170).

Bermudians built warehouses in Lower Town and mansions in Upper Town, where there was even a neighborhood called the Bermuda Quarter. There were several Bermudian merchant houses in Lower Town by 1758. In 1780, Bermudians made up the largest group of British colonial settlers in Statia, outnumbering all those from the Caribbean and North America combined (Jordaan & Wilson 2014:285). Bermudians imported limestone and lime from their own island for the construction of these buildings. In December 1787, the ship *Henry*, coming from Bermuda, entered Statia's road with twenty hogsheads of lime which was undoubtedly used in local construction (NA

53 Calculated using the website www.measuringworth.com, based on the real price commodity value in 1730.

1.05.01.02 – 1330, folio 3254). Strong ties with Bermuda thus influenced the Statian civic component in several ways, from the division of certain groups of people in the urban areas down to the construction materials used in creating the civic environments. Furthermore, several plantations were owned by Bermudians as well. In 1781, Martin Dubrois Godet Sr. owned three plots of land totaling 150 acres on which stood two sugar plantations. The best-known of these is the estate that is still known today as the Godet plantation, located just to the north of Oranjestad. His son Martin Dubrois Godet Jr. owned the imposing Pleasures Estate which included 63 acres of land. Giddy Godet owned a large plantation on the eastern side of the Quill of 115 acres, now known as Industry (William L. Clements Library Image Bank, ID 892).

Many other immigrants from British colonies established themselves on St. Eustatius but Bermudians constituted the largest group. In 1772, Reverend Alexander Richardson moved to St. Eustatius from Bermuda to take over the Anglican Church. Upon his arrival, he found that more than 60 of its members were from Bermuda (Watts 1981:226). By this time, Bermudians had established themselves firmly on St. Eustatius. They even had their own doctor come in from Bermuda in 1773. The Anglican cemetery in Upper Town houses several graves of Bermudians, such as John Packwood (1711-1794) and Henry Jennings (1743-1790). A Bermudian even became Statia's 'First Lady' when Governor Johannes de Graaff married Bermuda-born Judith Godet. As these examples show, many aspects of the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius were shaped by Bermudians and Bermudian influences.

7.4.4 British North America

Perhaps St. Eustatius' most famous connection to the outside world was that with British North America. Long before the American Revolutionary War, St. Eustatius and the thirteen North American colonies had been allies in the war against the mercantilist policies of European powers. For St. Eustatius, North American products were essential to obtain sugar from the French and British islands. For the North Americans, on the other hand, Statia's free port was a market to procure raw materials, consumer goods, and cash. St. Eustatius' economic growth can thus partly be attributed to its American trade relations.

Two types of items traded between St. Eustatius and the North Americans eventually led to war, the first being tea. Increased duties on tea by British Parliament in the 1760s caused many Americans to import tea from other places illegally. By 1770, St. Eustatius had become North America's main supplier of tea. Three quarters of all tea consumed in British North America was imported clandestinely at this time. In 1771, Charles Dudley reported to the commissioners of Customs in Boston: "It is also well known that St. Eustatius is the channel through which the colonies are now chiefly supported with tea" (Enthoven 2012:287). The illegal import of tea from St. Eustatius resulted in the Tea Act of 1773, imposed on the Americans by the British government in an attempt to revive their struggling East India Company whose London warehouses were stuffed with tea. The act reduced the price of the Company's tea which infuriated American tea smugglers. Moreover, the Company's tea was subjected to tax that the North Americans objected to. When a shipment of 500,000 pounds of East India Company tea arrived in Boston at the end of 1773, American merchants threw the tea into Boston harbor – the event known as the Boston Tea Party (Enthoven 2012:288). The events following the Boston Tea Party culminated into the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783) seventeen months later.

Connections between St. Eustatius and North America became even stronger during the American Revolution. A year before the war broke out, Americans were already buying arms and gunpowder in the Dutch Republic. The Dutch ban on these practices under British pressure in 1775, however, did not stop them. Instead, war materials were sent to St. Eustatius where North American ships picked them up. Dutch regulations were ignored on Statia as there was too much money at stake. This is aptly illustrated by Abraham van Bibber, the Maryland agent on the island, writing to his superiors when he mentioned that "obedience to the law would be ruinous for the trade" (Goslinga 1985:144). Gunpowder was shipped in boxes labeled as tea or in bales labeled as rice, officials were bribed, and the control by customs officers was faulty (Hartog 1976:69). In this way, Statia became an important supplier of arms, ammunition, and gunpowder to the American rebels. North American ships flocked to the island to buy war materiel, which was hard to obtain locally. In the first half of 1775, they obtained at least 4,000 barrels of gunpowder from Statian warehouses. Some historians have indicated that the majority of shot and gunpowder used by the American revolutionaries during the first few years of the war was procured through direct trade with St. Eustatius (Gilmore 2013:55). The importance of St. Eustatius is aptly illustrated by a quote from Lord Stormont, who declared in British Parliament that:

> "This rock [St. Eustatius] of only six miles in length and three in breadth has done England more harm than all the arms of her most potent enemies and alone supported the infamous American rebellion." (Jameson 1903:695)

Many of America's Founding Fathers had some relationship to the island. For example, Benjamin Franklin and several others requested that all official correspondence be sent via St. Eustatius as this would facilitate swift communication between the Americans and their Continental allies. Like Franklin, Thomas Jefferson relied on St. Eustatius for quick and safe delivery of his mail. In one instance, he received a letter in Monticello just thirteen days after it left St. Eustatius (Gilmore 2013:53). An original copy of the Declaration of Independence was even sent to the island on the American brigantine *Andrew Doria*. This ship was sent to St. Eustatius to obtain munitions and military supplies. When it arrived on the island on November 16, 1776 she fired thirteen guns in salute. The commander of Fort Oranje, Abraham Ravenné, ordered a return salute of eleven guns to be fired, which was the first time a naval vessel of the independent United States was saluted by a foreign power (Hartog 1976:71). Rodney's sacking of St. Eustatius put an end to the arms trade with the rebels but it did not signify the end of commercial relations altogether. Figure 7.1 shows that a significant volume of trade was still taking place between Statia and the North Americans in 1787, when 249 vessels arrived from, and 407 ships departed to at least 28 different North American ports. These brought a multitude of provisions and supplies in very mixed cargoes. For example, in December 1787, the *Diamond* arrived from New York with metal bars, lumber, flour, mackerel, meat, and oats (NA 1.05.01.02 – 1330, folio 3258). These provisions, besides being consumed locally, were redistributed to other islands such as Saba in return for their raw materials. The flourishing trade with North America only came to an end after Statia's role in the global economy faded in the 1790s.

8

Conclusion

The maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius was influenced by an infinite number of factors. This dissertation has outlined its major themes and the ways in which people and nature shaped the island's history through time. It has also demonstrated that many aspects of the island's past transcend the division between land and sea, and therefore need to be studied thematically instead of geographically. The diachronic and regional scope of the present study, coupled with a multi-disciplinary approach, has resulted in a comprehensive analysis and discussion of the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius. Furthermore, this is the first time a maritime cultural landscape approach has been applied to a Caribbean island. It has been demonstrated that the concept of the maritime cultural landscape is dynamic and needs to be analyzed differently depending on which area and time period one is studying. This work has set a paradigm for the Caribbean, and therefore the case study of St. Eustatius can be used as a model for maritime cultural landscape studies on other islands in the region. It has become clear that to fully understand and appreciate the complex interplay of various components of the maritime cultural landscape, land and sea need to be studied in relation to each other, and the best way to do so it through a multi-disciplinary approach using various lines of evidence. Most notably, the documentary and archaeological records have been shown to be highly complementary, in that documentary data often provides the historical framework and archaeological data provides insights into specific situations and the lives of specific actors in specific places.

While historians have often tried to answer questions of *why* certain things happened the way they did, this dissertation's main concern has been to analyze *how* things happened in a certain way. For example, from historical studies much is known about the island's volume, nature, and extent of overseas trade and the reasons *why* this trade came about, but until now, very little was known about *how* this trade was carried out exactly, such as what kind of port facilities there were on the island and what the state of the anchorage area was. Moreover, historical studies have often dealt with questions of slavery in terms of numbers of slaves traded, numbers of slaves per plantation, and *why*, from an economic perspective, slavery existed in the Caribbean. The present study has attempted to complement these insights by asking *how* slavery existed on the island – where enslaved people lived, where they worked, what they did in their free time.

In addition to these advances, a new and more comprehensive method for studying historical anchorage areas has been introduced. The only way to gain a better

understanding of historical anchorages is by studying the archaeological record in conjunction with documentary sources, the natural environment, and geomorphological processes. These concluding remarks aim to summarize the dissertation and answer the main research question by outlining how the complex interplay of local, regional, and global social, economic, political, and natural forces shaped the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius through time.

A multitude of local factors have shaped Statia's maritime cultural landscape. On an economic level, this was achieved by constructing one of the greatest emporiums in the Caribbean. When the volume of trade on the island reached proportions beyond anyone's imagination, large numbers of merchants and transient visitors were attracted and Lower Town became the focus of commercial activities on the island. Through extensive archaeological research in the area, it is now clear that many other, non-commercial activities took place in Lower Town as well. The plantations in the countryside played an equally important role. Here, illegally imported sugar was refined and provisioning grounds ensured that the dietary needs of a growing insular population were met. To facilitate the movement of large numbers of people and vast quantities of goods, a network of roads was constructed that linked Lower Town to every corner of the island. The link with ships on the roadstead was provided by canoes operated by enslaved workers who shuttled people and goods between ships and shore. Thousands of ships dropped anchor on Statia's roadstead in its heyday. It has been demonstrated that the roadstead comprised an area much larger than previously thought and that archaeological remains in this area are abundant. Shipwrecks are one type of site that is present in the anchorage zone. To date, five shipwrecks have been discovered, but there are undoubtedly more to be found underneath the shifting sands on the sea floor. The cargo of blue beads from one of the wrecks has become an important element in modern Statian society and provides a direct link to people's ancestry.

On a social level, people from different classes of society experienced varying types of civic environments. The island's wealthiest merchant-planter class resided in Great Houses on the plantations or large mansions in Upper and Lower Town. Many enslaved people lived on the plantations in small huts, but a sizeable group also resided in town. In addition, thousands of sailors lived their lives on the roadstead. Living conditions were completely different depending on where one lived. Islanders and sailors engaged in all types of vices imaginable which often led to disturbances. Some used the countryside and the Quill to escape the hustle and bustle of town. The crater of the Quill constituted a separate world, an island within an island, where people experienced a very different environment from what they were used to. The built environment and natural world were not only composed of tangible aspects; the cognitive component played an equally important role in the maritime cultural landscape. Place names, cemeteries, religious buildings, and oral history occupied prominent places in people's minds and were used to construct cognitive maps of the physical world in which they lived.

On a political level, the expression of power and wealth, which resulted from the island's flourishing economy, has shaped the maritime cultural landscape in profound ways. The richest Statians displayed their wealth and the status this generated in various ways, from minting their own coins to erecting impressive mansions and commissioning elaborate gravestones. Due to opportunities for economic and social upward

mobility among even the lowest classes of society, the enslaved population participated in the power component as well. Through specialized skills and the use of expensive objects, both enslaved and free people of color resisted the power relations which the merchant-planter elite tried so hard to establish and maintain. The power component entailed more than just personal glorification, it was also concerned with the protection of the island and the ships that visited. The island's works of defense, however, could never have prevented the frequent changes of flag the island experienced. They were important nonetheless, as they provided protection to the ships that made Statia rich.

