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SLAVE SCHOOLS IN THE DANISH WEST INDIES

1839 - 1853

DET KONGELIGE BIBLIOTEK



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Thesis by Birgit Julie Fryd Johansen

The University of Copenhagen

Historical Institute

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INTRODUCTION

On 8 June 1839 king Frederik VI (1768-1839) accepted the creation of a school system for Black children by giving Governor-General Peter von Scholten permission to go to Herrnhut, to negotiate plans for establishing country schools in the Danish West Indies under Moravian auspices - the first public schools for slave children on the Danish Virgin Islands.

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the reasons for erecting schools for the Black population around 1840. Was it the situation on the Virgin Islands which provoked this initiative and what were the purpose and guiding ideals?

Many parties were involved: the Danish Government, the Commission considering West Indian Questions, the West Indian Governor-General, the planters, the West Indian clergy, The Moravian Brethren, and the slaves. The Different interests of these groups determined how the plan turned out when implemented; just how realistic was it economically, i.e. would the planters support the initiative; what were the conditions of the Moravians and the other religious congregations on the islands; was the language a problem in the multi-lingual society in the Danish Virgin Islands, what about books, buildings, etc.

The time period investigated is 1839 - 1853, i.e. from the years the schools were planned until the first major revision of the school system took place with the school ordinance of 1853. This time frame permits an analysis of how long it took to establish the schools and also to judge if they were considered successful at the time. Is the 1853 ordinance an expression of critique of the work done hitherto, does it reflect the reorganization after the 1848 emancipation, or is it perhaps part of a general reorganization of the schools in Denmark?

In other words what was the reality like compared to the ideals expressed in the plans and what was the contemporary opinion of the schools?

The presentation traces the development of the school system step by step, from planning to opening, because such a detailed description does not exist. There are questions which will not be answered in this work and there is material which has not been used in the analysis, limits have to be drawn to give the presentation a proper form.

The reader will look in vain for a general analysis of the 1830s and 1840s educational theories. The perception of Black and Caucasian children was not the same, schooling Blacks for field work and Whites for industrial work might seem similar to the modern reader but it was not in the mid 19th century. Also the material at hand does not lend itself to such an in-depth investigation. There is however a presentation and evaluation of the teaching method chosen for the country schools and an attempt to explain why that particular method was selected.

Elaborate statistical overviews are not included for three reasons. First statistical information of quality about the schools is not available until after the 1850s when school reports were written punctually every year. Second the analyzed period is irregular not only because the schools are in the establishing phases but also because the emancipation occurs in the middle of the investigated period. Third Bjerregaard et al, who cover a longer span of years than this thesis, present the earliest figures, from the 1870s. The chapter on Princess school is an exception to this principle. It is based on information from the earliest school register of the first school to open. The material is small for a proper statistical analysis but it offers a rare opportunity to look closely at the early stages of the schools and must therefore be used to the fullest extent.

Danish and West Indian newspapers wrote regularly about West Indian matters. There are problems involved in using them as a primary source, especially when Peter von Scholten is involved, because the newspapers played a key part in the debates about him. Even though there are writings about the schools, the material has not been used as a main source. To do this properly means a separate analysis of Peter von Scholten's conduct while Governor-General in the Danish West Indies especially of his role in the reforms for the Black population. This is outside the scope of the presentation. He has been described as the initiator of many reforms, perhaps even inspired by his West Indian mistress Anna Heegaard.¹ Only lately has a new interpretation of his engagement been put forward, in which von Scholten is described as a 'repressive tolerant politician, not a reformer.'² It is a major topic in

1. Lawaetz 1940, Larsen, Vibæk, Garde, Degn.

2. Green-Pedersen, DBL.

itself and as other types of material used offer more than enough information, newspapers have not been used as a major source of information. A Moravian journal, *Das Missions Blatt*, has been a valuable and till now overlooked source of information. The methodical problems involved are discussed later, in the introduction.

It is obvious from looking at the list of manuscript sources that not everything has been used directly in this study. There are a number of interesting correspondences, but for the sake of clarity and coherence these have been left out.

The actual schooling of the Black children is only touched upon, the first concern has been to present how it all started, the 1850s and later years can give a better impression of what the children were taught and how much they actually learned. Bjerregaard et al have looked at exams in the school reports, but the topic could be taken further, the outlines of schools in a modern sense of the word begin to show after 1853 and an attempt at placing the Virgin Island country schools in a broader educational spectrum could be rewarding - but it would mean including material later than the determined time frame.

Literature

It may seem illogical to present a bibliography of 12 pages while saying that not much has been written about the country schools for Black children on the Danish Virgin Islands. The bibliography is left in its extended form so that the interested reader can pursue topics which considerations of scope and space have caused to be omitted.

The basic reference books for the study of Danish colonial history and the Danish Virgin Islands are the now classic "Vore Danske Tropekolonier" [Our Danish Tropical Colonies] edited by Johannes Brøndsted (1952-53) and Politiken's "Kolonierne i Vestindien" [The Colonies in West India] by Ove Hornby (1980). Both works present the history of the Danish West Indies from an administrative point of view, outlining the economic structures, administrative procedures, and the life of the European population in the colonies. Slavery, from the slave-trade to the abolition thereof, and the emancipation are unavoidable issues in Caribbean colonial history. The administrative/economic viewpoint of the works has not permitted a presentation in-depth of the life of the Black population. The schools for Black children are mentioned as part of the reforms of the 1830s. The presentations are primarily based on

the considerations of 4 march 1834 of the committee considering West Indian matters, see p. 17, and Lawaetz's works on the Moravian Mission on the Danish Virgin Islands (1902) and the Peter von Scholten biography (1940) by the same author. Isaac Dookhan's book "A History of the Virgin Islands of the United States" (1974) is one of the best monographs in English but it does not present the Danish reader with new information.

Herman Lawaetz's two books have a central position in this study, being the major works on the Moravian Mission to the Danish Virgin Islands and the only biography of von Scholten. The books present problems to the modern historian, they were written before professional historians began writing about the Danish West Indies and they present a view and methodology which would not be accepted today. The publications contain a wealth of references to useful source material and therefore they still have a place in modern research. For a new evaluation of Peter von Scholten see Sv.E. Green-Petersen's article in Dansk Biografisk Leksikon [Encyclopedia of Danish Biographies], 3.ed.

Christian Degn's "Die Schimmelmanns im Atlantischen Dreieckshandel. Gewinn und Gewissen" (1974) tells the story of the German/Danish Schimmelmann family and the colonial 'triangular trade' between Africa, the Caribbean, and North America. As the subtitle indicates the story is about more than just trade, it is also an account of a slave deportation of unimaginable proportions and a search for thoughts behind the phenomenon, from economic to ethic reasoning. Unfortunately the references are not always precise. On the other hand, it gives a lively insight to the minds of the people involved with building up schools for the Black children, and Degn, unlike many others, uses the *Arciv der Brüder-Unität, Herrnhut*, which adds information to the account of the schools not published anywhere else.

Only a few authors have written specifically about the country schools analyzed in this thesis. Jørgen Bjerregaard Petersen & Poul Ravn Jepsen in their thesis "Skolevæsnet i dansk vestindien 1830-1900, specielt med henblik på St Croix og St Thomas" [The School System in the Danish West Indies 1830-1900, with special reference to St Croix and St Thomas] for the University of Copenhagen (1980) have given a general overview of the schools on the Danish Virgin Islands, but not only do they cover all types of schools, for Whites as well as Blacks, they also deal with a longer time period than the present study. The section

devoted to the country schools can only be regarded as an introduction to the subject.

Bishop G.G. Oliver Maynard has in Virgin Islands Education Review (1968) given a chronological account of the 'Public Education via the Moravian Missionaries in St Thomas, St Croix, and St John', the article is without references but serves as a useful tool for information from other sources, located in the West Indies though.

Eva Lawaetz, former Christiansted librarian, has published a little book, and an article in Handels- og Søfarts Museets Årbog 1981. The book is called "Black Education in the Danish West Indies from 1732 to 1853. The Pioneering Efforts of the Moravian Brethren". The main concern is the Moravian perspective, therefore the early period has a high priority in the work. Half of the book is devoted to publishing six sources to Black school history in the Danish West Indies, one of which is excerpts from a privately owned Moravian school diary from 1841-1848. The country schools are described in a summary manner, references are imprecise and no new research is revealed.

In conclusion, the country schools for the Black children have only been treated specifically by Hall (1979), whose scope is to place the phenomenon in an overall political context. None of the few works are completely devoted to describing the process of establishing the schools one by one.

Source material

The material used to analyze the establishing of the country schools for the Blacks can be divided into three categories:

- 1: The material of the public administration, i.e. the commission reports, correspondence, reports etc., preparing ordinances and laws. This type of material presents the ideal or theoretical school, the school as it was supposed to be.
- 2: The second type of material is the product of the schools themselves, i.e. school records, journals and reports of the school commissions, correspondence between the school commission and the West Indian Government and other bodies, the buildings themselves; all giving evidence of how the schools were actually functioning or indicating that they were not operating as planned, i.e. the school in practice.

3: Contemporary descriptions of planning, erecting, and running the schools are found in various sources such as letters, newspapers, memoirs, and, very important to this particular study, in the letters of the Moravians in the West Indies, as published in Das Missions Blatt. These accounts link together the information of the two other categories, and they add new information from a third view point, the Moravians'.

A list of the archival material used for the analysis is on p. 90. The printed material is included in the bibliography. Not all packages have been cited in the following pages, those that have are given a number for easy identification, e.g. RA 1.

The change of political system in 1848 affected the administration of the Danish Virgin Islands. Before 1848 archives and registers pertaining to the Danish West Indies are found in the General Custom House Archive (Generaltoldkammerets Arkiv) holding the records of "the General Custom House and College of Commerce" (Generaltoldkammeret og Kommercekollegiet) established in 1816. This Indian office dealt with all the Danish tropical colonies until 1841 when it was united with the Trade- and consular office (Handels- og konsulatskontoret) and named the Colonial and Trading Office (Kolonial- og Handelskontoret). In 1848 all matters pertaining to the colonies were placed under the Finance Ministry, in the directorate called the Colonies Central Management (Koloniernes Centralbestyrelse). Most of this material falls into category one as described above.

The General Custom House's most important group of documents 'miscellaneous documents regarding the trade of negroes and the emancipation' (Diverse dokumenter Negerhandelen og Emancipationen vedkommende) contains a number of reports from the commission of 1834 considering the conditions of the Blacks. These reports, with resolutions, give a picture of the concerns and motivations behind the rescripts regulating the conditions of the Black population in the 1830s.

In the archive of the Colonies' Central Management (Koloniernes Centralbestyrelse) the important materials are found under itemized matters such as social and cultural matters: church and school, and statistics (gruppeordnede sager: kulturelle forhold: kirke og skole, statistik). These packages contain correspondence concerning the schools in progress, annual reports, some accounts, and the interim Governor P.

Hansen's report on the schools after the emancipation. All information was produced by or forwarded by the West Indian Government to the authorities in Denmark, and most fit into category two above.

When the Danish Virgin Islands were sold to the United States of America the local archives were split into three groups, some remained on the islands, some were sent to the national Archives in Washington D.C., and some came to the National Archive in Copenhagen. This last group called the West Indian Local Archives (Vestindiske Lokalarkiver) is divided into two major categories: The General Governor (General Guvernørens Arkiv) and the West Indian Government (Den Vestindiske Rege-rings Arkiv). A number of cases have been separated from the main body and arranged alphabetically according to characteristic key words (ud-tagne sager ordnet efter betydnende ord). These cases mostly concern St Thomas and St John, whereas St Croix is not as well represented in this group. There is a certain overlapping with the administrative archives in Copenhagen, as the West Indian Government kept copies of what was sent to Copenhagen, just as the materials received from the offices in Copenhagen can be found in both places.

It is sometimes said that it is not worth pursuing the Moravian missionaries' letters and diaries, the difficulties of gaining access to the material seems to be greater than the expected outcome and they are left out in many cases. Lawaetz points out the value of the letters to the Elder Council, which were considered highly confidential.³ It is fortunate that the time period covered in this thesis coincides with the appearance of *Das Missions Blatt*, giving relatively easy access to letters of the missionaries, albeit at second hand.

Das Missions Blatt aus der Brüdergemeine zum besten ihrer heiden Mission [The Mission Journal of the Moravian Brethren to the best of their heathen mission] was edited by Niels Johannes Holm (1778-1845) and printed in Hamburg every two weeks. The first issue was published in 1836. Each issue consists of four pages partly written by the editor, partly consisting of letters from the missionaries to the editor or in other cases to P. Latrobe. Latrobe was a British Moravian who visited the Caribbean islands in the 1830s, and on his return to England, served as an important helper to the West Indian Mission.

3.H.H. Christensen p.11, Lawaetz, 1902, p. 55-56.

Writing letters and diaries for circulation in the Moravian communities was a tradition established in the early missions⁴, editing a journal such as Das Missions Blatt is in continuation of this tradition. The accounts of activities on the Virgin Islands appear very regularly in the journal. Sometimes they were printed just a few months after they were written, sometimes more than a year later. Most of the letters had been edited, and some translated from English to German. This is often mentioned, whether it is always mentioned is hard to tell. Each individual author seems to shine through, so the editing probably consisted of translations and deciding what to print and what to leave out.

It must be remembered, when using this type of material, that the Moravian author automatically must have weighed his or her words very carefully, knowing that many people were likely to read even the smallest letter. But the letters were often written by artless people describing everyday occurrences and this is of great value.

Holt defines Johannes Holm's missionary view as follows:

We know that his view is an attempt to find a way back to the Christianity of the new Testament, to penetrate all dogmatic and historical prejudice with the clear eyes of the layman; this, to the Moravians, was gathered in the teachings of atonement.⁵

The material regarding the country school does not deviate from this general point of view.

4.H.H.Christensen p. 11.

5.Translated from Holt p. 325.

REFORMS OF THE 1830s

The background for the school legislation for Black slave-children is closely linked to the then Governor-General of the Danish Virgin Islands, Peter von Scholten (1784-1854). He was appointed Governor-General of the Islands in 1827, and had by then worked in the West Indies for several years. He was a son of the Commander of St Thomas and came to the islands for the first time as ensign⁶ in 1804. Peter von Scholten and his father were both taken prisoner upon the British occupation of the islands in 1807 and were sent to England; the son was released in a prisoners exchange and returned to Copenhagen in 1808. In the following years he worked as a royal adjutant, a position in which he distinguished himself and won the confidence of the King, Frederik VI. Von Scholten remained in close contact with Frederik VI during his reign.

He returned to the Danish Virgin Islands in 1814 as weight-master in Charlotte Amalie, then often just called St Thomas, became stadthauptmand⁷ in 1818 and customs inspector in 1822. He became Governor of St Thomas in 1823 on the death of admiral von Jessen, who had only held the position for a year.

The man who became leader of the government of the Danish Virgin Islands was therefore very knowledgeable about Danish West Indian matters, the official as well as the more complicated unofficial part of the economy. He also had the King's attention when he needed it, a fact which is evident in the number of royal Resolutions regarding West Indian matters. This vast material shrank notably after 1827, when many matters were solved in private correspondence between the King and Peter von Scholten.⁸

Peter von Scholten and Frederik VI, who died at the end of 1839, had some characteristics in common; ⁹ they had both a rather simple, basically military education. They were both very domineering and wilful but at the same time hard working, good-hearted and concerned about society's poor and suffering, i.e. the soldiers, the free Blacks, and the slaves.

6.fændrik in Danish approx. ensign in English.

7.Chief commander of the civic guard.

8.Vibæk p.262 f.

9.Vibæk, pp. 260.

In Denmark modern political life with a strong liberal slant began to make itself felt in the 1830s, a constitution introduced parliamentarianism in 1848.¹⁰

Peter von Scholten was in many ways the symbol of an era and lifestyle. He was the highest paid civil servant of a monarchy in the process of change, and after the death of Frederik VI, he was much criticised. Christian VIII did not follow Scholten's recommendations as readily as his predecessor had.

Peter von Scholten's last ten years in office (1838-48) were characterized by frequent visits in Denmark, partly because the problems of the Danish Virgin Islands were such that direct negotiations with the government in Denmark were best, but also because he had to clear himself of several accusations of official misconduct both in and out of court. These charges were in most cases greatly exaggerated for political purposes. Von Scholten was cleared in court of most of the charges and could return to the Virgin Islands each time, but it meant that he spent about half his time away from the islands either travelling or in Denmark.¹¹

These trips were important for the reforms Peter von Scholten wanted for the slaves on the Danish Virgin Islands. The Governor-General both took the initiative and had the necessary background knowledge, and his presence in Copenhagen could advance matters considerably. His reforms also carried more weight with the opposing planters when it was known that the King and the government in Copenhagen had been directly involved in drafting them.¹²

The Rescripts of 22 November 1834 and 1 May 1840.

When Peter von Scholten became Governor-General, one of the first areas on which he concentrated was the conditions of the Blacks. He improved the legal status of the slaves, revived the local free Black militia and fire-brigade, and employed more free Blacks than hitherto in public

10.Hornby p. 222.

11.Hornby p. 223.

12.Lawaetz, 1940, p. 150.

offices and the government administration.¹³ He even tried to change social usage by inviting both Blacks and whites to his parties and official functions. At first this initiative was not very successful; the women stayed away to avoid humiliation. However, by the mid-1840s "The brown and the white could now meet, without the blanke¹⁴ ladies turning their heads away".¹⁵

It is perhaps no coincidence that the governor was concerned with problems of this nature as early as the 1830s. On the British Virgin Islands the slaves were enfranchised as early as 1833.¹⁶ A transition period of five years from 1833 to 1838 was defined as a time of learning for the slaves. When the British slaves' time as 'apprentices' ended in 1838, Peter von Scholten expected the question of the freedom of the Danish slaves to arise.

One fifth of the Black population were already free in the late 1830s. The free Blacks were often cited as a bad example when planters discussed emancipation. Peter von Scholten therefore began reforms for this group. It is argued that von Scholten's main interest was not emancipation per se, rather that his major concern was for the transitional period preparing the Black population for freedom, taking responsibility for themselves, and becoming an independent part of society.¹⁷

The Governor-General lived, as many who had left their families behind in Europe, openly with a wealthy free Black woman named Anna Heegaard, with whom he owned the estate Bülowsminde.¹⁸

The multilingual community in the Danish Virgin Islands (Danish, English, Dutch, and French were common languages) was keenly aware of conditions on the neighboring British Virgin Islands.¹⁹ The Governor-

13.Lawaetz, 1940, p. 143.

14.local expression meaning white.

15.Hornby, p. 247.

16.Hornby 248.

17.Lawaetz, 1940, 147.

18.Garde p. 34.

19.Degn, p. 429.

General travelled to Denmark by way of England several times,²⁰ and the anti-slavery debate in Britain was followed closely by the Danish administration as well as by the planters on the islands. The Danish anti-slavery debate began in 1835 at the Roskilde Assembly of the Estates of the Realm.²¹

For Peter von Scholten and the Commission Considering West Indian matters (see p.17) the problem of the Danish Virgin Islands was defined as how to plan the period of transition and how to implement the plan, and how to best utilize the time before what was seen as the inevitable emancipation. It was generally believed that the slaves needed education, the problem of economic compensation to the planters had to be solved, the question of social responsibilities for the Black population had to be redefined. It is in this light that Governor von Scholten's interest in the rural schools for the Black population should be understood, as part of the move towards social reforms. } 10

In 1838, as in 1834, the unrest among the freed slaves on the British Virgin Islands was what brought Peter von Scholten to Denmark. He wanted to return to the islands with reforms for the slaves which he hoped would prevent this kind of unrest. The resulting reform of 1834²² did include a promise to take up the question of schools for the children of slaves. Peter von Scholten decided against publicizing the reform on his return as there were no disturbances and no calming measures were necessary. Parts of the rescript were later published as proclamations of the Governor-General,²³ but the paragraph concerning schools was not. Scholten later explained that the time did not seem ripe for this initiative.²⁴

Before his departure for Denmark in 1838, von Scholten prepared a plan for compulsory education for the Blacks in the rural districts. He

20.Degn, 435, 461.

21.Degn, 473.

22.Rescript of 22 November 1834.

23.Hornby p. 248

24.RA.1 Scholten's report of 2 January 1839, red leather binding; Lawaetz, p. 26.

had worked with the idea in 1834 but could not get the necessary support to carry it out. A natural consequence of his policies and opinions was that he often lacked the planters' support. Their backing, }¹⁰ or at least acceptance, was needed in this case since it was not only their property who were to be sent to school but the money to finance teaching would also have to come from the planters.

The plan proposed that eight school-houses be built on St Croix, five on St Thomas, and four on St John. Construction on the first house began in 1838 in St Croix; all eight buildings were finished by 1841 (see map p. 31). On St Thomas the schools were built by 1844 (see map p. 56), and on St John (see p. 64) two schools were completed by 1846.²⁵

The government of the Danish Virgin Islands and Peter von Scholten approached the Burgher Council²⁶ of St Croix, which agreed to pay 80,000 rigsdaler (=Rlr.w.c.) for the buildings, and 8,000 Rlr.w.c. for the teachers' salaries.²⁷ The annual income of the Land Treasury was before the emancipation ca. 104,000 Rlr. w.c..²⁸ The expenses were later re-compensated as von Scholten obtained permission to renounce the King's part of the tax on the field-slaves.²⁹

A commission of 19 persons was established to oversee the building of the schools while von Scholten was in Denmark; two civil servants, three members of the clergy, Three members of the Burgher Council, and eleven planters. The members were member of the Danish Virgin Islands

25.Lawaetz, 1940, p. 153.

26.The Burgher Council administered the Land Treasury, incomes were mostly local taxes.

