

# Comprehensive bibliography of texts in or about Virgin Islands Dutch Creole<sup>1</sup>

Cefas van Rossem

**Based on:**

Van Rossem, Cefas & Hein van der Voort. 1996. 'Ill Negerhollands Bibliography'. In: Van Rossem & Van der Voort (eds). 1996. *Die Creol Taal, 250 Years of Negerhollands Texts*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp. 281- 317. Updated by Cefas van Rossem from 2010 on.

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<sup>1</sup> Other names for this language are *Carriols* (1736), *die Creol taal* (1780), *Negerhollands* (1840) *Negro Dutch* (1937), *Di hou creol* and *Fried donkey language*.

## 1. Introduction

In works about the Virgin Islands, often a paragraph or chapter is devoted to Virgin Islands (VI) Dutch Creole and its written sources. Often the writers of these works did not have the chance to see these sources themselves as they were sometimes kept in libraries or archives inaccessible to them. This has led to minor and major mistakes in the references, which were often copied and passed on in later publications by others. None of the previous works, bibliographical or not, are complete in this sense. As we had the chance to check references to most existing sources of VI Dutch Creole first-hand, we were able to discover many of the mistakes, and in some cases, discover hitherto unknown sources. Though probably no bibliography will ever be complete, we have attempted here to compose as exhaustive and correct a bibliography as possible. Even though we do not hesitate to point out mistakes in other bibliographies, we acknowledge wholeheartedly the fact that we stand on the shoulders of our predecessors. These fundamental works guided us, and gave us the opportunity to connect loose ends and find out about the correct references. At some future time the Moravian materials in the archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania (USA) and possibly other collections as well should be studied in more detail.

The following bibliographies are, when they apply, quoted consistently with the systematic codes used in them:

Hesseling, Dirk Christiaan.

- 1905 *Het Negerhollands der Deense Antillen. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandse taal in Amerika*. Leiden: Sijthoff.  
Chapter II of this work on the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole language contains a richly commented bibliography of a number of sources in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole found in Herrnhut and in Copenhagen.

Reinecke, John E. et al.

- 1975 "Negerhollands: Virgin Islands Creole Dutch". Chapter 58 of: *A Bibliography of Pidgin and Creole Languages*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii. p. 318-321.  
Chapter 58 contains an annotated bibliography of sources in and about Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. It is frequently based on information from Larsen (1950) and Hesseling (1905).

Stein, Peter.

- 1986b "The Documents concerning the NegroDutch Language of the of the Danish Virgin Islands, St.Thomas, St.Croix, and St.John - Negerhollands-, in the Unitäts-Archiv (Archives of the Moravian Brethren) at Herrnhut. A commented Bibliography", in: *Amsterdam Creole Studies IX*. p. 19-31.  
This bibliography contains nearly all documents in and on Virgin Islands Dutch Creole found in the archives of the Moravian Brethren in Herrnhut. Their coding derives from the original signatures. Because

these codings reveal the relationships of the documents with each other, we have also included them in our bibliography.

Vibæk, Jens.

- 1953 "Dansk Vestindien 1755-1848, Vestindiens Storhedstid", in: Johannes Brøndsted (ed). *Vore Gamle Tropekolonier* Volume 2. Copenhagen: Westermanns Forlag, 1953. 2nd ed. Copenhagen: Fremad, 1966. This work contains a chapter on 'daily life' in which some linguistic and bi(bli)ographical information is found. One of the appendices is a bibliographical list of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, partially based on Hesseling (1905).

Bibliographical information is also found in the following works, which are sometimes quoted in the present bibliography:

Ehrencron-Müller, H.

- 1924 *Forfatterlexicon omfattende Danmark, Norge og Island indtil 1814*, Bind I-XII, København: H. Aschehoug & Co.

Koch, L.

- 1905 "Den danske mission i Vestindien", in: *Kirkehistoriske samlinger*, 5.række, 3.bind, [Selskabet for Danmarks Kirkehistorie ved Holger Fr. Rørdam] Kjøbenhavn: G.E.C. Gad. p. 144-180.

Larsen, Jens [P.M.].

- 1950 *Virgin Islands Story; a History of The Lutheran State Church, Other Churches, Slavery, Education, and Culture in the Danish West Indies, now the Virgin Islands*. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press.

Lose, Emil Valdemar.

- 1891 "Kort Udsigt over den dansk-lutherske Missions Historie paa St.Croix, St.Thomas og St.Jan", in: *Nordisk Missionstidsskrift*, udgivet af J.Vahl, 1ste aargang. Kjøbenhavn: Hoffensberg & Trap's Etabl. (i kommission hos Fr.Bertelsen, Bethesda). p. 1-37.

Schuchardt, Hugo.

- 1914 "Zum Negerholländischen von St. Thomas", in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* 33. p. 123-135.

As far as our information goes, sound recordings of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole have been made only since 1970. We feel that a bibliography of audio-visual sources of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, and even a library of such nature, would be welcome for the nearest possible future. As the language is reported extinct since 1987, one could aim to be exhaustive. The present bibliography, however, only concerns written sources and consists of two parts; sources that exist only in manuscript form, and printed sources.

This bibliography is alphabetically ordered by author name and, if no indication of the author exists, it is ordered as to the first content word of the title page. Titles are in italics, and articles or chapters are between citation marks. When the author is known, but an explicit indication in the work itself is absent, or if he or

she is part of the title, or when, for the lack of author and title, a description of the work had to be used to represent the entry, they are put between [square brackets]. Bibliographical information on the original title page that is not part of the author reference or the title itself is between *[square brackets in italics]*.

Different entries are separated from one another by a space line. So when different references are found in the same entry, they are apparent subparts and are included in the same publication (e.g. Wold).

Of certain rare works, we have, like our predecessors, tried to give the correct signature, if possible, of the places where they can be found today.

Note that in Reinecke (1975), the little circle in e.g. `°1798' indicates that the writers have not seen the work from 1798 (entry number 28 in their bibliography) themselves. We have kept this information by putting a `° in front of their entry number code, so now `°28' means that they have not seen this work (from 1789) themselves. Works of which we did not have the chance to see, first-hand or in photocopied or microfilmed form, are marked with an asterisk between braces, {\*}, at the end of the pertinent entry, but before the bibliographical comments. Works that are collected in our archive are marked {P} (on paper) or {D} (digital).

## Abbreviations

BUH	Universitets Bibliotek København (University Library of Copenhagen, since 1992 incorporated in DKB)
DKB	Det Kongelige Bibliotek (The Royal Library in Copenhagen)
EN	Short English characterization of the title
ms.	manuscript
n.d.	not dated
p. 3-11	pages 3 to 11
93 pp.	93 pages
RA	Rigsarkivet (State Archives in Copenhagen)
UA	Archiv der Brüder-Unität (Archives of the Moravian Brethren at Herrnhut)
UBA	Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam (Amsterdam University Library)
UBL	Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden (Leyden University Library)
unkn.aut.	unknown author
unkn.pub.	unknown publisher
unkn.pl.	unknown place
unkn.p.	unknown page(s)
unkn.f.	unknown format

The original bibliography was composed by Cefas van Rossem and Hein van der Voort. It was published in Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996: 279-317). From 2010 on Cefas van Rossem updated and expanded the text. The new version is published on [www.diecreoltaal.com](http://www.diecreoltaal.com) and will regularly be updated.

Thanks for helping me keeping this file updated, Peter Bakker!

## 2. Manuscripts

[Alling, Niels Olufsen. Psalms of David]. {\*}

>According to Lose (1891:23), Alling, teacher-missionary on St. Thomas, had translated 100 of David's psalms into Virgin Islands Dutch Creole by 1777. They were finished and sent to Denmark. The General Church Inspection College received them in 1778, but they were never printed and the manuscript has disappeared since.

Anon. *Dutch definitions p. 13*. About 1985. Printed on matrix printer, 1 p.

>Obtained by Gylchris Sprauve and Myron D. Jackson, December 2021. {D}  
> Part of a wordlist by a student of Gilbert Sprauve made during the colleges with Alice Stevens, University of the US Virgin Islands.  
>Contains 44 entrances, Dutch Creole, English translation .

Auerbach, Joh. Christoph. [Letter from Niesky in St. Thomas, 10 March 1774 to Friedrich Neisser, Barby, Germany.] 3 pp. {P}

>UA: R15 Ba 21a. 70

>The letter contains a passage in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole that was cited in the introduction to the present work. The 18th century correspondence, as of yet not fully explored, between the Virgin Islands and Moravian Brethren in Germany often contains pieces in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, or remarks about the language.

Auerbach, Joh. Christoph [Letter from Friedensthal in St. Croix, 18 October 1782 to Bruder Von Wobeser]. Unkn.p.

>UA: R15 Bb 26 b 276.

>Auerbach sends extensive greetings in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

*Beilage zum Diario von St. Thomas vom Monat August 1755 - a) Etliche Cariolische Lieder*. 1755. 6 pp. {P} {D}

>EN: Annex to a diary part A. Creole hymns.

>Part B of this ms. is a list in German of 48 'widows in St Thomas who have enrolled at our sister Benigna, to be with her in a special choir-community, and who for this reason were [together] today the 31st of August 1755'.

>Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.3.4).

>UA: R15Bb Nr.6-2m.

>The sixth page is signed 'B.J.'. Perhaps 'Bruder Johann.'?

Birkby, James. [Letter from Anneberg in St. John, 27 April 1782 to Bruder Joseph Spangenberg]. Unkn.p.

>UA: R15 Bb 26 b 190.

>Birkby comments on the use of Dutch Creole and English.

[Böhner, Johann] *Die Geschichte users HEERN und Heilandes Jesu Christi, aus den*

*Vier Evangelisten zusammengezogen, Un aus dem Deutsch in die Creolsprache übersetzt zum Gebrauch in dem Versammlung Haus der Neeger Gemeine.* Mit einem Register zur anweisung der Stäglichten Evangelium. Before 1780. 15,0 x 19,0 cm, 406 pp. {P} {D}

>EN: History of our Lord.

>p. 1-297: Evangelienharmonie; p. 297-404: The Acts of the Apostles.

>Stein (1986b:29, nr. 3.2.1).

>UA: NBVII R3, 6g.

[Böhner, Johann] *Die Handelingen of Geskiedenis van ons HEER en Heiland JEsus Christus ut die Vier Evangelisten na een tesamenhang gefoegt.*

Before 1780. 16,1 x 20,1 cm, 4 + 528 pp. {P}

>EN: History of our Lord.

>p. 1-418: Evangelienharmonie; p. 419-526: The Acts of the Apostles.

>Stein (1986b:29, nr. 3.2.2).

>UA: NBVII R3, 6f.

Böhner, Johann. [Letter from Neu Herrnhut in St. Thomas, 10 March 1780 to Bruder Joseph [Spangenberg], Barby, Germany]. 2 pp. {P}

>UA: R15 Bb 26 b 113.

>The letter reports on his translation activities into Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, through which several manuscripts can be located in time, and in which he mentions other Virgin Islands Dutch Creole translations, e.g. the Psalms of David, certain Apocrypha, etc. of which we do not know the whereabouts.

Böhner, Johann. *Korte Begriep van die Christlike Leer, nabin die evangelische Broedergemeenten daer geleeft van August Gottlieb Spangenberg.* Niw Herrnhuth: 1780. 2 volumes, 15,5 x 19,3 cm, 650 pp. {P}

>EN: Short summary of the Christian doctrine.

>Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.2.6).

>UA: NBVII R3, 6i1/6i2.

>Virgin Islands Dutch Creole translation of the *Idea Fidei Fratrum*. The German original of this doctrine of the Moravian Brethren was written by August Gottlieb Spangenberg (Bruder Joseph) in 1778 and printed in 1779.

Böhner, Johann. [Letter from Neu Herrnhut in St. Thomas, 15 June 1773 to Brüder indem Herrn, die Unitäts Ältesten Conferenz ]. 11 pp. {P}

>UA: R15 Ba 21 a 51.

>Probably addressed to Friedrich Neisler, not mentioned in text.

>The letter reports several cases with regard to publication of hymn book. It also mentions the first translation of the Gospel Harmony into Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

Böhner, Johann. [Letter from Neu Herrnhut in St. Thomas, 21 January 1780 to

Bruder Joseph [Spangenberg], Barby, Germany]. 2 pp. {P}

>UA: R15 Bb 26 b 113.

>The letter reports on his translation activities into Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, remarks on the prerequisites for the acquisition of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and the use of the translations in the community of Moravian Brethren.

Böhner, Johann. [Letter from Neu Herrnhut in St. Thomas, 2 August 1781 to Bruder Joseph [Spangenberg], Barby, Germany]. 2 pp. {P}

>UA: R15 Bb 26 b 218.

>The letter reports on his translation activities into Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, remarks on the prerequisites for the acquisition of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and on the quality of Magens' translation of the New Testament.

Böhner, Johann. [Letter from Neu Herrnhut in St. Thomas, 3 April 1783 to Bruder Johannes, Barby, Germany]. Unkn.p.

>UA: R15 Bb 26 c 19.

>Böhner reports on translation of Holy Scripture and copying of New Testament. He still does not need glasses and the characters are as easy to write as the High German ones, since he already writes in them for a long time.

[Böhner, J.] *Die Briefen van die Apostel sender*. [and the revelation of John]. 15,6 x 20,1 cm, 259 pp. {P}

>EN: The New Testament Epistles.

>Stein (1986b:29, nr. 3.2.4).

>UA: NBVII R3, 6h.