The local environment was heavily influenced by the natural world. In the most fundamental way, Statia's dry climate prevented the island from every developing into a successful plantation colony. Left with no commercial agricultural promise, the island was transformed into a trade hub. Lower Town was a particularly difficult place to live and work due to eroding cliffs on one side and rough seas on the other. Nevertheless, the islanders were determined to turn this area into an entrepôt. Elevation differences in the landscape were used to people's advantage as they were utilized to display power and authority over the enslaved population and passing vessels. On the other hand, power relations were constantly contested by covert as well as visible acts. Besides serving a recreational function, the Quill's crater also provided opportunities for enslaved people to escape. The element of the natural environment that has had the most impact on the island's maritime cultural landscape is the underwater topography. Even though the anchorage zone was very exposed and at times dangerous, without a large, sandy roadstead, Statia could never have welcomed as many ships as it did and the island would not have become such a prosperous colony.

Statia's course in history and its maritime cultural landscape were shaped by regional and even global developments and connections as well. The island was the nexus in the Caribbean and Atlantic World trade networks, and as such, the transportation and communication component played a central role in the maritime cultural landscape. Ships from nearly one hundred different ports called at Statia each year in its heyday. This resulted in an enormous influx of people, goods, and ideas, making the island one of the most cosmopolitan places in the world. People from all over the world lived and worked on St. Eustatius. The group of foreigners that was best represented were the Bermudians, of which dozens lived in their own neighborhood in Upper Town called Bermuda Quarter. They imported their own limestone and lime, sold Bermuda sloops on the island, and penetrated all levels of elite society. When the island lost its significance as a transit harbor, merchants moved to other free ports such as St. Thomas and St. Barths where they continued their enterprises using the skills, knowledge, and connections they acquired on the Golden Rock. Perhaps the most important connection St. Eustatius had to the outside world was that with the British North American colonies. Without a constant supply of arms and ammunition from St. Eustatius, the American fight for freedom might have ended differently. The support for the American rebels also caused Statia to be sacked by the British and robbed of all its riches. This, however, did not signal the end of prosperity as the island's economy quickly recovered. Nowadays, history is repeating itself as the global demand for oil has given rise to an oil terminal on Statia, which has become a transshipment center with global significance once more.

Regional and global shipping was heavily influenced by climatic conditions. Shipping activity on St. Eustatius dropped drastically during hurricane seasons. Ships that continued their voyages were often at the mercy of the elements, and tropical storms and hurricanes caused many to founder. The island itself was equally, if not more, affected by the force of Mother Nature. Every few years, houses, churches, fortifications, plantations, and warehouses were destroyed by devastating hurricanes. Many people perished or lost everything they owned, but determined to succeed in life they rebuilt the Golden Rock time and time again.

Statia was at the mercy of other global forces as well on which the island had no bearing. Wars that originated in Europe were often fought in the colonies, causing islands to change hands frequently. Caribbean islands, including St. Eustatius, became bargaining chips when peace needed to be established. Privateering in the West Indies increased during times of war, resulting in the construction of numerous forts and batteries on Statia's coastline. The global sugar market is another example. Statian plantations became less profitable when sugar prices dropped in the early nineteenth century. Planters made impressive improvements to their estates in an attempt to retain their social status. Economically, this was to no avail due to another global issue beyond Statia's sphere of influence. The slave trade was abolished by most nations in the early nineteenth century, but when slavery was abolished in the Dutch colonies in 1863, planters lost access to a cheap work force. This was the decisive blow for the Statian plantations.

What has been outlined here clearly reflects Orser's characteristics of globalization so suitable to a maritime cultural landscape approach. There existed a network of interdependence at multi-continental distances; connections were based on the complex flow of currency, goods, information, ideas, and people; there was an overarching structure defined by capitalist social relations. The Revolutionary War period illustrates this clearly: the Statian economy was largely dependent on trade with the rebels, while the rebels were highly dependent on shipments of arms and ammunition from St. Eustatius. The connections between Statia and North America was based on the flow of money, goods, and information (such as the Founding Fathers' letters). The overarching structure of this relationship, its main goal, was to make money.

This study has aimed to provide new insights into the history of St. Eustatius, with a main focus on the people who lived and worked here throughout the colonial period. Unlike previously-mentioned studies conducted by Enthoven, Klooster, and Jordaan, whose focus is largely on trade and the white elite, the present study is mainly concerned with the physical remains of the island's history and the actors that created the maritime cultural landscape – black, colored, white, enslaved, and free. Having a completely different theme, it is therefore mostly complimentary to these studies and should be viewed as an important contribution to understanding Statian society in light of the island's central role in the history of the Atlantic World.

There is a bright future for Statia's past. Historical awareness is high among the inhabitants of the island which they proudly call the "Historic Gem." Statians wear their blue beads with pride and are happy to inform visitors about their past. The First Salute is commemorated every year on November 16 by gunfire at Fort Oranje. This date is so important to the islanders that it marks Statia Day. Each year, new archaeological and historical research projects are initiated and exciting discoveries are made. Ongoing

research by the St. Eustatius Center for Archaeological Research will continue to teach people from all over the world about the island's fascinating past and prompt some of them to make new discoveries of their own. The island and its surrounding waters are an archaeological treasure trove that will continue to fascinate people for centuries to come. With every new artifact excavated, every new site mapped, and every new document studied, new dimensions are added to our understanding of the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius and the ways in which this tiny island struggled and thrived during the past four centuries of colonial history.

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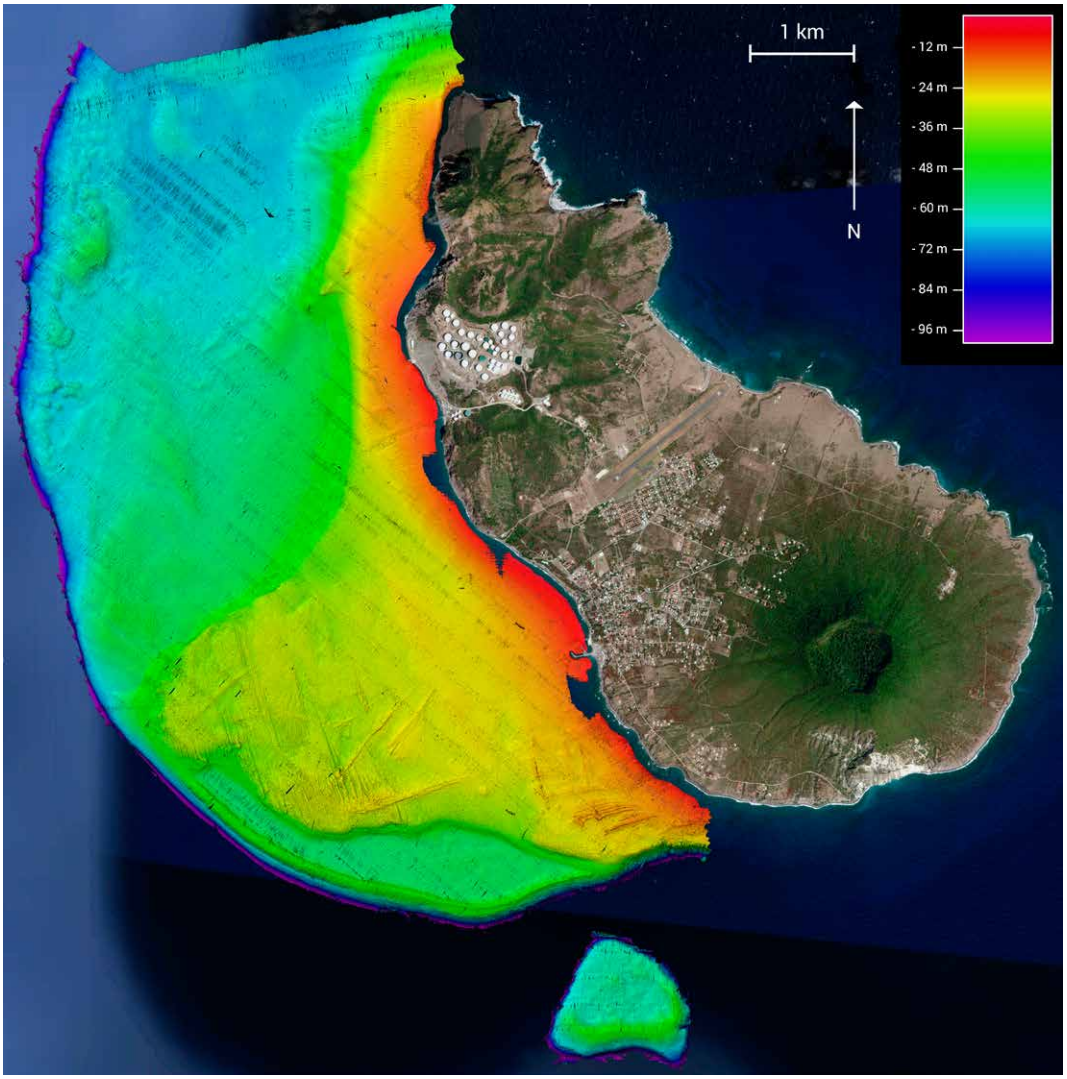
Appendices

APPENDIX I

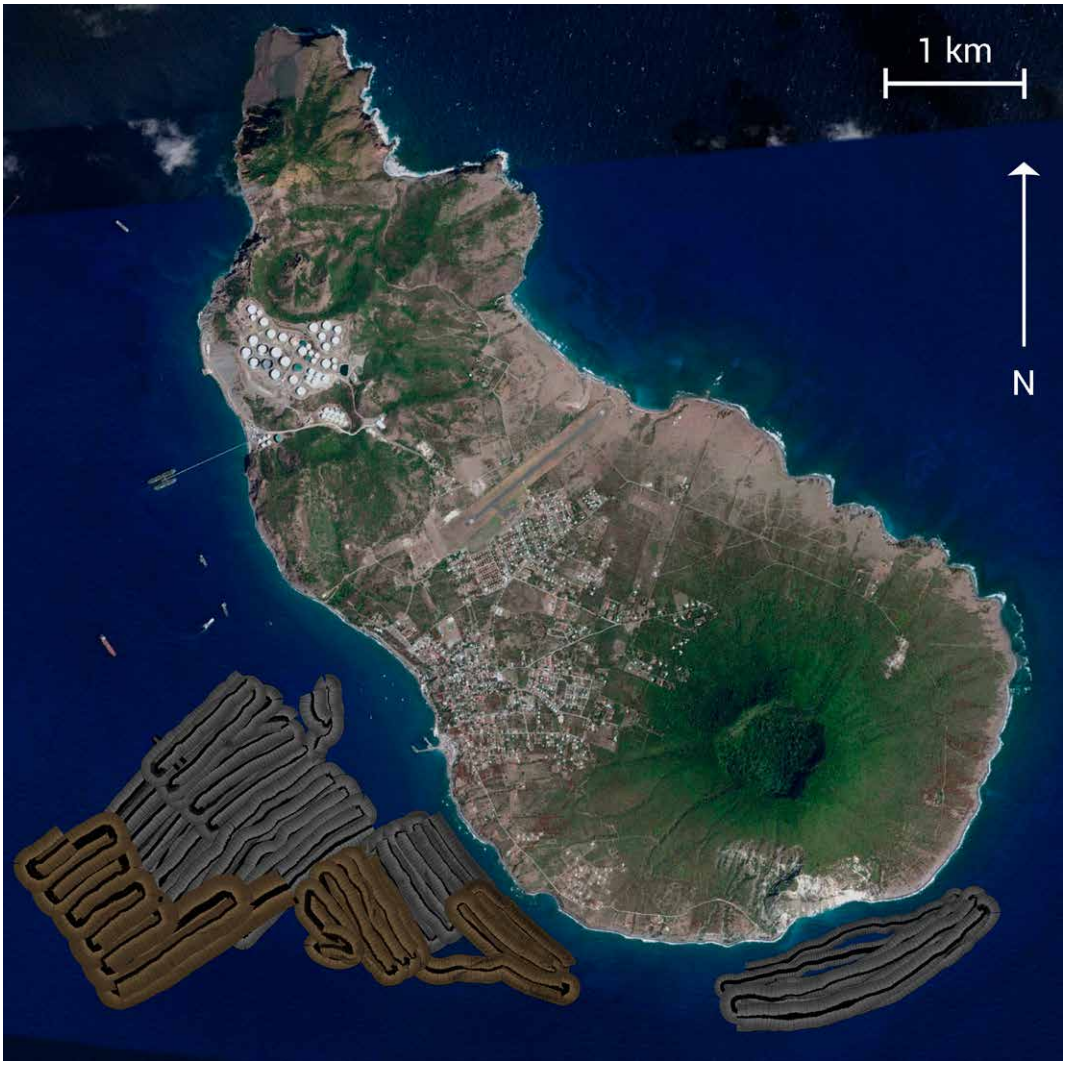
Bathymetric map



Bathymetric chart of the waters on Statia's leeward side. Colors indicate depth in meters.

