From Golden Rock to Historic Gem: a historical archaeological analysis of the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius, Dutch Caribbean
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5

Social Components

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

5.1 The civic component

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

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

5.1.1 Upper Town

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.1.2 Lower Town

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

In 1738, Commander Isaac Faesch devised a plan to build a village on the bay, but disagreements about ownership of the land prevented the project from coming to fruition (Attema 1976:35). It did not take long, however, before Lower Town's population increased. The oldest known map of the island, made by Alexander de Lavaux in 1741 (Figure 1.1), shows a long row of structures in Lower Town, so it seems that despite the failed plan of a few years before, development of the area was increasing. Due to
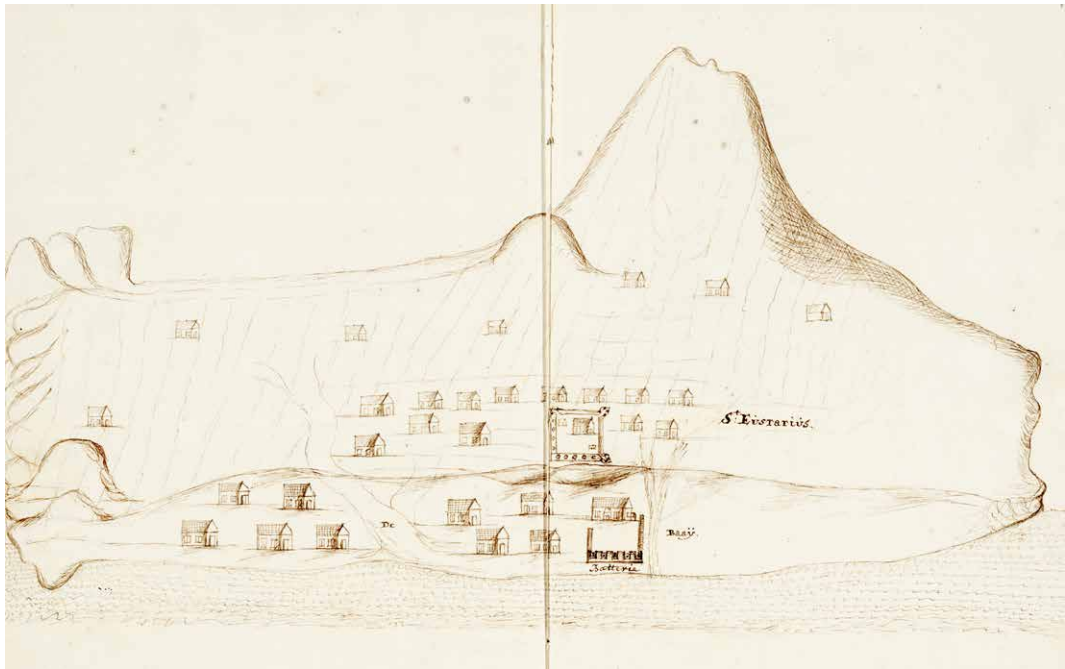
Figure 5.2 Sketch of St. Eustatius made in 1723 by Jan Stalperts. Source: NA 1.05.01.02, 1182, stuk 14.

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.1.3 Plantations

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

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

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

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

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28   The excavation was conducted as a mitigation measure prior to leveling in the area by NuStar.
29   The depth of the excavated trench ranged from 20 to 80 centimeters.

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

cavation suggests that some dwellings may have contained wooden boards. Structures varied considerably in size, from 8 to 21 m². The structures were all rectangular, ranging from 2 x 4 m to 3.5 x 6 m. Two of the dwellings were connected at the rear by a wall, while one dwelling even exhibited a small porch. The Schotsenhoek slave quarters did not exhibit an organized settlement pattern; dwellings were oriented east-west and north-south, were spaced irregularly, and their entrances faced different directions. The dwellings were built around a central, open area approximately fifteen meters across. A hearth was found in the center of the open space, indicating that this area may have been a communal place where cooking activities took place. Ten meters to the north of the dwellings, a row of posts was found that comprised a fence. It is likely that the fence marks the area where a house yard or the provisioning grounds were located, as it would have protected crops from being eaten by roaming animals. It was not possible to determine whether all structures were in use simultaneously, but given the spatial relationship between them and the site's relatively short period of occupation, as discussed below, it is likely that they were.