27.American and Mexican \$, Portuguese gold coins, Spanish piasters, and Danish West Indian skilling, double and single real, and styver all circulated in the Danish West Indies ca. 1845. When interim Governor Peter Hansen came to the Virgin Islands in 1848 he carried permission to simplify and reorganize the administration on the islands without obtaining definitive permission in Denmark beforehand. As of 1 January 1849 the monetary system was changed from the Rigsdaler West Indian currency to West Indian daler = 100 cents (US \$ were bought and stamped with the Danish royal monogram). 100 daler/dollars were 156,25 Rigsdaler w.c. The monetary system on the Danish Virgin Islands was rather complicated see Wilcke, vol. 2, p. 273ff and Hede p. 215ff for further reference.

28.Skrubbeltrang, p. 127-128.

29.Degn p. 439 and RA 1 consideration approved 1 May 1840, p. 137.

Government Mouritzen, Doctor Stedemann, Planter E. Dewhorst Sr., members of the Parish Council planters W. Beech and Beatly, planter McCaul, planter McFerrell, members of the Burgher Council, planters Towers, Kortright, and Neltropp, planters Knudsen, Sempill, Tofs, Keer, Cooker, Reverend Brøndsted, Reverend Luckock, catholic father O. Kennely, and Br Sybrecht of the Moravian Mission.³⁰

The Danish Minister Jens Klint Bagger was asked to work out an interdenominational catechism.³¹ This "generic" catechism was to be used in the schools instead of a specifically Protestant or Catholic or Anglican catechism. Some of the criticism of the Moravians as teachers was thereby obviated. The Moravians were the only group which realistically and quickly could handle the job of building up a school system, since no other group on the islands had such close contacts with the slaves on the plantations (see p. 23ff). The new catechism was the compromise which would help secure support from the other religious communities.

Fig. 1 might explain why so much money was set aside for the eight schoolhouses at St Croix. The schoolhouse was designed by Albert Løvmand (1806-1847),³² a Danish architect-builder living in Christiansted. The building shows the neo-classical style often used in Denmark at the time.

As a young boy Løvmand³³ had been apprenticed to a mason for some time, in the 1820s, later he attended the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen.

30.E.Lawaetz p. 60 and Dahlerup vol 3 p.290ff, RA 1 Report of 2 January 1839, encl. no 15.

31.Lawaetz, 1940, p. 152; E. Lawaetz p. 32.; RA 1 Report of 2 January 1839 pp. 201-77.

32.RA 1. Original colour drawing in von Scholtens report of 2 January 1839.

33.de Fine Licht p. 105-117.

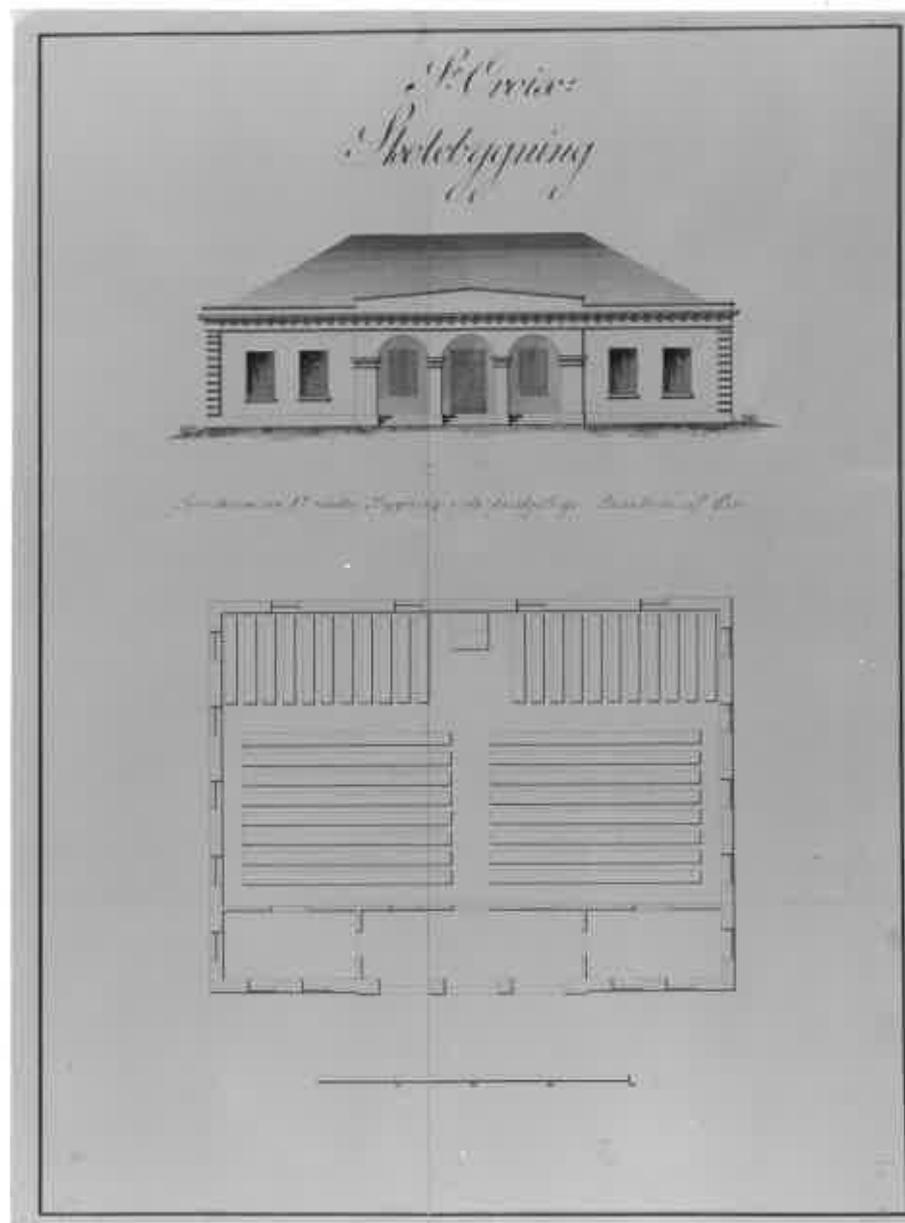


Fig. 1. A. Løvmand's design of 8 school houses under construction on St. Croix, encl. Scholten's report 2 January 1839. Fot. Rigsarkivet, 1988.

Løvmand was, as almost everyone at the time, influenced by the Professor and Director of the Academy C.F. Hansen. Hansen's architectural ideas were completely dominant at the time Løvmand studied and the buildings he designed at the Virgin Islands are clear examples of this influence: stereometric forms and plain facades, well proportioned portals, temple fronts, and other neo-classical features, supplemented with a few precisely carved ornaments, such as quoins. The colors were typically white and yellow.

THE SCHOOLS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION RECORDS

Schools for the slave population are mentioned in public records for the first time in the royal rescript of 22 November 1834, a reform improving the conditions of the Black population.³⁴ In paragraph eight, the Governor-General was requested to look into establishing schools for the slaves, especially for teaching religion. Von Scholten was to do this in cooperation with the Burgher Council, and see to it that the slaves attend school especially on the days with no work.

In the report to the King of 2 January 1839,³⁵ von Scholten argued that it was not until 1838 that the planters and the religious sects agreed that schools for the Blacks were needed and a plan was proposed. Von Scholten wrote to the Burgher Council of Christiansted 1 May 1838 about funds for the buildings and teachers. The Council replied favorably on 7 May.

The commission to oversee the construction of the eight school-houses, mentioned earlier, was appointed 23 May, and a Governor-General decree announcing the plan for compulsory education for the Black population was published at the same time.

The Commission to Consider Danish West Indian Questions

The Danish government often referred different types of problems to commissions for consideration. There had already been several commissions considering various aspects of the Danish Virgin Islands. The rescript of 4 March 1834 appointed a commission to "consider subjects regarding matters of the Danish Virgin Islands".

The members of the commission represented the various government colleges each dealing with aspects of West Indian administration, all highly experienced in financial matters. They were:

Frederik von Löwzow, Peter Carl Frederik von Scholten, Anders Sandøe Ørsted, Nicolaj Abraham Holten, Michael Lange, Wilhelm Frederik Johnsen, and Peter Thoning.³⁶

This commission did not deal only with the schools. In fact this question seems to have been a minor consideration in their delibera-

34.RA. 1. Rescript of 22 November 1834, report handed in 31 October 1834.

35.RA. 1. Scholtens report 2 January 1839, black leather binding.

36.RA. 1. Rescript of 4.3.1839, paper between black and red leather protocol

tions, reports often of 150 pages each. The major concern was the complicated question of how to improve conditions for the Blacks and prepare them for the expected emancipation, without raising their hopes too early, and without pressing the planters into a deadlock situation. Each initiative was thoroughly considered in its complex relation to the overall issue.

They considered such matters as changes in the legal and governmental structure of the Danish Virgin Islands, vagrancy, the jail-house at St Croix, the payment of the clergy and the police master, and also the schools. These issues were all directly relevant to slave-conditions.

By establishing a jail-house, responsibility for severe punishment of the slaves was shifted from the planter or his overseer to the public authorities thus eliminating the cruel treatment administered on some plantations. Severe punishment was defined as more than 12 strokes on men and six on women.

The wages of the clergy and the police-master were considered and later changed from being paid by the local population to being paid from the public purse, i.e. the Land Treasury.³⁷ The chief of police thereby gained an independence much needed when dealing with the planters and enforcing the slaves' new status at the plantations. The clergy of the Anglican, Catholic, Danish Lutheran, and Moravian churches also received a fixed salary.

Until this time each of the congregations had different ways of ministering to the Black population. This had to be changed with the introduction of the Black schools. The goal of the education was to inculcate a Christian way of life. After finishing school, each individual should be free to choose to which congregation he or she wished to belong. It would be difficult for Blacks with little or no money to be accepted in many congregations as long as the clergy's salary depended on donations from the members and fees for services rendered to these members. It was therefore agreed that each denomination should receive a fixed salary, for one clergyman, of 1,200 Rlr.w.c., and thereafter perform all services, marriages, baptisms, burials, etc., free. This measure eliminated economic obstacles hindering the Black population from receiving Christian services. } 10

37.RA. 1. Considerations 31 March 1840.

Peter von Scholten's school-plan

P.von Scholten's plan, as outlined in the report of 2 January 1839, was discussed by the commission which approved of the principles immediately. However the commission did not write its final consideration of this matter until 31 March 1840. Among other things they awaited the Bishop of Zealand's opinion of the suggested interconfessional catechism.

In the summer of 1839 Peter von Scholten went to Germany to negotiate with the Elder Conference of the Moravians in Herrnhut. The commission therefore asked the King:

that it might please your Majesty to authorize the Governor-General Scholten to undertake negotiations with the Moravian Brethren about the emission of eight members of their society to be hired as teachers at the schools which are intended to be erected for the education of the unfree at St Croix.³⁸

Frederik VI gave his approval on 8 June 1839. This authorization to negotiate with the Moravians is often referred to as "the Rural School Act of 1839".³⁹

A full-length outline of the school plans were not approved by the King until 1 May 1840. The commission considering Danish Virgin Island matters handed in a 138 page report with motivations, dated 31 March 1840, with several acts for the King to decide upon. The issues were vagrancy, the jail-house and rules thereof, the slave work-hours, Sunday and holidays, domestic discipline, procedures when selling slaves, the salaries for the clergy, and the school matter.

The condition of the churches formed an important part of the argument behind the school-plan. It was argued that none of the denominations had the Black population as their major interest, nor could they engage in any major activities on behalf of the Blacks as they were dependent on subscriptions from the congregation. Only the Moravians,

38.RA 1.: Translated from letter of 4 June 1839 from the Commission to the King, approved by the King 8 June 1839.

39.Hornby, Degn, Vibæk, and Bjerregaard et al. all refer to "the rural school act of 1839", Bjerregaard et al. and E. Lawaetz date it to 8 June, but none of the authors refer directly to the source of this information. Only Degn refers to RA. 1. Considerations, a 12 inch thick package. It can only be this letter authorizing Scholten to negotiate with the Moravians which is designated as "the school act", presumed because it is the first acknowledgement of the school plan by the King.

who were organized differently from the other congregations (see p. 23) could do this. It was argued that this economic situation created rivalry and 'proselytizing' while detracting from the education of youth.⁴⁰

The introduction of a fixed salary of 1,200 Rld.w.c. for ministers from the Anglican, Roman Catholic, and the Moravian congregation, and 2,400 Rld.w.c. for one minister of the Danish Lutheran church was intended to redirect the clergy's activities to a wider and more regular service of the unfree⁴¹ population. } 10

Three conditions were placed upon these salaried ministers:

- 1: all ministerial acts had to be performed free of charge for all unfree in the congregation.
- 2: minute church records of all members of the congregation, free and unfree, had to be kept and handed over monthly to the Danish Lutheran minister, to be entered in the main register.
- 3: they had to participate in the management of the church administration.

The money was to be taken from the Land Treasury, i.e. the local tax paid by the planters. Since they had previously paid for the congregations of the Blacks of their plantation, it was argued that the expenses would remain the same for each plantation. As

regards the school system, it is out of the question to have, individual schools or teachers for those belonging to the different churches, according to the local situation, as there are no funds, and such a separation is probably not considered advisable, whereafter the subjects can only give rise to a general religious sense. Under this condition a school system for the lower classes could be best established and most cheaply when managed by the Moravian Brethren, whose present number would have to be enlarged.⁴².

The result of Peter von Scholtens negotiations with the Moravian Elder Council was sent to the commission in a letter of 11 September

40.RA. 1. Consideration marked no. 4, p. 71.

41.RA. 1. Original Consideration, marked no. 4, it was resolved that the word "unfree" was to be substituted for the word "slave". This was von Scholten's wish, and must be seen as another attempt to influence the public attitude towards the Blacks, see also p. 12.

42. Translated from RA. 1. Original consideration marked no. 4, p. 73.

1839. It was agreed that they would do what they could for the schools, but they could not find eight teachers immediately. They could promise to send one teacher to each of their three mission stations on St Croix. If this turned out to the satisfaction of the Virgin Island government they would try to supply the rest of the schools with teachers as well, on the condition that these would always be members of the mission, that they be appointed by the board of the West Indian mission, and that they resided in one of the mission stations.⁴³

The Burgher Council had already agreed to build the eight school houses, one in each quarter⁴⁴ of the island, without burdening the Land Treasury. This number meant that no child had to walk for more than an hour to school. The houses were to be used not only for teaching but also for religious services.⁴⁵

The commission proposed that the Land Treasury cover expenses which were not met by voluntary and other contributions. A tax on the field slaves was suggested to cover maintenance, i.e. salaries for the members of the clergy and teachers (8,000 Rd.) and repairs to the houses. The reasoning was that the church reform had eliminated expenses to the churches, the planters' contribution remained the same but now the money was channelled into maintaining the schools.

Each school was responsible to a school commission consisting of the chief of police, the minister of each congregation, and two planters.

Teaching would be in English, as the Dutch Creole language otherwise much used by the Blacks, especially on St Thomas, was considered to be disappearing. If a school book seemed necessary one would be made. Indeed Peter von Scholten already had a draft for an interconfessional catechism ready, and it had already been recommended by the rural dean Ortved, former vicar at St Croix. The commission sent this draft to the Bishop of Zealand, who approved it in principle. It was printed in New York in 1841.⁴⁶

43.RA. 1. do. p. 79.

44.a quarter was a local administrative area, there were eight quarters on St Croix, almost matching the eight school districts.

45.RA. 1. Original consideration marked no. 4, p. 73.

46.The Royal Library's copy is printed in New York 1841.

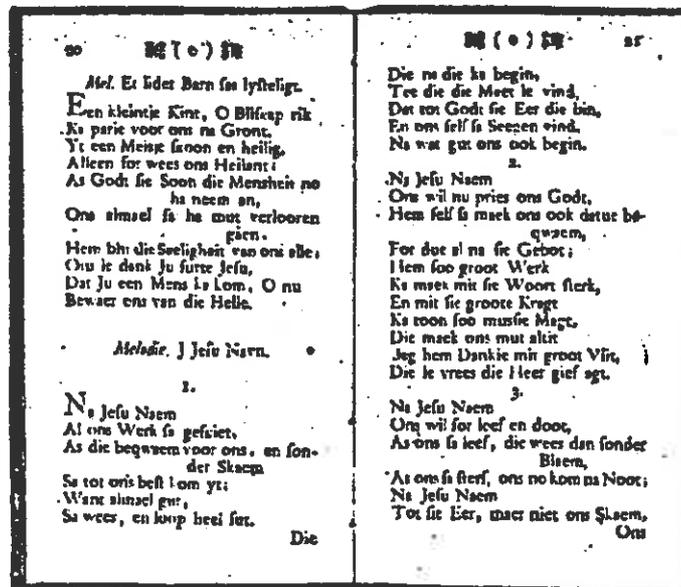


Fig. 2. An example of the Dutch-Creole spoken in the Danish West Indies from 'The Creole Hymn Book' printed in Copenhagen 1770. now in The Royal Library, Copenhagen.

The commission's final consideration consisted in effect of several drafts for royal resolutions as the members did not all agree on one mode of action. Peter von Scholten, for instance, did not agree with the proposed tax. The King's final resolution accepted all the proposals and left it to the Governor-General to settle the matters as best fitted - in cooperation with the Danish West Indian Government.⁴⁷

47.RA. 1. consideration op.cit., the resolution after p. 138.

THE MORAVIANS

In the 1730s, the Moravians came to the Danish Virgin Islands where they established the first of several mission stations, Neu Herrnhut, St Thomas in 1738. Later several other stations were added: Bethanien on St John (1749) and Friedensthal just outside Christiansted at St Croix (1751), where the Moravians' main church was built in 1755. Niesky was established on St Thomas in 1771, Friedensberg on the west end of St Croix close to Frederiksted in 1771, Emmaus at St John, 1738. The last mission, Friedensfeld, was opened in 1805 in central St Croix. The mission was extended to Antigua, Barbados, St Kitts, and other Caribbean islands as well.

All the Moravian missions were in rural areas and were originally run as plantations. A few Moravians worked as artisans in the towns. The income from these activities was meant to sustain the missions.

Most of the missionaries were artisans and none had any higher education. Some had come via the Indian missions in North America, but often the missionaries came from Germany, sometimes via England to the West Indies. Death took its toll, and many died of yellow fever and other tropical diseases. In general there were fifteen to twenty missionaries at the islands at one time.⁴⁸

There are many reasons for the success of this mission and for the respect which the brothers and sisters gained from the government on the Danish Virgin Islands. Probably the main reason was the fact that they did not seek to convert as many Blacks as possible, reckoned by the number of baptisms.⁴⁹ Their aim was to win the soul of each individual fully and wholly, and then to baptize the person. To reach this goal they used unusual means: they spoke the Dutch Creole language characteristic of the Danish Virgin Islands, which most whites scorned; they insisted on teaching the slaves to read and write long before actual schools were proposed. How could anyone possibly understand the Bible otherwise, was their argument.

The Moravian congregation was divided into five classes:

1. The person who began to show an interest became an apprentice.

48.Vibæk p. 208.

49.Vibæk p. 210

2. If the apprentice developed in a positive direction, he would enter the class preparing for baptism.
3. When baptized he or she was prepared to receive the sacrament.
4. This class was for those who could freely take holy communion.
5. The last class was for those who after losing their faith were working to regain it.

The brothers and sisters went about the daily chores of the mission stations morning and afternoon. At midday and in the evening when the slaves were resting at their quarters, they would visit and talk to each person thereby supporting and helping him or her along. In this way they would know when each individual was ready to be moved up into the next class.

Records of all encounters were made minutely every night, so they could track the results of the conversations, "Sprechen" as they were called. These records were not only made for the missionaries' immediate use. Back in Herrnhut, the Council of Elders directed all the activities of the mission with a firm hand. Each brother and sister wrote regularly about their daily activities and received detailed guidance and instructions on how to proceed, and comments on their attitude and behaviour as well. On one occasion, for example, at a time when relations with the planters were strained, the brothers had written that a "fire had started in the houses of the Blacks at the neighboring plantation and we had to let our Blacks go and help in fighting it, otherwise we would have been in trouble".⁵⁰ But the Elder Council replied that it ought to have been phrased differently to show true Christian kindness: "We sent the Blacks and hurried to help, for had we not done that, we would have acted very unkindly".⁵¹

When the Moravian missionaries first came to the Danish Virgin Islands the planters were suspicious and hostile. It was their firm belief that it would only lead to trouble if the Blacks were christened. The brothers and sisters were often chased off the plantations when they came to talk to the Blacks. Slowly the planters realized that in fact the opposite was true; that Christian Blacks were often calmer and quieter than their heathen fellow men. Another factor which helped ac-

50.Vibæk p. 209

51.Cited from Lawaetz p. 56.

ceptance of the Moravians was that they never spoke against slavery.⁵² Oldendorph stated that it was "enough for me to say that our religion of Jesus Christ clearly, emphatically and completely describes the slave's duties to his master...It [i.e. the Scripture] makes it clear to the Christian slave that it is his duty to serve his master with the same faith and honesty which he feels in his commitment to Jesus Christ our Saviour."

