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Abstract

By the end of 1825, 6,000 African Americans had left the United States to settle in the free black Republic of Haiti. After arriving on the island, 200 immigrants formed an enclave in what is now Samaná, Dominican Republic. The Americans in Samaná continued to speak English, remained Protestant (in a country of devout Catholics), and retained American cultural practices for over 150 years. Relying on historical archaeological methods, this dissertation explores the processes of community formation, maintenance, and dissolution, while paying particular attention to intersections of race and nation. Fieldwork took place in the Spring and Summer of 2010 and involved local archival research, oral history interviews, and an aboveground survey of the cemetery in Samaná. Oral histories stemming from linguistic research conducted in the 1980s were also incorporated into this study. Analyses show that the geopolitical isolation of the Samaná Peninsula, in addition to the immigrants' status as a large minority within a small but diverse population, allowed for the relatively unhindered formation of the American community. The immigrants and their descendants defined themselves in relation to the broader Samanese population through their use of English, emphasis on a formal, English-language education for their children, their honesty and Protestant work ethic, and their devotion to God and their Methodist churches. Yet the 1930s, which saw the rise and adverse impact of the Trujillo regime, brought a series of changes to the town which led to the Americans' diminished social status and eventual loss of community cohesion. Finally, the American enclave in Samaná is placed into a broader context; the impact on the community of the various racialized national projects with which it has contended is examined. In addition, the Americans in Samaná are then looked at as a case study in processes of transnationalism and globalization.

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AFRICAN AMERICANS FROM "BACK YONDER": THE HISTORICAL
ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE FORMATION, MAINTENANCE, AND DISSOLUTION
OF THE AMERICAN ENCLAVE IN SAMANÁ, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Kristen R. Fellows

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Kristen Rebecca Fellows

For my parents,
Candace and Charles Fellows

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less painful and much more enjoyable. I am looking forward to the fun we are bound to have together in the future.

ABSTRACT

AFRICAN AMERICANS FROM "BACK YONDER": THE HISTORICAL
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Kristen R. Fellows

Robert L. Schuyler

By the end of 1825, 6,000 African Americans had left the United States to settle in the free black Republic of Haiti. After arriving on the island, 200 immigrants formed an enclave in what is now Samaná, Dominican Republic. The Americans in Samaná continued to speak English, remained Protestant (in a country of devout Catholics), and retained American cultural practices for over 150 years. Relying on historical archaeological methods, this dissertation explores the processes of community formation, maintenance, and dissolution, while paying particular attention to intersections of race and nation. Fieldwork took place in the Spring and Summer of 2010 and involved local archival research, oral history interviews, and an aboveground survey of the cemetery in Samaná. Oral histories stemming from linguistic research conducted in the 1980s were also incorporated into this study. Analyses show that the geopolitical isolation of the Samaná Peninsula, in addition to the immigrants' status as a large minority within a small but diverse population, allowed for the relatively unhindered formation of the American community. The immigrants and their descendants defined themselves in relation to the

broader Samanese population through their use of English, emphasis on a formal, English-language education for their children, their honesty and Protestant work ethic, and their devotion to God and their Methodist churches. Yet the 1930s, which saw the rise and adverse impact of the Trujillo regime, brought a series of changes to the town which led to the Americans' diminished social status and eventual loss of community cohesion. Finally, the American enclave in Samaná is placed into a broader context; the impact on the community of the various racialized national projects with which it has contended is examined. In addition, the Americans in Samaná are then looked at as a case study in processes of transnationalism and globalization.

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Chapter I: Introduction

Following the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804), the newly formed, free black nation controlled both the Spanish and formerly French sides of the island of Hispaniola for a period of twenty-two years (1822-1844) (Moya Pons 1998). In 1824, Haitian President Jean Pierre Boyer sent an agent to the United States in order to begin recruitment of potential immigrants from the members of the free black communities in the major northern cities; the purpose behind this endeavor was to help bolster population numbers with skilled agriculturalists, while also making a bid to gain political recognition from the U.S. By the end of 1825, approximately 6,000 U.S. freedmen had been recruited to immigrate to and settle on the island (Davis 2007; Hoetink 1962; Smith 1986, 1987; Weeks and Ramírez Zabala 2005; Winch 1988, 1989). It is estimated that 2,000 immigrants later returned to the United States, 2,000 died en route or shortly after arriving on the island, and the final 2,000 remained in their new country (Government Printing Office [GPO] 1871; Winch 1988, 1989). The Haitian unification of the island only lasted until 1844, when the Dominican Republic claimed independence.