The Schotsenhoek slave quarters were located immediately west of the plantation's boiling house. Based on artifacts contained in the features, the occupation of the slave quarters dates to the early to mid-eighteenth century. Curiously, on a map made in 1781, the slave quarters at Schotsenhoek plantation is depicted far away from the rest of the plantation complex (Figure 5.5). This indicates that sometime between the 1750s and 1781, the slave quarters were relocated. An 1811 inventory of all posses-
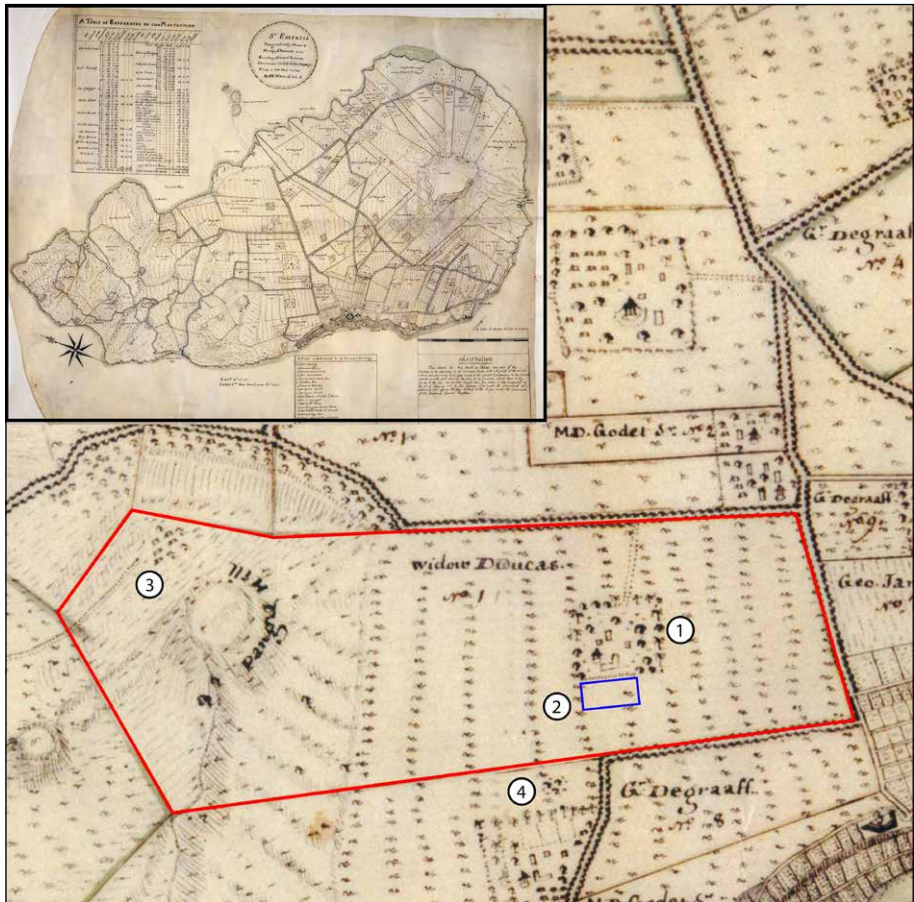
Figure 5.5 Excerpt of the 1781 map of St. Eustatius made by P.F. Martin during the British occupation of the island. The red polygon marks the boundaries of Schotsenhoek plantation; 1. Plantation buildings; 2. Location of slave quarters excavation in the blue rectangle; 3. Slave quarters in 1781 indicated by tent-like structures; 4. Benners plantation cemetery marked by three trees. This is the most detailed historic map of St. Eustatius known to exist. The map was composed by the British occupiers. The map's road network matches the modern road network closely. Many of the numerous plantation boundary walls depicted on the map are still visible in the Statian landscape today. Attesting to its accuracy, this map has been used by the author successfully in the past to locate archaeological sites such as slave quarters, burial grounds, and specific plantation structures. As is the case with the Schotsenhoek slave quarters, however, the configurations of plantations, depicted so detailed on the map, could change through time. Source: University of Michigan, William L. Clements Library Image Bank, ID 892.

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

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

5.1.4 The roadstead

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2 The cognitive component

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

5.2.1 Place names

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FROM GOLDEN ROCK TO HISTORIC GEM

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

5.2.2 Religious buildings

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

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

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

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

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

Figure 5.7 Synagogue Honen Dalim. Photo by the author.