The Moravians did not encourage the Blacks to make any kind of trouble. They were pragmatic, one might say, not only in their dealings with the planters but also towards the Blacks and their marriage traditions, or rather their lack of them. They worked slowly and methodically towards their goal of converting the Blacks to Christianity and a Christian way of life. } 10

Holt, Johannes Holm's biographer, defines the missionary view respecting the slaves after explaining that the largest obstacle to true conversion was the expectations of what the conversion would bring, therefore

The thing for the slaves in the West Indies and elsewhere was not to become free persons, but to become Christians. Freedom could not be used right if not based on this true obedience. Some attempts at emancipation on a purely humane basis had grown out of the French Revolution. But this "humane" work led to negro revolts and was in reality destroying to the proper mode of mission.⁵³

The Moravians did not present a threat to the established system even though they worked so much for the Blacks. It was after all not surprising that Peter von Scholten wanted the Moravian missions to run the schools for the Black children, and not the Danish Lutheran church and mission. } 10

The people mentioned in Das Missions Blatt⁵⁴

The following is a list of the most important persons involved with educating the Black children on the Danish Virgin Islands. It is difficult to find biographical data on these, mostly Moravians, persons therefore a full list of the people mentioned in the analyzed material is compiled in appendix B.

52. Translated from Oldendorph p. 387.

53. Translated from Holt, p. 327-328.

54. Most data in the following is from Das Missions Blatt and Lawaetz, 1902.

Br and Sister Benthien arrived on St Thomas 22 July 1844, she taught the assistant teachers music on St Thomas, but they spent most of their time at Emmaus on St John.

L.R. Endermann and his wife came to St Croix at the end of 1847 and soon after to St Thomas where he became school inspector for the newly opened schools. Endermann became the leader of the Danish West Indian Moravian Mission in May 1850 upon Häuser's transfer to St Kitts.

Jakob Gardin came from Antigua in October 1840 to start the schools. He was responsible for construction of all the schools and later the running of La Princess school.

Br and Sister Hartvig lived on St Thomas where he became a member of the School Commission in 1843. He was in charge of the first town-school in Charlotte Amalie.

Georg Wilhelm Christian Häuser (b. Karlsruhe 14 April 1799 and wife **Emilie** (d. December 1843) came to the Danish Virgin Islands in 1840 with Johan Breuthel. He had been a minister in Herrnhut, Germany, before becoming the new principal of the Danish West Indian mission.

Huyghue came to St Thomas from the teachers training centre on Antigua to teach the Charlotte Amalie country school. He was son of a plantation manager of St Croix, brother to James Summersill. He is not mentioned after December 1848.

Br Jacob Theodor Ilgner b. 24 July 1821 in Strehlen, Silesia. Was trained shortly on Antigua before coming to Bethany, St John, ca 1849.

Brother Kleiner lived at Friedensberg, on the west-end of St Croix, taught at Mount Victory 1841, and had Bible-classes on the plantations in the afternoons. In 1843 he took over the school at Greenkey, the East-End school, and went to live in the teacher's dwelling there. He went to the North American Mission in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania in 1846.

MacFarlan was an Anglican chaplain, a mulatto of St Croix, who for years had visited the plantations and told Bible stories to the Blacks.

James MacIntosh was a mulatto from Antigua who was trained at the Mico Centre. He was 21 years old when he came to St Croix to teach at Peter's Rest and King's Hill in 1841. He and his wife moved into the teacher's house at King's Hill in 1841, when they took over from J. Römer. MacIntosh was still teaching in 1845.

Br Martin, a Black of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, was hired as assistant teacher for the Canaan school on St Thomas.

Joseph Römer came from Jamaica in June 1840, he had been in the West Indies for a while when he assumed responsibility for the schools and helped opening La Princess School in 1841. He had to return to Europe in 1842 because of failing health. Later he became a member of the Council of Elders in Herrnhut.

van Sekass taught at La Valley, the last school to open on St Croix 17 January 1842. He was a mulatto from Antigua.

Br J.J. Seiler and wife Charlotte came to the Virgin Islands from Neu-wied at the end of 1842, he was mostly engaged in the Sunday school work.

Mary Dorothea Sewer was a Black teacher of the little school at East-End on St John which opened in 1852. She was a Moravian disciple.

James Summersill came to St Thomas to teach the two schools Bordeaux and Bonne Resolution, he taught Sunday school at Nisky by 1851 and he worked at Emmaus, St John in 1852.

Stephen is only mentioned with Sekass as coming from the Mico Centre on Antigua to teach at La Valley school on St Croix.

Br Sybrecht had been on St Thomas before talk of the schools commenced, he became a member of the building commission on St Thomas. He spoke the Dutch Creole particularly used on St Thomas.

Brother William H. and Sister Warner came from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1840. They became responsible for La Princess after it was opened. Later he was in charge of the Sunday schools at Mount Victory and La Valley alternating with Gardin. They both went back to Bethlehem because of sickness in 1843/44, but returned in July with Mr. Warner's sister who married E.R.M. Linke. He died 20 June 1845, she returned to Bethlehem.

THE START - ST CROIX

Construction and opening of the first school

Construction of the eight school-houses had already started in 1839. But work was slow because not even the first house was ready when Gardin, the Moravian school inspector, arrived at the end of October 1840.

In a letter to Latrobe⁵⁵, written 8 December 1840,⁵⁶ he described how disappointed he was on hearing that nothing could be done about the schools before Christmas because the Governor-General did not have the time. In another letter, of 16 January 1841,⁵⁷ he explained how Römer introduced him to von Scholten the very day after his arrival. Von Scholten promised to help speed up the proceedings.

In effect Brother Gardin found eight buildings completed but without the inner trimmings and woodwork. He instantly got von Scholten's permission to equip the buildings with the rest of what was needed so the schools could open immediately after Christmas.

Gardin wrote in his first letter that he hoped to have everything in order so he could return to Antigua in February. As it turned out, he had to stay for about six months before everything was running smoothly, in the end Gardin moved permanently to St Croix.

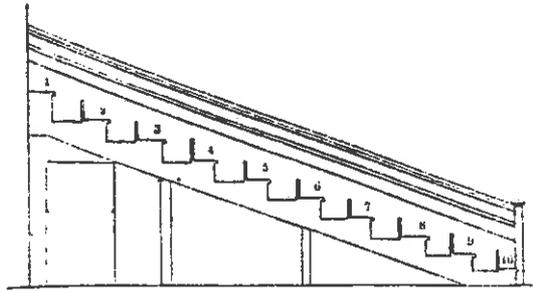
The School Commission approved a plan Gardin had drawn of a gallery for the school-rooms. It is explained as a sort of platform in one part of the school-house where all the children can be gathered. When standing there the teacher can see the faces of each individual and every student can look the teacher directly in the eye. In other words a podium with steps down like a staircase.

The buildings which still exist are 60 feet long by 30 feet wide, 14 feet high. The School Committee agreed that all buildings were to be completed like the one on Princess Plantation, one and a half English miles outside Friedensthal.

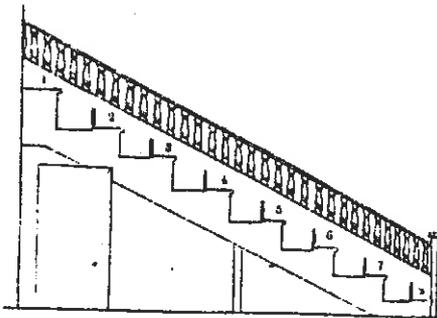
55.P. Latrobe, a Moravian, was sent to the West Indies by the Religious Tract Society and the English Government to report on the schools in the British West Indies, he visited the Danish islands in December 1840. A resume of his reports in RA 1.

56.Das Missions Blatt no 13 1841, 8 December 1840 Gardin to Latrobe.

57.DMB, no. 19, 1841, 28 January 1841 Gardin, probably to the editor.



Gallery.—Juvenile Department.



Infant Gallery.—Dimensions of Seats.			Juvenile Gallery.—Dimensions of Seats.		
No.	Breadth.	Height.	No.	Breadth.	Height.
1.	11 in.	14 in.	1.	12 in.	16 in.
2.	11	9½	2.	12	14½
3.	10	9	3.	12	13½
4.	10	9	4.	11	13
5.	10	9	5.	11	12
6.	9	9½	6.	11	12
7.	9	9	7.	10	11½
8.	9	7½	8.	10	9
9.	9	9			
10.	9	9			

Height of the Seat Back, 9½ in.

N.B.—The Footboard is sunk the thickness of the wood behind the usual raising

Fig. 3. Stow's Training System' plate no. 7 direction for the construction of galleries. The Bodleian Library, Oxford.

At Gardin's third meeting with the School Commission the form of teaching was agreed upon.⁵⁸ He also explained to the readers of *Das Missions Blatt* that the children aged four to eight years would go to school every Monday through Friday from 8:30 a.m. to 11:30 a.m. Each planter was responsible that the children were properly dressed and chaperoned to and from school by a responsible person. All schools were to hold a Sunday school particularly for the children who were too old for the day-school and the Governor-General hoped that there would be a regular sermon at all schools every Sunday as well.

Vibæk and Hornby both write that the children were to go to school every day until the age of nine but that is not until later (see p. 70 for the exact development). It is obviously a sore point with the Mora-

58. Nachrichten aus der Brüdergemeinde 1841, vol. 23 I B p. 667.

vians because it is mentioned in almost every letter dealing with the running of the school.⁵⁹

The school at La Princess opened on the 12 January 1841 with 60 pupils the first week. Jacob Gardin explained that they wanted the children to get used to the idea of going to school slowly. The first week } 10 there were only 60, the following another 60 would start and so on until everybody between the age of four and eight years was in school. Gardin wrote that the total was about 200 children. The official opening ceremony was held 16 May 1841.

Gardin acted as the first leader of this school with the help of Römer, Gruhl, and Warner (all three had arrived in 1840 specifically to start the schools). He expected it to take six to eight weeks to have the school in progress.⁶⁰

The next five schools opened in May, and Joseph Römer wrote in June 1841 that La Princess was now functioning and he expected the last two schools to open in a couple of weeks.⁶¹ La Valley, on the north side of St Croix was the last school to open on 17 January 1842, one year after the first.⁶²

At first there were not enough teachers for all the schools, therefore, some of them had to split their time between two schools, three days at each per week. The Anglican chaplain MacFarlan thus worked at Diamond as well as Concordia. Brother Mackintosh taught at Peter's Rest and King's Hill. Brother Römer took over La Princess, followed by Brother Warner in May 1841. Brother Kleiner was at Mount Victory, the Gruhls at Green Cay, and Stevens and Sekass were in charge of La Valley when it opened.

59.DMB, no. 25, 1841: 10 June 1841, DMB, no. 10, 1842: 3 January 1842, DMB, no. 11, 1842:20 December 1841, DMB, no. 14, 1842: 28 February 1842, DMB, no. 5, 1843: 4 July 1842, DMB, no. 3, 1844:3 August 1843.

60.DMB 1842/3.

61.DMB, no 25, 1841: 10 June 1841 letter by Römer.

62.DMB, no. 10, 1842: May, the latest news.



Fig. 4. Map of St Croix showing the distribution of the eight schools (▷) and the Mission stations (†).

The language

According to the Rescript of 1 May 1840, English became the language used for teaching. The population on the three Danish Virgin Islands consisted of the Blacks who spoke a Dutch variation of Creole, the planters who came from Denmark, Holland, France, and England, and the Moravians who mostly came from Germany or German-speaking countries. It was decided in Herrnhut that the mission would change from using German and Creole to using English, thus following the schools. This created some immediate problems but they were overcome.

There were nineteen German speaking missionaries in 1841 and they all had to learn English well enough to use it for their Sunday sermons. Until then they had learned and used Dutch Creole on St Thomas and St John and this language was probably used a little longer in individual conversations with the Blacks.

Another more acute problem was that the missionaries could not teach the Black children to read in English if they did not know it themselves. Gardin held sermons in English in December 1840. The Warners arrived at the end of 1840 from Bethlehem, and Mackintosh was hired in the beginning of 1841. After that the Chapmanns, MacFarlan, and Sevens and Sekass came to the schools as they opened. The Moravians seemed to solve problems almost as quickly as they arose. According to a letter

from Gardin most of the German-speaking missionaries had learned English within a year. Some were slower and even opposed to the change, as much as they could oppose a decision made by the Council of Elders. But this is related to an old debate in the Community, which is outside the focus of this thesis.⁶³ After December 1841, there seems to have been no further mention of language problems.

The very important positive effect of the language-change was the easier access to books for the schools and the Moravian Church. Not much had been printed in Creole. The New Testament had been translated by the Danish Lutheran Mission, perhaps its only really important accomplishment, and a few hymn-books existed. Now all kinds of material were accessible, and at reasonable prices. The Moravian mission had strong support in England at this time and therefore received most of the books free, particularly from the Mico Foundation, set up by Lady Mico for the advancement of Christian schools in heathen countries. Books were also received from the Religious Tract Society in London and America.⁶⁴

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P. Latrobe who came from England visited the West Indies just before the schools opened and several of the Moravians wrote and asked him repeatedly for books. Requests occurred in December 1840, March 1841, April 1841, February 1842, August 1843, and December 1843. They asked for spelling books, New Testaments by the hundreds and they asked for reference books for the teacher's libraries. The reason they needed so many New Testaments was that each child received a copy when they left the day school at the age of eight.

Stow's training system

David Stow (1793-1864) was Scottish,⁶⁵ born in Paisley where his father was merchant and magistrate. He came to work for a merchant in Glasgow and soon developed an interest in the state of the city's poor children. In 1816 he established a Sunday evening school for the most needy of the children in the Saltmarket, a very poor area through which he

63. See Lawaetz, 1902, p. 170 for further reference.

64. Moravian Archive box C 32 # 3 contains a list of books owned by Rev. Götz in 1857, almost all of them were printed by the Religious Tract Society in London or America. See appendix A.

65. Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 9

passed every day. Influenced by his work in the Sunday school and the knowledge he gained from visiting the homes of these children Stow came to believe that "moral training" and not "simple instruction" was what these children needed. He was inspired by contemporaries such as Bell and Lancaster,⁶⁶ although he did not sympathize with the monitorial part of their systems, and by Samuel Wilderspin, whose "infant system" had Stow's attention.

The Glasgow Educational Society was formed in the early 1820s, this developed into a seminary for the training of teachers, the first teachers college in Great Britain. Stow's activities was supported by a government grant in 1832.⁶⁷ Parliament had for the very first time set aside a substantial sum of money £ 20,000 for the erection of school-houses. Hitherto all such enterprises had been private. James Kay (1804-77), the Government's supervisor of education, in effect the first minister of education, granted Stow much more money in 1841 on condition that the schools were turned over to the General Assembly of the Scottish Church. Stow could therefore be called the founder of the Scottish popular schools.

Stow was not only important because he established schools and colleges in Scotland, he also wrote a number of books which were widely read: "Physical and Moral Training", 1832; "The Training System", 1836; "National Education: the Duty of England in regard to Moral and Intellectual Elevation of the poor and Working Classes - Teaching or Training", 1847; "Bible Emblems", 1855; and "Bible Training for Sabbath Schools", 1857.

In "The Training System", which reached a ninth revised and expanded edition by 1853, Stow outlined and explained his ideas and methods of children's teaching and training as follows:

The primary object of teaching the poor children was to "provide an antidote"⁶⁸ to the bad influences of living in the growing industrial towns of Great Britain. Attempts had been made to teach the children

66. Known for their monitorial teaching systems a wave of schools were established especially after the English Quaker Joseph Lancaster's system, 'A Century of Childhood' p. 68.

67. Grue-Sørensen, bd. 3, p. 163.

68. Stow p. 12 ff.

many times but they were unsuccessful according to Stow because they only aimed at the intellectual part of the children's needs. Knowing what is right and wrong does not automatically lead to doing the right thing. A child's habits are formed by the examples of the surroundings. In the country that influence came from the family, in the industrial towns it was more likely to come from chance persons and children of their own age, as the parents were away at work all day. Stow called this influence by others "the sympathy of numbers". His idea was to turn this effect into positive use. To get the children off the streets from 9 to 4, away from bad influences into schools where they were presented with the best moral conduct and values of society.

The only standard for moral behaviour was in the Bible, therefore moral (Bible) training was the basis of the training system, which was divided into physical and intellectual training.

The physical training took place in the class room as well as in the outdoor play-ground. The latter was to Stow as important as the class-room itself.

The indoor exercises were to keep the children's attention during their lessons: clapping hands, stretching arms, "and any other bodily motion that gives vent to the natural gaiety and exuberant spirits of youth".⁶⁹ Attention was paid to the children's cleanliness, their proper modes of walking, sitting, and distinct articulation.

The play-ground was used ten minutes of every hour and one hour at noon. The children were 'free at play' but always supervised by the teacher to direct the children in proper behaviour and to exemplify the proper moral conduct as taught in the class-room. In other words when two boys were fighting, the teacher would interfere and teach them to turn the other cheek and to forgive each other.

Singing served several purposes in the children's training. It cheered them up and functioned as a physical outlet, singing also facilitated moving the children from place to place, i.e. they were marching.

Each day the children should have a Bible lesson and a secular or scientific lesson (being the intellectual training). The lessons were conveyed to the children "by analogy and illustration, and question and ellipsis". The process of training the children, as opposed to merely teaching them, was as follows:

69. Stow p. 17

The first division in every exercise is, to picture out the whole subject, or point of a subject. Secondly, analyze it. And, thirdly, the lessons naturally deducible, which the children uniformly are able themselves to give, provided the Master or Trainer, in conjunction with the children, has drawn out a correct picture, and properly analyzed it.... The common error is to give the lesson before the premises are properly laid; for until the picture be properly drawn in words, the lesson is not visible in the mental eye of the child.⁷⁰

Stow's idea of training, the key element, is picturing out secular and sacred subjects alike.

Pestalozzi introduced the use of objects and pictures in popular education. The Training System, to the use of both, added the picturing out of every term, and every subject, in words representing objects.⁷¹

Some critics of Stow point to this as the very weakness of his system, small children cannot concentrate on long verbal instructions in spite of the physical exercises.⁷²

The Training System on the Virgin Islands

The Moravians used Stow's training system to teach the children. They were taught the Bible, reading, and singing. The Bible-text for the day formed the basis for the rest of the day's lessons in for instance geography and history. In Das Missions Blatt, Stow's main principle is described as one which teaches in such a way that no one learns at the expense of any of the others.⁷³ This meant that the children were taught as a group and responded to the teacher's questions in chorus.⁷⁴

The fore-mentioned Latrobe was a member of the Tract Society in London, that is why the Moravian brothers kept asking him for books not only for the children but also for their own libraries. Appendix A is a list of books written October 1857 by an unidentifiable hand. It reads: "Committed to my charge by the Rev. Götz, Frbg 10/16-57". It looks very much like the type of books a teacher would find very useful for teach-

70.Stow p. 19.

71.Stow p. 33.

72.Dictionary of National Biography, vol. XIX, and 'A Cyclopedia of Education', vol. S.

73.DMB, no. 11, 1842.

74.DMB, no. 14, 1842.

ing the topics just mentioned. This is probably what Hartvig had in mind in the letter of 18 December 1843⁷⁵ where he asks Latrobe for books like the other teachers have in their libraries.

The Moravian Archive, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, owns a copy of the *Geography* by Roswell C. Smith. The other titles can probably be found at the Religious Tract Society in London. Several studies have been done lately on Tract literature.⁷⁶

A detailed description of how the children were taught was written by Brother Warner, 28 February 1842,⁷⁷ from Friedensthal, St Croix. He described a full day at school, but unfortunately the editor only printed the first part which dealt with the arrival of the children and the Bible lesson.

Brother Warner worked at La Princess with Gardin and Gruhl in the beginning of 1840, but from May he alone was in charge of the school. There were 140 children in the beginning but as the other schools opened the number dropped to 100 (see also p. 41f).

Warner described Stow's training system by saying that it not only was supposed to give the children a certain amount of facts but should train their character by actually using what they learned.

School began at 9 a.m. The playing children, some coming from quite a distance, all gathered and lined up in two rows, one for girls and one for boys, at the sound of Mr. Warner ringing the hand bell. He blew an ebony whistle to stop the talking and at a given sign the children marched in, singing a song chosen for that purpose. Girls through one door and boys through the other.

Each class followed their leader (sometimes called monitor) around in the class-room, still singing and in step, and "in a military order they walk to their seats" in the gallery. As the words arms and hands appeared in the song they formed their hands in praise of the Lord. At the sound of the bell they all knelt down in prayer with folded hands

75.DMB, no. 11, 1844.

76.Bühring, p. 18.

77.DMB, no 14, 1842, see also p. 57 about St Thomas.

and closed eyes. "The teacher prays slowly and the children repeat every word after him".⁷⁸

At another signal from the bell, the children sat down and the Bible lesson began. The starting point was always a life from the old or new testament, say the life of Abraham, a parable or a miracle. With questions and answers the teacher worked his way around the group and if they failed to come up with the right answer the question was rephrased by the teacher so the children could arrive at the right answer by themselves.

Brother Warner was fully convinced that this was a good way of teaching the children; the fact that the group was so big made them compete in answering the questions, another point of Stow's training system, he wrote.

This lesson lasted half an hour. After that the children sang again and split up into their respective classes to continue with a lesson in reading. S. 52D

The Moravians certainly knew Stow's book 'The Training System', Warner noted in the Princess school protocol on 8 July 1841 that "Stow's Training System and other books arrived from England."⁷⁹ 20 teachers had been trained in Stow's "Normal Seminary" in Scotland "for the West Indian Government Mico Charity".⁸⁰ It cannot be determined if any of these came to the Danish islands, but the Mico Centre on Antigua, where so many of the Danish Virgin Island teachers were trained, perhaps employed some of these persons. This is one explanation of the choice of this particular pedagogical method for the country schools in the Danish West Indies. Degn refers to plans of establishing a Moravian seminary for black youths on Antigua, the material used in this analysis does not reveal what happened to the plans. Some of the Black teachers coming to the Danish Virgin Islands from Antigua arrived before the plans mentioned, it is therefore still impossible to establish a more precise connection between the Mico Centre and the Moravians. Jacob

78. An example of the particular Moravian writing style in which a person refers to himself in third person.

79. Moravian Archive, box C 9,3 First Register of La Grande Princesse Rural School, 1841-46.

80. Stow p. 95.

Gardin worked as school inspector on Antigua before coming to the Danish islands, he drew on well known resources in his work and which is a second explanation of Antigua's role in establishing country schools in the Danish West Indies.⁸¹

Monitors are sometimes mentioned in the letters of Das Missions Blatt and in the country school regulations. Stow was explicitly against the use of monitors for teaching classes as they did in the Lancastrian schools. Monitors were certainly used in the Sunday schools (see p. 53) and Warner describes how the children split up into classes for a reading lesson. In spite of Stow's reluctance to letting older pupils teach the younger, this was the way the Moravians dealt with the problem of having approx. 100 pupils in each school with just one teacher. }10

The conclusion is that the teaching method used on St Croix and St Thomas was a Stowian system adapted to West Indian resources and personnel.