[Böhner, J.] *Ein abermaliger Versuch, Etwas aus den Büchern der heiligen Schrift Alten Testaments in die Creol (oder Neger) Sprache zu übersetzen, und in eine harmonische Zeitordnung gebracht, und in den dunkeln Stellen aus dem deutlichen Vortrag und Zusammenhang Des Grundtextes erlaeutert ....* End 18th century. 3 volumes, 15,4 x 20,0 cm, 1038 pp. {P}

>EN: Old Testament in Creole.

>vol.I: p. 1-259, 1-129; vol.II: p. 131-524; vol.III: p. 1-123, 1-132.

>Stein (1986b:29-30, nr. 3.2.5).

>UA: NBVII R3, 6e1/6e2/6e3.

>Based on Karl Rudolph Reichel, *Bücher der heil. Schrift, altes Testament*, 12 Bände, 8to. Barby, Kummer, 1774.

[Böhner, J.] Afschriften van gedeelten uit het Nieuwe Testament, en van religieuze geschriften van de Herrnhutter Johann Böhner (1710-1785), in Negerhollands. 17 schriften met inleiding. Typoscript, handschrift. Circa 1940. 18 stukken Schenking Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, 2007.

>EN: Copies of parts of the New Testament, and of religious material by the Herrnhuter Johann Böhner (1710-1785), in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. 17

notebooks with introduction. 18 pieces.

>Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Royal Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies), Leyden: H 1491.

>Probably copies made by or for D.C. Hesseling to use for Hesseling (1905). Although the hand seems to be Hesseling's, no references to these notebooks were made by Hesseling in his work on Creole languages.

[Brandt, Andreas Joachim] *Psalm-Buk of Een Samling van ouwe en nijwe Psalmen ka set over {na|in} die Creol-Tael tot Dienst van Die Deen Mission in Amerika*. Unkn.d. [before 1799]. Unkn.f., 86 pp. {P}

>EN: Hymn book or a collection of old and new hymns translated into the Creole language for the service of the Danish mission in America.

>Discovered in 2003 by Poul Olsen, chefkonsulent, Statens Arkiver, in Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen.

> Contains 76 hymns and the litany 'Heer Gott Vaeder na die Heemel! Neem Jammer over ons...'

> DKB/RA: Unknown signature.

*Catalogus unserer Neger-Geschwister in S. Thomas, Crux, Jan, von 1736-1753.* {\*}

>EN: Catalogue of our Negro brethren and sisters.

>Stein (1986b:23, nr. 1.2.8).

>UA: R15Bb, 24.

[Diaries, Reports, Letters, quite regularly written by the missionaries]. 18th century. {\*}

>Stein (1986b:22, nr. 1.2.3).

>UA.

>Some texts from this entry have been published in the *Büdingische Sammlung* (see Zinzendorf 1742).

[Four Creole sermons from 1796/97]. In: [A number of diverse texts, partially dated]. 46 pp. {P}

>Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.3.1.5). One of these sermons, called "Eine Rede an die Kinder" has been published in Stein (1986c).

>UA: NBVII R3, 6d.

[A free translation of Genesis 1,16 - 4,26]. Some commentaries added. In: [A number of diverse texts, partially dated]. 32 pp. {P}

>Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.3.1.3).

>On first page dated: '25 Marz 1797', but unclear whether these pages belong to Genesis manuscript.

>UA: NBVII R3, 6d.

*Geskiednis na die Martel=Week en tee na die Hemelvaart van ons Heere en Heiland Jesus Christus.* 132 pp. {D}

- >EN: History of the Passion week to the Ascension.
- >In Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in box: "Ms. Translations into Danish (Creolan). 2.) The Passion Week-Ascension", MissWI 187.
- >Probably written by J.C. Auerbach.

*Die Geskiedenis van ons Heere en Heiland Jesus Christus, opgeskreeven van die vier Evangelisten Mattheus, Marcus, Lucas en Johannes (3.2.3.1);*

*Die Geskiednis van ons Heere en Heiland Jesus Christus, soo as die vier Evangelist sender ka skriev die op (3.2.3.2).* In: [A number of diverse texts, partially dated]. Late 18th or early 19th century. 15,5 x 19,8 cm., respectively 107 pp. and 97 pp. {P}

- >EN: History of our Lord.
- >Two Virgin Islands Dutch Creole translations of respectively §1-43 and §1-36 of the Evangelienharmonie.
- >Stein (1986b:29, nr 3.2.3., also 3.3.1.2) (We have referred to the two parts respectively as 3.2.3.1 and 3.2.3.2.).
- >After comparing the handwriting of these manuscripts to a letter of Johann Christoph Auerbach (1774) Robbert van Sluijs and Cefas van Rossem concluded that Auerbach can be the translator/transcriber. Since Auerbach lived in the Danish Antilles from 1766 until 1792, these texts may probably be dated before 1792.
- > With regard to 3.2.3.1: Two volumes: I: 1-27, II: 28-end. No cover. Loose bract has text in pencil: *Evangelisten Harmony in Creol*. First page of section in red ink: *Die Geskiednis van ons HEERE en Heiland Jesus Christus, opgeskreeven van die vier Evangelisten, Matheus, Marcus, Lucas en Johannes*.
- >UA: NBVII R3, 6d.

Glitsch, A. [Letter from Herrnhut, Germany, 7 September 1903 to D.C. Hesseling, Leyden, The Netherlands] 4 p.

- >containing comprehensive bibliography of available Creole manuscripts in Unitäts Archiv Herrnhut.

Glitsch, A. [Letter from Herrnhut, Germany, 14 September 1903 to D.C. Hesseling, Leyden, The Netherlands] 1 p.

- >about possibility and costs to copy manuscript of *Grammatik der Creol-Sprache in West-Indien*.

Glitsch, A. [Letter from Herrnhut, Germany, 30 October 1903 to D.C. Hesseling, Leyden, The Netherlands] 1 p.

- >about copy and costs of manuscript of *Grammatik der Creol-Sprache in West-Indien*.

Gomez, John B. *Kerk Buch for Die Mission Gemeente hier op St Thomas 5 van November 1813 John B Gomez Voorlezer en schoolmester voor die Mission*

*Gemeente.* {?}

>EN: Church book of the St. Thomas community.

>The 'provisional' archive signature from the catalogue "Københavnske Kirkebøger II, med et tillæg omfattende modtagne kirkebøger, herunder kirkebøger fra Grønland og Dansk-Vestindien, København, 1974.", of the Landsarkiv in Copenhagen is: 776, Ministerialbog for Dansk- Vestindien, Skt.Thomas og Skt.Jan, Kulørte Missionsmenighed, 1813-1822.

>The first 68 pages of this 'church-book' are in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. This is a Danish mission parish register of 'the coloured community' on St Thomas, containing a kind of diary of baptisms, marriages and deaths and now and then a list of those (slaves or freemen, grown-ups or children) that passed 'confirmation' or had their first 'communion' (heilig Avontmael Sacrament). It is by Gomez, who owned a plantation on St. Thomas and was *Degn* 'deacon' there. After January 9th, 1817, the register is in Danish. The original can be found in the church archives of Landsarkivet for Sjælland, Lolland-Falster og Bornholm in Copenhagen, Jagtvej 10. It is accessible in a photocopy format from 1989. Only this part of one of the West Indies parish registers in the Landsarkiv is in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, whereas nearly all the others are in Danish, and some are in Dutch. In all registers, Fraktur handwriting is used for Danish, and Latin handwriting for Dutch, Latin, Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and personal names.

*Grammatik der Creol-Sprache in West-Indiën.* Shortly after 1802. 96 pp., unkn.pl.

>EN: Grammar of the Creole language.

>Hesseling (1905:45): "14. G.H." Hesseling writes that he obtained a copy of this manuscript from mr. A. Glitsch in Herrnhut. That manuscript/copy (from the beginning of this century) is found in the Hesseling archive in the library of the State University of Leiden, see next entry. Hesseling, and with him Reinecke, claim the Herrnhut copy has 104 pages.

>Reinecke (1975:319, nr. °19, n.d.), as in Hesseling.

>Stein (1986b:24, nr. 2.1.4): "[anon.] *Grammatik der Creol-Sprache.* s.l., s.d., 15,5 x 19,2 cm, 96 pp."

>UA: NBVII R3, 6b2.

>Erroneously mentioned in Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1993:109) as written in 1805.

*Grammatik der Creol-Sprache in West-Indien.* 1903. 112 pp., small 4°, Herrnhut. {P}

>EN: Grammar of the creole language.

>UBL 163 C 33 (formerly 559 H 28).

>Hesseling (1905) writes that he obtained a copy of the original manuscript from 1802 with the same title from mr. A. Glitsch in Herrnhut. This manuscript/copy (from the beginning of this century) cannot not be found in the Hesseling archive in the library of the Leyden University nor in the manuscript collection, but in the collection of printed works. On the inside cover is written that it is a gift from 1941 by Hesseling's widow A. H.

Hesseling-Salverda de Grave. The back of the cover bears the title 'Het Negerhollands der Deense Antillen'.

>Reinecke (1975:319, nr. °19, n.d.), from Hesseling.

*Die Helfer und Diener unter den Mohren in Thomas, Crux und Jan aus diesen selbst. Was von ihnen, aus ihrem Kirchen=Buche und aus dem Munde ihres 27jährigen Kirchen-Dieners Bruder Georg Weber aus gefasst worden, Jm Nov. 1760.*

>EN: The helpers and servants under the Moors.

>Stein (1986b:23, nr. 1.2.7).

>UA: R15Ba, 27-11.

Hesseling, Dirk Christiaan. *Creolisering in de taal*. [Ms. of lecture held at 'De Spaanse Club', Den Haag, January 20. 1934]. 27 pp. {P}

>EN: Creolization in language.

>UBL: BPL 2408.

Hesseling, Dirk Christiaan. *Studiemateriaal voor het Creoolsch*.

>EN: Study material for Creole.

>1. notebook containing references to Creole texts (1909-1932), 5 p. 2. notebook containing references and Berbice letters which were published in Hesseling (1905), 4 p. 3. notebook containing excerpts from G. Høst's *Efterretninger of Öen Sanct Thomas og dem Gouverneurer, optegnede der paa Landet fra 1769 indtil 1776* (Copenhagen: 1791), 5 p. 4. notebook containing Papiamentu, 14 p. 5. notebook 'Negerholl. psalmboek', containing comparison of the Moravian hymnbooks of 1774 and 1784, 4 p. 6. notebook 'Kreools I', Hesseling's transcription of preface of Magens's New Testament of 1818. 7. notebook 'Kreools II', 6 p. 8. notebook 'St. Thomas', containing references to *Reize naar de Caribische Eilanden* (1780-1781). 9./10. scratch pads containing notes from Jespersen and Schuchardt. 11. notebook containing notes about reproduction of codices. 12. Letters from A. Glitsch to Hesseling (see separate entry). 13. portfolio with the lecture *Creolisering in de taal*.

>UBL: BPL 2408.

[Hinskens, Frans] *Moravian Archives, woensd. 1 sept. 1993 Dr. Vernon Nelson*. 8 pp.

>Field notes of his visit to the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem Pa, USA. {D}

>See: Hinskens (1995)

[Isles, Samy] *Diarium von St. Thomas vom Monat Septbr. 1754 bis Januar 1755 incl. Beilage zum 25sten Dec. gehörig: Lied welches am Kinder Bettage des 25. Dec [1754] abgesungen worden*. 1754-1755. 4 pp.

>EN: Diary of St. Thomas. Annex: hymn.

>Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.3.3).

>also in Stein (1982b:106-112).  
>UA: R15Bb Nr.6-2h.

Isles, Samy & Georg Weber. *Criol Leedekin Boekje voor gebrieck Van de Neger broer gemeente Na St Thomas St Crux Overzet út de Hoog deutse taal door Broer Samy Isles en George Weber, en een deel mee Assistentie Broer Johannes Van de Jaar 1749 tot Jaar 1753*. small format, 87 pp. {D}  
>EN: Creole hymnal.  
>In Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in box: "Ms. Translations into Danish (Creolan). 1.) Hymn book for the Negroes of St. Thomas & St. Croix (Transl. by Sam Isles & Georg Weber, (1747-1753)", MissWI 186.

Josselin de Jong, J.P.B. 1922-1923. *Dagboek betr. expeditie naar de Antillen 19 Nov. 1922 – 24 Aug. 1923*. 20 x 29 cm, 157 pp.  
>EN: Diary on expedition to the Antilles.  
>UBL: Collection KITLV, signature: OR 385 (5-6).

[Kingo, Johan Christopher. The Gospel of St. Matthew]. 1765. unkn.pl. {\*}  
>Mentioned in Lose (1891:18) as never printed. This information was passed on in Koch, Larsen and Reinecke (1975:320, in a note under nr. °24 and °25).

[Kingo, Johan Christopher. Translation of Martin Luther's Small catechism]. 1770. {\*}  
>Reinecke (1975:320, nr. °25). According to Reinecke the work has been printed (his "Kingo 1770b"), but according to Ehrencron-Müller (1924), this is not the case. Reinecke et al. have not seen the work, but probably got the information from Larsen (1950). Larsen writes on page 114 that by 1770, both Kingo and Wold had published a Virgin Islands Dutch Creole primer, Wold furthermore a hymnal, and Kingo this catechism. This might be in accord with facts but real proof is still lacking (see section 3 Kingo). Lose (1891:18-21) writes that Magens and Wold worked on a draft version of Kingo's catechism from 1764 on, but nowhere it becomes explicit that it was ever printed (see section 3 Wold).