FROM GOLDEN ROCK TO HISTORIC GEM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2.3 The deceased

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.3 The recreative component

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

5.3.1 Alcohol consumption

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.3.2 Smoking

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

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

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

5.3.3 Parties

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

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

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

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

5.3.4 Tours and picnics

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

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

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

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

5.4 Conclusions

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

The cognitive component comprises many different features, some of which are tangible, but perhaps many more of which are not. Place names indicate a clear division in the island's cognitive component. Names of places found in the countryside did not change very often, as these rural places experienced relatively few outside influences. In contrast, names of populated places along the coast and in town changed more frequently as people from all around the world came and went and life happened at a much faster pace. Tangible features included a multitude of religious buildings such as churches of many denominations and a synagogue – one of the oldest in the Western Hemisphere. Throughout history, people have used religion to influence the cognitive component in several ways. In the case of the Dutch Reformed Church, this was very noticeable, while other groups such as the Jewish population tried to achieve the exact opposite. Nevertheless, members of all religious groups tried to convey messages beyond the grave, as is evidenced by elaborate symbolism in the island's cemeteries. The entirety of the cognitive component may be beyond description simply because most of it existed and continues to exist solely in people's minds, and many of those thoughts have never been written down. Yet, through detailed analysis of tangible features, stories, and modern and historical perceptions, which are direct and indirect reflections of historic thoughts and thought processes, it is possible to study this landscape to a certain degree in order to recreate the mental map that Statia's former inhabitants created to experience the world in which they lived.
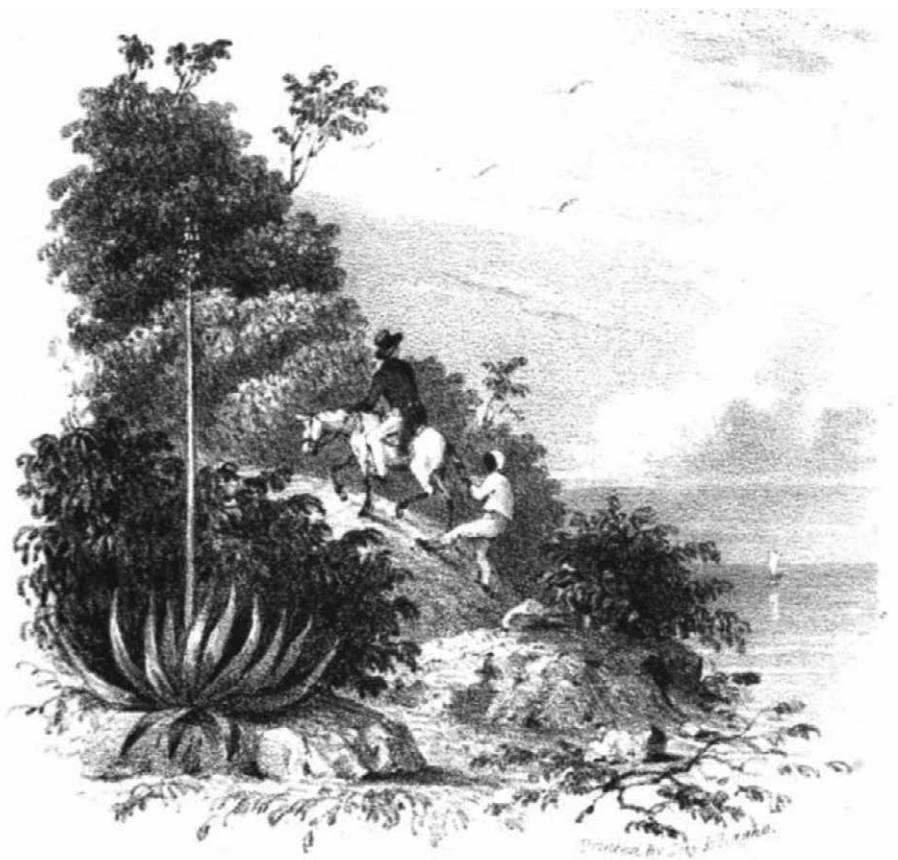
Figure 5.11 Ascent to the crater, from Wentworth's The West India Sketchbook (1835). Accompanied by this drawing is the following text: "You instinctively cast a look behind to measure the distance of a retrograde movement that would insure you a broken neck, and about ten chances to one, you discovered your guide hanging by the horse's tail, as if to promote the catastrophe".

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

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