81. Degn p. 447.

PRINCESS SCHOOL 1841-1845

Princess School opened as the first of the eight country schools on St Croix in January 1841, an official ceremony was held 16 May 1841. Br. Römers speech at this occasion, praising the good fortune which made the endeavour possible, is often referred to in the literature.⁸²

The following chapter is based on an analysis of a protocol found in the Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. An attendance record and diary of Princess day school, i.e. for the four to eight year olds, for the period of 1841 to 1845. 1846 is also recorded but the pages are unfortunately illegible, limiting the analyzed period to 1841-1845.

The school register is the earliest tangible evidence of the schools in progress. The nature of this material lend itself partly to a statistical presentation, partly to a characterization of the events mentioned in the diary.

One might question the value of statistical conclusions based on such small material, but it is not a proper alternative to leave it out all together, considering the uniqueness of the Princess School register. The most rewarding way to deal with the register has been to characterize the information about the teachers, the school district, school days and vacations, and the visitors based on the diary section. The number of pupils, and attendance. It will be shown that many of the procedures defined in the later school regulations were established very early in the development of the schools.

The record consists of two parts. The first lists the children plantation by plantation, boys on the left-hand page, and girls on the right. The upper half registers the daily attendance of each child in the semester January - June, the lower half the July-December semester, this sequence is repeated every year.

The second half of the record is a daily summary, or diary, of the attendance, supplemented with notes on the Bible text of the day, on the weather, visitors to the school, sickness, and other pieces of information which seemed relevant to the attendance and activities in the school.

82.Degn p.446, Vibæk p. 276 quoting Lawaetz.

The teachers

Brother Warner was the first teacher of Princess School. He kept an orderly record with many comments on the weather, e.g. when heavy rain prevented the children from coming to school. He commented on the behaviour and health of the children, and noted visitors to the school, etc.

After the two weeks summer vacation in June 1842 Warner started noting the text used for the Bible lesson of the day. In the rest of the record this information becomes increasingly important, gradually superseding the other types of entries.

Brother Römer began at Princess in January 1843, Warner went to the School called West-End to teach. The diary is of the same character as Warner's from the end of 1842, but in 1844 the entries became quite sparse and refer even more to Bible lessons. Brother Römer's health was failing and he finally had to return to Europe. His illness may account for the unusual negligence of the diary.

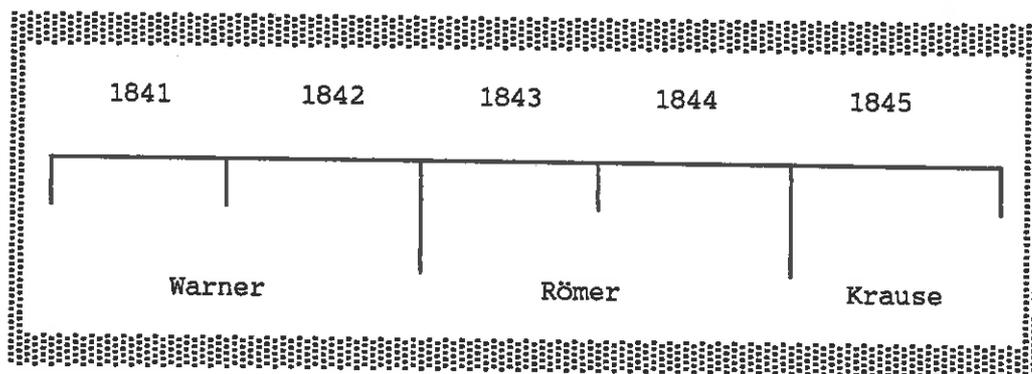


Table 1. Teachers in charge of La Princess School.

In January 1845 Brother Krause became the teacher at Princess. Again the entries are mostly on the Bible lessons. This teacher seems to have had more disciplinary troubles than his predecessors, or else he mentioned disciplinary problems more often than Warner and Römer. The reader is left with the impression that much emphasis is placed on teaching the children obedience, repentance, and prayer. Krause used the Bible lessons to teach the concepts in a very direct, perhaps even si-

nister way, creating an atmosphere quite different from the impression one gets from reading Brother Warner's and Brother Römer's entries.⁸³

The number of pupils

The number of pupils in Princess School can be found by counting the names listed estate by estate in the first part of the record. In the diary - at the end of each school year - the teachers noted the number of children present for the examination, the number of children ill or absent, and often, also how many left with a certificate. Sometimes the number of pupils leaving the school or joining the school during the year was noted too.

	1841		1842		1843		1844		1845	
	1.sem	2.sem								
Boys	79	54	58	46	37	31	34	42	38	35
Girls	81	63	65	63	49	45	62	62	61	55
Total	160	117	123	109	86	76	96	104	99	90
Boys		50		45		32		32		
Girls		61		64		56		53		
Total		111		109		88		*85		**95

Table 2. The total number of children named estate by estate in the first Princess School register; the total number of children listed after the end of each school year. * number present not corrected for absences, ** "total on the list", not children present as 1841-1843.

The lists of names from each estate are all written by the same hand, school inspector Gardin's most likely. The hand writing in the diary in the back of the book clearly shows the different teachers. The later school regulations stipulate that the school inspector was to provide the lists of children to seek the schools, see p. 72. There is no reason why this procedure should not have been established from the beginning.

83.e.g.: 9 April 1845 "Drilling children in order", 16 September "Children not orderly", 24 and 26 September "On the floor all day", "Not in order on the floor", 30 October "Children not orderly took them out of the gallery. No lesson." 16-23 November "No lesson given but on obedience and praying to set the school in order."

If this interpretation is correct then the first set of figures represent the ideal number of children who ought to go to school at the beginning of each semester; the second represents the number of children actually present on the last day of school, corrected for the number of ill or otherwise absent pupils, and for the number removed or added to the school during the school year.

In principle it should be possible to determine the precise number of children by checking the corrections in the first part of the register with the numbers given in the diary. It would have been possible with the original script but the slide copy presently at hand does not reveal the corrections in the first part of the register clearly enough for such an analysis.

The number of children shown in table 2 corresponds closely to the figures given by Warner in *Das Missions Blatt* (see p. 36) thus strengthening the credibility of those accounts. Gardin on the other hand seems to be exaggerating the figures a little, see p. 30.

Princess School district

The following estates constituted the Princess School district, 1841-1845: Glynn, Windsor, Concordia, Morningstar, Montpellier, Judith's Fancy, Zionhill, Orange Grove, St. John, Little Princess, Belle Vue, Big Princess, Friedensthal, and Rattan. The map in the back shows the location of most of the mentioned plantations.⁸⁴

The fourteen estates mentioned did not all send their children to Princess School at the same time. Regulations of the school district took place continuously, most likely to even out the number of pupils seeking the schools as much as possible, a practice later suggested by a commission revising the school ordinance of 1847.⁸⁵

Three children of Glynn were moved to King's Hill School in September 1841, immediately after the death of one little girl. The Concordia children were also sent to King's Hill, east of Princess school district, in January 1842, they returned to Princess again in August 1844. Orange Grove is the only estate which is difficult to interpret. It is entered in the first part of the record but several pages concerning

84. From Kay Larsen, 1928.

85. RA 7 folder eight, consideration of 3 February 1851 p. 42, see also p. 73 of this thesis.

this plantation have been torn out regarding the later years. There is a note for April 1841 that the children were sent to King's Hill School. There is a list of girls' names in 1842, but no information on the boys, and nothing at all for 1843. By 1844 the list is like the rest of entries. The diary has several notes, especially in 1845, that the children of this plantation are late, sometimes they are completely absent, but no reason is given for the absences. This may be one of the few indications of problems between the school and a plantation.

The Zionhill boys and girls started at Princess School but were sent to Peter's Rest south of the Princess School district after April 1841. The estate Rattan sent the children to Peter's Rest until they joined Princess School in August 1844.

The diary refers to Bülow [Bülowsminde] in 1842 and 1843, a number of children came to school from there. It is not explained why von Scholten's and Anna Heegaard's house is not regularly enrolled in the register, the estate is so close to the school that it logically ought to be. Perhaps the children were not slaves but free.

Attendance

Table 3 shows the monthly average attendance for the period of 1841-1845. The average number of children of the compulsory school age is also given to indicate how many ought to have been in school.

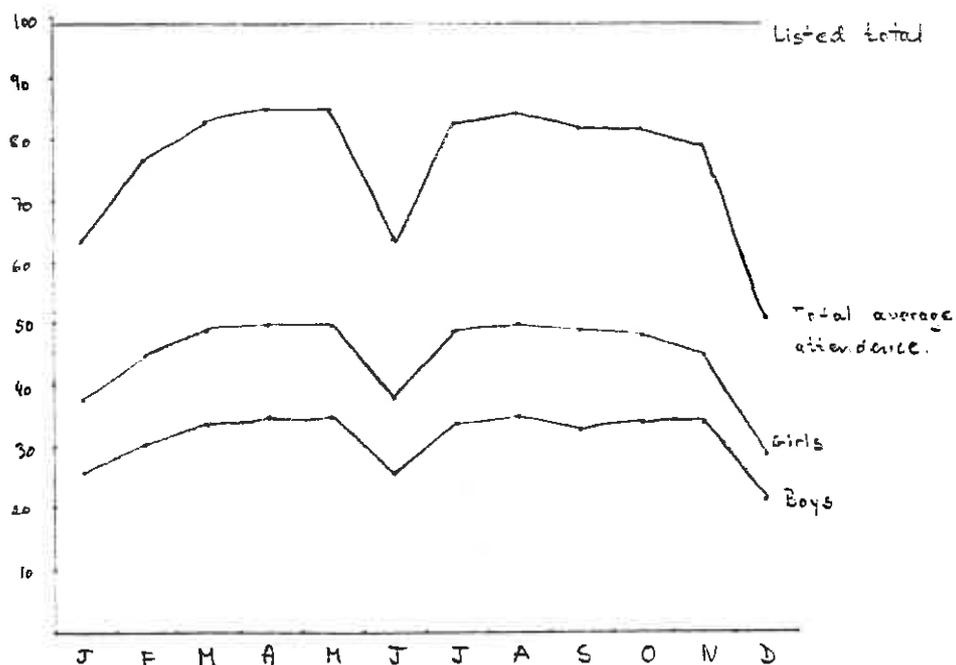


Table 3. 1841-1845. Annual average of listed children and the monthly average attendance of boys, girls, and in total.

The table shows no marked difference in the attendance of the boys and girls between four and eight years of age. Most likely these small children had the same duties on the estates, regardless of their sex. Therefore if children were kept home to work it would be all of them not just the boys or the girls.

The harvest season, usually between December and March, manifests itself clearly in the drop from November to December, and by staying low until March. Part of the decline in December might have to do with the ending school year. A similar but not quite as drastic decline in attendance is seen in June, i.e. when the first semester ended and the second began after two weeks vacation.

In table 4 the monthly average attendance is broken down annually, revealing significant differences from one year to the next. The table shows the monthly average deviation from the annual average attendance for the years 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, and 1845.

1841:

The drop from August to September was explained in the diary with a comment that many children "have trouble with severe colds", and a few days later there was no school at all on account of the weather. The increase in November's attendance is explained in the diary with the entry: "Old scholars from Little Princess returned." In July brother Warner mentioned that many children were sick, especially with sore toes. This might be the same disease mentioned in a School report of 1889, called "tubbo".⁸⁶

1842:

Many new pupils came to school in the spring, accounting for the increase in March, April and May. The first nine months of this year were exceptionally dry;⁸⁷ in October, when the rain finally came measles and dysentery broke out. This accounts for the low attendance in November. The school closed completely the first week of December.

86. Bjerregaard et al. p. 179.

87. G.G.O. Maynard p. 23

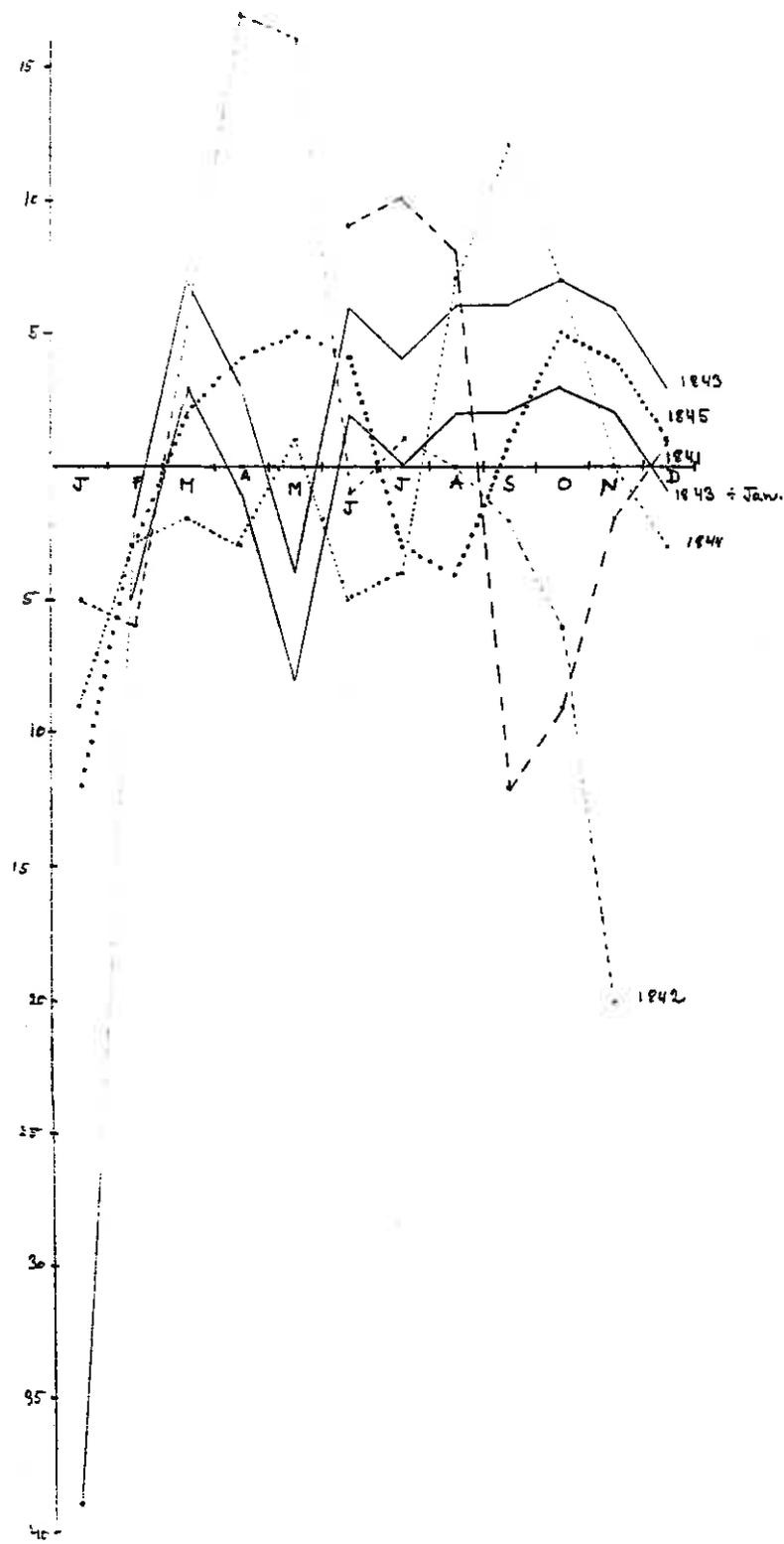


Table 4. Monthly average deviation from annual average attendance 1841-1845.

1843:

The measles epidemic was still raging in January but most of the children were back in school the following month. No comments in the diary really explain this semester's varying attendance. It was mentioned more than once that the children were uncommonly sleepy. The bad har-

vest of 1842 and the measles must have weakened the children, leaving them susceptible to even trivial complaints. Malnutrition or just little food can also cause sleepiness. After the summer vacation in June the attendance figures stabilize above the average annual attendance figure.

1844:

The figures of table 4 are based on deviations from the annual mean attendance; new pupils came to the school in the second semester, raising these figures compared to the first semester. The attendance from January to June shows the usual low figures for the first months with an increase after February; the increase in August and September was caused by the return of the children of Concordia and the addition of the children from Rattan.

1845:

Remarks about the children are quite sparse in this part of the diary. Throughout the year brother Krause wrote that the children of Orange Grove were absent, arrived late, were ill, etc. It is not clear whether the reason was lack of goodwill on the part of the owner or overseer, perhaps even obstruction, or whether the children generally were in poor health. The children of Windsor estate were also often late in the mornings, again the reason can only be guessed at. If the owner/overseer of these plantations tried to hinder the children from going to school a minute recording of their attendance was important if a case were to arise out of the issue. The later ordinances specify the fines for such behaviour increasing the importance of the attendance records.

The attendance figures presented in this chapter are a little higher than the figures shown in Bjerregaard et al.⁸⁸ They quote an attendance of 70 per cent for Princess School ca. 1870 and 68 per cent for all the country schools in 1870. An average attendance for the period 1841-45 is 77 per cent of the listed children. There are several reasons for this difference. First the compulsory school age had changed from being for four to eight years to six to ten years for the day school pupils. The older children traditionally took a greater part in the daily chores than the young ones, it is therefore not surprising to find a higher degree of absence in the latter group. Second the emancipation shifted

88.p. 179, 180.

the responsibility of sending the children to school from the planter/overseer to the parents. Therefore the school inspector had to contact the parents of each missing child, which could be a substantial number, whereas before the revised school ordinance of 1853 the inspector only had to contact the lesser number of planters or overseers. Third the value of a child's work must have been relatively higher to its family, dependent on the low income of each person, than to a plantation, which, because of its size, had a better opportunity than the family to organize the work efficiently.

School days and free days

The children went to school from Monday to Friday every week of the year, beginning on the first Monday of January after New Year. The only holidays observed by the school were Easter, Whitsun, and Christmas.

The children had two to three days off around April, Good Friday and Easter Monday, in 1844 Maundy Thursday too. Whit Monday gave the children a holiday in May or June every year except in 1844 when Ascension Day was celebrated instead.

In the second semester of the year, after two weeks vacation at the end of June, the children seem to have one day off in September. In 1841, 1842, and 1845 it is 16 September, in 1843 and 1844 it is 18 September. The day is mentioned as the King's birthday in 1843, as festival day in 1844, and in 1845 the teacher is away "on military duty". In 1841 and 1842 no explanation is given, it is just noted that the teacher is away, one might assume celebrating the official birthday of the Danish Monarch.

None of the teachers cancelled school very often because they were ill. Only brother Römer had trouble with his health and noted it in the diary. It happened once to Warner in 1842, and to Römer three days in 1843 and three days in 1844.

Another repeated reason for closing the school were the very heavy rains which often fell in the autumn, particularly November. The school closed for this reason one day in 1841, four days in 1843, and two days in 1844 and 1845.

The school only closed a few other days. In 1844 it was closed one day in April for cleaning and six other days for which no explanation is given. In 1845 the school closed once because the teacher was help-

ing with the examination at another school and once because the teacher was seeing the Governor.

When comparing these holidays with the later regulations it becomes clear that the general principles for vacations were established from the very beginning, see also the chapter on school regulations.

Visitors

The Princess School received quite a number of visitors, especially in 1841 and 1842 when the school was still new. About once a week in these first two years someone from town came to the school, often several young ladies together. A number of planters and their wives took an interest in the activities. Mr. Hutchkinson and his wife visited several times. Also mentioned were a Miss Wattington and Miss Gibbons, Mr. Feelam of Windsor Estate, and Mr. Ruth of Great Princess. Mrs. Keer, wife of planter Keer, member of the commission overseeing the building of the schools, was mentioned several times in the diary. Another member of the commission, planter W. Beech visited the school a few times.

Reverend Bagger, who wrote the interconfessional catechism, and the Catholic father Butler were regular visitors at the school in the period 1841-1845.

The largest group of visitors were the Moravians. The school inspector Brother Römer, later succeeded by Brother Gardin, and teachers from the other schools came to Princess, wives of teachers visited regularly as well.

Soon after new Moravian teachers arrived on St Croix they were presented to the children; I.H. Kummer who came from America went to Princess 23 May 1842. There were a number of Americans visiting at the end of May 1842. Whether they were visiting from Moravian Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, or they were some of the Americans helping with the Sunday schools is impossible to determine from the material at hand, see also p. 53.

The analysis of the first school register of Princess School confirms the information gained elsewhere about the number of pupils in the school.

The attendance figures, when compared to Bjerregaard et al's figures, are a little, but not unreasonably, higher than those presented for the 1870s.

The pattern of holidays were established from the beginning, later school ordinances merely specify an already existing practice. The same is true for the members of the clergy visiting the school. Father Butler, representing the largest congregation,⁸⁹ the Roman Catholic, was a common visitor, again the school regulations confirm a well founded practice.

89. The four largest congregations were ca. 1850 the Roman Catholic, the Moravian, the Anglican, and the Lutheran. Skrubbeltang p. 138.