*Kirchenbuch* [covering the time from the beginning of the mission in 1732 up to November 11, 1759.] {\*}  
>EN: Parish Register.  
>Stein (1986b:22, nr. 1.2.5).  
>UA: R15 Ba, nr. 11-187.

*Die kleentje Catechismus van Docter Mart\*in Luther\**. In: [A number of diverse texts, partially dated]. 28 pp.  
>EN: The small Catechism.  
>In Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.3.1.1) as *Luthers Kleiner Katechismus*.  
>UA: NBVII R3, 6d.

Kreutzfeld, J.H. 1790, Oktober 1. [Letter from J.H. Kreutzfeld tot politimester Stenersen, St. Thomas, 1 October 1790].  
>contains one sentence in VIDC from a statement of a witness in a lawsuit: 'Ha ha, sender ka Thief you, men nu mi ka Krih you Kanaille.' Which means: 'ha ha, they have robbed you, but now I have got you, villain.'  
><https://arkivalieronline.rigsarkivet.dk/en/billedviser?bsid=289576#589576,57710487>

[A letter to Brother Nathanael from 1772, written in German, but the last four lines are Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and show a different handwriting.] {\*}  
>In Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in box: " St. Croix, W.I. Letters [#1] 1760-1774 (List in this box) G. (& Some Dutch) (cã 190 ms. pp.)".

[Loretz, Johann] *Bruder Loretz Entwurf zu einem kurzen Unterricht für die getauften und getrauten Eheleute*. Ca. 1783/1784. 6 pp.  
>EN: Sketch of a short instruction for baptized and married people.  
>Stein (1986b:31, nr. 3.3.6), see also *Visitationsberichte*.  
>UA: R15Ba Nr.27-12.

Loretz, Johannes. Unkn. d. [1784]. Bericht der, während meiner, Johannes Loretz, Visitation in den Königl. Dänischen Inseln St. Croix, St. Thomas und St. Jan gepfl\*o\*genen Verhandlungen, dasiges Missions-Werck der Brüder betreffend. 94 pp. {D}  
>UA: R15 Ba. 24 01a.  
>P.57-64, *Neu-Herrnhut d. 30tn April 1784. Praess. Br. Joh. Loretz, I.M. Mack, J.Chr. Auerbach und C.G. Reichelt* contains information about use of Creole and translations.

Lund, T(h)orkild. [Letter from Lund in Tommerup, Denmark, 3 June 1823, to J.P. Hiorthøÿ, secretary of the The Danish Mission Society].  
>RA. Privatinstutur. Det Danske Missions Selskab. Privatarkiv nr. 10.162. Pk. nr. 324. Danske Vestindiske Øer. Korrespondence m. v. vedr. de Danske Vestindiske Øer 1822-25, 1827. Journalnr. 5/1823, Arkivnr. 136, 1 [3. 6. 1823].  
>In this letter Lund expresses his gratitude for including in the *Creol Psalm-Buk* of 1823 the 30 extra hymns that he wrote 26 years ago. He gives some corrections, and the remaining verses of hymn 17, that have been inserted in the reprint of 1827 with minor spelling differences.

Mack, Martin, Johann Böhner, Matthaeus Kremser, Johann Christoph Auerbach & Melchior Schmidt. [Letter from St. Croix, 11 May 1773 to Brüder der Unitäts Ältesten Conferenz]. 5 pp. {P}  
>UA: R15 Ba 21 a 47.  
>The letter reports problems with regard to Creole vocabulary and Church jargon in forthcoming hymnbook.

[Magens, Jochum Melchior. New Testament]. {\*}

>According to Lose (1891:23), before 1770 a manuscript version of the New Testament translated by Magens and given to Wold circulated among the Danish missionaries. For the printed New Testament Magens made an entirely new translation.

[Magens, Jochum Melchior. Old Testament]. {\*}

>According to Larsen (1950:115), it is possible that besides his work on the New Testament between 1772 and 1777, Magens also started to translate the Old Testament. It is reported in Lose (1891:23-4) that the translation was finished and sent to Copenhagen in 1781, but never published. The introduction to the New Testament of 1781 refers to Magens' work on the Old Testament, and that the General Church Inspection College had received David's Psalms (see Alling) and the books of the Prophets. Like others this ms. was never found, and may have been destroyed in the Orphanage fire of 1795, the Palace fire of 1884 or some other fire.

Magens, J[ochum] M[elchior] *Grammatica over det Creolske sprog, som bruges paa de trende Danske Eilande, St. Croix, St. Thomas og St. Jans i Amerika. Sammenskrevet of opsat af en paa St. Thomas indföd Mand. Kiöbenhavn, 1770. Trykt udi det Kongelige Wäysenhusets Bogtrykkerie, af Gerhard Giese Salikath.* 93 pp.

>EN: Grammar of the Creole language.

>UBL: 1483 D 47.

>This is a bound handwritten copy of the printed work, apparently from the collection of D.C. Hesseling as on the inside cover is written that it is a gift from 1941 by his widow A.H. Hesseling-Salverda de Grave. It is likely that it was copied by D.C. Hesseling himself. Spelling errors are also copied, and commented `sic' in faint dotted characters. The copy is in blue ink, and only the right hand pages are used. The original page numbers are written in red ink in the right margin. Place of ornaments is indicated with red ink.

>This manuscript was used by De Josselin de Jong (see De Josselin de Jong 1924: 9, footnote 1)

*Memorabilia, in Creole.* 1767. In: [A number of diverse texts, partially dated]. 8 pp.

>EN: Memorabilia.

>Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.3.1.7).

>UA: NBVII R3 6d.

Nelson, Frank, G. 1936. *Words and short texts in Negerhollands, gathered in St. Thomas, June 1936.* 8 pp.

>Reinecke (1975:320, nr.31): "Copy in Univ. of Hawaii library, John E. Reinecke correspondence".

>Van Rossem and Van der Voort (1996) contains parts of this material, which

was revised by Professor Nelson himself, in his correspondence of 1994 with Hans den Besten.

>Typoscript of Nelson's fieldwork probably by John E. Reinecke.

>Published in Den Besten & Van Rossem (2013) and Van Rossem (2017: Chapter 14) as 'De Reineckelijst'.

Nelson, Frank G. 1996, July 18, 1996. Fragment from fieldnotes 1936.. Xerox copy in letter to Van Rossem. 2 pp.

>Published in Den Besten & Van Rossem (2013) and Van Rossem (2017: Chapter 14) as 'Fotokopie Veldnotitie'.

Nelson, Frank G. 1993, October 23. [Complete typoscript of fieldnotes]. Hilo (Hawaii, USA). 18 pp.

> Published in Den Besten & Van Rossem (2013) and Van Rossem (2017: Chapter 14) as 'De Nelsonlijst'.

[A number of diverse texts, partially dated]: *Übersetzungen ins Creolische. – Hs. -. 1. Luthers Catechismus 2. Evangelisten Harmonie 3. Bruckstücke aus 1. Mose 4. Reden 5. Verse 6. Memorabilien 1767.* format: c. 15.5 x 19.8 cm.

>Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.3.1, subdivided in seven entries).

>NB VII R.3 6d.

O[ldendorp], C.G.A. *Criolisches Wörterbuch. Erster zu vermehrender, und, wo nöthig, zu verbessernder Versuch.* 1767/1768. 10,8 x 18,2 cm, 189 pp.

>EN: Creole dictionary.

>Stein (1986b:25, nr. 2.2.1).

>UA: NBVII R3, 6b1.

>Edited and published by Peter Stein in Stein, Peter & Hein van der Voort (eds). 1996.

Oldendorp, C.G.A. *Missionsgeschichte*, 3 vols. 3273 pp (unknown whether rough or fair copy). {\*}

>EN: Mission history.

>Stein (1986b:21, nr. 1.2.1).

>The rough copy UA: R28-63.II, ± 3000 pp., 3 Vols. and the fair copy: UA: R28-62.I., ± 3000 pp., 3 Vols.

>Oldendorp gives a large and critical description of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. The nearly 60 pages of grammar in the manuscript have been shortened to 11 pages in the 1777 edition. A small section of the grammatical part of this ms. was translated in Gilbert (1986). The full grammar will be published together with Magens' and the Herrnhut grammar in Stein & Eroms (forthcoming).

> The entire manuscript has been published in Oldendorp (2002) and Oldendorp (2002).

Oldendorp, C.G.A. [Replies and critical remarks concerning the printed version of his *Missionsgeschichte* prepared by Bossart]. {\*}  
>Stein (1986b:22, nr. 1.2.2).  
>UA: R15Ba 25.

*Plicht van Een helper Broeder en Süster*. 4 pp.  
>EN: Duty of a helper brother and sister.  
>Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.3.5).  
>UA: R15Ba Nr.27-12.

*Politi(rets)protokoller, Landfogeden på St. Jan*.  
>EN: Police (court) protocols, St. John's country bailiff.  
>RA, Vestindiske Lokalarkiver, Landfogeden på St. Jan, Politi retsprotokoller nr. 39-57, 1818-1904.  
>These are the reports of the interrogation of suspects and accusers at the St. Jan police court. They are almost wholly written in Danish, fraktur script, yet in some of them, words and short sentences in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and English are found in Latin script, when direct speech is quoted untranslated.

[15 pages of Dutch verses with Creole influence, where members of the slave community are named]. In: [A number of diverse texts, partially dated]. {D}  
>Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.3.1.6).  
>UA: NBVII R3 6d.

[Slave letters]. Ca. 150 letters from 1737-1768. {\*}  
>Stein (1986b:31, nr. 3.3.7).  
>An edition is being prepared for publication by Peter Stein and Hartmut Beck.  
>UA: R15Ba Nr.27-12.

[Two Dutch sermons]. 1740. In: [A number of diverse texts, partially dated]. 16 pp.  
>Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.3.1.4).  
>The text does not contain sermons, but a list of rhyming baptismal formulas for about 65 female and 21 male slaves and a short rhyming list of missions of the Moravian Brethren. The language is Dutch as used by non-native speakers.  
>UA: NBVII R3, 6d.

*Vestindisk Glossarium*.  
>EN: West Indian glossary.  
>Danish - Virgin Islands Dutch Creole word list containing 338 entries, seven pages 4°, divided into three columns per page. The list is ordered alphabetically on basis of the initial only, each initial occupying its own column. On the title page between brackets: "Fra Chr.IV.s Hvælving 1906, Sager der formentlig er bragte i Uorden ved Slotsbranden 1884. [From

Christian the fourth's vaulted cellar 1906, Documents that probably have been brought in disorder through the Castle fire 1884]".

>proper reference: Rigsarkivet. Håndskriftsamlingen. V.A.8: Vestindisk Glossarium.

>Said by Koch (1905) to be written by J.C. Kingo before 1765. Repeated in Ehrencron-Müller (1924).

>Vibæk (1953:554) has an old signature: "rigsarkivet, MS. Andre Videnskaber nr. 66", and he quotes Koch about Kingo's authorship. On page 269 he claims, however, that it is by Magens.

>The General Church Inspection College wrote in the introduction to Magens' New Testament (1781): "..., en byttendien ha lastaen skriev een van die Mission Catecheten, die hem na deese Oogmerk ha giev Plaes na sie Hus, een Woord-Buk, die bin volstandig genug, maer leg ongedrykt nogal,... [and furthermore let one of the missionaries, whom he [referring to Magens] for this reason lodged in his house, write a dictionary, which is complete enough, but lies still unprinted,...]". This points to a different author or manuscript, because as far as we know, Kingo never lived in Magens' house and as of yet no information has been found on their cooperation.

>Published in Stein & Van der Voort (1996).

#### *Visitationsberichte.* {\*}

>EN: Visitation reports.

>Stein (1986b:22, nr. 1.2.4): "Of particular interest [...] is that [the account] of Johann LORETZ in 1784, -UA: R15Ba-24.1a-, because it reports from a discussion on the use of the Creole language, criticizes translations and translators, and makes projects for further translating and preparing Creole texts."

>See Loretz 1784.

#### [Volkersen, A.W. Old Testament]. {\*}

>This ms. is mentioned in a letter of 19 June 1815 (RA, Koloniernes Centralbestyrelse, Kolonialkontoret, Gruppesager II-922, Salmebogssagen). A 'considerable' part of the ms. had been sent to the signatories to the document, members of the English Bible Society in London, who had not been able to judge whether it was useful to print it. The undersigners' advice is to leave the ms. and use Magens' New Testament and print only a few 'important' books of the Old Testament at the most.

>The ms. is also mentioned in a letter from 3 March 1817 (RA, Koloniernes Centralbestyrelse, Kolonialkontoret, Gruppesager II-922, Salmebogssagen) where it is said that Lund and Mackeprang advised not to print it. Instead, Magens New Testament should be reprinted in 1200 copies as the 1781 edition is not available on the Virgin Islands anymore.

Wied, H. *Lieder, confirmationsunterricht u.a.m., teils in kreolischer, teils in englischer Sprache.* 1842-1847. 10,6 x 16,0 cm, 83 pp.

>EN: Hymns, confirmation lessons.

>The first part from 1842/1843 is in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and consists of 60 pages. The remaining 23 pages, from 1847, are in English. On the front page the author remarks: "In den 40er Jahren des 19. Jahrh. verschwand auf den Westindischen Inseln die kreolische Sprache und wurde durch die englische verdrängt. [In the 40s of the 19th century the creole language disappeared on the West-Indian Islands and was superseded by the English one.]".

>Stein (1986b:30, nr. 3.3.2).

>UA: NBVII R3, 6k.