APPENDIX II

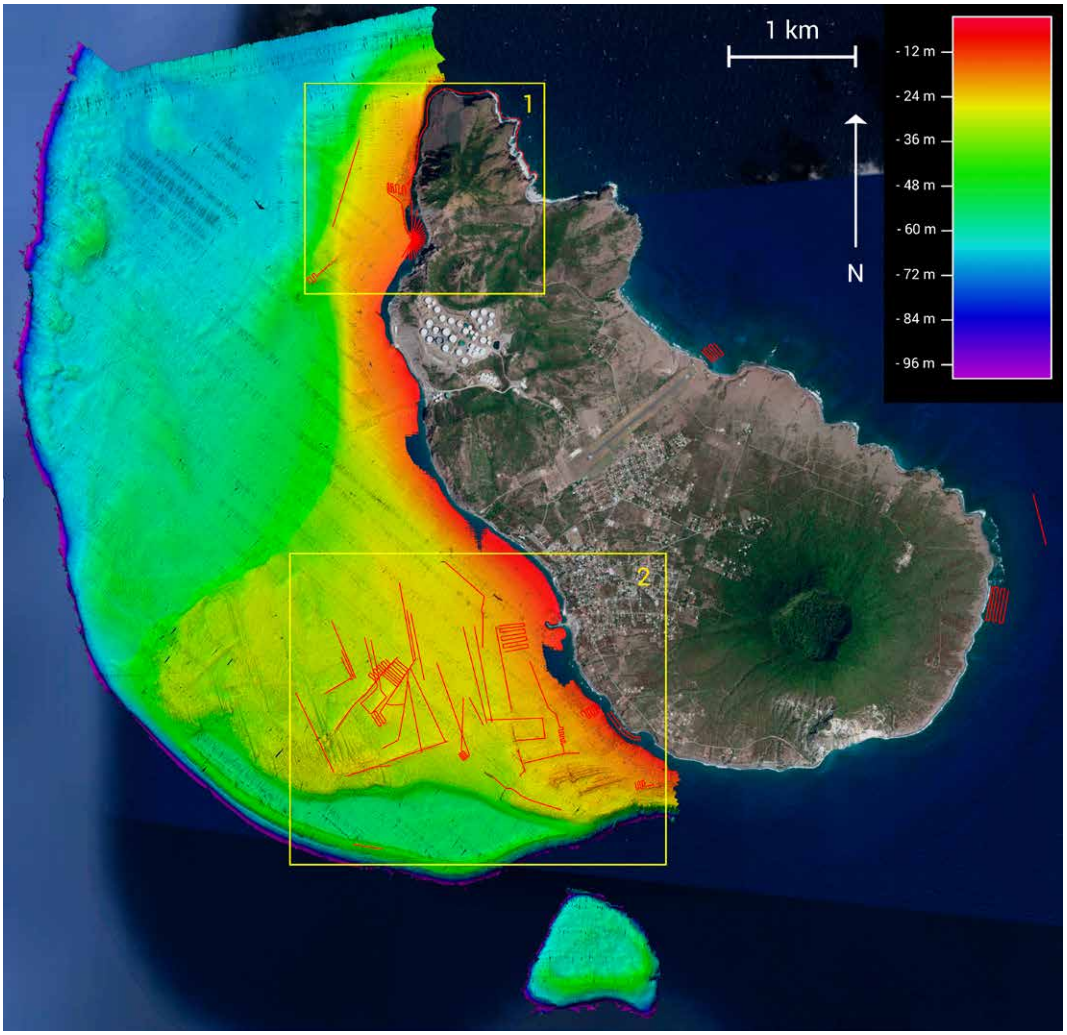
Side scan sonar survey area



Side scan sonar survey data recorded with a Starfish 452F side scan sonar and stitched together with SonarTRX mosaicking software.

APPENDIX III – 1

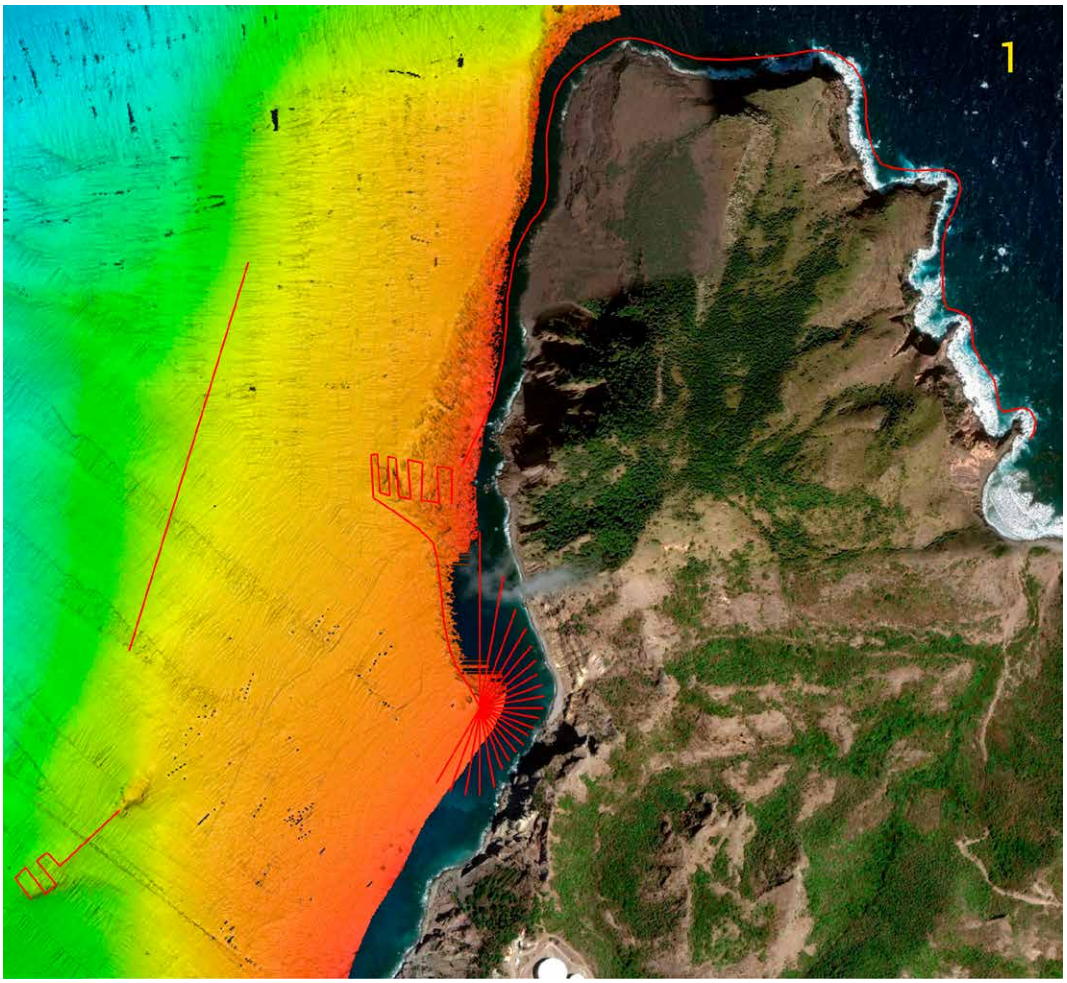
Underwater survey transects



Underwater transects surveyed between April 2014 and August 2015. Areas in the yellow rectangles are enlarged on the next pages.

APPENDIX III – 2

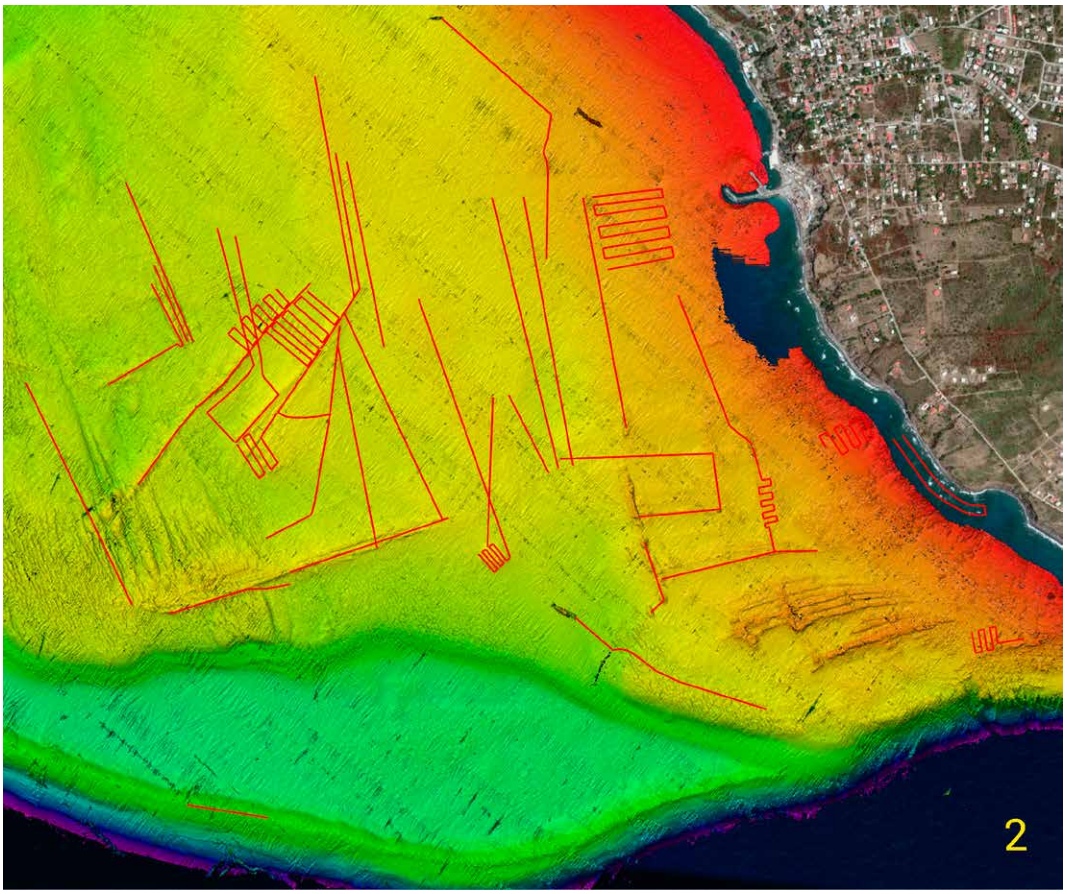
Underwater survey transects



Underwater transects surveyed between April 2014 and August 2015. Areas in the yellow rectangles are enlarged on the next pages.