SATURDAY-SCHOOLS

When Governor-General von Scholten in 1838 returned to the Danish Virgin Islands, he was asked to negotiate a weekly day off for the slaves. The idea was that they should be paid for their work if the planter wanted them to work on Saturday, except during harvest season (December - March); otherwise they should be allowed to work for themselves. In this way they would be able to save up money to buy their own freedom.⁹⁰ The political goal was to obtain gradual emancipation with as little expense as possible for the Danish Government.

In 1834 the Governor-General was convinced that gradual emancipation was the best way to proceed. Later he came to believe that it was best to release the slaves right away.⁹¹ This opinion put him at a great disadvantage in negotiating with the planters. He started at St John, where he obtained half of Saturday off all year round and a small economic compensation for the slaves if they were to work the full day. The planters on St Thomas plainly rejected the whole idea, but they owned the smallest number of slaves. The main battle was to be fought on St Croix. Here von Scholten succeeded in obtaining Saturday off all year round, but wages and the idea that the slaves should be able to buy their own freedom were completely rejected.

Von Scholten took these results to Denmark in 1842 and returned with an ordinance, of 18 February 1843, which stated that all slaves had Saturday off - and they should receive economic compensation if asked to work on that day. Nothing was mentioned about emancipation.

After his return from Denmark the Governor-General called a meeting with the planters, civil servants, and the members of the clergy for 10 August 1843 to announce the contents of the ordinance.⁹²

Most of the slaves had a small parcel of land on the plantation, the produce from this they sold on the Sunday market. In the future this market was to take place on Saturday which was no longer a working day according to the rescript. Sunday was now for going to church and educating the children.

90.Vibæk p. 278.

91.Vibæk p. 279.

92.DMB 1844/3 and RA 7.5.

All children from the age of eight to fifteen should go to the existing schools not only on Sundays, as before, but also on the newly gained free Saturdays.

The Saturday schools opened on 26 August 1843 for about 2,000 children. School inspector Gardin spoke to 230 pupils at King's Hill. Unfortunately this high attendance did not last very long. These schools seemed to fall into the same pattern as the Sunday schools, which had a highly varying attendance.

In a letter of 10 January 1844 Gardin explained that the parents kept the older children at home to help them in their work. This did not surprise him. The children were old enough to work on week days, therefore the parents also considered them old enough to help them with work on Saturdays.

Häuser wrote in a letter to Latrobe that, in order to accommodate the large number of children, it was decided to divide them into



Fig. 5. King's Hill school. Fot. Thyge Hvass, 1919. The National Museum.

two groups: those who had already received some training in the day-schools, and those who had had no schooling at all. The first group, the eight to eleven year olds, were to come in the morning from eight to eleven, the second in the afternoon from three to six o'clock. The division of the children would only be necessary for another few years till the day schools had existed long enough to have reached all of the

compulsory school age. Later the organization seems to have been as follows: 4 - 8 year olds Monday - Friday; 8 -10 year olds Saturday; 11-14 year olds Sunday. Many grown ups also participated on Sunday.⁹³

The next major regulation of the schools took place in 1847. It was then proclaimed that the secular Sunday schools were to be switched to Saturdays. The school age was also changed with this new Ordinance for the Country Schools: Monday to Friday for the five to nine year olds, Saturday for children between nine and twelve. Children of more than twelve were expected to go to church and participate in the Sunday schools run by the various congregations.

To Häuser this change was very significant, he wrote that "from now on the Sunday schools are our main task."⁹⁴ What he meant with this statement was probably that the Moravians' responsibilities to the secular schools were carried out on the week-days, Sunday school could from then on be devoted completely to their missionary work, without the restrictions laid on them when teaching in the country schools.

The Moravians were first and foremost missionaries, other work such as teaching or growing the fields all served that higher purpose, spreading the word of God. This they could now do unrestrictedly on Sundays.

93.DMB 1846/14.

94.DMB 1847/26.

SUNDAY-SCHOOLS

Part of Sunday was used for teaching the oldest children until the school regulation of 1847 decreed that this secular schooling should take place on Saturdays.

The secular schools were never very successful, at first because many children helped their parents at the Sunday market, and later continued to do so on Saturdays.

There are not many references to the Sunday schools, probably because they were to be run just as the week-day schools, only for a different age group. In the sources they are always referred to in a summary manner. To the Moravians the Christian Sunday schools and the church service were more important. Also the low attendance in both types of schools indicated a lack of success so they did not often write about them. After 1847 the Sunday schools assumed a new role as Christian Sunday schools.

Different congregations held Sunday school for the children, as they do today. The Anglican church at Frederiksted had for several years operated a large and successful Sunday school with 40-50 assistant teachers or monitors as they were sometimes called. Around the estate Mt Victory, not far from Frederiksted, the majority of the Blacks were Roman Catholics; therefore the Moravians did not work much in that particular area.⁹⁵

In a letter of 9 September 1847 Brother Seiler of Friedensberg, near Frederiksted, wrote to Holm. He described a Sunday school system they had implemented with great success. The system was established in Frederiksted in 1835 by an English lady, aided by some Americans, who spent the winter on St Croix for health reasons. In America the system seemed to be widely used:⁹⁶

Once a week all the teachers or monitors gathered to discuss the Bible text for the coming Sunday, to make sure that the lessons would be the same no matter who the teacher was. The teachers were planters and wives as well as 'brown and black ladies and gentlemen', not just Moravians also Anglicans e.g.

95.DMB 1846/16.

96.DMB 1848/10.

In the beginning there were over forty classes every Sunday, held over three time periods. As fig. 6 shows, several classes were taught



Fig. 6. Plan of a Sunday school house. Published in *Das Missions Blatt* 1848/10.

simultaneously. All classes began by listening to the leader of the Sunday school, the parson or the Moravian leader of the mission station in question, all sang, and perhaps a text from the catechism would be discussed in plenum. After this the assistant teachers took over to explain and talk about the Bible passage. Sunday school ended with everybody singing and praying as in the beginning.

It seems as if the Friedensberg mission was the centre for the Sunday school activities in 1846, the monitors met there every Wednesday night. The assistant teachers were as varied as in the above description, apparently the Moravians had nothing against working with people from churches other than their own.

At Friedensberg, school was held twice every Sunday. Most of the pupils could not read, the teaching was therefore concentrated on the ABC-classes (in the back of the room in the drawing), where Bible stories were told to the group as they could not read the Bible themselves.

The success of these Lancastrian⁹⁷ Sunday schools was that they involved many people of different faiths. Also the fact that planters were teaching ensured a higher participation of the slaves from those particular plantations.

97.cf p. 31.

ST THOMASThe country schools

Peter von Scholten's plan for compulsory education for the slaves was intended for all three Danish West Indian islands. But money for such reforms were difficult to find.

The economic structure of the three islands was not the same. St Croix was basically agrarian, but as the administrative seat was on this island a large number of civil servants also lived here. St Thomas earned most of its income by trading, the St Thomas harbour was an international trading centre, the income from the sugar plantations was relatively less important to the economy of St Thomas. St John was agrarian, but on a much smaller scale than St Croix.

The population⁹⁸ varied accordingly:

	ST CROIX		ST THOMAS		ST JOHN	
	1835	1846	1835	1846	1835	1846
White	1,510	7,359	1,650	9,579	504	660
Free	5,295		7,340		364	
Slaves	19,876	16,706	5,032	3,494	1,971	1,790
Total	26,681	24,065	14,022	13,073	2,745	2,450

On St Croix 17,897 persons lived in the country in 1841 while 5,336 lived in Christiansted and 2,391 lived in Frederiksted.

At fo Christiansted

The schools were principally financed through taxes administered by the Land Treasury. There was also additional revenue generated by a tax on field slaves (see p. 14). There was one problem: the majority of field slaves lived on St Croix, the tax would therefore give enough money to maintain the schools there, but the number of slaves on the other two islands was far too small to support schools in this manner. It was

98.Vibæk p. 327, Skrubbetrang p. 106.

therefore decided that this method of financing the country schools should be used on St Croix only, where it would have maximum effect.⁹⁹

On the other hand this financial arrangement left St Thomas and St John without means to implement the plans as swiftly as on St Croix.

On St Thomas four of the five planned school houses were completed in 1843. The fifth was never built, it was decided to use a building at the mission station Nisky instead. The distribution of the schools is shown on the map of St Thomas below (fig. 7).

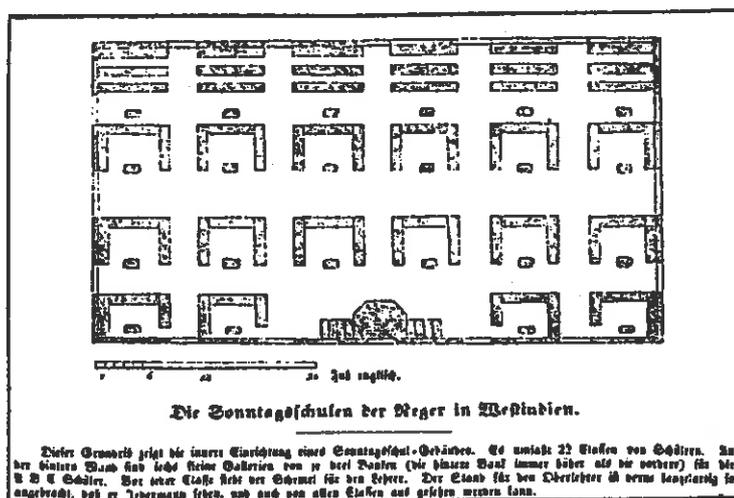


Fig. 7. Map showing the distribution of the schools on St Thomas (>) and the Moravian mission stations (+).

According to Br Endermann's description the houses were not very big.¹⁰⁰ Endermann was sent to the Virgin Island to become school inspector of the schools on St Thomas, he arrived late in 1847. The schools were built of wood, but were still quite expensive, as the materials had to be imported from either Europe or America.

H.H. Berg, Br Hartvig, attorney N. Fugl, and Rev. Tolderlund, - the School Construction Commission - sent a set of regulations for the country schools of St Thomas to the Governor of St Thomas, F.von Oxholm, on 3 October 1843. In the accompanying letter they explained that the cost of the buildings had been higher than budgeted, they were almost ready to present the accounts for the matter, only the question of teachers'

99.RA 1, Consideration of 1 November, approved 23 February 1843, p. 54 ff.

100.DMB 1848/17.

salaries was not settled yet, because of the higher building costs. They hoped the schools could open soon, as the teachers were already available on the island.¹⁰¹

It took another four years before the economic problems of the St Thomas country schools were solved. In the end the money for buildings as well as teachers salaries were paid by the Land Treasury, 2,200 German Thalers annually approx. The missions contributed a little towards the schools, but not enough to maintain them without the government's support.¹⁰²

According to the school protocols of 1847-1848¹⁰³ the five school districts were: Charlotte Amalie with children from the Estates Smithbay, St Thomas, Frydendahl, Anna's Retreat, Dunoe, Nazareth Nadir, Mariendahl, and Neuherrnhut. Canaan covering the estates of Canaan, Løvenlund, Mandahl, Lerkenlund, and Louisenhoy. Bonne Resolution: Soelberg, Lilliendahl, Bonne Resolution, Ensomhed, Neltjeberg, Caretby, Sorgenfri, Dorothea, and St Peters. Nisky, the Moravian mission station, received children from Altona, Content, Mosquitobay, John Brucebay, Nisky, and Cabrittaberg/the Point. Bordeaux from the six western estates of Bordeaux, Fortuna, Botany Bay, Perseverance, Hope, and Bethesda.¹⁰⁴ The plantations are shown on the map in the back.

Four schools opened in November 1847, Bordeaux in January 1848. There were only 176 pupils all together, much less than the approximately 1,000 on St Croix. 90 children frequented the Saturday Schools.

(Nov. 1847)	Day school	Sunday school
Charlotte Amalie	38	32
Canaan	26	26
Bonne Resolution	31	21
Nisky	33	37
Bordeaux (January 1848)	48	4
Total	176	90

The number of children entering school on St Thomas.

101.RA 15: Landskoler på St Thomas, 1843-1846.[Country Schools on St Thomas]

102.DMB 1848/17, letter of 22 February 1848.

103.Moravian Archive T 14 # 1.

104.Most likely Bethesda but difficult to read.

The Moravian Archive possesses a record of the registered school children on St Thomas from 1847 to 1853. It probably belonged to the school inspector Br Endermann, who was to keep such a record according to section 29 of the 1847 school ordinance.

There were four teachers to serve the five schools. The missionary, Br Geissler, conducted the school at Nisky. Mr. Martin of the Wesleyan Methodist Church taught at Canaan, and the two brothers Huyghue and Summersill, sons of an overseer at St Croix, were teachers of Charlotte Amalie and Bonne Resolution/Bordeaux respectively. Summersill went to Bonne Resolution from 8 to 11 in the morning, later he rode almost two hours to teach at Bordeaux from 2 to 5. The two brothers, like many of the colored teachers, had been trained at the Mico Centre on Antigua.

It was hoped from the beginning that St Thomas would be able to pay for the fifth teacher very soon after the opening of the schools. As the school inspector Endermann expressed it, working two schools as Summersill did was too much even for a brown person.¹⁰⁵ No more teachers were sent to St Thomas. Instead the problem was coped with by rotating Martin, Huyghue, and Summersill. Thus Martin taught at Canaan and Bordeaux in 1850. It was not at all unusual for the Moravians to be moved from one station to another to serve where they were most needed.

The teaching method used at the St Thomas schools was the Stowian method, as on St Croix. Whether this was a decision made by the government in Denmark or on the islands is impossible to determine. It is possible that the Mico Centre at Antigua worked after Stow's principles, thus making the system known to the authorities on the Danish Virgin Islands. The rescripts do not specify the teaching method but the St Thomas school regulation of 1843 and the letters to das Missions Blatt all do.

Brother Endermann wrote a description of school life on St Thomas, just as Warner had done after the opening of Princess School on St Croix.

Wenn die Stowische Unterrichtsweise, wie es hier der Fall ist, von den Lehrern mit Lust und Geschick angewendet wird, und somit die Kinder fortwährend thätig und aufmerksam erhalten werden, indem sie unausgesetzt Sätze auszufüllen oder Fragen zu beantworten haben, womit dann Gesang und einfache gymnastische Uebungen ab-

105.DMB 1848/16, column 135.

wechseln, wie z.B. gemeinsames aufstehen und sich setzen, nach Commando eine oder beide Hände ausstrecken, in die Höhe heben, zusammenklappen, im Takt durch die Schulstube marschieren und dergleichen mehr, so kann es nicht fehlen, die Schule muss den Kindern eine Freude seyn.¹⁰⁶

Endermann continued the description in very rosy terms, and told how much the children liked the school - so much, that the small ones turned up on Saturday, when the older children were to come. This sharpened the competition, even though Endermann knew that the older pupils could never learn as much in one day as the small ones in five. The most one could hope for was that the Saturday schools would awaken an interest for coming to school, thus encouraging them to join the Sunday schools when they were twelve years old.

The town school of Charlotte Amalie.

In 1843 the Hartvigs' of Nisky moved to St Thomas to and a half hours walk away. There were a large number of free Blacks living in St Thomas town. The purpose of a Moravian town house¹⁰⁷ was basically the same as that of the mission stations in general, to reach as many of the Black population as possible and to convince them of the benefits of living a true Christian life. One important way of contact was to be where the people in question were, another was to open schools. Children of free Blacks were a group who were not specifically cared for by any of the other schools in town.

The Moravian town School opened in 1845, and as it was not part of the public school system the Moravians were not bound by the same restrictions (see p. 72) as in the country schools. This may have influenced the method of teaching but not the topics taught. These were reading, Bible-history, and Bible reading. Mrs. Hartvig also had a sewing class for the girls. The school had twenty to thirty pupils, some of them Roman Catholics.¹⁰⁸ At the end of the year the Hartvigs also opened a Sunday school, in which Br Geissler from Nisky sometimes helped.

106.DMB 1848/17, column 146.

107.The St Thomas town house is described as a branch of the Nisky station in the letters.

108.DMB 1846/14.

Letters from Hartvig and Endermann complained that the town school was not well enough attended. The children were described as reckless, sluggish, and disobedient, and 'how could this be any different, when all they were used to was the whip of the overseer and the parents.'¹⁰⁹

109.Nachrichten 1847, p. 137.

ST JOHN - FROM MISSION SCHOOLS TO COUNTRY SCHOOLS

The mission schools

It was, as shown, difficult to finance the schools on St Thomas, even more so on St John. It was not until 1853 that a proper educational system was established for the black population. Attempts were made regularly throughout the investigated period, but they never really succeeded.

For some time there had been a school for children of the free Blacks in Cruzbay. The teacher unfortunately had to be discharged because of "mental suffering".¹¹⁰ In 1840, when the country schools opened on St Croix, the Royal Council on St Thomas decided to ask the Moravians on St John to take over the education of the free Black children. The members of the royal council Governor Oxholm, H.H. Berg, and G. von Schmidt were convinced of the benefits not only of teaching the children, but also the good example of the missionaries was considered important. Schools were to commence 15 April 1840.¹¹¹

Brother G.H. Krämer wrote in August 1842¹¹² that the two Moravian schools at Bethanien and Emmaus had been in operation for 1 1/2 years. No school houses had been built, mostly because there was no money, but also because the planters feared that it might lead to trouble if the slave children learned to read. 23 free children and five from the mission station went to the school at Bethanien.¹¹³ Häuser later referred to a total of 70 pupils, Emmaus therefore must have had about 40 children. There is no evidence to confirm these figures but they are probably a little high. The facts were often exaggerated a little in the letters to Holm. Classes were from nine o'clock to one, and the subjects taught were the three Rs, reading, writing, arithmetic, English, Bible reading, geography, and singing. It is difficult to tell from this description how the lessons were conducted, but, even though some of the topics seem secular in this context, it is not likely that the children learned much writing, the arithmetic was very basic, and the geography was probably closely related to the Bible readings. English

110.RA 7 Fifth folder labelled Landskolerne i Vestindien 1843-1849.

111.RA 7 op.cit. letter of 10 April 1840

112.DMB 1843/5

113.DMB 1842/12

must have been important as Dutch creole was widely used on St Thomas and St John, less so on St Croix.

After emancipation, a number of Black families had settled out at the east end of St John. They had built houses for themselves, grew vegetables, fished, and, most important, made mortar from the conches from the tropical sea. This they sold on St Thomas for a living.

These families went to church at Emmaus, but it was difficult for the children to get to school every day, as they had to cross Coral Bay by boat, see the map in the back. The Moravians therefore opened a school out there on 3 August 1852. There were about 30 pupils taught by a Moravian disciple, Mary Dorothea Sewer, who received 4-5 \$ a month for teaching them.

The day began with singing and prayer, followed by Bible history. A text from Dr. Barth's Bible history¹¹⁴ was analyzed with questions and answers. The children were also taught reading, catechism, and hymn singing. A school day always ended with a song. The curriculum was planned to cover basic arithmetic, spelling, and writing, as soon as Mary Sewer mastered the topics a little better herself. Sewing was also planned for the girls.

The first examination in the school took place on 3 August 1853. The children demonstrated their skills in reading, arithmetic examples, and Bible history.¹¹⁵

Planning the public schools on St John

A rescript of 18 February 1843¹¹⁶ stated that the Governor-General as quickly as possible and no later than October 1843 should establish a provisional school system on St John. It was the same rescript which prompted the completion of the school houses on St Thomas, and the writing of regulations for the St Thomas schools as well. The difficult financial situation was acknowledged by a grant of 500 Rlr.v.Ct. for each of the three school houses necessary on St John.

114. Printed by the Religious Tract Society, note that Bagger's Catechism was used in the regular country schools.

115. DMB 1851/11, 1853/4, and 1854/6; RA 14, School Commission's minutes of meetings 29 August and 6 September 1852.

116. RA 1 Consideration of 1 November 1842.

Von Scholten went to St John to discuss erecting school houses and establish a proper school system for the island.¹¹⁷ Present on 9 September 1843 were councilor H.H. Berg of St Thomas, stadshauptmand Knevels, judge Brahde, agent Hjardemaal, Alexander Fraser Esq., reverend Tolderlund, and Moravian missionaries Häuser, Gardin, Blitt, and Krämer. The missionary Br Wolter also signed the agreement. At this meeting it was decided that four houses were to be erected: one on estate Beverhoudtsberg; another at Annaberg, near Muntsbay; the third in the immediate vicinity of Emmaus; the fourth in the neighborhood of estate Parforce. Lövmänd's plan was to be used but modified to the local needs in size and material. At Parforce a dwelling for the teacher was to be part of the building.

The schools for free children should be annexed to the new schools when they opened. Hours of instruction were 8 a.m. to 11 a.m. for the small children of four to eight years of age. Saturday school for the older children (eight to sixteen) was also from 8 a.m. to 11 a.m. Children of free Blacks could remain for another two hours after 11 o'clock to be instructed in topics not required for the unfree. These were probably writing, and arithmetic.¹¹⁸

The school districts were: Children of Cruzbay, Enighed, Beverhoudtsberg, Klein Kaneel Bay, Dennisbay, Adrian, Hammerfarm, and Bustenberg went to Beverhoudtsberg school. To Annaberg came children from Great Cinnamonbay, Vaniniberg, Munsberg, Annaberg, and Leinsterbay. The school near Emmaus should take children from Brownsbay, Carolina, Emmaus, Hermitage, Mountpleasant, and all the children from the East-End of the island, and the free black children. The fourth near Parforce was to take the remaining children from Lamesur, Bordeaux, Reef Bay, and Hope.

The financial arrangement was the usual, part to come from the Land Treasury, 1,175 Rld.w.c., and part from the Royal Treasury, 625 Rld.w.c. A committee of seven members was appointed, later to be replaced by another committee of five members only. In 1847 major Holm was the

117.RA 14 A copy of the minutes of the meeting was enclosed Hänschell's report of 1852.