*Zeugnisse von den Communicanten von der Neger-Gemeine in S. Thomas und S. Crux, von Bruder Nathanael [Seidel] in Gemeinschaft der ledigen Arbeiter bey seinder Visitation in S. Thomas im Monat Junio und Julio 1753. {\**

>EN: Testimonies of the communicants.

>Stein (1986b:23, nr. 1.2.6).

>UA: R15Ba, 18-1,2.

### 3. Printed work

*A B C-boekje voor die Neger-Kinders na St. Thomas, St. Croix en St. Jan.* [Barby, 1800.]. Barby: 1800. 12 pp.

>EN: ABC booklet for the Negro children.

>Hesseling (1905:45): "13. *A.B.C. Boekje voor die Negerkinders na St. Thomas, St. Croix en St. Jan*, Barby, 1800."

>Reinecke (1975:318, nr.°1) gives a partially incorrect title: Instead of 'Neger-Kinders', he has 'negerkinderen'.

>American Philosophical Society library.

>Stein (1986b:25, nr. 2.3.1): "[anon.] *ABC-boekje voor die Neger-Kinders na St. Thomas, St. Croix en St. Jan*. Barby 1800, 10,5 x 17,6 cm, 12 pp."

>UA: NBVII R3, 4a.

*ABC-boekje voor die neger-kinders na St. Thomas, St. Croix en St. Jan.* Gnadau: 1825. 12 pp. {D}

>EN: ABC booklet for the Negro children.

>This title is from Reinecke (1975:318, nr.°2), which is almost identical to the above work from 1800. Considering his rendering of that title, however, the 1800 and 1825 version may have been confused.

>University of California library, Berkeley.

Adelung, Johann Christoph. 1809. *Mithridates oder: allgemeine Sprachenkunde mit dem Vater Unser als Sprachprobe in beynahe fünfhundert Sprachen und Mundarten*. II. Berlin: Vossische Buchhandlung. p. 252-253.

>EN: Mithridates: general linguistics.

>This work contains the Lord's Prayer in all languages known to the author, including Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. Adelung contrasts the version from Magens (1781) with a Moravian translation from 1802. His remark, made in a footnote, that Virgin Islands Dutch Creole is a corrupted form of Dutch, is criticized by Rask (1932-3:123, see Rask after 1806).

>UBA: 477 E 26.

Anon. 1829. "WEST INDIES Danish Islands. Extract of a Letter from Brother John Klingenberg, Friedensthal, St Croix, November 4, 1829. In: *Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren, established among the heathen. Volume XI*. London: McDowell, 1829, p. 241-245.

>Contains notes about language use among the colored people in church.

Anon. "Moravian Brethren's Tract Operations". In: *Ninth Annual Report of the American Tract Society, presented at New York, May, 1834, showing the present state of the Society's Home and foreign Operations (...)*. New York: Society's House, D. Fanshaw, 1836. P. 39.

>Contains remarks about the 1833 Gospel Harmony.

Anon. 1836. "Moravian Brethren's Tract Operations". In: *Twenty-second Annual Report of the American Tract Society, Boston, presented at Boston, May 25, 1836, showing the facilities enjoyed for enlarged operations in foreign and pagan lands, and in our own country. Together with lists of auxiliaries, benefactors, depositories, publications, &c.* Boston: Perkins & Marvin, 1836. P. 34.

>Contains remarks about the 1833 Gospel Harmony.

Anon. 1905, September 28. "Boekbespreking", in: *Het koloniaal weekblad, orgaan der Vereeniging Oost en West*, no. 29.

>Reference to a review of D.C. Hesseling *Het Negerhollands der Deense Antillen*.

><https://www.delpher.nl/nl/tijdschriften/objectsearch/pagejump?identifier=MMUBL13:279163057:mpeg21&query=Hesseling+PROX+Negerhollands&coll=dt&s&sortfield=date&resultsjump=1&rowid=8>

Andersen, R[asmus]. 1889. *Den Evangelisk-Lutherske Kirkes historie i Amerika. Fra dens begyndelse til nutiden*. Brooklyn: Forfatterens Forlag [etc.]. xiii, 672 pp.

{\*}

>EN: History of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church in America.

>Reinecke (1975:318, nr.3): "Includes history of its activities in V.I."

Bergh, L. Ph. C. van den. 1840. "Iets over het Neger-Hollandsch", in: *Taalkundig Magazijn of gemengde bijdragen tot de kennis der Nederduitsche taal [bijeenvverzameld door A. de Jager]*, 3, 4th part. p. 500-501. {D}

>EN: Something about Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

>This is the first source of the name 'Negerhollands'.

>van den Bergh cites Adelung (1809) with both of the versions of the Lord's Prayer.

[Brandt, Andreas Joachim]. 1799. *Creol Psalm-Buk of een Vergaeding van Ouwe en nywe Psalmen na Creol-Spraek. [Kopenhagen, 1799. Prented bie Boas Brünnich]*. Copenhagen: Boas Brünnich. 94 pp.

>EN: Creole hymn book.

>DKB: DA.Box, 4-419, 07268, 12°. 90 pages containing 79 hymns, an appendix with the Litany, 2½ pages register, and 1½ pages Dryk-Vouten 'printing errors'.

>In view of the correspondence in the RA, Brandt, pastor of the Lutheran church in Christiansted, St. Croix, from 1792-1802, seems to be the author (RA, Koloniernes Centralbestyrelse, Kolonialkontoret, Gruppesager II-922, Salmebogssagen). Also the DKB catalogue mentions him. Deddens (1967, III) has also seen indications of this on the second page in a copy kept on St. Thomas.

>Lose (1891:36) mentions Brandt as the author of this and of following

editions, probably meaning 1823 (but see there) and 1827. Although 1823 contains many more hymns, those that it has in common with 1799 are almost perfectly identical. Probably not even the 1799 list of corrections on pages 93-4 was consulted. The contents of 1827 also is identical to 1823, but the spelling is sometimes a bit modernized and applied more consistently. Sometimes, a word is substituted. There are also many resemblances between these three editions and the anonymous 1770 hymnal (see the 1823 hymnal).

>Reinecke (1975:319, nr.°11) from Larsen (1950:119): "Andreas Yoachim Brandt, Creole hymnal with litany, superseded Wold's 1770 hymnal."

>Mentioned by Schuchardt (1914).

>Vibæk (1953:554).

Cavling, Henrik. 1894. *Det Danske Vestindien, med vignetter af Alfr. Schmidt samt to kort*. København: Reitzel.

>p. 140 about turtle fishermen speaking Creole.

[*Creol altar book.*] n.d. {\*}

>EN: Creole altar book.

>Reinecke (1975:319, nr.°12): "A publication in Negerhollands, ca. 1800", mentioned by Larsen (1950:120).

*Creol Psalm-Buk of een Vergaeding van Oûwe en nywe Psalmen na Creol-Sprack. [Kopenhagen, 1823. Prented bie C. Græbe].* Copenhagen: C. Graebe, 1823. 140 pp.

>EN: Creole hymn book.

>Numbering from p. 4-134; p. 3-130 contains 109 hymns (of which no. 17 is incomplete); p. 131-134 appendix with the Litany; six pages register.

>DKB: DA.Box, 4-419, 07269, 8°. From the handwritten name on the first page it appears that this copy must have been in the possession of Oxholm. The incomplete hymn no. 17 of this copy has a handwritten reference to the end of the book: "vid:fin:lib: [see end of book]". The first empty page at the end of the book contains the rest of hymn 17 in handwriting.

>According to Lund's correspondence with the Danish Missionary Society kept in RA (RA, Privatinstutur. Det Danske Missions Selskab. Privatarkiv nr. 10.162. Pk. 324.), this hymnal is a re-edition of the 1770 one, enlarged with 30 hymns written by him in 1797. Quite remarkably, Lund says in a letter of 12 December 1822 that he does not know of any other hymnal than the 1770 edition (see Wold). Yet the 1823 one corresponds in several ways to the 1799 one by Brandt. In an 1827 edition, hymn 17 is completed in accord, except for minor spelling differences, with the text supplied in a letter by Lund of 3 June 1823.

>The contents is identical to the 1827 edition except for small orthographic differences; the title page is a bit different and the size is smaller, and therefore containing more pages than 1827.

>Reinecke (1975:319, nr.6): "Translator unknown. 111 hymns translated from Danish. Schuchardt gives the 1st ed. as Copenhagen, 1799, with 94 pp. " Reinecke's rendering of the title is slightly different: 'creole tael' instead of 'Creol-Sprack', and of the printer: 'Groebe' instead of 'Graebe'.

>In Newberry Library.

>Larsen (150:120) says it replaced Brandt's hymnal.

>In Vibæk mentioned with same title as Brandt (1799).

>In DKB catalogue mentioned as same book as Brandt (1799) but as written by Prætorius.

*Creol Psalm-Buk, of een Vergaedering van Oûwe en nywe Psalmen na Creol-Tael. [Kopenhagen, 1827. Ka prent bie C. Græbe].* Copenhagen: C. Græbe, 1827. 127 pp.

>EN: Creole hymn book.

>Numbering from p. 4-121; p. 3-117 contains 109 hymns; p. 118-121 appendix with the Litany; six pages register.

>The contents is identical to 1823 except for small orthographic differences, the title page is a bit different and the size is larger, allowing for less pages than 1823. Hymn 17 is completed (except for minor spelling differences) in accordance with the text supplied in a letter by Lund of 3 June 1823.

>DKB: DA.Box, 4-419, 07270, 8°.

>According to Vibæk (1953:554) same title as 1799, but with J.J. Prætorius as author. There is nothing that points to this author, however.

>In DKB catalogue this one is mentioned as same book as Brandt (1799) and written by Prætorius.

*Creol Psalm-Buk, of een Vergaedring van Oûwe en nywe Psalmen na Creol-Tael. [Kopenhagen, 1834. Ka prent bie P.T. Brünnich].* Copenhagen: P.T. Brünnich, 1834. 121 + 6 pp.

>EN: Creole hymn book.

>Schuchardt (1914:124) also mentions this edition. This must then be the fourth edition or the fifth (when Brandt 1799 is included) of 1770. This is an exact copy of 1827. Note that likewise, Prætorius' catechism-and-textbook of 1834 is identical to the one from 1827. Furthermore, both works from 1827, then printed at C. Græbe, were reprinted in 1834 at P.T. Brünnich, and each in an issue of 1000 copies (as appears from an account of 10 November 1834 in RA, Koloniernes Centralbestyrelse, Kolonialkontoret, Gruppessager II. 922 Salmebogssagen).

>According to Vibæk the third edition of 1799 must be from 1827 but no reference is made to a 1834 edition. [also Deddens III, p. 281].

>According to Reinecke (1975:319, nr.7), this is a second edition but he does not indicate which one is the first (probably 1827).

>DKB: DA.Box, 4-419, 07271, 8°.

>In Newberry Library.

*Creool Psalm-buk voor die Deen Missioon na Westindien*. 1770. 1770. unkn.aut.

>EN: Creole hymn book.

>DKB: DA.Box, 4-419, 07264, 8°, is also found as the third part of Wold.

>Numbering from p. 4-68: p. 3-5 is the Litany; p. 6-68 contain hymns; two pages register.

>The orthography sometimes looks old-fashioned in comparison to that of the other hymnals, and the size is much smaller. Still there are so many resemblances between this hymnal and the 1799, 1823 and 1827/34 ones that one should probably speak of a sequence of re-editions that is ultimately based on the 1770 hymnal. See under Wold for further details about authorship.

Dewitz, A[ugust Karl Ludwig] von. 1882. *In Dänisch-Westindien. Hundert und fünfzig Jahre der Brüdermission in St. Thomas, St. Croix und St. Jan*. Niesky:

Direction der Brüdergemeinde. viii, 374 pp. {\*}

>EN: 150 years of Brethren Mission.

>Reinecke (1975:319, nr.°15).

Dewitz, A[ugust Karl Ludwig] von. 1889, 1907. *In Dänisch-Westindien. Anfänge der Brüdermission in St. Thomas, St. Croix und St. Jan, von 1732-1760*. Herrnhut: Missionanstalt der Ev. Brüderunität. 2 Volumes. 322 and 372 pp. {\*}

>EN: Beginnings of the Brethren Mission.

>Reinecke (1975:319, nr.16).

D[octo]r]. *Martin Luther sie klein Catechismus na veif part*. [1770.] unkn.aut., unkn.pl., unkn.pub., 1770. 32 pp.

>EN: Luther's Smaller Catechism.

>This work was only encountered as the second part of Wold (1770, see there).

[Evangelienharmonie. This is Samuel Lieberkühn's (Stein 1991) *Die Geschichte unsers Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi aus den vier Evangelien zusammen gezogen*. (The history of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, drawn together from the four gospels.) Gnadau: Buchhandlung der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität, Chr. Ernst Genft, 1820 (preface is dated 1768).

>This is the Moravian Harmony of Gospels, a compilation of everything written by the four evangelists on the life of Christ combined into one story. This entry as such has nothing to do with Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, but it was the basis for many translations into Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, notably Johann Böhner's.

*Fortryk af Matthæus Evangeliums første Ark*. Copenhagen. (1779) {D}

>EN: Preprint of the first sheet of Matthew.

>Vibæk (1953:554): "Med følgende paategning i det kgl. bibl.s eksemplar: "de første ark af det nye testamentes oversættelse i det creolske for de kgl.

danske øer i Vestindien; men da den befandtes at være mere hollandsk, blev ej videre deraf trykt". [With the following note on the DKB copy: "the first sheet(s) of the translation of the New Testament; but because it was considered too Dutch, no more of it was printed"]."