APPENDIX III – 3

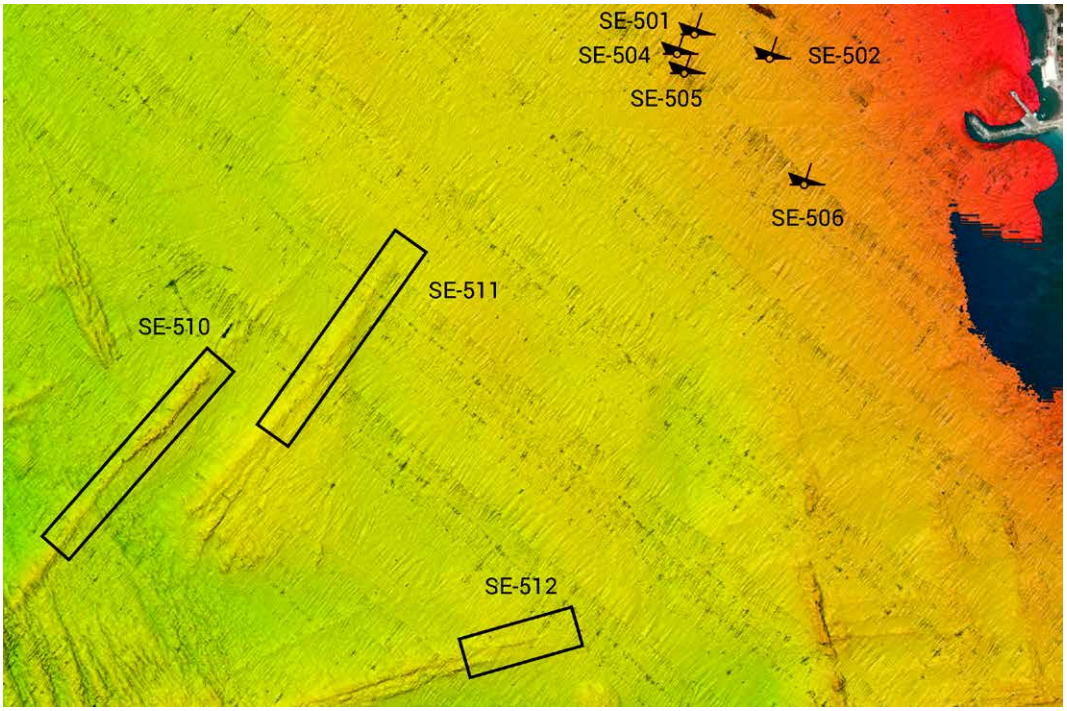
Underwater survey transects



Underwater transects surveyed between April 2014 and August 2015. Areas in the yellow rectangles are enlarged on the next pages.

APPENDIX IV – 1

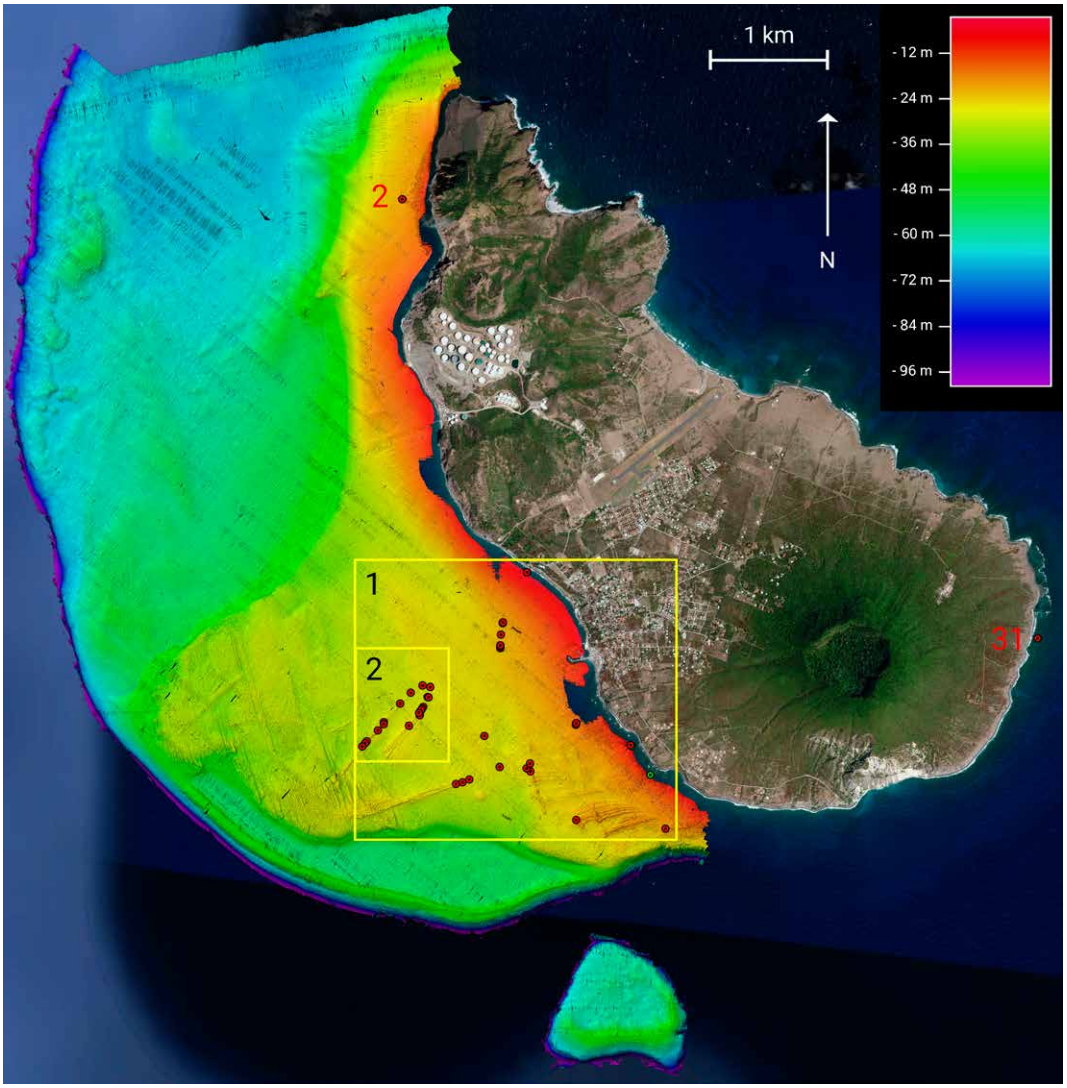
Underwater archaeological sites and artifacts



Archaeological sites on the roadstead. SE-510, SE-511, and SE-512 are lava flows on which many anchors got stuck.

APPENDIX IV – 2

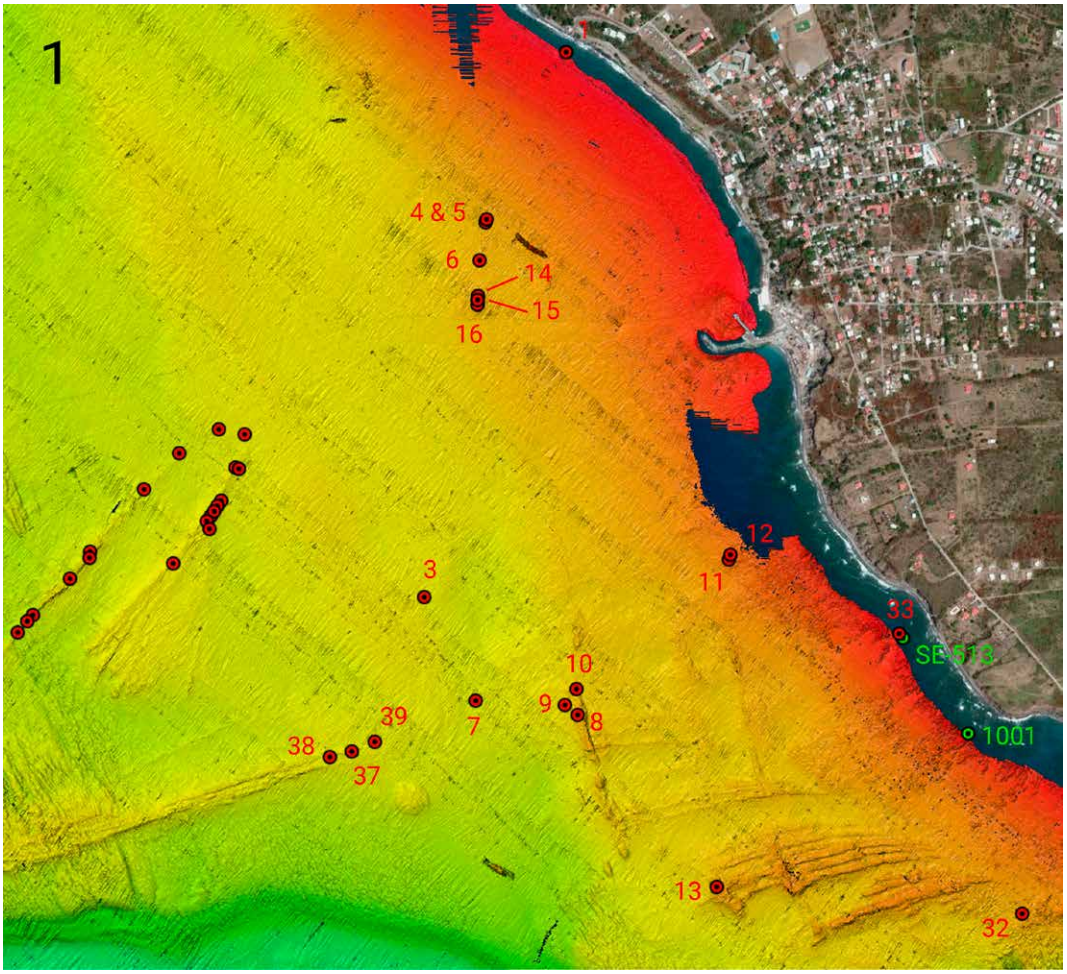
Underwater archaeological sites and artifacts



Underwater anchor and cannon distribution. Anchors are represented by red dots, cannon by green dots. Areas in the yellow rectangles are enlarged on the next pages.