118.DMB 1847/1: Sister Seiler writes to a friend in Stuttgart, Germany, that the slaves did not learn to write. Writing is not introduced in the school ordinances until 1853 where it becomes available to those who will pay for it.

only member of the committee left on the island and as he went to Europe Capt. Mourier was appointed in his place on 9 June 1847.



Fig. 9. Map of St John showing the distribution of the planned schools (>) and the Moravian mission stations (+).

The building at Beverhoudtsberg was completed in 1845 and Annaberg in December 1847. These two buildings had cost everything granted by the Land Treasury and the Royal Treasury, plus a loan granted by the St John Land Treasury, a total of 3,592 \$. There was no money at all left for operational expenses. The building at Annaberg was left standing empty and the Lutheran congregation of St Thomas and St John was granted the use of the Beverhoudtsberg school house for church services. The minister came once a month from St Thomas to hold service for the few Lutherans on St John. The Moravians carried on as usual with the two mission schools.

Emancipation brought changes to the mission schools on St John. The district revenue officer¹¹⁹ of St John, Carl Hänschell wrote a detailed report to the Royal Council on St Thomas in February 1852 in which the school situation was presented.¹²⁰ Hänschell explained that the Mora-

119. Landfoged approx. district collector or district revenue officer.

120. and the following RA 14 Report from Hänschell to the Royal Council, St Thomas of 6 February 1852.

vians after emancipation, had opened the mission schools to all children as they were commissioned to teach all free children.

Thus the mission schools took the place of the planned country schools.

At first all the children came to school, so many that the planters complained that none was left to work. Section three of the 1847 school ordinance had to be stressed to everyone, specifying that school was for the five to nine year olds, and Saturdays for the nine to twelve year olds. The responsibility for sending the children to school was with the parents, and they would be fined if they failed to do so. By the spring of 1849 the school at Bethanien had closed because the teacher was ill. Brother Ilgner, who arrived in October 1849 to replace Krämer, asked Carl Hänschell to help him recommence the schools according to existing regulations. None really existed as the mission schools always had been considered provisional.

A circular was worked out based on the school ordinance of 23 February 1847 and the two regulations of 17 August 1848 and 21 July 1849. The circular was sent to owners and overseers of all estates, 25 in all, on 25 November 1849. They were asked to comply with the rules laid out and to make sure that the children were put to work upon return from school.

There were seven sections in the circular.

- 1: Children of five to nine years of age attended school the five working days from 8 till 11 a.m.
- 2: The nine to twelve year olds were to attend school on Sunday.
- 3: Children could be kept for another two years as assistant teachers in the day school, but not more than one from any estate.
- 4: Vacations were a fortnight from 24 December, a fortnight in June, and a "sennight"¹²¹ from Wednesday before Easter.
- 5: The children were to be moved from day school to Sunday school twice a year at the beginning of each fortnight vacation.
- 6: Managers of the plantations were to be notified of the children leaving school.
- 7: The parents were responsible for sending the children to school, and fined if they failed to do so. Owners or managers who prevented the

121. Hänschell probably meant 7 days.

children from going to school, also on Sundays, were to be fined after the same rules as the parents.

In 1851 the authorities on St Croix thought the schools were run as the other country schools and asked for the results of the annual examination at the end of the year. This request prompted Hänschell's long report of 6 February 1852 cited earlier in this thesis. He explained that the schools had never been acknowledged as such, in the sense that there was no school commission as stipulated in the school ordinance of 23 February 1847, the Moravians alone were responsible for the running of the schools. The letter from the Government referred to exams held in September, an alteration unknown on St John, where exams were still believed to be held in June. Besides, to Hänschell's knowledge, no exam had ever been held at the mission schools.

Hänschell contacted the leaders of the mission stations, Brothers Linke of Bethany and Bentien of Emmaus for further information. The school at Bethany was conducted by Br Ilgner from 8 a.m. till 11 a.m. every working day. The topics were reading, catechism, hymn singing, and basic arithmetic. There were 12 children from Cruzbay in the compulsory school age, 6 attended school, 71 from the country of which 65 came to school. The average attendance the second half of 1851 was 57 pupils a day. James Summersill, the mulatto teacher trained at the Antigua Mico Centre, had come to the school of Emmaus from St Thomas. He taught reading, Bible history, singing, writing, etc. every work day from 8 to 12 o'clock. 106 of the 154 compulsory school pupils attended, the daily average was 59 children. Hänschell does mention that the attendance used to be better when one of the Moravians themselves was teaching (sic), in spite of the fact that Summersill had several years experience from St Thomas. He was highly praised in several letters to *Das Missions Blatt*, although always expressed in a somewhat surprised tone, as if they did not expect 'one of the colour' to be as good as a white teacher. There were no Saturday schools on St John as it interfered with the preparations for Sunday service. On Sundays rev. Linke and Bentien themselves held Sunday schools for everybody between 9 and 20 years of age.

Hänschell ended the report by suggesting that the mission schools should be acknowledged as proper country schools. The Land Treasury had no money at all for school activities other than the existing. In addition the school house at Annaberg ought to be taken into use, it could

be done for a very small sum of money, which the Land Treasury could finance. If a Lutheran parish clerk were to come, he could cover the western area of the island. A school commission had to be appointed. Members, besides the official governmental representative, could be the two leaders of the mission stations. As buildings and other teaching aids belonged to the Moravians, the commission's task would only be to follow the teaching, and make sure that everything was according to the school ordinance of 1847.

The country schools on St John

A School Commission was appointed soon after Hänschell handed in his report in February 1852. Members were government representative Carl Hänschell, Capt. Mourier, planter Thomas Ivinson, and the Lutheran reverend Tidemand of St Thomas and St John. They were asked to review the situation and work out a proposal for a permanent country school system on St John. At one of their earliest meetings they decided that I.F. Benthien and W. Köster of the Moravian mission stations were to be invited for these discussions, as they conducted the only two schools.

The commission agreed on 29 August and 6 September that, as the funds were scarce, the two schools at Bethany and Emmaus were to be continued, and that Köster and Benthien were appointed vice school inspectors, as school inspector Gardin of St Croix could only visit a few times a year. Exams were to be held in September, see also p. 71. Holidays were from 24 December till the first working day after New Year, from Wednesday before Easter till Tuesday after, Whit Monday, and two weeks after the examination in September. The established practice of schools on Sunday, not Saturday, was to be continued under Benthien's and Köster's direction. It was suggested that the newly established school at East End (opened in 1852) continue as a branch of Emmaus, under Benthien's supervision. As the children of the south side of the island had great difficulties in coming to the existing schools, a similar branch school was suggested for the children of the estates Lamesure, Parforce, Concordia, Møllendal, and Little Reef Bay. The planned schoolhouse on Parforce had never been built. The Moravians believed they could find a proper teacher. It was furthermore suggested that the Royal Treasury grant the St John Land Treasury a loan to buy a brick-built house with two rooms, offered to the School Commission by Capt. Mourier. The teacher could live in one of the rooms and keep school in

the other. The building and two years' salary for the teacher would cost \$ 200. The commission furthermore agreed that the two buildings at Annaberg and Susannaberg¹²² should not be taken into use before the financial situation of the Land Treasury had eased a little. The plans for hiring a Lutheran parish clerk, and letting him teach the west end children was considered a problem, as the Moravians had the right to hire the teachers for the country schools, according to the original contract with the West Indian Government.

The number of children of the compulsory school age was:

Bethanien	5 - 9 year olds: 63
	9 -12 year olds: 39
Eastern St John	5 - 9 year olds: 95
	9 -12 year olds: 31

Hitherto the Moravians had received \$ 400 for teaching, the commission expected to use an additional 780 \$, which was the amount set aside for schools in the proposed reconstruction plan for the Land Treasury. The teachers were brother Ilgner and James Summersill. The latter was expected to be replaced by one of the Moravian Brethren.

The school inspector Gardin was presented with the plans. He generally agreed to the proposal but had five comments:

1. The schools at Annaberg and Susannaberg ought to be opened immediately, they were necessary, otherwise they would never have been planned.
2. The arguments for not having Saturday schools were not valid. The same arguments were true for the other two islands too, but had been overruled.
3. A Lutheran parish clerk was not needed on St Thomas as almost all Blacks were Moravians. St John was not comparable to the other islands regarding religious affiliations.¹²³
4. The budget did not seem big enough but the Moravian mission was expected to pick up the deficit.

122. In 1852 and later the Beverhoudtsberg school is called the school at Susannaberg. The sources offer no explanation, but the plantations are right next to each other, perhaps the area with the school was sold from Beverhoudtsberg to the owner of Susannaberg.

123. DMB 1851/5 lists a total of 99 Lutherans, 90 Anglicans, 44 Roman Catholics, and 1932 Moravians.

5. The two leaders of Bethany and Emmaus would want a seat in the School Commission, either as teachers or as ministers of their congregations.

The Royal Council of St Thomas and St John approved the proposed plans on 5 April 1853, on the condition that the Land Treasury was reconstructed as outlined.

A hurricane struck St Thomas and St John on 23 September 1852 and damaged the two empty school houses severely. It was not until 7 November 1855 that the reconstruction of Annaberg and Susannaberg school houses was completed, i.e. the money transferred to the St John Land Treasury from the Ministry of Finance. By then proper accounts of the repair work, and the construction of a school house at Lamesure, on the south coast, had been presented. Annaberg had been ready from April that year but no teacher had yet been found as councillor Berg of St Thomas added in a letter of 9 June 1854. He had been rather negative on occasions regarding the school matter and in spite of the fact that he had served on several commissions dealing with the St John country schools.¹²⁴

How the schools developed is unfortunately not revealed in the material used for this thesis, because of the determined time frame.

124.RA 14: Letter of 9 June 1854.

SCHOOL REGULATIONS

It has been shown in the preceding pages that the first years after 1840 were characterized by simply establishing the schools, making them function. When that was achieved the authorities turned to writing down regulations specifying how the schools were to be operated.

In 1843, when von Scholten was instructed to press on with the school matter on St Thomas, he was also asked to have a set of regulations written for the schools on St Croix. It has not been possible to trace the St Croix regulations but the St Thomas school (construction) commission worked out regulations for their schools in 1843 and sent them to the Danish West India Government. This earliest school regulation was never taken into use as the schools on St Thomas did not open until the end of 1847 and at that time a detailed ordinance of 46 sections had been worked out for all the Danish Virgin Islands country schools. This ordinance is referred to as the first proper regulation of the country schools, it was approved by the administration in Denmark 23 February 1847.¹²⁵

Even though the regulation of St Thomas specifically refers to the schools on that island there is no reason to believe that it is very different from other early regulations of the country schools. It is likely that the School Commission must have known of the St Croix regulation if one existed.

The first written regulation for the schools on St John, of 1849, has the same short character as the St Thomas regulation, specifying the most basic rules, leaving the details to be worked out by the leader of the schools.

The Country School Ordinance of 1847 was revised after emancipation. In February 1851 a commission wrote a report to the governor, and a new Country School Ordinance was signed by the Frederik VII 6 September 1853.

The issues defined in these four regulations were basically the same. The two short regulations of 1843 and 1849 had 7 and 6 sections respectively, generally corresponding to the eight chapters of the proper School Ordinances of 1847 and 1853. They were: admission; school hours,

125.RA 7.8 Report of Commission considering a revision of the school regulations in 1851, p. 21.

and school days; responsibility for sending the children to school; curriculum; moving up from day school to Saturday school and leaving school; the School Commission; the school inspector; later supplemented by chapters on the teacher's duties and regulations regarding the fines for not adhering to the ordinance.

Changes in the regulations were not radical. The pattern first laid down on St Croix became the norm for all the islands and remained so during the investigated period. Adjustments took place in the areas of admission, school hours and vacation, the role of the clergy, the responsibility for sending the children to school, and the curriculum.

Attendance

The age of the school children was redefined twice, in 1847 and again in 1853. The age groups were first 4-8, then 5-9, and lastly 6-10; the Saturday schools were for those of 8-16, then 9-12, and 10-13 years of age.

Hours

1840-1853 three hours a day, after 1853 the children were to be taught 4 hours a day. Except on St Thomas where the school day lasted two hours and had done so since 1849. Monitors were allowed to stay on for an additional 30 minutes every day.

Vacation

The number of holidays is the same in all thirteen years, but the summer vacation following the annual exam was moved from June to September after emancipation. The reason was that the working-contracts the freed slaves made with the planters ran from 1 October to 30 September.¹²⁶ If the parents decided to work for another planter and therefore move, then the children could move from one school to another at the beginning of the school year, causing the least disruption for the child as well as the school.

Responsibility

Before emancipation, the planter and the overseer were responsible for sending the children to school and encouraging the parents to support them. Owners or their representatives could be fined if it was proved that they did not fulfil that obligation. After emancipation, the pa-

126. In Denmark the October moving day was established as the day when servants leases traditionally expired.

rents took over this responsibility and could likewise be fined. But it was still emphasised that the planter or overseer who obstructed the children's education would be prosecuted.

Rosters

The police-master had always had rosters of the people living on the plantations. In the 1847 ordinance the school inspector was to work out lists of the school children for the overseers to use when sending the children to school. The police-master was generally only involved when the lists were disputed. After 1853 the procedure was tightened. The police-master received forms from each plantation and the lists from the school inspector, enabling him to match the two with his plantation rosters making sure the information was correct. One reason for this strict procedure must have been the increased mobility of the Black population after 1848.

The contents of the forms were information about the children's names, birth data, mother's name, vaccinations, previous schooling, and religious affiliation.

Absences

It was decided from the beginning that the children went to and from school accompanied by a reliable person from the plantation. This person had to account for absences if any. By 1847 this had to be done in writing by the overseer. Illness was generally the only accepted reason. A doctor's certificate had to be presented if the child had suffered from an infectious disease. The teacher was to note absences meticulously, the school inspector handed the information on to the School Commission, and fines were decided upon if necessary.

Instruction

The subjects of instruction were catechism from Rev. Bagger's book, Bible history, hymn singing, reading, and the basic arithmetic. Writing and sewing was introduced for the children at an extra cost from 1853.

It was emphasised more and more in each regulation that the Bible instruction had to be neutral, and the members of the clergy were encouraged to visit the schools at any time.

The method of teaching was the Stowian system but it is only specifically mentioned in the 1843 regulation. Otherwise the choice of teaching method is left to the school inspector who specified Stow's teaching system in a teachers' instruction of 1853.

The examination was at the end of the school year in August (1843), in June (1847), and in September from 1853. The younger pupils were moved up to the Saturday or Sunday schools twice a year, after the two long vacations, until 1853. Then the children were moved up only once a year after the examination in September. The examination formalities were increased. At the start of the period the school inspector wrote a certificate of good conduct for the pupils leaving at the end there were strict procedures to inform overseers and police-master of those leaving the school.

Monitors could be used in the schools but never more than eight in all and never more than a single person from one plantation.

Discipline

In the 1847 ordinance a specific chapter was devoted to discipline in the schools. It had always been mentioned that the overseer was to make sure that the children turned up clean and decently dressed. By 1847 the teacher was instructed not to punish the children too hard, only use the cane on the older pupils, over nine years of age, and just the whip on the young ones. Complaints of mistreatment could be filed by both parents and overseer.

The School Inspector

The sections regarding the School Inspector were typical of the development of the school system and the regulations. In 1843 he was mentioned as hired by the Moravians and being responsible to the School Commission. His job was to supervise the schools, the buildings, and the inventory. By 1847 these same duties were described in eight sections, elaborating especially the supervising part of the job: the inspector should write an instruction for the teachers to be approved by the School Commission; visit the schools unannounced; check the records kept by the teacher; check the teachers' performance; evaluate and suggest revisions in teaching methods if necessary; and finally keep accounts for all the schools, repairs, and keep a proper inventory of the teaching aids. As mentioned earlier he was also to keep a complete list of all the children of the compulsory school age.

The teacher

The teachers' duties were defined in 1847 and remained unchanged. They were hired and dismissed by the Moravian Mission. The School Commission had the right to suspend a teacher, and if an agreement could not be reached between the Moravian Mission and the School Commission, the

issue was to be solved by the Danish West Indian Government. The teachers' duties were to keep the journal, follow the instructions of the School Inspector, and to keep the school house clean.

On St John where the country schools were not established properly till 1853, the teacher for the west end school was to be chosen from three persons selected by the Lutheran Minister on St Thomas.

The School Commission

The School Commission was defined as the superior council of the school system. The members were specified in the rescript of 1 May 1840 as: the police-master, the ministers of the recognized congregations, and two planters. In 1847 the members were specified as the police-master, two planters, one a member of the Burgher Council, the other selected by the Governor, the chairman was the Lutheran Minister. In 1853 the clergy's former position was reestablished as all recognized ministers could participate in the meetings with a right to vote.

The School Commission was to meet every second month, later once a month, or more often if deemed necessary by the chairman, the Lutheran Minister.

The chairman kept records, dealt with correspondence, and kept the minutes of the meetings. The chairman's vote was decisive in case of parity votes. Accounts were presented to the Burgher Council, administering the Land Treasury, disputes over financial issues between the two bodies were to be settled by the Government for the islands. An annual report was to be written at the end of the school year, no later than September in the 1847 regulation and December in the 1853 ordinance, the terms of the school year had changed with emancipation.

Fines

Fines from planters, overseers, and parents for failing to follow the school regulations went to the Land Treasury. Before emancipation planters and overseers could also be forced to pay in kind if unwilling or unable to pay the fine, jail was another option before as well as after emancipation.

In the late 1830s when the country school plan was conceived, one of the purposes was to help the slaves prepare for the freedom to come (see p. 13). After emancipation on 5 March 1850 Judge Rothe, Rev. Henley, Rev. Endermann, district revenue officer Hänschell, Father Butler, Judge Arnesen, and Attorney Bahneberg were asked to form a commission

revising the country school ordinance of 1847. The Commissions deliberations were sent to the West Indian Government 3 February 1851.¹²⁷ This report expresses precisely the purpose of the country schools and demonstrates the considerations for the planters and for securing the production of the islands.

The two major concerns were the planters' right to the children's work power and the importance of accustoming the children to working in the fields.¹²⁸ These two concerns were still the most important points to consider when revising the school ordinance in 1851. As the Commission worked after emancipation, the slave owners' right was rephrased to 'the concern of securing the production on the islands'. In essence the very same thing.

"The children are destined to be agrarian workers" and the purpose of the school is to help them fulfil that destiny.¹²⁹ The Moravians were principally of the same belief, see p. 81ff.

127.RA 7.8 A folder marked '(1777-1807) 1848-63 Indberetninger m.v. vdr. Skolevæsnet.'

128.op. cit. p. 23.

129.op.cit. p. 27.

EMANCIPATIONAdministrative effects on the country schools

Many have written about the rebellion of July 1848 which led to the emancipation of the Danish West Indian slaves and the reader is referred to the works of e.g. Hornby, Vibæk, Hansen for an account of what really happened. In this chapter the aim is to establish whether emancipation had any effect on the administration of the country schools.

With the proclamation of freedom of 3 July 1848 all legislation regarding the unfree became invalid, in principle therefore, also the country school regulation of 1847.¹³⁰

Häuser wrote from Friedensthal in October 1848 that everything was then quiet and peaceful. Not many slaves had actually tried to leave the plantations, most of them worked in the fields for the same master as before.¹³¹

In December 1848 letters from Häuser and Endermann described how the children stayed away from school, many did not come to church either. They both explained that it was not really the children's fault, it was rather the fault of the planters and overseers. They kept the children working for very little money on the plantations¹³², thus taking advantage of the lack of regulations. No plans for economic compensation to the planters had been worked out with the sudden emancipation. The planters therefore claimed that they had no money with which to pay wages. Children were cheap labour and, as the parents' wages were very low, it seemed of benefit to both the planters and the freed slaves to let the children work, looking after the livestock, instead of sending them to school.

Peter von Scholten suffered an apoplectic stroke a few days after the rebellion in early July and sailed to Denmark 14 July 1848.¹³³ The new interim Governor Peter Hansen (1798-1880), former Governor of the Danish colony Tranquebar in India, arrived on the Danish Virgin Islands on 29 November 1848. His first task was to review the situation and

130.DMB 1849/3.

131.DMB 1849/1.

132.DMB 1849/3.

133.Hornby p. 259.

write a report to the Danish Government, to be used in their forthcoming legislation. This report was finished in the second half of 1849.

At Christmas 1848 everything was reported quiet and the sugar harvest had started without incidents. Peter Hansen had let the Moravians know that he had instructions to support the country school activities in general but perhaps under a different organization. Hansen mentioned that each congregation might have to provide schools for their own children.¹³⁴

In February Gardin, the school inspector of St Croix, wrote that he was almost certain that the country schools were to be closed and each congregation would have to look after their own children. However he did not know when the change would take place as there had not yet been any decisions made as to the future use of the eight school houses. At the moment soldiers were stationed in the East-End and King's Hill school houses. 600 Spanish soldiers had arrived from Puerto Rico on 8 July 1848 to help keep order, and 400 Danish soldiers had arrived in November shortly before the new Governor Peter Hansen.¹³⁵ When Gardin wrote this letter he must have been convinced that a change would take place according to the strong wishes of a number of planters and members of the clergy, e.g. Rev. Henley and Father Butler. They were the spokesmen for the new arrangement.

Peter Hansen had informed the Danish government of the country schools' situation in a report of 31 July 1849. The Ministry of Finance however asked for more information on this subject. Hansen therefore forwarded a detailed report to the Ministry on 20 September 1849.¹³⁶ It described the situation as he found it upon his arrival at the end of 1848, the practical and financial organization was laid out, and it contained suggestions adapting the school system to the changed conditions.