>From Hesseling (1905:38) it appears that this preprint, and the one from 1779, may be located under no. 4626 in the Thottean Collection (Bibliothecae Tottianae/Thottske Samling) of the DKB.

*Gebeden en Liederen voor die swart Broeder-Gemeenten na S. Thomas, S. Croix en S. Jan.* 1765. unkn.pl., unkn.pub.

>EN: Prayers and Hymns.

>Reinecke (1975:319, nr.°17), as in Hesseling.

>Hesseling 1905:43): "8. *Gebeden en Liederen voor die swart Broedergemeenten van St. Thomas*, unkn.pl. 1765."

>Stein (1986b:27, nr.3.1.3).

>UA: NBVII R3, 5a. is an incomplete copy of 40 pages.

>DKB, Copenhagen: DA Box, 4-419, 07262, 8°. Contains Danish handwritten remarks about the melodies to be used. Page numbering from p. 4-71. This is a complete copy containing 71 pages.

*Die Geskiednis van ons Heere en Heiland Jesus Christus, soo as die vier Evangelist sender ka skriev die op.* New York: Printed by the American Tract Society for the United Brethren's Mission in the Danish West-India Islands, 1333 [1833]. 348 pp.

>EN: History of our Lord.

>Stein (1986b:28, nr. 3.1.10): "[Böhner, Johann]".

>Reinecke (1975:319, nr.18): "'1333' must be `1833'".

>The publication of this work was financed by The American Tract Society. 2000 copies were distributed among 9400 Christianized slaves (Anon. 1836)

>In Library of Congress.

>UA: R3, 6c.

Ginneken, Jac[obus] van. 1913. *Handboek der Nederlandsche taal, Deel I. De sociologische structuur der Nederlandsche taal I.* Nijmegen: L.C.G. Malmberg. vii, 552 pp. {D}

>EN: Handbook of Dutch, Sociological structure.

>Reinecke (1975:321, nr.40): "p. 238-260 on Negerhollands."

>2nd edition. Nijmegen: L.C.G. Malmberg, 1928. viii, 357 pp. Reinecke (1975:321, nr.41): "p. 238-258 on Negerhollands."

Ginneken, Jac van, & J. Endepols. 1917. *De regenboogkleuren van Nederlands taal.* Leergang der Nederlandsche taal, Deel III. Nijmegen: L.G.C. Malmberg. 258 pp.

>EN: The rainbow colours of the Dutch language.

>Chapter 8 "Het Ceylonsch en Neger-Hollandsch der Deensche Antillen". p.

187-195.

>includes complete text of the so-called Magens-letter from Schuchardt (1914).

>includes several excersises.

Ginneken, Jac van, & J. Endepols. 1931. *De regenboogkleuren van Nederlands taal*. Leergang der Nederlandsche taal, Deel III. Nijmegen: L.G.C. Malmberg. Second edition, 237 pp.

>EN: The rainbow colours of the Dutch language.

>Chapter 7 "Het Ceylonsch en Neger-Hollandsch der Deenske Antillen". p. 159-164.

>includes, in contrary to the first edition, only half of the text of the so-called Magens-letter from Schuchardt (1914).

Greenfield, William. 1830. *A defence of the Surinam Negro-English version of the New Testament . . . London*: London: Samuel Bagster.

>Includes comparison of snippets of the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole New Testament to the Sranan translation.

>[Full text of "A Defence of the Surinam Negro-English Version of the New Testament, .."](#)

Hesseling, D[irk] C[hristiaan]. 1905. "Het Negerhollands der Deense Antillen", in: *De Gids* 69, I. p. 283-306. {D}

>EN: Negerhollands of the Danish Antilles.

Hesseling, D[irk] C[hristiaan]. 1905. *Het Negerhollands der Deense Antillen. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandse taal in Amerika*. Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff. x, 290 pp.

>EN: Negerhollands of the Danish Antilles.

>Reinecke (1975:319, nr.20).

Hesseling, D.C. 1906. "Is het Afrikaansch de zuivere ontwikkeling van een Nederlands dialect?", in: *Taal en Letteren*, pp. 477-490.

>contains several comparisons between Afrikaans and Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

>

><https://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken1/gview?query=Negerhollands&coll=boeken1&identifier=S09a9PaHLxMC>

Hesseling, D[irk] C[hristiaan]. 1914. "Naschrift", in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* 33. p. 135-140.

>EN: Postscript.

>This appendix to Schuchardt's (1914) article contains the Dutch translation of the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole letter A. Magens wrote to Schuchardt.

Hesseling, D[irk] C[hristiaan]. 1914. "Aantekeningen", in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* 33. p. 140-142.

>EN: Notes.

>Reinecke (1975:319, nr.21): "Comments on Schuchardt (1914)."

Hesseling, D[irk] C[hristiaan]. 1933. "Papiaments en Negerhollands", in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* 52. p. 265-288. {D}

>EN: Papiamentu and Negerhollands.

>Reinecke (1975:320, nr.22).

Hesseling, Dirk Christiaan. 1979. "Papiamentu and Negerhollands". Translated by Thomas L. Markey and Paul T. Roberge. In: *On the Origin and Formation of Creoles: A Miscellany of Articles* Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers Inc., 1979. p. 47-87.

>Translation of Hesseling, D[irk] C[hristiaan]. "Papiaments en Negerhollands", in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* 52 (1933). p. 265-288.

*Die Hoofd-inhoud van die leering van Jesus Christus, tot gebruik voor die negergemeenten, van die Evangelische Broeder-Kerk.* Barby: 1785. 78 pp.

>EN: Main contents of the teachings of Jesus Christ.

>Reinecke (1975:320, nr. 23).

>In Newberry Library.

>Hesseling (1905:45): "12. *Die Hoofd-Inhoud van die Leering van Jesus Christus voor die Negergemeente van die Broerkerk, Barby, 1785.*"

>Stein (1986:28, nr. 3.1.7): "[anon.] *die Hoofd-Inhoud van die Leering van Jesus Christus tot gebruik voor die NegerGemeenten van die Evangelische Broeer-Kerk. Barby: 1785, 78 pp.*"

>UA: NBVII R3 5e.

><https://books.google.dk/books?id=OZziQWhq2SoC&pg=PA35&lpg=PA35&dq=%22die+leering+van+Jesus+Christus%22&source=bl&ots=3YOCfwToWG&sig=ACfU3U0CZTM10yPmnW6cXa1wISE4yoDnig&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjrodyjp7v2AhXxs4sKHb7sDhYQ6AF6BAghEAM#v=onepage&q=%22die%20leering%20van%20Jesus%20Christus%22&f=false>

Josselin de Jong, J[an] P[etrus] B[enjamin] de. 1924. "Het Negerhollandsch van St. Thomas en St. Jan", in: *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen Afdeling Letterkunde, Deel 57, Serie A, no. 3.* p. 55-71.

>EN: Negerhollands.

>Reinecke (1975:319, nr.13): "Contains much sociolinguistic material."

Josselin de Jong, J[an] P[etrus] B[enjamin] de. 1926. *Het huidige Negerhollandsch (teksten en woordenlijst).* Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 26, no. 1. 124 pp.

>EN: Present-day Negerhollands.

>Reinecke (1975:319, nr. 14): "Material gathered 1922-23. Texts in phonetic spelling; word list with English and Spanish loanwords indicated. The best firsthand source."

Josselin de Jong, J.P.B. de. 1923. 'Verslag van de Deensch-Nederlandsche Archaeologische Expeditie naar de Antillen'. In: *Maatschappij ter bevordering van het Natuurkundig Onderzoek der Nederlandsche Koloniën*, Bulletin No. 79, September. 8 pp.

>EN: Report of the Danish-Dutch Archaeological Expedition tot he Antilles

>references to his fieldwork on Virgin Islands Dutch Creole on St. Thomas and St. John on p. 5. Reference to making of a copy of an unpublished Virgin Islands Dutch manuscript of the Moravian Mission on p. 6.

>The unpublished manuscript is the Jesaja manuscript to which Böhner refers in a letter from 1773.

>The texts collected during his fieldwork were published in De Josselin de Jong (1926).

Kingo, Johan Christopher Kørbitz Thomsen 1770. *Kreool A, B, buk. Door J.C. Kingo. St. Thomas na Amerika d. 7. Julii 1770. [Di ka druk na Mester Daniel Thibou na St. Croix, 1770.]* St. Croix: Daniel Thibou. 16 pp.

>EN: Creole AB book.

>A language primer, containing also fragments from Luther's Smaller Catechism, and two small fragments from the New Testament.

>Hesseling (1905:34) never saw this work and doubts its existence: "... en verder een, mij onbekend gebleven, A.B.boekje dat in 1770 op S. Croix(!) verschenen zou zijn. [... and furthermore an A.B.booklet that is supposed to have been issued in 1770 on St. Croix (!), with which I have remained unacquainted.]"

>Vibæk suggests Christianssted as place of issue, as in 1769 Daniel Thibou founded the first print-shop on the Virgin Islands there. In his richly illustrated work Vibæk has also reprinted the title page and page 15. He has clearly used the very copy from the royal library in Copenhagen.

>Reinecke (1975:320, nr. °24).

>DKB: København: Hj.2244a DA Box.

Kloeke, G.G. 1927. "Reconstructie van den 16de-eeuwschen dialectgeographischen toestand in Holland", in: *De Hollandsche Expansie in de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw en haar weerspiegeling in de hedendaagsche Nederlandsche dialecten*. 's Gravenhaghe: Martinus Nijhoff. p. 132-133.

>EN: Reconstruction of the dialect geographical situation in Holland in the sixteenth century.

>Chapter in Kloeke's work The Dutch expansion in the sixteenth and seventeenth century and her reflection in todays Dutch dialects.

- Koch, L. 1905. "Den danske mission i Vestindien", in: *Kirkehistoriske samlinger*, 5.række, 3.bind, [Selskabet for Danmarks Kirkehistorie ved Holger Fr. Rørdam] Kjøbenhavn: G.E.C. Gad. p. 144-180.  
>EN: The Danish Mission in West India.  
>History of the Danish Lutheran Mission on the Virgin Islands, draws on information from Lose (1891), Lawaetz (1902) and archival documents. Gives bibliographic information on Virgin Islands Dutch Creole sources. Mentions the Orphanage fire in Copenhagen of 1795, that destroyed a great number of unpublished documents of the 'Missionskollegium' and the 'Kirkeinspektion'.
- Lawaetz, H. 1902. *Brødremenighedens Mission i Dansk-Vestindien 1769-1848, Bidrag til en karakteristik af Brødrekirken og dens gerning og af den farvede races stilling tol Christendommen* [disp.], København: Otto B. Wroblewski.  
>EN: The Moravian Mission in Danish West India.  
>Lawaetz was minister in Christianssted in the 1890's. Chapter 5 and 16. deal with the issue English (creole) against (Dutch) creole.
- Lecoutere, C.P.F. 1915. '102. Het Nederlandsch buiten Europa'. In: *Inleiding tot de taalkunde en de geschiedenis van het Nederlandsch*. Brussel: A. Dewit. p.184-188.  
>p.185 on Virgin Islands Dutch Creole'
- Lecoutere, C.P.F. 1942. *Inleiding tot de taalkunde en tot de geschiedenis van het Nederlandsch*. 5<sup>e</sup> dr. Ed. by L. Grootaers. Groningen/Batavia: Wolters. {D}  
>Section 126 'Het Nederlandsch in Amerika' contains a reference to Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, p. 322.  
>First edition 1915, 6<sup>th</sup> edition, 1959, is digitally as pdf available [Inhoudsopgave van Inleiding tot de taalkunde en tot de geschiedenis van het Nederlands, C.P.F. Lecoutere - dbnl](#)
- Liturgie, de formulieren van doop en avondmaal en sommige liederen*. 1761. {\*}  
>EN: Liturgy, formulary of baptism and communion and some hymns.  
>Hesseling (1905:43): "7. Een in 1761 gedrukt boekje, bevattende de *liturgie, de formulieren van doop en avondmaal en sommige liederen*."  
>Reinecke (1975:320, nr.°27): "Translated by the Moravians; the first book printed in Negerhollands. Several times revised."  
>Stein (1986b:26, nr. \*3.1.2): "[anon.] *Liturgie, die formulieren van doop en avondmaal en sommige liederen*. unkn.pl., 1761."  
>We originally know this work only from Oldendorp (1777:914). Vibæk (1953:554) and Hesseling (1905:43) claim that the works 'Liturgie' (1761) and 'Gebeden' (1765) are sometimes confused by Oldendorp. In Stein (1986b) you can find two arguments against the possibility of a confusion: first, Oldendorp elsewhere (1777:971) gives the correct title of the work from 1765, which is different from the 1761 work; second, in Oldendorp's 'Critical rem-

arks' on the edition by Bossart of his 'Missionsgeschichte' the passage mentioning the 1761 work is not criticized. The 1761 publication was never found, however.

Lodewyckx, A. 1911. *Katanga en Zuid-Afrika, vier lezingen door*. Gent: Ad. Hoste. p.100-101.

>Lodewyckx remarks that Virgin Islands Dutch Creole is extinct at that moment.

>Connection with Afrikaans.

Logeman, H. 1905. "Boekaankondiging. Het Negerhollands der Deense Antillen, Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlandse Taal in Amerika, door D.C. HESSELING. Uitgegeven vanwege de 'Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden.' Leiden A.W. SIJTHOFF 1905.", in: *Taal en Letteren* 15, p. 353-365. {D}

Lose, Emil Valdemar. 1891. "Kort Udsigt over den dansk-lutherske Missions Historie paa St.Croix, St.Thomas og St.Jan.", in: *Nordisk Missionstidsskrift, udgivet af J.Vahl, 1ste aargang*. Kjøbenhavn: Hoffensberg & Trap's Etabl. I kommission hos Fr.Bertelsen, Bethesda]. p. 1-37.