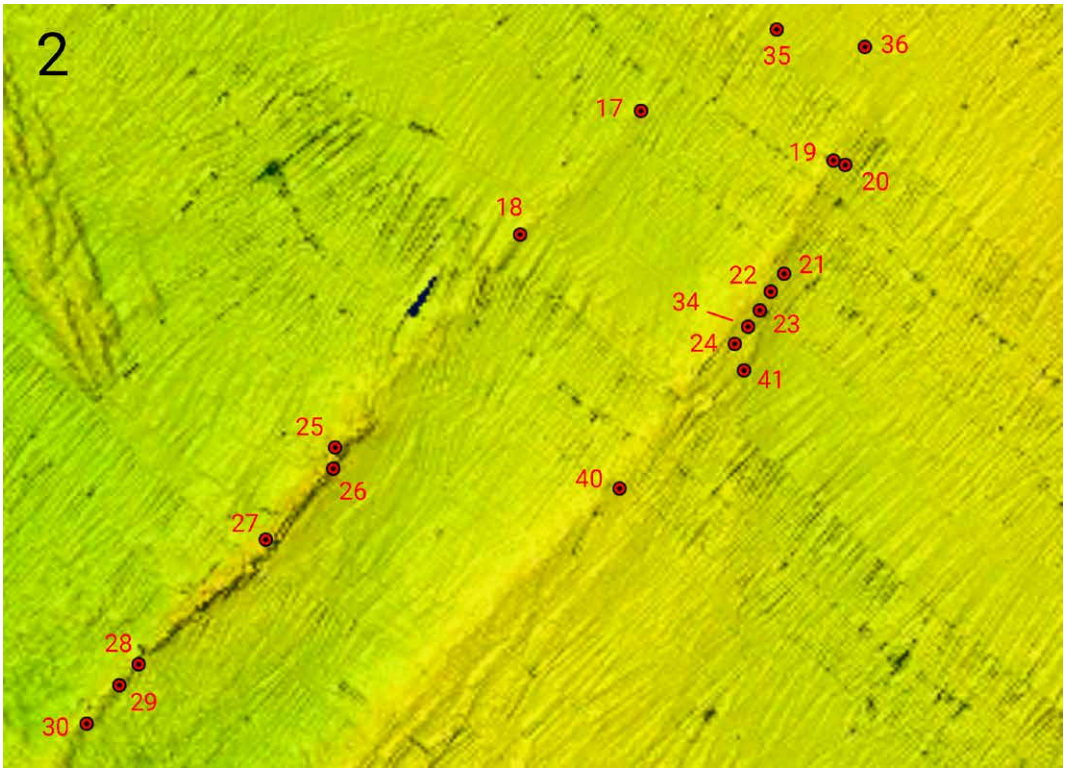
APPENDIX IV – 3

Underwater archaeological sites and artifacts



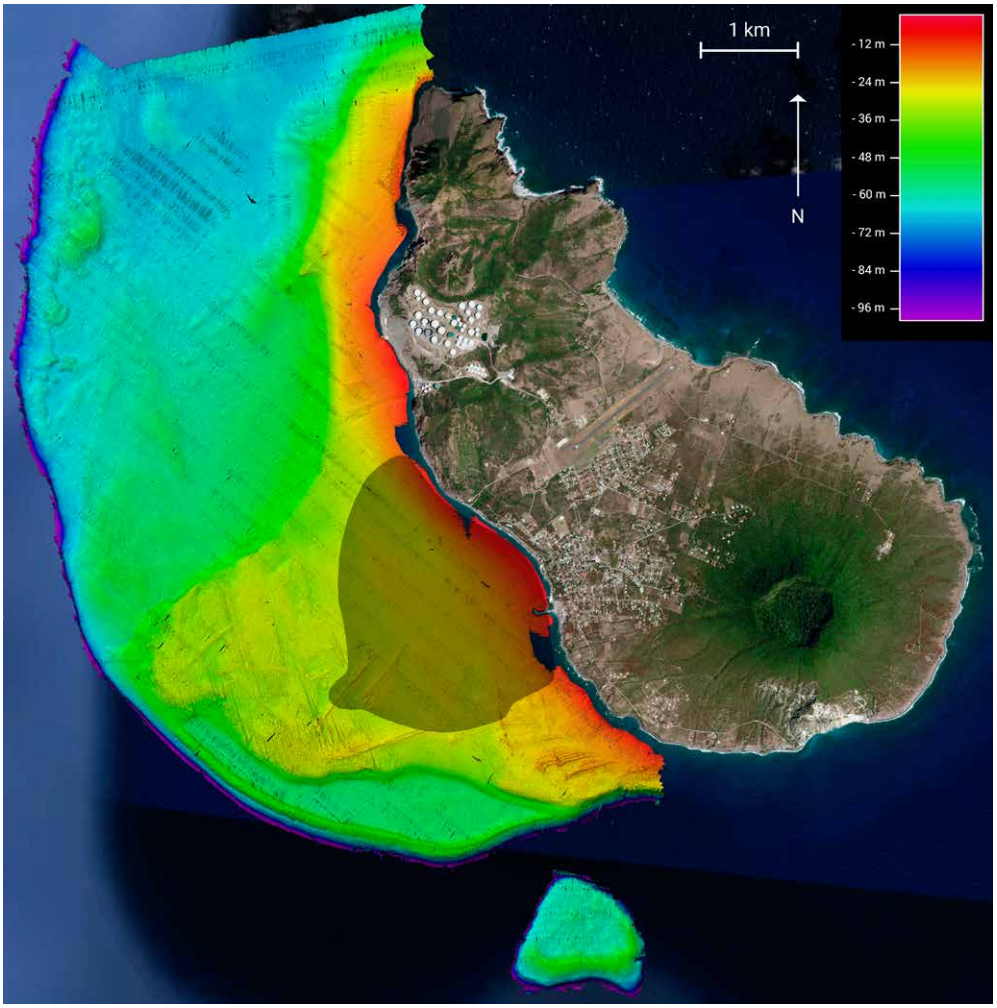
APPENDIX IV – 4

Underwater archaeological sites and artifacts



APPENDIX V

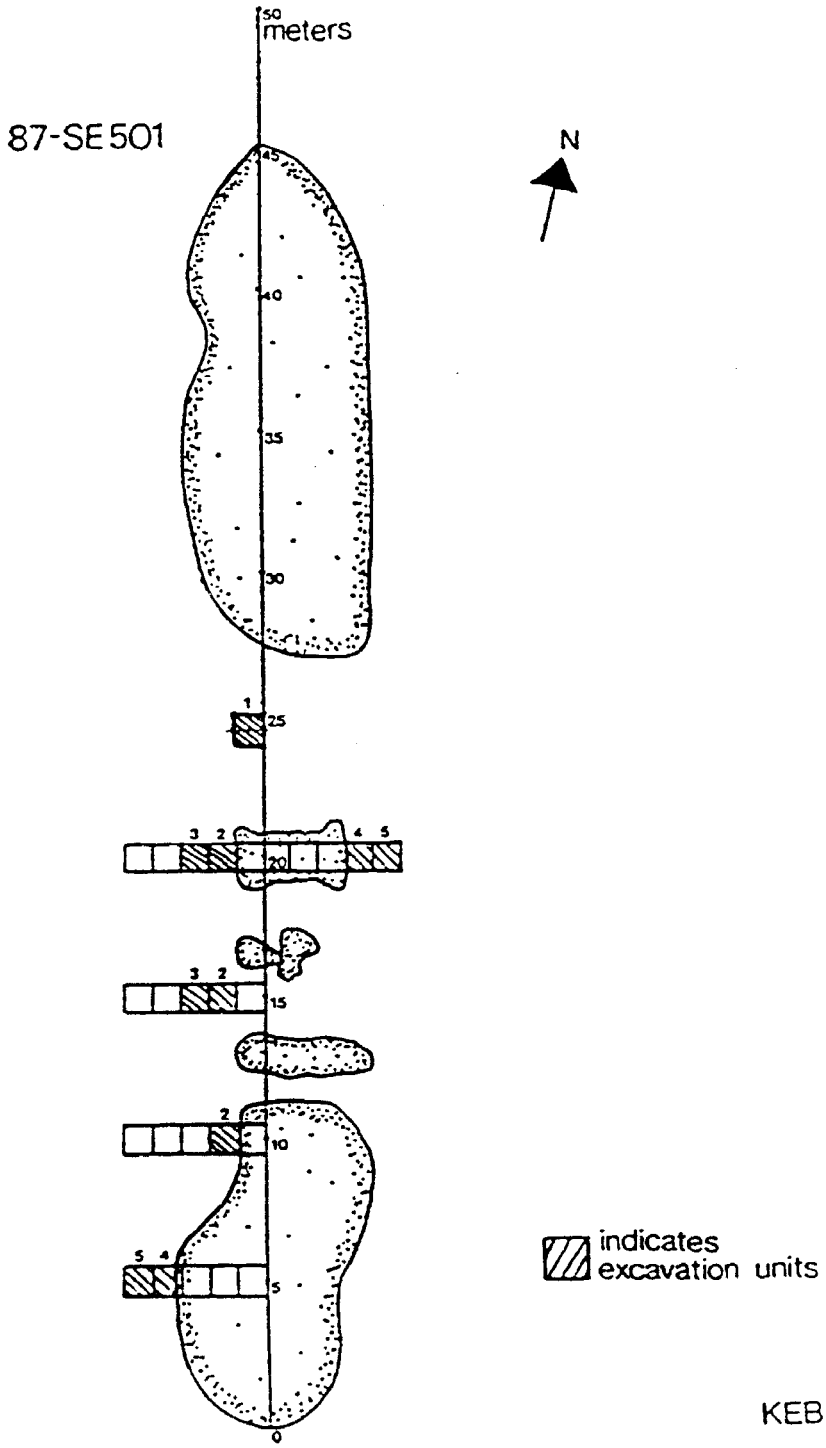
Extent of the roadstead



Extent of the roadstead.