Four schools had been used as soldiers quarters, one in the town of Frederiksted, Hansen expected to use the building a little longer, but not permanently, so no efficient alternative arrangements were made

134.DMB 1849/6.

135.Hornby p. 259 and 264.

136.RA 7 The fifth folder

that school in the meantime. In the country, King's Hill was used by the military and the children were sent to school in the church at Friedensfeld; Mt Victory school had also been occupied by the soldiers, but only until February 1849, by then Hansen had obtained other buildings on the plantation for them. Green Quay or East Hill school, as it was also called, had also been seized for military purposes but Hansen expected to close down this military station and return it to its former use by November 1849.

It was deemed necessary to keep a number of soldiers at King's Hill and it was therefore suggested that a new school house and dwelling for the teacher be erected at a cost of approx. \$ 3,000. This money would have to come from Denmark as the Land Treasury was without funds for an undertaking like this.

The existing schools on St Thomas were not directly affected by the events of the emancipation, at least in no way affecting the organization or administration of the schools. Hansen only states that no public school existed in St Thomas town, only a number of private schools, so one ought to be erected. All the country schools were run by three teachers only. Huyghue was not mentioned when Das Missions Blatt stated that Martin and Summersill had worked two schools each during most of 1848.¹³⁷ The funds for two assistant teachers - part of the original plan - were never found. The School Commission on St Thomas had suggested a reduction of the hours of teaching, thus also reducing the sum of money paid to the Moravian mission from \$ 1,500 to \$ 800. In September, Governor Hansen was still looking into that matter, as the contents of the original contract between von Scholten and the Moravians were not entirely clear, the Government had lost its copy and was waiting for a new one.

St John had no public schools at all, there were just the two schools at the mission stations Bethanien and Emmaus for children of free Blacks. The Moravians received \$ 400 for this, \$ 216 came from the mission fund and \$ 184 from the school fund.

137.DMB 1849/3.

The total account for the schools as they had been operated till the end of 1849:

"Schools on all three islands have hitherto cost:

in Christiansted.....	\$ 4,200
in Frederiksted.....	\$ 2,304
Country schools on St Croix.....	\$ 2,931
in St Thomas town.....	-
Country schools on St Thomas.....	\$ 1,408
Country schools on St John.....	\$ -
Mission schools on St John.....	\$ 400
	<u>\$11,253</u>

Income had been:

1.School fund of the Royal Treasury.....	\$ 4,288
2.do. of the fund for upbringing youth teachers	\$ 415
3.School money in Christiansted.....	\$ 435
4.do. in Frederiksted.....	\$ 277
5.From the Land Treasury on St Croix.....	\$ 2,931
6.do. on St Thomas.....	\$ 1,408
7.From the mission fund.....	\$ 216
	<u>\$ 9,970</u> ¹³⁸

According to Peter Hansen three things were necessary so the schools could operate satisfactorily: a new school house at King's Hill had to be built (\$ 3,000), four dwellings for teachers at Diamond, Two Williams, also called Concordia, Mt Victory, and at Peters Rest (\$ 4,000), a school house in St Thomas town (\$ 3,200), a total expense of \$ 10,200. The cost of running the schools would be an additional 3,133 \$ to the amount shown above. This would cover teachers in St Thomas, \$ 950, on St John, \$ 900, and finally the annual deficit of \$ 1,283.¹³⁹

Although the financial problems following the emancipation had not been solved at the time Hansen wrote the school report he did try to point out areas which could cover the increased expenses. The Land Treasury on St Croix had to be ruled out, as there was already a deficit. This fund had also lost the income from the tax on field slaves which used to help pay for the schools. A possibility was to increase the tax on imports on St Croix. St Thomas had not suffered economically to the same degree and the town was considered relatively wealthy. Money for the new town school could therefore be taken from the Land Treasury which could increase taxes on shops, houses, etc. On St John nothing

138.Translated from Hansen's report p. 7.

139.see note 27 about currencies.

could be done to bring the public school system up to a minimum unless the Royal Treasury paid for it all.

Hansen concluded by saying that the school system ought to remain as it was. Schools could not be provided for the country children more cheaply, even though a group of planters and clergy favoured a different organization. The suggested improvements did not represent an effort to improve the schools beyond the absolute minimum. The additions were to bring the country schools up to a minimum standard in the light of the financial problems of the islands.



Fig. 8. Peter's Rest school house and teachers residence. Fot. Thyge Hvass, 1919. The Nationalmuseum, Copenhagen.

It took a while before the administrative problems could be settled, the Moravians continued their work in the meantime. School was held in the church at Friedensfeld for 2-300 children mostly from King's Hill. They were of the Moravian congregation and would have to be provided for no matter how the schools were going to be organized in the future.

Reports from *Das Missions Blatt* showed that many children had returned to school and that the Sunday sermons were again well attended. It seemed that the number of school-children had dropped from 1,000 to 700. The editor of *Das Missions Blatt* could inform its readers that in 1850 the Government supported the Moravians in their school work, just as usual. Brother Gardin was still inspector of the eight schools on St Croix and Endermann of the five schools on St Thomas.

There is no evidence to show that the teachers dwellings were built immediately after Hansen submitted the report, although some were built at a later time. A town school was also opened on St Thomas, but the town school system was not properly organized before 1876.¹⁴⁰ The reduction of the teaching hours, as suggested by the School Commission, was implemented; in the revised school regulation of 1853 it was referred to as an established practice.

The administration of the country schools was not altered immediately, in spite of Gardin's grave worries. It was simply seen to that the basic economic funds were secured also after the emancipation.

The Moravian view

There are many contemporary accounts of the emancipation and the time after. Those of the Moravians are characterized by an understanding of the Blacks' situation, i.e. their frustrations. There are a number of very precise descriptions of the mistakes made by the authorities and the planters, actions which intensified the already existing tense atmosphere. It is therefore very interesting to see that the understanding of actions of the individual did not alter the Moravians' basic view of how Blacks ought to behave and conduct themselves. This view was based on a Christian, white, European outlook, which led to an interpretation of the situation which must have been very different from the way the Blacks must have experienced it.

It was continuously¹⁴¹ repeated that many Blacks did not come to church on Sundays, attendance was not back to normal until more than a year after the emancipation. There can be many different reasons for this. Work has already been mentioned as one explanation. Looking back at the events, another reason might have to do with status. Perhaps the Blacks sought the churches mainly attended by the whites, the Anglican, Lutheran, or Roman Catholic. The Moravian Church had always aimed at the Black population, perhaps it had come to represent something they now wanted to get away from.

140. Bjerregaard et al. p. 107 ff.

141. DMB 1849, 1850.

Häuser, Gardin, and others who wrote to *Das Missions Blatt* also explained how difficult it was for them to talk to the freed slaves. They could not make them understand that they ought to repent and seek God's forgiveness for what they had done. It was not right to have taken freedom by demanding it, they should have waited the twelve years as proclaimed in the Ordinance of 1847.¹⁴² Häuser reproached himself and the mission for having failed to convince the Blacks after so many years that rebellious behaviour was wrong.¹⁴³

This is an example of how deep the rift of understanding really was between the Blacks and those of the whites who showed signs of understanding. Perhaps this more than anything explains why it took some time before the relations were restored to "normal". It is a lot to ask anyone to repent the action which brought him or her freedom from slavery, no matter how poor that freedom might be.

It should be mentioned that the rebellion cost the lives of only 40 men, all Blacks, 17 of them killed by one man, the Danish Capt. Irmingier¹⁴⁴. The damage to property was not of major importance,¹⁴⁵ the largest problem was how to mend the loss of face and how to bridge the distrust which had become apparent between the various groups on the islands.

Häuser also told about the young freed slaves reaction after emancipation. They had grown up as slaves and therefore only feared the whip of the overseer. 'Now the young ones think, that after having freed themselves of that yoke, the new freedom must be directed against us, and they live in sin, and are impossible to reprimand'.¹⁴⁶ Again he understands the reaction and yet he does not understand their mode of

142. The ordinance which proclaimed that all children born after July 1847 were free, but the parents would not be until twelve years later. One reason for this arrangement was that the slaves needed time to get used to the new responsibilities of being free, another, perhaps more important, was that the economic problems of a full emancipation had not yet been solved.

143. DMB 1849/2 and p. xx.

144. Degn p. 490, it is not entirely clear where Degn has these figures from.

145. Hornby p. 261.

146. Translated from DMB 1849/6.

action. Häuser could not see that what he had to offer, or rather the way in which he brought it forward, was not right at that particular moment.

Three letters in particular describe the freedom of the Blacks, ¹⁴⁷ in one of them it is not even called that but "die äussere Freiheit". The only difference which really mattered was that everybody was hired on a one year contract and therefore could choose to leave after the contracted period expired. The majority still worked in the fields, had a house to live in and a piece of land to cultivate, just as before. Pay was minute, in some places field workers were asked to work for nothing three days a week. In other places the daily income was equal to a bundle of sticks for the fireplace. No wonder that workers turned up late in the mornings and sometimes refused to work at all.

The reaction to such refusals was hard disciplinary actions from the police. Persons who refused to work were beaten and sent to work on the roads in chained gangs. This kind of punishment was given to many who never before had any trouble with the police. As Endermann wrote, it was easy to understand the Blacks' dissatisfaction.

Vagrancy was, of course, what the planters feared most. It had been a great problem on the British Virgin Islands where many freed slaves began farming hitherto uncultivated areas of the islands. The first action taken by the authorities after emancipation was to rule that everybody had to prove that they worked somewhere, anyone who failed to do so would be assigned a job, ¹⁴⁸ or put on a chain gang.

Another example which involved the Moravians' activities regarded the definition of work days. Editor Holm received a letter describing how several hundred persons were beaten by the police because they went to celebrate the first year of emancipation by going to church on a day officially defined as a working day. The same had happened at Easter, when field workers went to church on a non official holiday. The writer feared that it might happen again on 25 July, as the beginning of the hurricane season traditionally was marked by a church service. It was avoided this time as the Moravians reached an agreement with the authorities and the service was conducted without any incidents.

147.DMB 1849/3, 1849/6, 1850/3.

148.Hornby p. 264.

CONCLUSIONS

It has been shown in this thesis that the country schools for the Black population on the Danish Virgin Islands were established over a period of thirteen years. St Croix was the forerunner in building the schools and in getting the schools into operation. St Thomas followed in 1847 on a less grand scale as regards buildings as well as the teaching. St John had only just established public schools in the investigated period.

The rescripts and regulations concerning the schools issued between 1840 and 1853 show a gradual refinement of the work, the concern changed from dealing with establishing the schools to dealing with operating them.

The major obstacle in establishing the schools was economic. The Land Treasuries had difficulties in covering the expenses and the economic changes following emancipation added to the problems.

The process of building up the school system continued throughout the investigated period. The emancipation of the slaves in 1848 does not represent a break in this process. Some groups wanted the organization changed in 1849 but they were ignored, and in 1851 when an opportunity arose to change the system once more, it was decided to keep it as it was, with just small revisions.

The only change which seems to have been caused by the emancipation was the introduction of writing and sewing in the school curriculum. Before 1848 writing was only taught to the free Blacks. It is often said that the American slaves were not allowed to read, in the Danish Virgin Islands, around 1850, the distinction between the slave and free was not the ability to read but the ability to write. Writing remained a scarce commodity for the Blacks for a number of years to come, as they had to pay for writing lessons and sewing even after 1853.

The idea of schools for the slave children appeared in the 1830 when emancipation was discussed on all Caribbean Islands as well as in Europe. Reforms to improve the conditions of the Blacks were introduced on

the Danish Virgin Islands and the school plans were part of this process.

To Peter von Scholten and the commission considering these problems in Copenhagen the main idea was to prepare the Black population for the freedom to come, - for the responsibilities of living as free members of a Caribbean planter's society.

The Whites' perception of the Black population did not change with emancipation. The basic belief that every man is born into his place in the world remained; the Blacks were destined to work in the fields and the country schools were established and kept running to prepare them for that work by teaching a few basic skills and ensuring a Christian upbringing adhering to these beliefs.

Contemporaries must have found system of compulsory education for the Blacks satisfactory because only adjustments were made with the major review of the school system in 1853.

The school plans were realistic in that they were fully implemented, albeit somewhat slower than intended. To expect compulsory education for the Blacks to be of higher standard and better quality is to judge history by modern standards. The schools for the Black population as presented in this thesis is in compliance with the views and attitudes of society on the Danish Virgin Islands and in Denmark in the mid 19th century.

APPENDIX A: "A teacher's library"

The following list of books was found at the Moravian Archive, Bethlehem, in box no C 32, folder 3. The paper is somewhat damaged, which accounts for the incomplete titles.

List of the Names of Books

Titles	Authors	Where edited
Bible Dictionary London		Tract S. GreenTract Society
Bible History	C.G. Barth	do.
Bible Lectures	Fletcher's	do. America
Bible Lectures	do.	do.
Bible Lectures	Todd's	do. London
...on the 4 Gospels		Barne's do.
Parables explained		- - do.
Miracles of Christ		- - do.
Journeys of the children of Israel - -		do.
[Sc]riptide Similitude		- - do.
... of christ	James Gall	do. Edinburgh
[Sac]red Songs - -		do. America
[Bible] Concordance		Alex Gruden do. London
...Natural History		W.C.S. Martindo.
...ture -		do.
...geography	Roswell C. Smith	Philadelphia
	Cornwell's	
	Cha..	

Down along the right side of the paper it reads:

"Committed to my charge
by Rev. Götz. Frbg. 10/16th 57."

APPENDIX B: Moravians and others working at the schools

Br and Sister Benthien arrived at St Thomas 22 July 1844, she taught the assistant teachers music on St Thomas, but they spent most of their time at Emmaus on St John.

Br Blitt lived at Bethany, St John, participated in the early school planning on St John.

Johan Breuthel was a Moravian bishop who in 1840 was sent on visitation to the Danish Virgin Islands. The Elder Council wanted him to comment on the conditions at the missions now that they were to run the schools. Other reasons for sending Breuthel were that they wanted to be able to plan for the emancipation itself, and they wanted a first hand, report on the situation.

Br and Sister Chapmann came to the mission in 1842 to teach in the schools from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

Br Damus came to St John after spending some time at the Mico Centre on Antigua. He lived at Bethany.

L.R. Endermann and his wife came to St Croix at the end of 1847 and soon after to St Thomas where he became school inspector for the newly opened schools. Endermann became the leader of the Danish West Indian Moravian Mission in May 1850 upon Häuser's transfer to St Kitts. Br. Ziock took over his responsibilities as school inspector in Neuherrnhut.

Jakob Gardin came in October 1840 from Antigua to start the schools. He was responsible for construction of all of the schools and later the running of La Princess school. At first he stayed for five months, he settled permanently later and became school inspector for St Croix for a number of years. He edited, and also composed part of, a book of hymns which was printed to be used in the schools.

Br Geissler was the teacher in the school at Nisky, he also taught in the St Thomas town school sometimes.

Brother Johan Gruhl and wife arrived in the West Indies on 7 June 1840, lived on St John till October 1841, helped open La Princess in 1841, and were sent to the East-End school on St Croix at the end of 1841, Br Kleiner takes over this school in 1843. They live on St John again in 1845 where they teach at Bethany. He died, presumably of yellow fever, 12 December 1848.

Br Allan Hamilton was on St Croix from August 1844 to March 1846 when he and his wife left for Antigua to work at the Moravian Helpers' School.

Br and Sister Hartvig lived on St Thomas where he became a member of the School Commission in 1843. He was in charge of for the first town-school in Charlotte Amalie.

Georg Wilhelm Christian Häuser (b. Karlsruhe 14 April 1799) and wife **Emilie** (d. December 1843) came to the Danish Virgin Islands in 1840 with Johan Breuthel. He had been a minister in Herrnhut, Germany, before becoming the new principal of the Danish West Indian mission. Häuser and his second wife Constance returned from a trip to Europe in December 1845, Hamilton seemed to have been acting principal in the meantime.

Huyghue came to St Thomas from the teachers training centre on Antigua to teach the Charlotte Amalie country school. He was son of a plantation manager of St Croix, brother to James Summersill. He is not mentioned after December 1848.

Br Jacob Theodor Ilgner b. 24 July 1821 in Strehlen, Silesia. Was trained shortly on Antigua before coming to Bethany, St John, 1849 perhaps earlier.

Brother Kleiner lived at Friedensberg, on the west-end of St Croix, and taught at Mount Victory 1841 and had Bible-classes on the plantations in the afternoons. In 1843 he took over the school at Greenkey, the East-End school, and went to live in teacher's dwelling there. He went to the North American Mission in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania in 1846.

Br Kremser came to Nisky, St Thomas as assistant missionary and teacher, he died August 1853.

Johann Adam Wilhelm Köster b. 30 May 1801 in Rengle at Elberfeld, and wife **Johanna Christina Constantina** b. 16 July 1810, d. 19 October 1853 at Bethany.

Br G.H. Krämer arrived 18. May 1840, he married **Sister M.S.Schäfer**. They worked at the mission Bethany on St John where he was teaching the Blacks and kept Sunday school. He died at the end of 1843.

J.H. Kummer was engaged as a teacher in 1842.

Br E.R.M. Linke came to the Virgin Islands with his friend Warner from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in December 1840. He married Warner's sister in 1844. The Linke family lived on St John, at Bethany where he taught in the mission school.

MacFarlan was an Anglican chaplain, a mulatto of St Croix, who for several years had visited the plantations and told Bible stories to the Black. Brother Kleiner explained how he was doing the same with success in 1840. MacFarlan was hired as teacher for the Diamond and Concordia schools.

James MacIntosh was a mulatto from Antigua who was trained at the Mico Centre. He was 21 years old when he came to St Croix to teach at Peter's Rest and King's Hill in 1841. He and his wife moved into the teacher's house at King's Hill in 1841, when they took over from J. Römer. MacIntosh was still teaching in 1845, Alexander Parker was to have taken his place in 1843, but he died shortly after his arrival.

Br Martin, a Black of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, was hired as assistant teacher for the Canaan school on St Thomas, he was very musical

and often played in the churches, Mrs Benthien taught him on occasion. By 1850 he taught at Bordeaux as well as Canaan.

Brother Meyer is teaching the children of the mission station at Emmaus, St John, in 1841 and 1842.

Alexander Parker, a 20 year old mulatto, came from Antigua at the end of 1843. He was to take over Peter's Rest but died of fever after only four months.

Joseph Römer came from Jamaica in June 1840, he had been in the West Indies for a while when he helped opening La Princess School in 1841. He had to return to Europe in 1842 because of failing health. Later he became a member of the Council of Elders in Herrnhut.

van Sekass was teaching at La Valley which was the last school to open on St Croix 17 January 1842. He was a mulatto from Antigua.

Br J.J. Seiler and wife Charlotte came to the Virgin Islands from Neuwied at the end of 1842, he was mostly engaged in the Sunday school work.

Mary Dorothea Sewer was a Black teacher of the little school at East-End on St John opened in 1852. She was a Moravian disciple.

James Summersill came to St Thomas to teach the two schools Bordeaux and Bonne Resolution, he taught Sunday school at Nisky by 1851 and he worked at Emmaus, St John in 1852.

Stephen is only mentioned with Sekass as coming from the Mico Centre on Antigua to teach at La Valley school on St Croix.

Br Sybrecht had been on St Thomas before talk of the schools commenced, he became a member of the building commission on St Thomas. He spoke the Dutch Creole particularly used on St Thomas.

Brother William H. and Sister Warner came from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1840. They became responsible for La Princess after it was opened. Later he was in charge of the Sunday schools at Mount Victory and La Valley alternating with Gardin. They both went back to Bethlehem because of sickness in 1843/44, but returned in July with Mr. Warner's sister who married E.R.M. Linke. He died 20 June 1845, she returned to Bethlehem.

Br Weiss came from America in 1845, he was a personal friend of Br Warner. He and his wife lived at Friedensberg and taught at Concordia school. They both died of Yellow fever in August 1853.

Heinrich Wied who worked for thirty one years at the Danish West Indian mission was elected member of the School Commission on St Thomas in 1843.

Br Ziock had worked for many years in the West Indies. He did not participate in the school work at first, but assumed the responsibilities as school inspector for St Thomas when Endermann was transferred to St Croix as Mission Leader. He lived at Friedensfeld in the early 1840s.

In 1853 he and his wife returned to Europe.