>EN: Short view of the Danish Lutheran mission history.

>Overview of the history of the Danish Lutheran Mission on the Virgin Islands, draws mainly on archival documents, and gives bibliographic information on Virgin Islands Dutch Creole sources.

Ludewig, Hermann E. 1858. "III. Negro-Dutch" in: *The Literature of American Aboriginal Languages [by Hermann E. Ludewig, with additions and corrections by professor WM. W. Turner, edited by Nicolas Trübner]*, London: Trübner and co. p. 56-57. {D}

>This is a bibliography containing references to: (Adelung) (1809), Kingo (1770), (Magens) (1770), (Magens) (1781) and Oldendorp (1777). It also mentions the hypothetical first printed work in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole from 1761 (see 'Liturgie').

[Lund, T(h)orkild]. 1798. *Leerboek na die Evangelis-kristelik Relisie tot Gebryk voor die Kooninglik Deen Mission-Kerk sender na Amerika*. [Kopenhagen, 1798. Ka prent van Boekprenter K. H. Seidelin]. Copenhagen: K.H. Seidelin.

>EN: Textbook in the Evangelical Christian religion.

>DKB: 3-443, 06095, 8°. No indication of autor, but on the title page in this copy is handwritten: "Nb: Forfatteren er Torkild Lund, Provst og Missionair paa St. Thomas og St. Jan. [Nb. the writer is T.L., pastor and missionary on St.Thomas]". On the inside of front cover is handwritten: "Johannes Lund 1862", inside the back cover: "JH:D:Lund".

>From the correspondence kept in the RA (RA, Koloniernes Centralbestyrelse, Kolonialkontoret, Gruppessager II-922, Salmebogssagen), Lund

clearly emerges as the author. Apparently 1970 copies were printed. Lose (1891:36) mentions Lund as the author in a footnote.

>Reinecke (1975:320, nr.°28), probably from Larsen (1950:119): *Leerboek na die Evangeliskristelig religie tot betryk yoor die Kooninglik Deen Missionskirk sender na Amerika*.

>Larsen translates the title as: 'Reader of the Evangelical Christian Religion printed for the Royal Danish Missions in America'.

Magens, A. 1914. [Letter from 23 February 1883 to Hugo Schuchardt, published by Schuchardt, with a translation into Dutch by Hesseling, in: "Zum Negerholländischen von St. Thomas.", "Naschrift" and "Aantekeningen", *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* 33 (1914). p. 123-142.]  
>Reinecke (1975:320, nr.29).

Magens, J[ochum] M[elchior]. 1770. *Grammatica over det Creolske sprog, som bruges paa de trende Danske Eilande, St. Croix, St. Thomas og St. Jans i Amerika. Sammenskrevet og opsat af en paa St. Thomas indföd Mand. [Kiöbenhavn, 1770. Trykt udi det Kongelige Wäsenhusets Bogtrykkerie, af Gerhard Giese Salikath]*. Copenhagen: Gerhard Giese Salikath. 80 pp.

>EN: Grammar of the Creole language.

>Hesseling (1905:36): "2. G.D."

>Reinecke (1975:320, nr. 30): "Grammar on Latin model, p. 9-33; proverbs and sayings with Danish translation, 34-36; dialog with translation, 37-80."

>Stein (1986b:24, nr. 2.1.1).

>UA: K 94.

>DKB: 47,-540,-8°. This copy also contains a handwritten proverb in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole on p. 36. The preface by Magens is from St. John, 24 April 1769.

>The copy present in the Leyden University Library, 1483 D 47, is a handwritten copy, possibly by D.C. Hesseling himself. Printing errors are also copied, and commented 'sic' in faint dotted characters.

[Magens, Jochum Melchior]. 1781. *Die Nywe Testament van ons Heer Jesus Christus ka set over in die Creols tael en ka giev na die ligt tot dienst van Die Deen Mission in America [Gedrykt in Copenhagen, 1781. Bie Die Erfgenamen van Godiche]*. Copenhagen: Godiche. 10,9 x 18,7 cm, 1166 pp. numbered + 38 pp.

>EN: New Testament.

>Translated by J.M. Magens. With a dedication to the king and a preface of 1 March 1781 by Bishop L. Harboe, E.J. Jessen-S., J. Hvid & A.P. Bartholin representing the General Church Inspection College, both in Danish and Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, and a foreword in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole by the translator. Divided into two parts: the four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles on p. 1-672, Letters and Revelation of John on p. 673-1166. The last page of the book contains a list of ten Dryk-Vouten 'printing errors'.

- >According to Koch (1905:161) Wold and Alling helped with the translation. According to Lose (1891:24) Alling made an effort to get the ms. printed soon, and supervised the printing process while on sick leave in Denmark by making a fair copy of the ms. and providing corrections.
- >Hesseling (1905:37-39): "*3.die Nywe Testament van ons Heer Jesus Christus ka set over in die Creolse Tael en ka giev na die Ligt tot dienst van die Deen Mission in America, gedrykt in Copenhagen 1781, bei die Erfgenamen van Godiche.*"
- >Reinecke (1975:319, nr.8).
- >In Newberry Library.
- >Stein (1986b:27, nr.3.1.5).
- >In Stolz (1986) by mistake attributed to L. Harboe and assumed to have been published in St. Thomas.
- >UA: NBVII R3, 1a.
- >UBL: 727 E 33.

- [Magens Jochum Melchior]. 1818. *Die Nywe Testament van ons Heer Jesus Christus ka set over in die Creols tael en ka giev na die ligt tot dienst van Die Deen Mission in America [Die tweede edition. Gedrykt in Copenhagen, 1818. Bie Die Erfgenamen van Schultz]*. Copenhagen: Schultz. 1166 pp. numbered + 20pp.
- >EN: New Testament, second edition.
  - >No Virgin Islands Dutch Creole translations of the dedication and the preface. Hesseling points out that the ten printing errors are restored in the second edition, but that a multitude of new errors was added.
  - >From the correspondence kept in the State Archive in Copenhagen this edition appears to comprise the number of 1200 copies (RA, Koloniernes Centralbestyrelse, Kolonialekontoret, Gruppessager II-922, Salmebogssagen).
  - >Reinecke (1975:319, nr.9): "A cheaper edition. For history of the translation see the summary in Larsen (1950), p. 115-119." Note, however, that Larsen confuses missionary Hans Salling with missionary Niels Alling on page 116.
  - >In Newberry Library.
  - >Stein (1986b:28, nr. 3.1.9): "*die Nywe Testament .... Copenhagen (Godiche) 21818.*"
  - >UA: NBVII R3, 6a.
  - >UBA: 1059 C 18.
  - >UBL: 97 E 21, copy that has belonged to D.C. Hesseling.

- Meer, Marten Jan van der. 1927. *Historische Grammatik der niederländischen Sprache*. 1. Band: *Einleitung und Lautlehre*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung. p. xxxiv-xl: "Das Negerhollandische". {D}
- >EN: Historical grammar of Dutch.
  - >Reinecke (1975:316, nr.2).

- Muller, H.P.N. 1905. *Door het land van Columbus, een reisverhaal door*. Haarlem: F.

Bohn. p. 415.

*Die Nieuwe Testament van ons Heere en Heiland Jesus Christus, na Creol-Taal.*

Barby: 1802. [4], 812, [8] pp.

>EN: New Testament.

>The last eight pages (not numbered) contain corrections of errors and misprintings, very interesting for the researcher of early orthography and the liturgical variety of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

>Reinecke (1975:319, nr.10): "Translation by Johan Böhmer, revised by Gov. Thomas de Malleville."

>In Newberry Library.

>Hesseling (1905:44-45): "11. *Die Nieuwe Testament na Creol Taal*, Barby, 1802. 8o. 812 blz."

>Stein (1986b:28, nr.3.1.8): "largely based on Böhner's translation of the *Evangelienharmonie*" (see his mss. 3.1.10, 3.2.1, 3.2.2, 3.2.3 and 3.2.4).

>UA: NBVII R3, 6a.

>UBL: 2725 G 11.

Oldendorp, C[hristian] G[eorg] A[ndreas]. 1777. *C.G.A. Oldendorps Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brueder auf den caraibischen Inseln S. Thomas, S. Croix und S. Jan*. Herausgegeben durch Johannes Jakob Bossart. Barby: Christian Friedrich Laur. 2 volumes in one. 1068, [44] pp.

>EN: History of the Moravian Mission.

>Reinecke (1975:320, nr. 32).

>In Newberry Library.

>UBA: 2452 F 5 and 1206 D 6

>Hesseling (1905:44): "10. *Taalproeven* (spreekwoorden en de apostoliese geloofsbelijdenis met de verklaring van Luther) *meegedeeld door Oldendorp* (pp. 432, 434-436). [Language samples (proverbs and the apostolian article of faith with the explanation of Luther) mentioned by Oldendorp]".

Oxholm, J.N. 1822. *Bibel voor Kinders of Bibels Spreek met kort opmuntringen voor opmerksame Kinders set over na die Creols Tael van J.N. Oxholm Deen Dominie en Missionarius in St. Crux en Inspector over die Deen Westindis Eilanden*. [Kopenhamn]. Copenhagen. 60 pp.

>EN: Bible for children.

>This is a collection of short quotations from the Testaments, each one provided with an explanation of about one page by the author.

>Mentioned in Schuchardt (1914:124) as quite *entbehrlich* 'dispensable' for the study of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole as it would not give a dependable picture.

>DKB: 1-460-8°.

>Reinecke (1975:320, nr.33) mentions the size as 12°.

>In Newberry Library.

>Mentioned also in Lose (1891:37) and Larsen (1950:119).

Panhuys, L.C. van. 1905. 'Het Negerhollands der Deense Antillen (...)', Koloniale literatuur. In: *De Indische Gids*, 27, II, pp.1109-1114.

>Digitally available at: [De Indische Gids TS 5949 - 1905 2 | Digital Collections](#)

>Review of D.C. Hesseling *Het Negerhollands der Deense Antillen*, 1905.

>Contains thoughts on the value of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole for study of older Dutch.

Pontoppidan, E[rik]. 1881. "Einige Notizen über die Kreolensprache der dänisch-westindischen Inseln", in: *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 13. p. 130-138. Berlin. {D}

>EN: Some notes on Virgin Islands Creole.

>Hesseling (1905:40-41): "6. *Taalproeven meegedeeld door Dr. E.*

*Pontoppidan (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie XIII (1881), blz. 135-138.)*" Note that Hesseling does not give number 135 as the first page; page numbers refer to those pages he cites in his appendix. Number 135 is interpreted as a first page number, however, in Vibæk.

>Reinecke (1975:320, nr. 34).

>Pontoppidan includes three sources of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole; one is a copy of the 14th chapter of Matthew taken from Magens (1781), and the other two, proverbs (that were copied in Adams Graves 1977) and an informal conversation, are of great value because they were recorded from late 19th century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole speakers of St. Thomas by Pontoppidan himself.

Pontoppidan, Erik. 1887. "Det dansk-vestindisk Kreolsprog", in: *Tilskueren*, 4. p. 295-303.

>EN: The Danish-Westindian creole language.

>EN: Danish version of Pontoppidan (1881).

>EN: Translation by Robin Sabino and Anne-Katrin Gramberg:

[www.scribd.com/doc/31088510/Det-Dansk-Vestindiske-Kreolsprog-Af-Erik-Pontoppidan](http://www.scribd.com/doc/31088510/Det-Dansk-Vestindiske-Kreolsprog-Af-Erik-Pontoppidan) (April 11, 2012).

>Digital version of the original text: [Tilskueren Maanedsskrift Fjærde Aargang 1887 : Niels Neergaard \(1854-1936\) : Free Download, Borrow, and Streaming : Internet Archive](#)

Prætorius, Johannes Jacob. 1827. *Dr. Marten Luther sie klein Katechismus ka set ower na die Creol Tael van J.J. Praetorius, Miss: ord: na St. Thomas en St. Jan in Amerika. [Kopenhagen, 1827. Ka prent bie C. Græbe]*. Copenhagen: C. Græbe. 16 pp.

>EN: Small Catechism.

>DKB: 3-408-8°, 05338 (1827 edition).

>BUH: TH bis 29970. (1827 edition), 16 pages, in one volume with *Evangelis Kristelik Leering-buk*, 72 pages, total of 88 pages.

>DKB: 3-408-8°, 05339 (1834 edition, same author and same place, but `Ka

prent bie P.T.Brünnich').

>Hesseling (1905:39, nr. 4) presumes that the reference to this book in Gaidoz contains a wrong year (1829): "dit boekje wordt geciteerd door H. Gaidoz in de *Revue Critique* 1881, II, blz. 167, als verschenen in 1829; ik vermoed dat het jaartal een drukfout bevat, van een tweede druk gewaagt Gaidoz niet."

>Reinecke (1975:321, nr.35).

>Newberry Library.

>Vibæk (1953:554) writes that the first edition by Prætorius is printed in Copenhagen in 1770, but he must be mistaken here, as Prætorius was not yet born then. Even though certain works were propagated as necessary revisions of older works, it does not mean that the revisor-author also was the author of the earlier work that he was expected to supply an alternative or renewed version of. Such mistakes are repeatedly found in bibliographies of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. Often, it seems that even totally new books took the place (in liturgic use) of other ones, being independent from their predecessors with respect to translation and authorship.