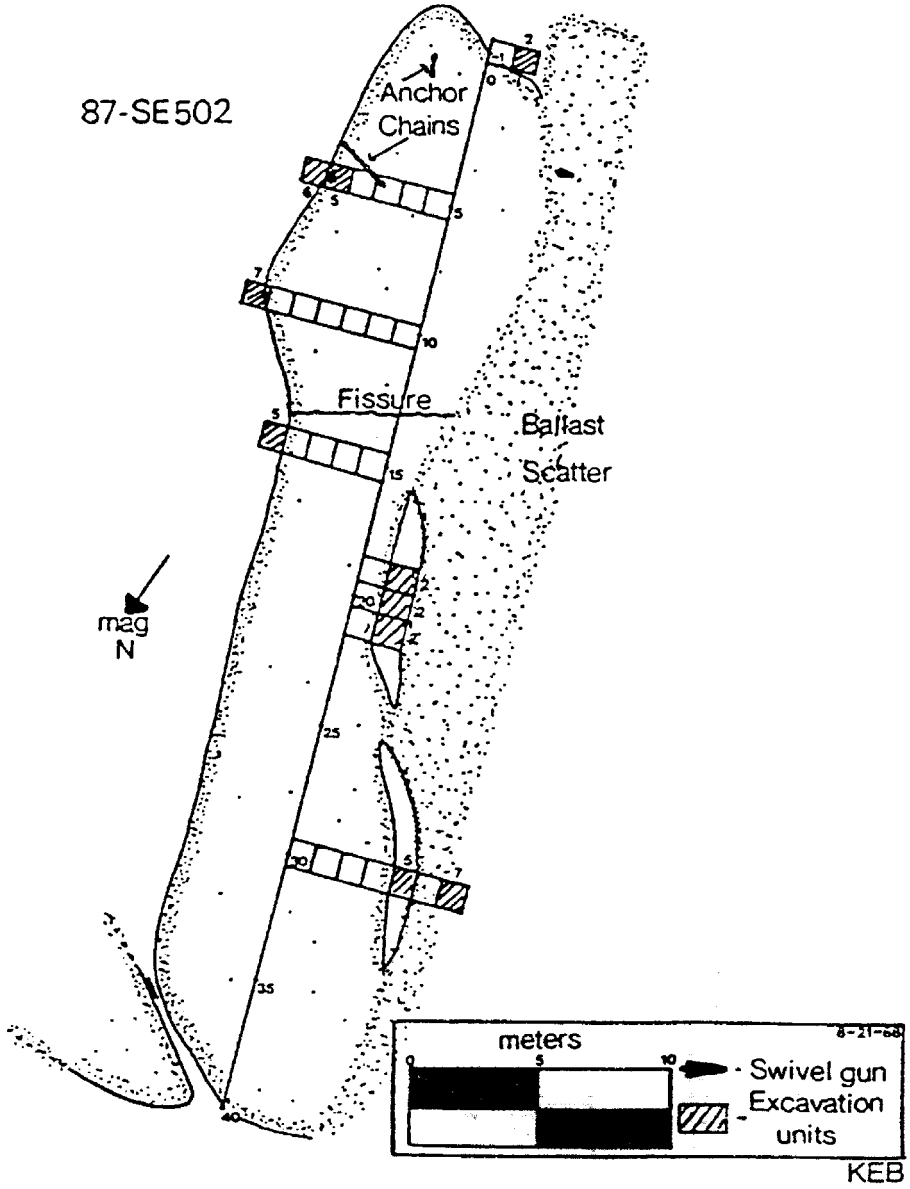
APPENDIX VI – 1

Shipwreck site drawings, 1987-1988



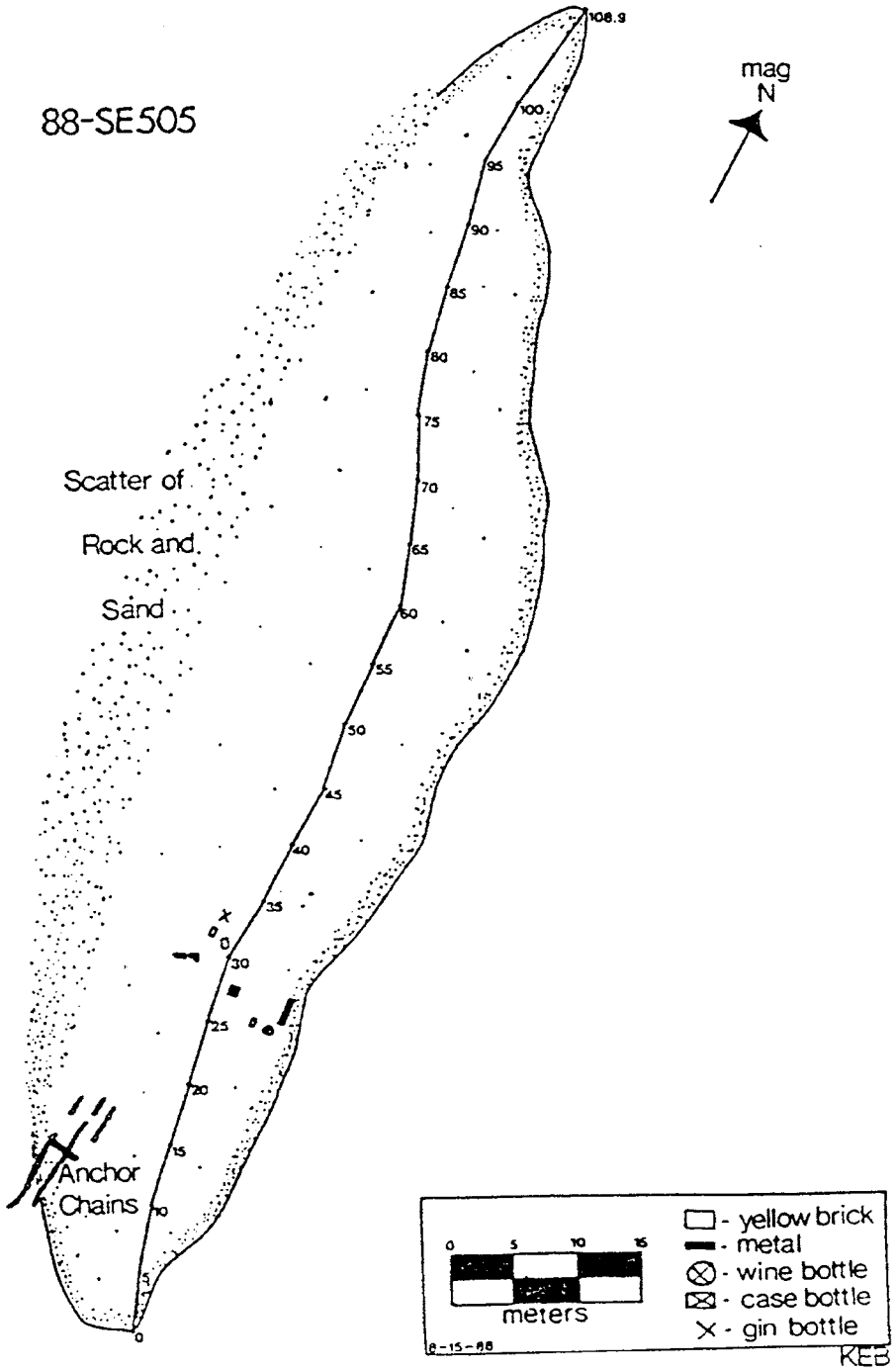
APPENDIX VI – 2

Shipwreck site drawings, 1987-1988



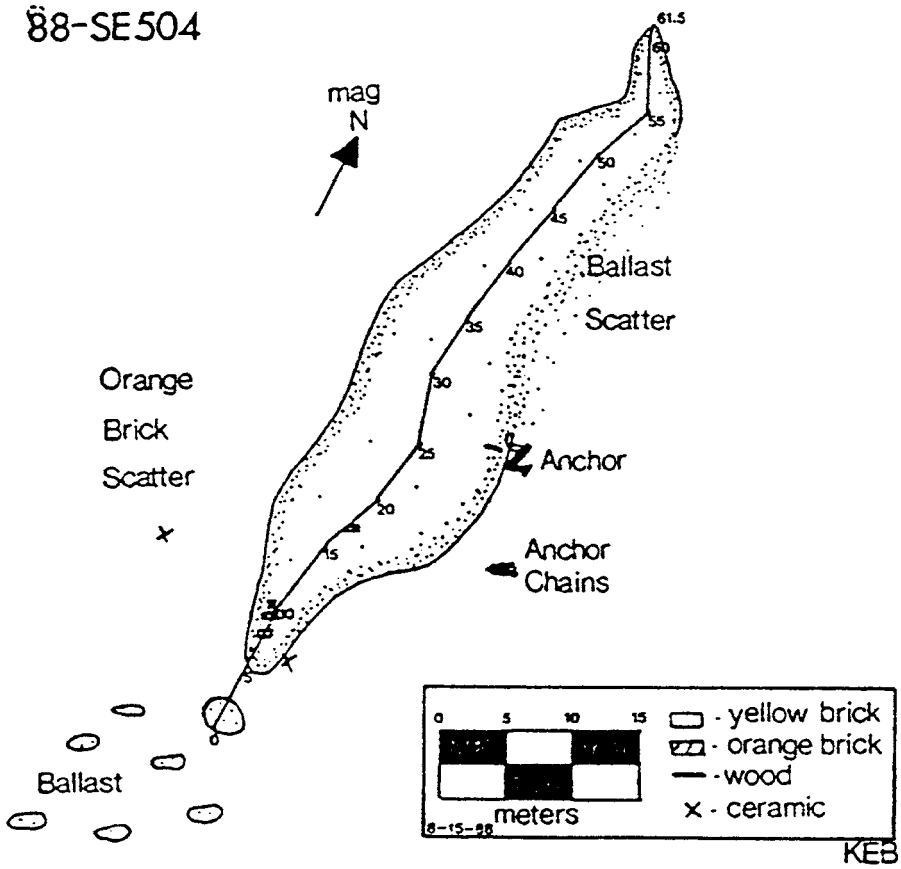
APPENDIX VI – 3

Shipwreck site drawings, 1987-1988



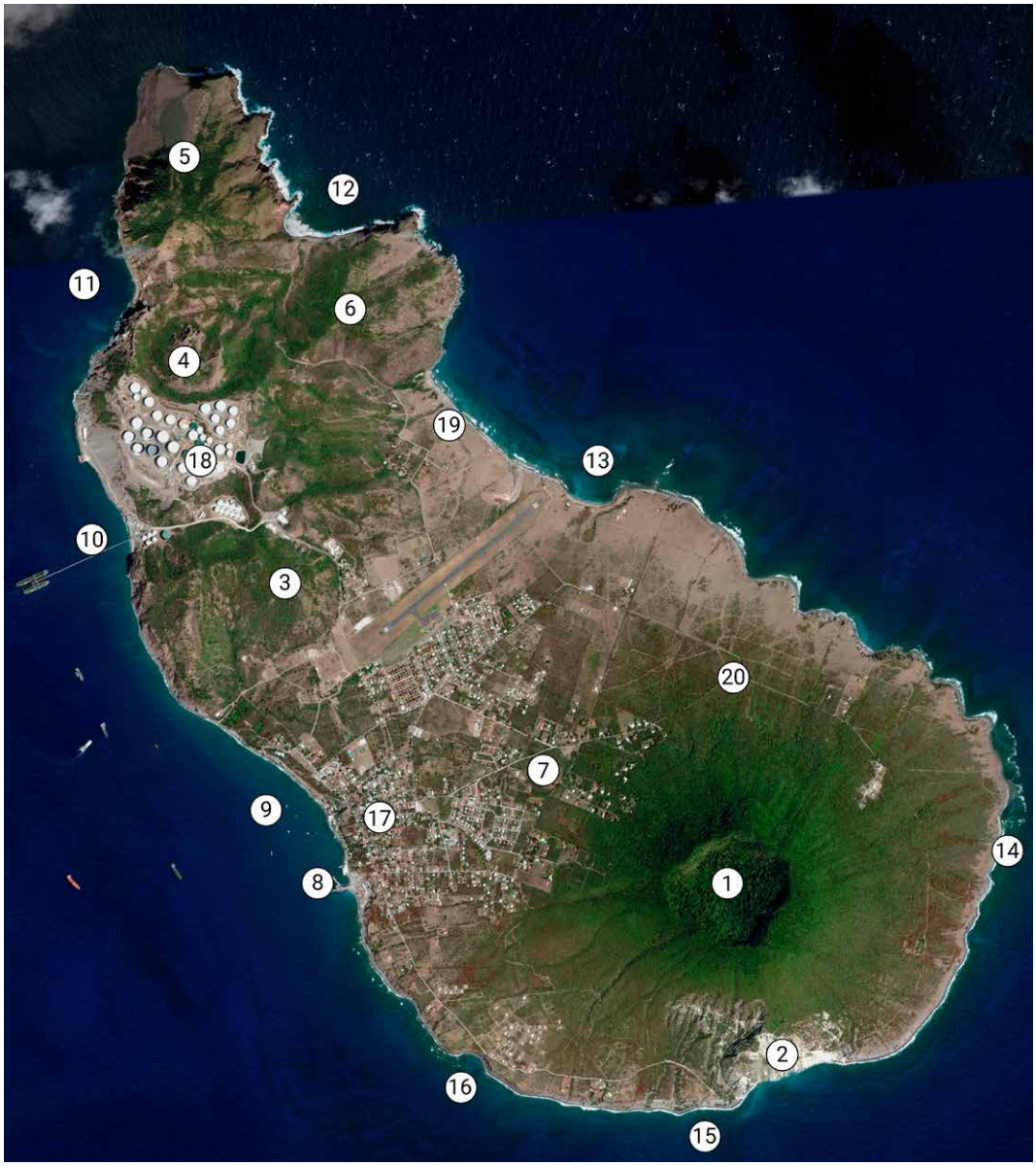
APPENDIX VI – 4

Shipwreck site drawings, 1987-1988



APPENDIX VII – 1

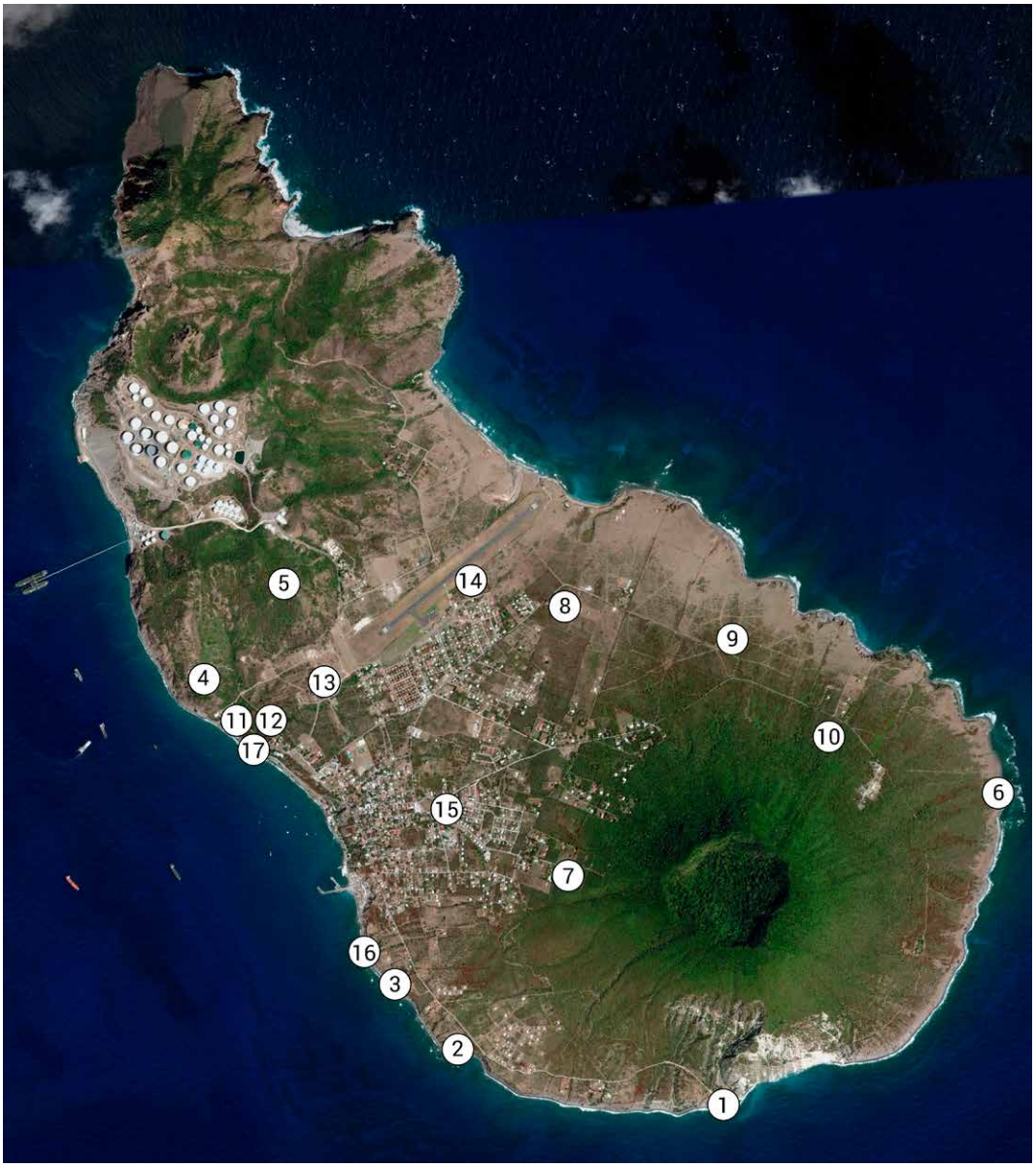
Text reference locations



Satellite image of St. Eustatius with topographical features mentioned in the text. 1. The Quill; 2. White Wall; 3. Signal Hill; 4. Bergje; 5. Boven Hill; 6. Gilboa Hill; 7. Little Round Hill; 8. Gallows Bay; 9. Oranje Bay; 10. Tumble Down Dick Bay; 11. Jenkins Bay; 12. Venus Bay; 13. Turtle Bay; 14. Corre Corre Bay; 15. Back Off Bay; 16. Kay Bay; 17. Oranjestad; 18. NuStar; 19. Zeelandia; 20. Halfway Path.

APPENDIX VII – 2

Text reference locations



Satellite image of St. Eustatius with archaeological sites mentioned in the text. 1. Battery De Windt; 2. Battery Nassau; 3. Battery Bouillé; 4. Battery Royal; 5. Fort Panga; 6. Corre Corre Battery; 7. Pleasures plantation; 8. Fair Play plantation; 9. English Quarter plantation; 10. Steward plantation; 11. Godet plantation; 12. Benners plantations; 13. Schotsenhoek plantation; 14. Concordia plantation; 15. Princess plantation; 16. Crook's Castle; 17. Fort Amsterdam.

APPENDIX VII – 3

Text reference locations

Satellite image of Upper and Lower Town with archaeological sites and locations mentioned in the text. 1. Harbor; 2. Blue Bead restaurant; 3. Old Gin House hotel; 4. Former weighing house (now Scubaqua Dive Center); 5. Bay Path; 6. Smoke Alley; 7. Fort Oranje; 8. Dutch Reformed Church and cemetery; 9. Synagogue Honen Dalim; 10. Roman Catholic Church; 11. Jewish cemetery; 12. Seventh Day Adventist church; 13. Free black village; 14. Anglican cemetery; 15. Wilhelmina Park; 16. Simon Doncker house (now the historical museum); 17. Government guest house; 18. Godet House.

Summary

This dissertation contains a study of the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius, a small island in the northeastern Lesser Antilles. After a long indigenous occupation, the island was first colonized by Europeans in the early seventeenth century. In the following two centuries, the island changed hands 22 times between the Dutch, English, and French, until it became permanently Dutch in 1816. In the eighteenth century, the island became a free port for goods from around the world, causing it to developed into a bustling entrepot and one of the busiest transit harbors in the world. Due to the lack of urban development on the island in modern times, archaeological sites are relatively pristine, earning the island its nickname "The Pompeï of the New World". Besides terrestrial sites such as warehouses, fortifications, and plantations, the waters surrounding the island house a large number of shipwrecks and other submerged archaeological remains.

The maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius is the entire network of sailing routes, harbors, and related structures and remains of past human activities, on land as well as under water; it encompasses the human use of maritime space. In this study, the maritime cultural landscape will be analyzed using documentary data in conjunction with archaeological remains. The maritime cultural landscape is divided into eight components: commercial, transport and communication, natural resources, civic, cognitive, recreative, defense, and power.

The maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius has been influenced by a large number of factors. In this study, the most important ones are analyzed, including the ways in which people and the natural environment have shaped the history of the island. The present study shows that many aspects of the island's history transcend the division between land and sea, and should therefore be studied thematically instead of geographically. Historians often try to answer questions relating to *why* something happened; this dissertation focuses on *how* something happened.

At an economic level, St. Eustatius was developed into one of the largest emporiums in the Caribbean. In the late eighteenth century, trade on the island grew exponentially, attracting a large number of people including sailors and merchants. Archaeological research in the historic port district has shown that many non-commercial activities were carried out in this part of the island as well. The plantations in the countryside played an important role as well: here, illegally imported sugar was processed and crops were grown to feed the island's population. An extensive road network was built to connect the port district to the rest of the island. Goods were moved by slaves in

canoes between shore and the thousands of ships anchoring on Statia's roadstead every year. Of particular importance in this study is the research conducted into the historic roadstead of St. Eustatius. Using a multidisciplinary approach, including documentary data, archaeological remains, and a study of the natural environment, it is shown that the roadstead was much larger than previously thought. So far, five shipwrecks have been found in this area, but documentary sources indicate that many more wrecks are present around the island. The blue glass beads that are found at one of the wreck sites have become important artifacts in modern-day Statian culture.

People of different social classes lived and worked in varying urban and rural environments. Merchants and planters lived in mansions on the plantations or in town. Many slaves lived in small huts, either in town or on the plantations. Thousands of sailors lived on ships in the roadstead for days, weeks, or sometimes even months at a time. Besides the visible environment, the cognitive component played an important role on the island, for example in place names and oral history.