This dissertation is centered on one particular community of African American emigrants who relocated to what was then Haiti. These settlers and their descendants ended up in what was the greater Haiti, and today is the town of Santa Barbara de Samaná, on the Samaná Peninsula, Dominican Republic (both the town and the peninsula are commonly referred to as just Samaná). The position of this settlement on the peninsula meant that the Americans were generally geopolitically isolated. For well over

100 years this group was characterized by the use of English as their first and primary language, their devotion to Methodism (in a country of devout Catholics), their unique American surnames and cultural practices, and their family stories of the United States, slavery, and early life on the island. Although this community was once relatively insulated, in the 20th century they became more integrated into the larger Dominican society. Rafael Trujillo, the notorious Dominican dictator, helped to develop the infrastructure that would end the isolation enjoyed by the Samaná Peninsula; he also implemented policies that would fully dominicanize the town of Santa Barbara de Samaná. Today, younger generations primarily speak Spanish, there has been a rise in the numbers of conversions to Catholicism, and the descendants are no longer a cohesive community (Davis 2007; Hoetink 1962; Smith 1987; Ramírez Zabala 2005; Weeks and Ramírez Zabala 2005).

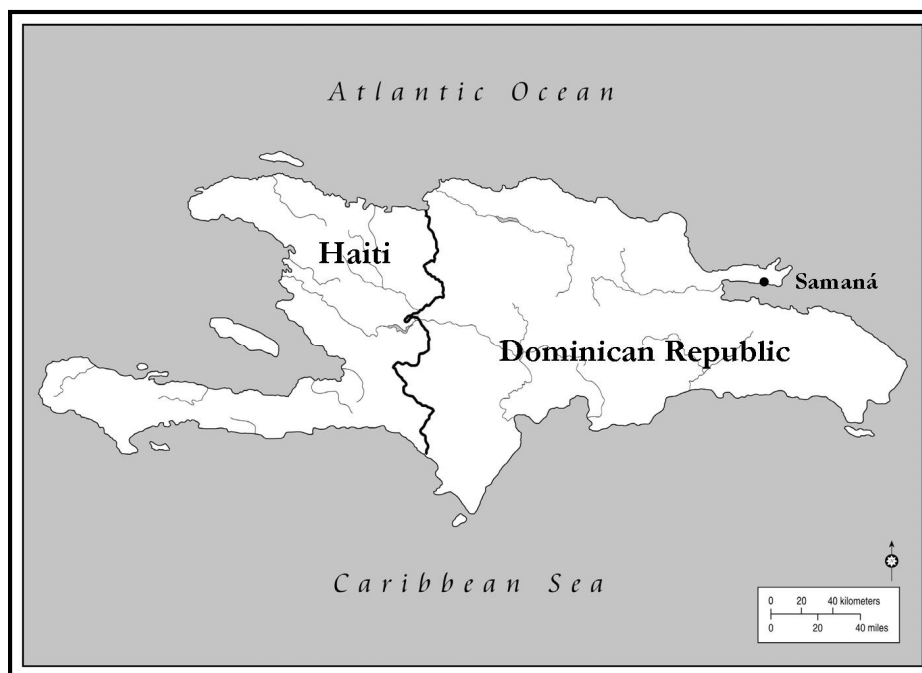


Figure 1-1. The current geopolitical division of Hispaniola with Samaná included. (Map adapted from <http://alabamamaps.ua.edu/> 2010.)

With Cuba and Jamaica directly to the West and Puerto Rico directly to the East, the strategic location of the Samaná Peninsula, and the protected bay it creates, has made it a target for the competing imperialist governments that have held power in the region through time. The American immigrants and their descendants have born witness to the expulsion of the Haitians and establishment of the Dominican Republic (1844), later attempts at occupation by Haiti, Spain's annexation of the Dominican Republic and subsequent eviction (1861-1865), United States interest in annexing the Samaná Peninsula in the mid- to late-19th century, and the occupation of U.S. Marines (1916-1924) (Moya Pons 1998). From the United States, to Haiti, Spanish annexation, and the Dominican Republic, the trajectory of this community has meant an association with multiple countries; this, in turn, has led the group to contend with the effects of multiple racialized national projects. The intersections of these global and national developments with local processes of community formation, maintenance, and dissolution will be explored throughout this research.