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

The National Archive, Copenhagen.**Generaltoldkammerets Arkiv.**

[Samlinger og registraturer vedkommende de dansk-vestindiske øer]

1625-1832 Registraturer over de for de Vestindiske Øer udstedte kgl. anordninger, plakater, reskripter, samt kollegiernes, generalguvernørens og guvernementets missiver og breve.. 1 pk

[Det danske kammers og generaltoldkammerets vestindiske og guineiske sager 1771-1848]

(Kongelige ekspeditioner)

1771-1835 Vestindiske forestillings- og resolutionsprotokoller (fra 1775 til 1815 tillige omfattende Guinea; fra 1816 tillige Ostindien).....42 bd

1773-1848 Vestindiske (og guineiske) konceptforest.....11 pk

(Kammerekspeditioner) Kopibøger, Journaler og Breve

1771-1835 Vestindiske kopibøger.....52 bd

1773-1842 Protokoller og breve til Vestindien..... 1 pk

1771-1835 Vestindiske (til 1776 også guineiske) journaler.....63 bd

1802-1844 Rapporter fra regeringen i Vestindien..... 4 pk

1802-07 & Rapporter fra rådet i Vestindien..... 6 pk

15-1830

1831-1844 St. Thomæ råds rapporter.....14 pk

1802,1821 & Vestindiske breve og rapporter (div.)..... 1 pk

1824-1837

(Diverse dokumenter) Negerhandelen og slaveemancipationen vedkommende

1786-1806 Dokumenter vedr. kommissionen for negerhandelens bedre indretning og ophævelse, samt efterretninger om negerhandelen og slaveriet i Vestindien..... 1 pk

1788-1847 Negerhandelens afskaffelse betræffende (korrespondance med kommissionen etc.)..... 1 pk

1826 & 1834 Møstingske papirer: a) forslag til ordning af vestindiske forfatningsforhold angående negrene m.m. 2/12 1826. b) forestilling om forandringer i slavernes kår 8/11 1834 (med bilag)..... 1 pk

1826-1834 Akter vedkommende slaveemancipationen. Den ældre sag om frikulørte m.m..... 1 pk

1834-1843 1 Orig. forestillinger fra kommissionen angående negrenes stilling i Vestindien, med resolutioner..... 1 pk

1844-1847 Akter vedr. slave-emancipationen. I-III..... 3 pk

1847-1853 Neger-emancipationen efter reskr. 28/7 47..... 1 pk

Koloniernes Centralbestyrelse

[Kolonialkontoret 1849-1913]

(Kopibøger, journaler, journalsager)

Nr.199: 1848-1917 Visdomsbog til vestindisk journal..... 1 bd

(Gruppeordnede sager) Forfatning, lovgivning, centraladministration

Nr.612: Fortegnelse over love og anordninger for Vestindien 1849-75.
 -Udkast vedr. skatter, told, jagtret, appelret, gældsfangsel, markfred, stempelafgifter, landskolerne, næringsdrift, borgerrådene, afgifter på St.Thomas, afgifter på St.Croix, løsgængere, tyendevæsen, mæglingskommissionsgebyrer, postfor-sendelser. -Fortegnelse over guvernementsplakater 1747-1863.
 -Fortegnelse over administrative bestemmelser 1853-1911 med bilag..... 1 pk

Nr.614-615 1849-1916 Fortrolig embedskorrespondance..... 2 pk
 Fortrinsvis skrivelser fra guvernører i Vestindien til ministre og embedsmænd i Koloniernes Centralstyrelse. Ordnet efter brevmottageren. Indeholder tillige koncepter til svarskrivelser. Jfr. ARKIV 4, bd.nr.2, 1972, s. 77-87.

(Gruppeordnede sager) Lokale myndigheder

Nr.636: 1852-55 Kolonialrådet. 1.-2. session..... 1 pk
 Nr.649: 1849-74 Rapporter fra St.Croix. Månedlige indberetninger 1 pk
 Nr.655-57 1849-54 Rapporter fra St.Thomas og St.Jan, månedlige indberetninger..... 3 pk

(Gruppeordnede sager) Sociale og kulturelle forhold

Nr.921-931 1777- 1920 Kirke og skole.....11 pk

Nr.928 Trossamfund udenfor folkekirken 1856-1917, nemlig: Bible Home, adventister, brødremenigheden, mosaisk trossamfund, baptister, hollandsk-reformerte kirke, engelsk-lutherske menighed, engelsk-episkopale kirke, Svedenborgske kirke og Wesleyanske mission.

Nr.929 7 Skolevæsnet på St.Thomas og St.Jan 1777-1873.
 Nr.930 Skolevæsnet på St.Croix 1853-86.
 Nr.931 Skole- og degneembeder m.v. 1828-1920

(Gruppeordnede sager) Andet

Nr.1003 1851-1910 Aviser og tryksager.(henv. til div. trykte anordninger og bekendtgørelser)..... 1 pk

Nr.1014-1019 Statistik..... 6 pk

Nr.1016 Folkemængden 1850. -Befolkningen på plantagerne på St.Croix 1854-61. -Fortegnelse over kreaturer, møller, arbejderboliger m.m. 1853.

Nr.1017 Befolkningen på plantagerne på St.Thomas og St.Jan 1852-65.

Nr.1020 Div.sager. indeholder bl.a. fortegnelse over anordninger sendt den vestindiske regering 1849-66..... 1 pk

Vestindiske lokalarkiver

[Vestindien. Generalguvernøren]

- Nr. 1-102 Udgåede skrivelser
 1- 9 Plakatbøger
 5 1824-1852 (1882) Plakatbog m.reg. Anm: Tillæg til plakaterne fra 1758 (til 1838) samt bekendtgørelser fra guvernementet 1881-1882 (1872?)..... 1 bd
- Nr. 35- 62 Skrivelser til myndigheder og personer 1815-54
 35- 41 Til kongen
 39 1837 2/1 - 1844 24/12 Kopibog m. indholdsekstrakter og reg.
 40 1838 2/6 - 1840 20/6 Kopibog fra midlertidig generalguvernør Søbøtke i v. Scholtens fravær. Med indholdsekstrakter for 1838 og begyndelsen af 1839.
 41 1842 16/3 - 1843 22/6 Kopibog fra midlertidig generalguvernør Oxholm i v. Scholtens fravær.
- Nr. 67-102 1815-1849 Skrivelser til lokale myndigheder i DVI m.m
 87-101 1828-1849 Kopibog B for alle breve som vedkommer den civile administration.
 93-101 1836 2/1 - 1849 22/6..... 9 bd
 Nr. 102 1842 3/1 - 1848 4/11 Kopibog C, m. register. Indhold: Generalguvernementets befalinger, plakater, bekendtgørelser instruktioner, reglementer, kontrakter, attester m.m.... 1 bd
- Nr.103-325 (1716) 1755-1854 Indkomne skrivelser m.m.
 108-109 Kopibog for Kgl. reskripter, m.reg..... 2 bd
 137-139 Ministeriel- og kollegiale breve..... 3 pk
- Nr.140-146 1829-1853 Indkomne skrivelser til generalguvernøren under dennes (v. Scholtens) ophold i Kbh.
 143-146 1839-1848 Indkomne skrivelser..... 4 pk
- Nr.147-325 1760-1854 Indkomne skrivelser fra myndigheder m.m. i DVI
 166 1848 1/12 - 1854 ca. 1/7 Journal m. register..... 1 bd
 204 1849 (j.nr. 1-482) Indkomne skrivelser..... 1 pk
- Nr.326-339 ca. 1767 - ca. 1850 Diverse sager.
 326 1833-34 Kopibog for generalguvernøren. Indhold: Kopier af både indkomne og udgåede skrivelser. Angår: Det ny arrest- og arbejdshus på St.Croix og den ufrie population på de DVI m. fortegnelse fol. 25 over de i kopibogen afskrevne, til generalguvernøren indsendte betænkninger desangående, med henvisning til journalisering i referatprotokol B, 1834.
 (nu 329) 1832-1842
 327
 (ompakket til 330-331)
- [Den vestindiske regering 1755-1848/Guvernementet St.Croix 1849-1917]
- (Diverse)
- 1800 Forordninger og plakater..... 6 bd
 Visdomsbog
 1758-1865 Kommissioner
 1833-1842 Forhandlingsprotokol for skolekommissionen, St. Croix... 1 bd

[fortegnelse over udtagne sager i den vestindiske regering/guvernements arkiver (St.Croix og St.Thomas afd.) Ordnet alfabetisk efter betydende or, en sag kan således optræde flere gange.

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| 17th 1-5 | | Missionsvæsen: Skole og missionsvæsen vedr. (St.Croix og St. Thomas) 1815-37 |
| 16th 4-3 | | Love: Betænkninger og erklæringer til love 1851 |
| 16th 4-2 | | Instruktioner: Anordninger, bekendtgørelser og instruktioner 1824-1911. |
| 17tv 3-3 | 14 | Skolesager St. Thomas 1852-61 |
| 17th 3-1/2 | | Forordninger: Tinglæste forordninger m.m. 1806-1845 (- 1800 - 1815) 2 pk. |
| 17th 1-5 | | Regnskabsvæsen: Skole og missionsfondens midler 1835. |
| 16th 4-1 | | Love: Betænkninger til de udstedte love anordninger og plakater 1834-41. |
| 32tv 4-2 | | Love. Forskellige udkast til love og anordninger 1853-55 |
| 32tv 4-1 | | Skolevæsnet på St.Thomas og St. Jan 1833-71. |
| 32tv 3-4 | | Kommissionen vedr. den Lancasterske skole 1833-39. |

The Moravian Archive, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

St Croix

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| C 9 # 3 | School records. First register of La Grande Princesse Rural School, 1841-46. |
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St Thomas

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| T 14 # 1 | St Thomas (& St John), school records. Catalogue, 1848-79. |
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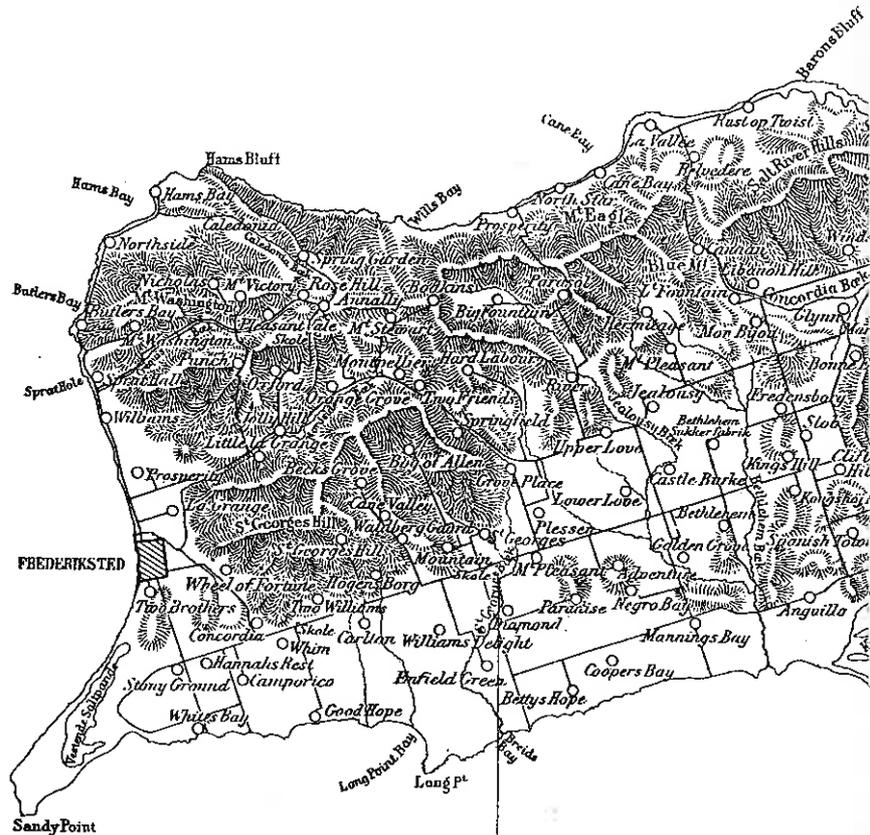
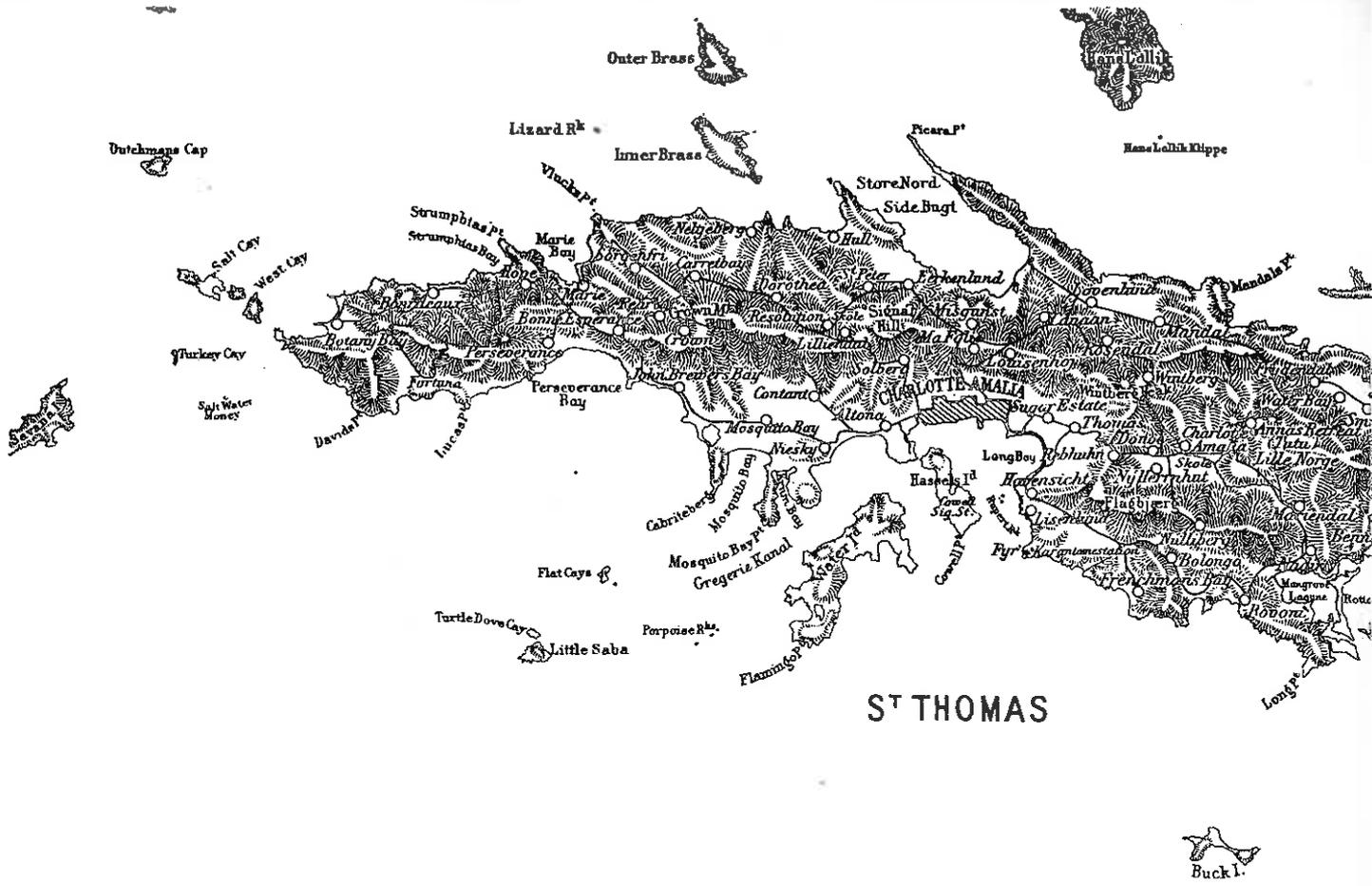
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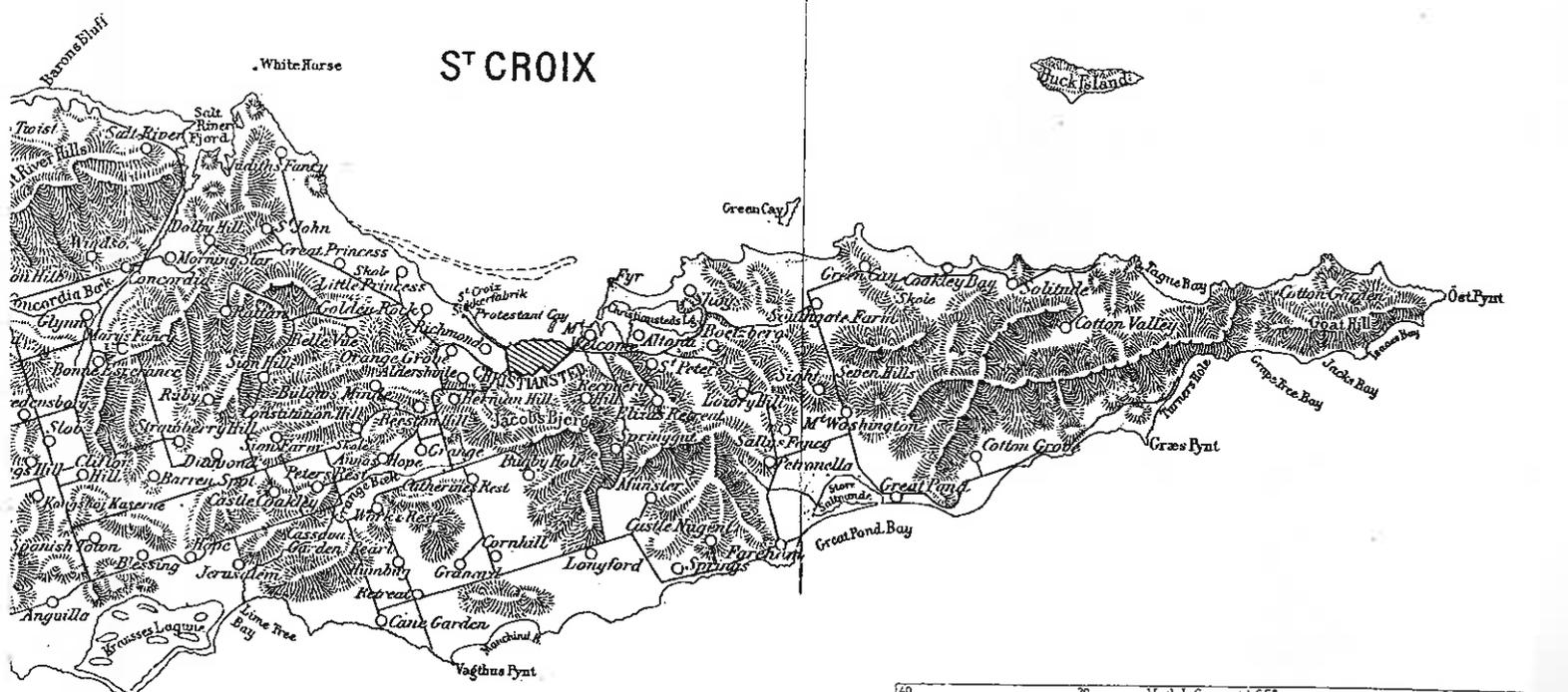
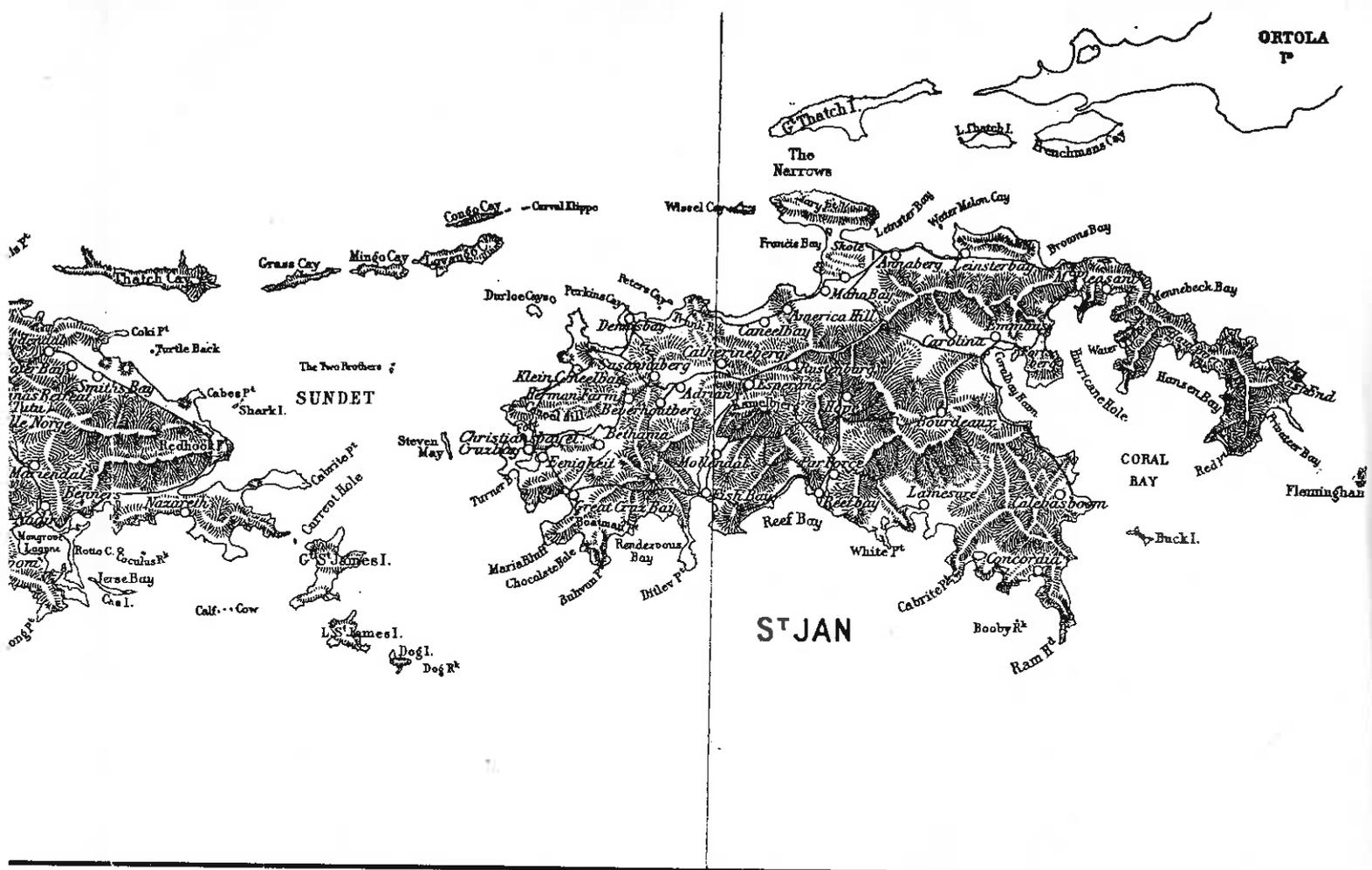


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