Prætorius, Johannes Jacob. 1827. *Evangelis Kristelik Leering-Buk tot Gebryk na die Onderwies van die Katechesan sender na die Deen Mission in Amerika. Ka skriev van J J Praetorius. [Kopenhagen, 1827. Ka prent bie C. Græbe].*

Copenhagen: C. Græbe. 72 pp.

>EN: Evangelical Christian textbook.

>Published together with Prætorius' *Katechismus* in one volume of 88 pp. Also reprinted with *Katechismus* in one volume in 1834.

>This is an extended version of Luther's annotations with the Ten Commandments, the Articles of Faith, the Lord's Prayer and Sacraments.

>BUH: TH bis 29970. (the 1827 edition together with *Katechismus*).

>Hesseling (1905:39-40, nr. 5).

>Reinecke (1975:321, nr.°36).

>Larsen (1950:120) translates the title as: 'Evangelical-Christian reader for the use of the catechists of the Danish Mission in America' and remarks that this replaced Thorkild Lund's (1798) reader.

>In Vibæk (1953), also a *Creol Psalm-Buk* edition of 1827 is said to be from Prætorius, but there is no indication for this.

Prætorius, Johannes Jacob. 1834. *Dr. Marten Luther sie klein Katechismus ka set ower na die Creol Tael van J.J. Praetorius, Miss: ord: na St. Thomas en St. Jan in Amerika. [Kopenhagen, 1834. Ka prent bie P.T.Brünnich].*

Copenhagen: P.T.Brünnich. 16 pp.

>DKB: 3-408-8°, 05339.

>This work is identical to the 1827 edition, which has the same author, same title and same place, but 'Ka prent bie C. Græbe'.

>Note that likewise, the anonymous *Creol Psalm-Buk* of 1834 is identical to the one from 1827. Furthermore, both works from 1827, then printed at C.

Græbe, were reprinted in 1834 at P.T.Brünnich, and each in an issue of 1000 copies (as appears from an account of 10 November 1834 in RA, Koloniernes Centralbestyrelse, Kolonialkontoret, Gruppessager II. 922 Salmebogssagen).

Prætorius, Johannes Jacob. 1834. *Evangelis Kristelik Leering-Buk tot Gebryk na die Onderwies van die Katechesan sender na die Deen Mission in Amerika. Ka skriev van J J Praetorius. [Kopenhagen, 1834. Ka prent bie P.T.Brünnich].* Copenhagen: P.T.Brünnich. 72 pp.

>DKB: 3-408-8°, 05339.

>This work is identical to the 1827 edition, which has the same author, same title and same place, but 'Ka prent bie C. Græbe'.

>Published together with Prætorius' *Katechismus* in one volume of 88 pp., like it was printed with *Katechismus* in 1 vol. in 1827.

*PSALM-BOEK voor die NEGER-GEMEENTEN na S. THOMAS, S. CROIX en S. JEAN.* [Barby, gedrukt im Jahr 1774] Barby: 1774. 264 pp.

>EN: Hymnal for the Negro communities.

>DKB: DA.Box, 4-419, 07266, 8°. Introduction, hymns, index. Page numbering only from p. 12-244.

>Reinecke (1975:318, nr.4): "Based on Johan Auerbach, Gebeden en liederen."

>In Library of Congress.

>Hesseling (1905:43-44, nr. 9): "*Psalmboek voor die Negergemeenten van St. Thomas, St. Croix en St. Jan, Barby, 1774.*"

>Stein (1986b:27, nr. 3.1.4): "[anon.] *Psalm-Boek voor die Neger-Gemeenten na S. Thomas, S. Croix en S. Jean.* Barby: 1774. 10,7 x 17, 6 cm, 256 pp.

>UA: NBVII R3, 5b.

>Digitally available at:

[https://books.google.nl/books?id=ZFNVAAAACAAJ&pg=PA3&lpg=PA3&dq=PSALM-B%2C%20K%20voor%20die%20NEGER-GEMEENTEN+na+ST.+THOMAS,+ST.+CROIX+en+S.+JEAN&source=bl&ots=I0-h3SUgIpl&sig=7jFgBNQ4UCRXpZ\\_N4mxEdsDrnyM&hl=nl&sa=X&ei=gYDYVJaRN4nlaOTgpaI&ved=0CCgQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=PSALM-B%2C%20K%20voor%20die%20NEGER-GEMEENTEN%20na%20ST.%20THOMAS%2C%20ST.%20CROIX%20en%20S.%20JEAN&f=false](https://books.google.nl/books?id=ZFNVAAAACAAJ&pg=PA3&lpg=PA3&dq=PSALM-B%2C%20K%20voor%20die%20NEGER-GEMEENTEN+na+ST.+THOMAS,+ST.+CROIX+en+S.+JEAN&source=bl&ots=I0-h3SUgIpl&sig=7jFgBNQ4UCRXpZ_N4mxEdsDrnyM&hl=nl&sa=X&ei=gYDYVJaRN4nlaOTgpaI&ved=0CCgQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=PSALM-B%2C%20K%20voor%20die%20NEGER-GEMEENTEN%20na%20ST.%20THOMAS%2C%20ST.%20CROIX%20en%20S.%20JEAN&f=false) (Februari 2, 2015)

*Psalm-boek voor die tot die Evangelische broeder-Kerk behoorende neger-gemeenten na S. Croix, S. Thomas en S. Jan.* Barby: 1784. 322, [46] pp.

>EN: Hymnal.

>Reinecke (1975:318, nr.5): "2nd edition of the 1774 *Psalm-boek*: 349 psalms, and liturgies. The high point of 'high,' Hollandized Creole."

>In Newberry Library.

>Stein (1986b:27, nr. 3.1.6): "[anon.] *Psalm-Boek voor die tot die*

*evangelische Broeer-Kerk behoorende Neger-Gemeenten na S. Croix, S. Thomas en S. Jan.* Barby: 1784. 284 pp.

>UA: NBVII R3, 5c/5d.

> [https://www.deutsche-digitale-](https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/item/RRUOJKCYNIZP67JAZ3KB3G5BTRZ7KZEK?query=Psal)

[bibliothek.de/item/RRUOJKCYNIZP67JAZ3KB3G5BTRZ7KZEK?query=Psal](https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/item/RRUOJKCYNIZP67JAZ3KB3G5BTRZ7KZEK?query=Psal)

[m-boek&thumbnail-](https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/item/RRUOJKCYNIZP67JAZ3KB3G5BTRZ7KZEK?query=Psal)

[filter=on&isThumbnailFiltered=true&rows=20&offset=0&viewType=list&firstHit](https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/item/RRUOJKCYNIZP67JAZ3KB3G5BTRZ7KZEK?query=Psal)

[=FPIFG2572SYUX6X4NCTYQGBTJIAH7SKR&lastHit=lasthit&hitNumber=2](https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/item/RRUOJKCYNIZP67JAZ3KB3G5BTRZ7KZEK?query=Psal)

(23 May 2021)

Rademeyer, J.H. 1938. *Kleurling-Afrikaans, die taal van die Griekwas en Rehoboth-Basters*, Amsterdam: N.V. Swets & Zeitlinger. {D}

>EN: Coloured Afrikaans, language of the Griekwas and Rehoboths.

>Contains a chapter on Creole Languages (chapter 2:29-38), illustrated with a passage in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole on p. 37, taken from De Josselin de Jong (1926).

Rask, Rasmus K. Perhaps 1806 "Betragtninger i anledning af det kreolske sprog", in: Diderichsen, Paul. *Rasmus Rask og den grammatiske tradition, studier over vendepunktet i sprogvidenskabens historie*. København: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1960. p. 155-166. [In: *Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser, udgivet af Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab*, Bind 38, nr. 2.].

>EN: Contemplations in connection with the Creole language.

>This is an annotated publication of Add.4° nr. 627 k., possibly from 1806, one of the many manuscripts by the great Danish general linguist that can be found in the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

Rask, Rasmus K. After 1806. *Udvalgte Afhandlinger, udgivet paa Bekostning af Rask-Ørsted Fondet i Hundredeaaret for Rasks Død paa Foranledning af Vilhelm Thomsen af Det danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab ved Louis Hjelmslev med Indledning af Holger Pedersen*. København: Levin & Munksgaards Forlag, 1932-33. Bind II. p. 122-123.

>EN: Selected papers.

>The author contradicts Adelung's (1809) remark that Virgin Islands Dutch Creole would be a corrupted sort of Dutch, by saying "dass es eine eigene, neue Sprache ist, die bloss vom Holländischen abstammt, aber eine ganz verschiedene Einrichtung hat. [that it is a new language of its own, which just derives from Dutch, but which has a totally different structure]" The same essay containing this passage is also found in *R.K.Rask, Samlede tildels forhen utrykte Afhandlinger*, III, København: H.K.Rask, 1838. p. 445-466.

Reinecke, John E. 1937. "The Negro Dutch of the Danish Antilles", in: *Marginal languages: a sociological survey of the creole languages and trade jargons*. Yale University, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. x, 880 pp. p. 394-425. {D}

>Reinecke (1975:321, nr.37).

Royen, Gerlach. 1929. Die nominalen Klassifikations-Systeme in den Sprachen der Erde. Historisch-kritische Studie, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Indogermanischen. Anthropos-Bibliothek, IV. Mödling: Anthropos.  
>Virgin Islands Dutch Creole is mentioned on p.492 in connection with plural marking.

Schmidt, J.C. 1788. "Blandede Anmærkninger, samlede paa og over Ejlandet St.Kroix i Amerika.", in: "Anmerkninger over Ejlandet St.Kroix i Vestindien af Herr J.C.Schmidt", in: *Samleren, et Ugeskrift*, [Andet Bind, udgivet af Laurits Hvid Bøgh. Kjøbenhavn 1788. Trykt paa Boghandel Lønstrups Forlag, hos F W Thiele] Volume 2, Copenhagen: Laurits Hvid Bøgh. N<sup>o</sup>.39 p. 198-206; N<sup>o</sup>.40 p. 214-224; N<sup>o</sup>.41 p. 225-240; N<sup>o</sup>.42 p. 241-250; N<sup>o</sup>.43 p. 259-263.  
>EN: Mixed remarks.  
>DKB, Copenhagen: 60-26, 8<sup>o</sup>.  
>This article contains a rebellious slave song in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole on pages 233-234, which is mentioned in Vibæk as 'Brudstykke af en oprørssang [fragments of a rebel song]'.  
>The rebel song on p. 233-234 was (on some points incorrectly) reprinted in: Thorkild Hansen, *Slavernes Øer*, København: Gyldendal, 1971, and also in Degn (1974:83).

Schuchardt, Hugo. 1914. "Zum Negerhollandischen von St. Thomas", in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* 33. p. 123-135.  
>EN: On the Negerhollands of St. Thomas.  
>In this article, a letter written in 1883 by A. Magens to the author is printed. The same letter is translated in the appended "Naschrift" and "Aantekeningen" by Hesseling (1914:135-142).  
>Reinecke (1975:321, nr.38).

Schuchardt, H. 1979. "On Virgin Islands Creole Dutch", in: Thomas L. Markey (ed.-/transl.), *Ethnography of Variation: Selected Writings on Pidgins and Creoles*. Ann Arbor: Karoma Press Inc. p. 48-58.  
>Translation of Schuchardt (1914).

Spangenberg, August Gottlieb. 1773-1775. *Leben des Herrn Nikolaus Ludwig Grafen und Herrn von Zinzendorff und Pottendorf*. Barby. [Reprint: Hildesheim-New York: Georg Olms, 1971].  
>EN: Life of Zinzendorf.

Stoett, F.A. 1912. "1263. Iemand de tong (af)schrappen". In: *Nederlandsche spreekwoorden en gezegden verklaard en in het Fransch, Duitsch en Engelsch vertaald door Dr. F.A. Stoett*. Zutphen: Thieme. p. 310.  
>Stoett writes that this proverb/saying is also present in Virgin Islands Dutch

Creole.

Taylor, Charles Edwin. 1888. *Leaflets from the Danish West Indies: descriptive of the social, political, and commercial condition of these islands*. London: the author. >Reinecke (1975:321, nr.39).  
>Digitally available at: <https://archive.org/details/leafletsfromdan00unkngoog> (Februari 9, 2015)

Toit, Pieter Jacobus du. 1905. *Afrikaansche studies [Uitgaven der Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde, V<sup>e</sup> reeks: Uitgaven der Commissie voor Nieuwere Taal- en Letterkunde 14]*. Gent: A. Siffer. {D}  
>EN: Studies in Afrikaans.  
>Chapter 5 (p. 74-108) is devoted to a comparison of VIDC and various types of Afrikaans, among which Bantu-based Pidgin Afrikaans. It is the first comparison of this type.

Valkhoff, Marius F. 1941. *De expansie van het Nederlands*. Brussel: Manteau.  
>Negerhollands/Negerzeeuws is mentioned on p. 27, 67 in relation to Afrikaans.

Van Name, Addison. 1871. "Contributions to Creole Grammar", in: *Transactions of the American Philological Association 1869-70*, 1. Hartford. p. 123-167.  
>Reinecke (1975:321, nr.42): "p. 159-163 on Negerhollands." {D}

Vercoullie, J. 1919. "Negerhollands molee, Afrikaans boetie, kartjipiering, bibies, bottel, ousanna, ewwa-trewwa, foolstruis.", in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde*, 38. p. 302-306. {D}

Vorrink, Joh. 1918. *De Nederlandsche Taal in al haar uitingen en gedaanten, handboek voor gymnasia, hoogere burgerscholen en lycea*, deel II. Amsterdam, Van Looy.  
>p. 69 on Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

Wold, Erich Röring. 1770. *Creool A B Buk voor die Deen Missioen na Westindien. [ka skrief door Erich Röring Wold, Catechet na St. Jans. 1770.]*; unkn.pl.: unkn.pub. 16 pp.