At a political level, power and wealth were important values that were expressed in different ways. The richest merchants built impressive mansions, had marble tombstones, and even minted their own currency. Because of the favorable economic climate on the island in the eighteenth century, even slaves were able to climb the social and economic ladders. They expressed their power and wealth through expensive objects and by specializing in certain tasks that were key to the economic development of the island. Power was also conveyed through the many works of defense on the island. Despite the fact that these could never prevent a hostile takeover, they were effective in providing protection to ships that were coming to trade on the island.

The natural environment played a large role in the development of the maritime cultural landscape and the life of the Statian people. Because St. Eustatius is relatively dry and not well suited for growing sugar cane, the Dutch chose to turn the island into a trading center. The island's steep topography was used in many different ways, for example to express power and authority on the plantations. The crater of the dormant volcano the Quill was a place where people could relax during a picnic, but also served as a hideout for runaway slaves. Perhaps the most important element of the natural environment was the underwater topography. The large, sandy roadstead on the island's leeward side could house hundreds of ships eager to trade. There was, however, a high risk involved: St. Eustatius is located in the Atlantic hurricane belt. In the colonial period, hurricanes regularly wreaked havoc on the island, destroying many buildings and sinking countless ships.

Because of the large number of ships that came to trade on Statia each year, there was a contant supply of new people, goods, and ideas. People from all around the world lived and worked on the island, including Sephardic Jews, enslaved Africans, and merchants from all corners of the Atlantic World. When the island's economic position weakened in the late eighteenth century, many people left for other centers of trade in the region. Perhaps the most important connection St. Eustatius had was the one with the North American colonies. During the Revolutionary War (1775-1783), large amounts of gunpowder, arms, and ammunitions were sent to the North American rebels through St. Eustatius. This caused the English to sack the island in 1781. Statia's economic position weakened as the nineteenth century progressed, particularly after the abolition of slavery in 1863. However, history has repeated itself on St. Eustatius.

Due to its central location, the island is an international trade hub once again, this time for petroleum products.

This study has shown that the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius is the result of a complex interplay of numerous elements and actors, that each shaped the island in their own way. There is, however, much more to be discovered and learned about the island's fascinating history. This study has formed a starting point and theoretical framework in which this can be done.

Samenvatting

Van "Golden Rock" naar "Historic Gem": een historisch archeologische analyse van het maritiem culturele landschap van St. Eustatius, Caribisch Nederland.

Dit proefschrift betreft een studie naar het maritiem culturele landschap van St. Eustatius, een klein eiland in het noordoostelijk deel van de Kleine Antillen. Na een lange Indiaanse bewoning werd het eiland in de vroege 17e eeuw door de Europeanen gekoloniseerd. In de twee eeuwen die volgden, wisselde het eiland maar liefst 22 keer van vlag tussen de Nederlanders, Engelsen en Fransen, tot het in 1816 voorgoed Nederlands werd. In de 18e eeuw werd het eiland een vrije doorvoerhaven voor goederen van over de hele wereld, waardoor het in korte tijd uitgroeide tot een bruisend handelscentrum en een van de drukste havens ter wereld. Doordat er sinds de vroege 19e eeuw weinig stedelijke ontwikkeling op het eiland heeft plaatsgevonden, zijn historische gebouwen en archeologische vindplaatsen relatief ongerept. Het eiland wordt daarom ook wel het "Pompeï van de Nieuwe Wereld" genoemd. Behalve terrestrische vindplaatsen zoals pakhuizen, verdedigingswerken en plantages, bevatten de wateren rondom het eiland een groot aantal scheepswrakken en andere verzonken archeologische resten.

Het maritiem culturele landschap van St. Eustatius is het gehele netwerk aan zeilroutes, havens, en aanverwante structuren en overblijfselen van menselijke activiteiten, zowel op het land als onder water; het omvat kort gezegd het menselijke gebruik van de maritieme omgeving. In deze studie wordt het maritiem culturele landschap onderzocht aan de hand van zowel historische bronnen als archeologische overblijfselen. Het maritiem culturele landschap is in deze studie onder verdeeld in acht componenten: commercieel, transport en communicatie, natuurlijke hulpbronnen, stedelijk, cognitief, recreatief, verdediging, en macht.

Het maritiem culturele landschap van St. Eustatius is beïnvloed door een groot aantal factoren. In deze studie worden de belangrijkste factoren geanalyseerd, evenals de manieren waarop mens en natuur de geschiedenis van het eiland hebben beïnvloed. Deze studie laat zien dat veel aspecten van de geschiedenis van het eiland de verdeling tussen land en zee overstijgen, en daarom thematisch moeten worden bestudeerd in plaats van geografisch. Historici proberen vaak vragen te beantwoorden

die betrekking hebben op *waarom* iets gebeurd is; in dit proefschrift wordt de nadruk gelegd op *hoe* iets gebeurd is.