*D[octoor]. Martin Luther sie klein Catechismus na veif part. [1770.]*; unkn.aut., unkn.pl.: unkn.publ., 1770. 32 pp.

*Creool Psalm-buk voor die Deen Missioen na Westindien. [1770.]*; unkn.aut., unkn.pl.: unkn.pub. 70 pp.

>EN: Creole AB book. Small catechism. Creole hymnal.

>BUH: Pdg.11510.

>In the introduction to Magens (1781) these three works are mentioned: "Die begin a ka maek mit een A.B.Buk, en die klein Catechismus van Lutherus, en eenig Kirk-Psalmen ookal, die ha wordt gedrykt hiesoo in die Jaer 1770, ... [a

beginning was made with an AB book, the small catechism of Luther, and some hymns too, which were printed here in 1770]".

>Hesseling (1905:36) refers to this and adds he has not seen them himself, although he implies that they are bound together. "1."

>Vibæk (1953:554) mentions only the first and the third part, and so does Larsen (1950:114). Larsen, who based his inferences on Lose (1891:18), furthermore mentions a catechism published in 1770 by Kingo, probably meaning the second part. Lose mentions a 1764 draft catechism by Kingo that was sent to Magens on which he worked together with Wold. He nowhere explicitly claims, however, that it was ever printed. A 1770 edition of the catechism is ascribed wrongfully to Prætorius by Vibæk.

>Reinecke (1975:321) probably used Larsen as source as he mentions the same two parts only: Reinecke (1975:321, nr.43): "Wold, Rev. ---. °n.d. [*A B C book in Creol*]"; Reinecke (1975:321, nr.°44): "---. °n.d. [*Hymnal in Creol*]".

>DKB: DA.Box, 4-419, 07264, 8° is an identical copy of the third part of the above: *Creool Psalm-buk voor die Deen Missioon na Westindien. 1770*, with no indication of author. Apparently this has gone unnoticed so far.

>It is possible that both Lose and Larsen are correct; then part one and three are both by Wold, and the second part of this entry is ultimately by Kingo, even though it is bound together with Wold in one booklet. As no author of the second and third parts is mentioned, however, only linguistic and textual analysis may yield some more conclusive information.

Zinzendorf, Nikolaus Ludwig von. 1742. *Büdingische Sammlung einiger in die Kirchenhistorie einschlagender, sonderlich neuerer Schrifften. Erster Band*. Büdingen: Stöhr. Reprint: Hildesheim: Olms, 1965.

p. 453-457: *Des Hrn. Grafen Zinzendorff Abschied-Schreiben an die Negers in St. Thomas, in Cariolischer Sprache*.

p. 483-485: *Der erweckten Negros in St. Thomas Schreiben an Jhro Majest. den König in Dännemarck*. An. 1739.

p. 485-487: *Der Ältestin der Gemeine der Negros in St. Thomas Schreiben an die Königin von Dännemarck*. An. 1739.

>EN: Zinzendorfs farewell letter. Letter of the Black converts. Letter of the oldest woman of the Black community.

>Stein (1986b:20, nr. 1.1.1, 3.1.1).

#### 4. Studies after 1945.

- Abel, Sarah, George F. Tyson & Gisli Palsson. 2019. "From Enslavement to Emancipation: Naming Practices in the Danish West Indies", in: *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 61 (2), p.332-365. {D}  
>Refers to the slave letters, among which the Marotta-letter, which appeared in Zinzendorf (1742).  
>Illustration of Marotta-letter on p. 354.
- Adams Graves, Anne Victoria. 1977. *The present state of the Dutch Creole of the Virgin Islands*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms. 249 p.
- Adamson, Lilian, & Cefas van Rossem. 1995. "Creole literature", in: Jacques Arends, Pieter Muysken & Norval Smith (eds.), *Pidgins and Creoles: an introduction*, Creole Language Library 15. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, Ch.7, p. 75-84.  
>On p. 76 and 78 references to Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.
- Anderson, John L. 1975. *Night of the silent drums, a narrative of slave rebellion in the Virgin Islands*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 406 p.  
>Novel contains several expressions and words in Dutch Creole, 'Slave Talk' and 'Dutch patois'.  
>Contains glossary on p. 395-402..
- Anon. 1982. *200th Anniversary Emmaus Moravian Church*. St. Thomas Graphics. 12 p.  
On p. 9 Thomas de Malville is mentioned twice as the translator of the Bible into Dutch Creole.
- Anon. 1996, November 23. "Fo kik as die tan sal pin mi weeran, Negerhollands op de Maagdeneilanden", in: *Leeuwarder Courant*.  
>EN: To check whether the tooth will hurt me again, Negerhollands on the Virgin Islands.  
>Book review of Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996).
- Appel, Charlotte, Peter Bakker & Joost Robbe. 2024. 'Initiating reading in Creole.' In: Bøegh, Kristoffer Friis & Peter Bakker (eds.). 2024, December 20. *Pidgins, creoles, and language contact in Danish and Dutch colonial contexts*. Special issue of *Scandinavian Studies in Language*. Vol. 15, No. 2. Pp. 198-239.  
> [Initiating reading in Creole: Contents and contexts of primers in the Danish West Indies, 1770–1825 | Scandinavian Studies in Language](#)
- Arends, Jacques (ed). 1995. *The Early Stages of Creolization*. Creole Language Library 13. Amsterdam: Benjamins.  
>Contains several articles about Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

- Arends, Jacques. 1998. "Criolisches Wörterbuch, by Christian Georg Andreas Oldendorp, edited by Peter Stein", in *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 13: 2, p. 389-394.
- Arends, Jacques. 2004. "Review of "Historie der carigischen Inseln Sanct Thomas, Sanct Crux und Sanct Jan, insbesondere der sasigen Neger und der Mission der evangelischen Brüder unter denselben. Erster Teil", by Christian Georg Andreas Oldendorp", in: *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 19: 1, p. 171-176.
- Arends, Jacques, & Pieter Muysken. 1992. "Demografische Modellen in de Creolistiek", in: *Gramma/TTT, tijdschrift voor taalkunde* 1, 1. p. 41-55.  
>EN: Demographic models in creole studies.
- Bach-Nielsen, Carsten. 2007. 'Kampen om den vestindiske salmebog'. In: *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger*, pp.95-137.  
>[Kirkehistoriske Samlinger 2007 \(ronlev.dk\)](#)
- Baker, Philip & Adrienne Bruyn (eds). 1999. *St Kitts and the Atlantic Creoles: The Texts of Samuel Augustus Mathews in Perspective*. London: Battlebridge Publications.  
> Contains article(s)? about Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.
- Baker, Philip & Peter Mühlhäusler. 2007. "Creole linguistics from its beginnings, through Schuchardt to the present day.", in Charles, I.S. (ed.) *Creolization: history, ethnography, theory*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press. p. 84-107.  
>Some references only mention Philip Baker as the author of this chapter.
- Bakker, Peter. 1999. "Book review, Die Creol Taal, Criolisches Wörterbuch (...)", in: *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia*, 31. p. 167-172. {D}
- Bakker, Peter. 2003. "Scandinavians and their pidgins and creoles", in: *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 35. p. 95-114. {D}  
>p.100 about Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.
- Bakker, Peter. 2004. "Låneord fra dansk i Vestafrikanske og Vestindiske sprog", in: *Mål og Mæle*, 27, 3, p. 28-32. {D}
- Bakker, Peter. 2014. "Three Dutch Creoles in comparison", in: *Journal of Germanic Linguistics*, 26(3), p.191-222. {D}
- Bakker, Peter. 2016. Review of *Language contact in the Danish West Indies: Giving Jack his Jacket*. By Robin Sabino. Leiden: Brill 2012. Pp. 337 ISBN 978-90-04-22540-4 (Brill's Studies in Language, Cognition and Culture, Volume 1) (...). In: *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 31: 1, p. 223-228.

- Bakker, Peter. 2017. 'Chapter 10. Dutch Creoles compared with their lexifier', in: Peter Bakker, Finn Borchsenius, Carsten Levisen, Eeva Sippola (eds), *Creole Studies – Phylogenetic Approaches*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, p. 276-305.  
>Open source: <http://www.jbe-platform.com/content/books/9789027265739>
- Bakker, Peter. 2020, August 6. 'Book review: An extinct creole language of the Danish West Indies. On: <https://www.lingoblog.dk/en/book-review-an-extinct-creole-language-of-the-danish-west-indies/>  
>Book review of Rossem, Cefas van. 2017. *The Virgin Islands Dutch Creole Textual Heritage: Philological Perspectives on Authenticity and Audience Design*. Utrecht: LOT..
- Bakker, Peter, Marike Post and Hein van der Voort. 1995. "TMA particles and auxiliaries", in: Jacques Arends, Pieter Muysken, Norval Smith (eds.), *Pidgins and Creoles: an introduction*, Creole Language Library 15. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, Ch.20, p. 247-258.
- Bakker, Peter, and Hein van der Voort. 2008. "Grammar of the Creole language as used on the three Danish Islands of St. Croix, St. Thomas and St. John in America. Compiled and written by a native of St. Thomas", in: John Holm and Susanne Michaelis (eds), *Contact Languages. Critical Concepts in Language Studies*. London/New York: Routledge, p. 15-48. {D}  
>Translated from Danish by Bakker and Van der Voort
- Bakker, Sjoukje R. 2000. *My nu sae verjet jou. Derk Christiaan Hesseling en zijn theorieën over het Afrikaans en het Negerhollands*. Doctoraalscriptie Nederlandse taalkunde, Universiteit Leiden, juli.  
>MA-thesis, Dutch linguistics, Leyden University, The Netherlands, supervised by Marijke van der Wal & Ariane van Santen.
- Bas, Marcel. 2012. The genesis of creoles: when interim grammars become permanent. Unpublished (part of) MA thesis. 9 pp. {D}
- Beentjes, Mireille. 1996, November 30. "Negerhollands net op tijd gered van ondergang", in: *Utrechts Nieuwsblad*. {D}  
>EN: Negerhollands, saved from extinction just in time.  
>Book review of Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996).
- Berg, Margot van den, and Robbert van Sluijs. 2015. Review of 'Language Contact in the Danish West Indies: giving Jack his Jacket. Robin Sabino. Leiden: Brill, 2012. xx11 + 337 pp. (Cloth US\$ 156.00)', in: *New West Indian Guide*, 89, 1&2. Unkn.p. {D}

Besten, Hans den (ed). 1986. *Papers on Negerhollands, the Dutch Creole of the Virgin Islands. Amsterdam Creole Studies IX*, Publikaties van het Instituut voor Algemene Taalwetenschap 51.

Besten, Hans den. 1989. "A plea for a more thorough use of West-Germanic Studies in Creole Studies (by way of an appendix to Peter Bakker's review of Glenn G. Gilbert (ed) (1987) *Pidgin and Creole Languages. Essays in Memory of John E. Reinecke.*)", in: Peter Bakker and Norval Smith (eds), *Amsterdam Creole Studies X*, Publikaties van het Instituut voor Algemene Taalwetenschap no.56. p. 82-102.

Besten, Hans den. 1992. "De makke van de etymologie van koloniale woorden in het Nederlands", in: *Jaarboek van de Stichting Instituut voor Nederlandse Lexicologie, overzicht van het jaar 1991*, Leiden: Secretariaat van de Stichting, p. 52-82.

>EN: The snag of the etymology of colonial words in Dutch.

>Sections 1.1 and 1.2 deal with the historical phonology of NH `epithetic' vowels and the etymology of the Dutch and NH words for `cockroach' and `soursop'.

Besten, Hans den. 1993, May 12. "Historische fonologie van het Negerhollands", paper presented at the Negerhollandsmiddag, P.J. Meertens-Instituut. Unpublished. {D}

>EN: Historical phonology of Negerhollands.

Besten, Hans den. 2008. "Negerhollandse taalkunde", in: *Internationale Neerlandistiek*, 46, 1 (februari). p. 38-48. {D}

>EN: Negerhollands linguistics.

Besten, Hans den, & Frans Hinskens. 2005. 'Diversificatie van het Nederlands door taalcontact', in: *Nederlandse Taalkunde*, 10, 4, p. 283-309. {D}

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>EN: Sociolinguistic history of Negerhollands.

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>Also published in Danish.

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>EN: New Testament in Negerhollands.

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>EN: Our changing language.

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173-174, III: p. 281-282, IV: p. 289-290.  
>EN: Church books in Negerhollands.

Degn, Christian. 1974. *Die Schimmelmans im atlantischen Dreieckshandel. Gewinn und Gewissen*. Neumünster: Karl Wachholz Verlag. 583 pp.  
>EN: The Schimmelmans in the Atlantic triangle trade.  
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>Attention for hymnbooks of Danish Lutheran Mission. P. 84-87 on hymn 'O Planterman'.

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Essegby, James. 2025. "On deciphering a 300-year-old Gbe document". Paper

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>Presentation of the Damma/Marotta/Madlena letter project by Katharine Gerbner, University of Minnesota, Enoch O. Aboh, University of Amsterdam, Felix Ameka, University of Leiden, Cefas van Rossem, Meertens Institute, Peter Stein, University of Bremen.

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