Op economisch niveau werd St. Eustatius ontwikkeld tot een van de grootste emporia in de Cariben. In de late 18e eeuw groeide de handel op het eiland tot buitengewone proporties, wat een groot aantal mensen aantrok, waaronder kooplieden en matrozen. Archeologisch onderzoek in het historisch havenkwartier heeft echter aangetoond dat er in dit gebied ook veel niet-commerciële activiteiten plaatsvonden. De plantages op het platteland speelden eveneens een belangrijke rol: hier werd illegaal geïmporteerde suiker verwerkt en werden gewassen verbouwd om de bevolking te voeden. Om het havenkwartier te verbinden met de rest van het eiland werd een uitgebreid wegennetwerk aangelegd. Goederen werden door slaven in kano's vervoerd tussen het eiland en de duizenden schepen die jaarlijks voor anker gingen. Van bijzonder belang in deze studie is het onderzoek naar de historische rede van St. Eustatius. Door middel van een multidisciplinaire studie die historische bronnen, archeologische resten en de natuurlijke omgeving in acht neemt, is gebleken dat de rede veel groter was dan voorheen werd gedacht. Er zijn tot op heden vijf scheepswrakken op de rede gevonden, maar uit historische bronnen blijkt dat er zich ongetwijfeld meer wrakken rondom het eiland bevinden. De blauwe glazen kralen die op een van de wrakken gevonden worden zijn een belangrijk object geworden in de hedendaagse Statiaanse cultuur.

Mensen van verschillende sociale klassen woonden en werkten in verschillende urbane en rurale omgevingen. Kooplieden en plantagehouders woonden in herenhuizen op de plantages of in de stad. Veel slaven woonden in kleine hutjes op de plantages of in de stad. Duizenden matrozen woonden dagen, weken, of soms zelfs maanden lang op schepen die voor anker lagen op de rede. Behalve de zichtbare wereld, speelde ook de cognitieve component een belangrijke rol in de vorm van onder andere plaatsnamen en orale geschiedenis.

Op politiek niveau waren macht en rijkdom belangrijke waarden, die op verschillende manieren tot uiting werden gebracht. De rijkste kooplieden lieten indrukwekkende herenhuizen bouwen, hadden marmeren grafstenen en sloegen zelfs hun eigen munten. Door het gunstige economische klimaat op het eiland in de 18e eeuw, waren zelfs slaven in staat zich op te werken op de sociale en economische ladder. Zij brachten hun macht en rijkdom tot uitdrukking door middel van dure objecten en doordat ze zich specialiseerden in bepaalde taken die van belang waren voor de economische ontwikkeling van het eiland. Macht werd ook uitgestraald door de vele verdedigingswerken op het eiland. Ondanks dat deze niet erg effectief waren in het beschermen van het eiland, konden ze wel de schepen beschermen die handel kwamen drijven.

De natuurlijke omgeving heeft een grote rol gespeeld in de ontwikkeling van het maritiem cultureel landschap en het leven van de Statiaanse bevolking. Omdat het eiland relatief droog is en niet heel geschikt voor de verbouw van suikerriet, werd er in de 18e eeuw voor gekozen er een handelscentrum van te maken. De steile topografie werd op allerlei manieren gebruikt, bijvoorbeeld om autoriteit op de plantages uit te stralen. De krater van de slapende vulkaan de Quill was een plek waar mensen konden ontspannen tijdens een picnic, maar ook een plek waar slaven naartoe konden ontsnappen. Wellicht het belangrijkste element in de natuurlijke omgeving was de onderwater topografie. De grote, zandige rede aan de beschutte kant van het eiland zorgde ervoor dat honderden schepen tegelijk voor anker konden gaan en handel konden drijven.

Er schuilde echter ook een groot gevaar; St. Eustatius ligt middenin de orkaangordel, en het eiland werd dan ook regelmatig getroffen door deze verwoestende stormen die gebouwen vernielden en tientallen schepen lieten zinken.

Door het grote aantal schepen dat elk jaar handel kwam drijven op St. Eustatius, was er een constante aanvoer van nieuwe mensen, goederen en ideeën. Mensen van over de hele wereld woonden en werkten op het eiland, waaronder sefardische joden, tot slaaf gemaakte Afrikanen en kooplieden vanuit elke hoek van de Atlantische Wereld. Toen op het eind van de 18e eeuw de economische positie van het eiland verzwakte, trokken veel van deze mensen echter weg naar andere handelscentra in de regio. Wellicht de belangrijkste connectie die St. Eustatius had was die met de Noord-Amerikaanse koloniën. Tijdens de Amerikaanse Onafhankelijkheidsoorlog (1775-1783) werden er via St. Eustatius grote hoeveelheden wapens, buskruit en munitie naar de rebellen gestuurd. Dit zorgde ervoor dat de Engelsen het eiland in 1781 veroverden en plunderden. De economische positie van het eiland verzwakte steeds meer in de 19e eeuw, vooral na de afschaffing van de slavernij in 1863. De geschiedenis heeft zich echter herhaald aangezien St. Eustatius, door haar gunstige ligging, tegenwoordig wederom een internationaal handelscentrum is, dit keer voor petroleum producten via een grote olieoverslagplaats in het noordelijk deel van het eiland.

Deze studie heeft aangetoond dat het maritiem culturele landschap van St. Eustatius een complex geheel omvat van talloze elementen en actoren, die elk op hun eigen manier het eiland gevormd hebben. Er is echter nog veel meer over de geschiedenis van St. Eustatius te ontdekken en leren; deze studie heeft een basis en theoretisch kader gevormd waarbinnen dit kan gebeuren.

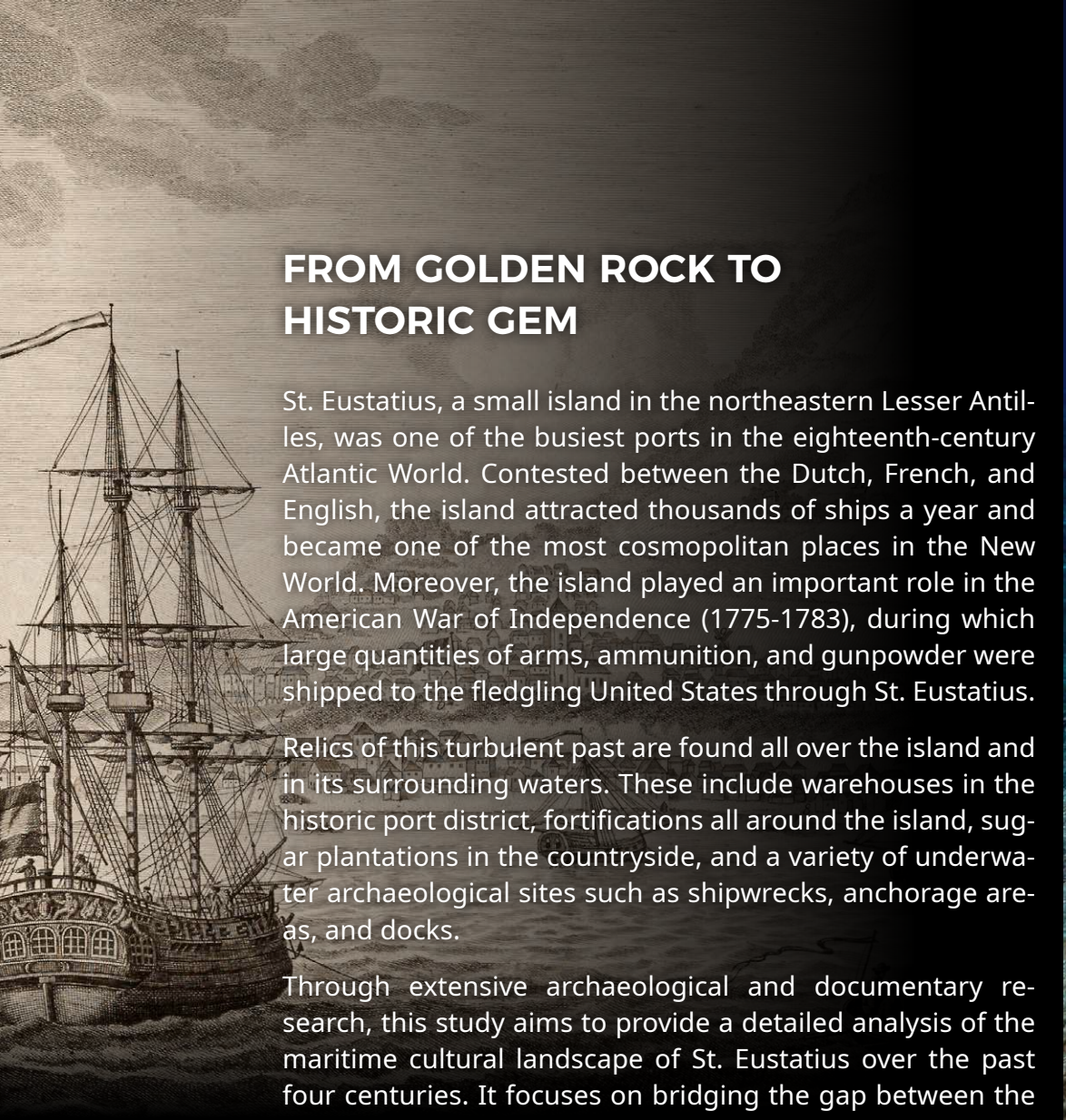
Curriculum Vitae

Ruud Stelten (Roermond, 1986) completed BA and MA degrees in Archaeology at the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University in 2009 and 2010 respectively. Research for his theses focused on maritime archaeology on the Dutch Caribbean island St. Eustatius, where he also worked on his first Caribbean archaeological research projects under the direction of the St. Eustatius Center for Archaeological Research (SECAR). During and after completing his studies, Ruud was employed as an archaeologist at Grontmij archaeology in the Netherlands, where he worked on numerous commercial archaeological projects dealing with remains from every major period in northwestern European history.

Ruud directed his first archaeological field research in 2010 at the Aapravasi Ghat UNESCO World Heritage Site in Mauritius, where he spent a total of five months researching the archaeology of indentured laborers. In late 2011, Ruud became the island archaeologist of St. Eustatius, a position he held for two years. During this time, he managed SECAR, conducted various commercial archaeological projects, organized several student field schools, and was involved in public outreach. Between 2014 and 2016, Ruud was hired as field supervisor on archaeological projects in the Dominican Republic, Martinique, and Grenada, as part of the NEXUS1492 project.

Recognizing the need for sharing archaeological research with the general public, Ruud founded Terramar Museum on Bonaire, an archaeological museum displaying the story of 7,000 years of Caribbean history. The museum opened in August 2016, and Ruud took on the position of director for the first year of the museum's existence. During this time, he established a solid foundation for the museum and welcomed thousands of visitors. He was involved in all aspects of the museum operation: guiding tours, collection management, public outreach, educational programs, presentations and workshops, and setting up temporary exhibitions.

As a specialist in Caribbean maritime archaeology, Ruud was hired to carry out various commercial underwater archaeological projects throughout 2017 and 2018. This prompted him to establish his own organization dedicated to maritime archaeological research: The Shipwreck Survey. He now organizes multiple underwater archaeological field schools, research projects, and expeditions every year on St. Eustatius and other locations around the world.



FROM GOLDEN ROCK TO HISTORIC GEM

St. Eustatius, a small island in the northeastern Lesser Antilles, was one of the busiest ports in the eighteenth-century Atlantic World. Contested between the Dutch, French, and English, the island attracted thousands of ships a year and became one of the most cosmopolitan places in the New World. Moreover, the island played an important role in the American War of Independence (1775-1783), during which large quantities of arms, ammunition, and gunpowder were shipped to the fledgling United States through St. Eustatius.

Relics of this turbulent past are found all over the island and in its surrounding waters. These include warehouses in the historic port district, fortifications all around the island, sugar plantations in the countryside, and a variety of underwater archaeological sites such as shipwrecks, anchorage areas, and docks.

Through extensive archaeological and documentary research, this study aims to provide a detailed analysis of the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius over the past four centuries. It focuses on bridging the gap between the marine and terrestrial worlds and demonstrates that in order to truly make sense of the complex interactions, events, and processes that shaped this maritime world, both land and sea need to be studied in relation to each other.

Sidestone Press
ISBN: 978-90-8890-789-0
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