I am interested in the means through which an "American" communal identity was formed in Samaná in the early 19th century and how, and to what extent, it has been maintained through time. As is common in historical archaeological studies, I will be focusing on the total history of the community (1824 – present), including an exploration of the role and importance of communal memory for the descendants of the original settlers. Although the formation of this American enclave predates the migratory circulations that accompany recent processes of globalization, it is also necessary to contextualize the local within the global. This research will explore the processes of

community formation and maintenance, the role of the “homeland” in the cultivation of a diasporic identity through time, and the implications of broader, global developments affecting local populations, in particular shifts in nationalism and imperialism. In order to answer the questions posed below, historical archaeological methods will be employed to analyze the material, documentary, and oral historical records. The incorporation of the various lines of evidence will strengthen diachronic understandings of how global racial hierarchies have and continue to impact local identities and the intersection of the local with the global through time.

The community in Samaná will offer an interesting and unique case study that contributes to the body of archaeological and anthropological work that has previously been done on diasporic communities. This research will also speak to the convergence of African Diaspora studies and transnationalism/globalization studies. Anthropologists working in the Caribbean have long attempted to develop a better understanding of the local-global nexus, while also placing social processes within a sociohistorical context. Situated at the juncture of multiple lines of scholarship, this dissertation draws on historical archaeological and ethnohistorical methodologies. Due to the relative longevity of the community, such an approach is particularly appropriate for this research. Relying on three primary data sets – the documentary record, oral histories, and the material record in the form of an aboveground study of the local cemetery – this dissertation seeks to answer two overarching research questions:

What new identities, social arrangements, and phenomena does the movement of people, ideas, and capital produce? And what roles do both an imagined “homeland” and global context play in these processes?

Fieldwork began during a short research trip to Samaná in March of 2010.

Although it was meant as a preliminary visit in which I was to prepare for an extended stay in the summer, the trip in March resulted in a large number of oral history interviews as well as the photographic collection (or capture) of the local archival sources. In June and July of that same year I returned to the town and completed the Samaná Cemetery Survey and finished the collection of oral history interviews. Other archival research was performed at the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in the United States, and a visit to the Sociolinguistics Laboratory at the University of Ottawa allowed me to access oral history interviews from the 1980s. As will become evident, the integration of these various data sets has been essential for this project; it also points to the role historical archaeology can play in the study of long-term, diasporic, transnational communities.

Research

Chapter II: *Historical Context* offers a discussion of the historical background of the African American immigrants and their descendants. In order to fully appreciate the various national settings and international developments that have affected this

community, this chapter necessarily covers extensive historical ground. As most of the American settlers in Samaná claimed to have an origin in Philadelphia, a discussion of this major northern city will be offered, and will emphasize the free black community and the changing race relations of this era. An overview of the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804) and the Haitian unification of the island (1822-1844) will set the stage for an account of the Haitian emigration scheme in the Northern United States. Finally, this chapter will look at Samaná and the Dominican Republic after settlement. Of particular interest will be the various international intrigues affecting the region, the occupation of the Dominican Republic by the United States Marines from 1916-1924, and the era of Trujillo. The historical context of this enclave is crucial for the development of a better understanding of how nationality and race have intersected in the formulation of a communal identity through time.

The next chapter, Chapter III: *Research Orientation*, will help to situate this research in regards to the various scholarly discussions with which it articulates. The chapter will begin with a look at how the documentary record and ethnohistorical methodologies have been used in historical archaeological studies, and will then discuss the place of cemetery studies in this subfield. The next section will examine how race has been approached within anthropology; a particular emphasis will be placed on anthropological work done in the Caribbean. Furthermore, at the end of this segment, I will present information regarding current conceptions of race in the Dominican Republic. Given the racialized nature of *Dominicanidad* (or a sense of Dominican nationality), which was institutionalized under the Trujillo regime, this part of the

discussion is essential for the questions posed by this research project. The chapter will then transition into an exploration of the anthropology of the African Diaspora, transnationalism, and globalization and their intersections. Next, an overview of the scholarship that has already been performed in Samaná will be provided. Finally, the last component of this chapter will explain the research design driving this dissertation. More specific inquiries will be posed, which will, in turn, inform the overarching questions presented above.

Given the variety of the types of data used in this dissertation, there will not be a separate chapter devoted to methodology. Instead, each of the three data-centered chapters will incorporate a discussion of the particular methodologies used in the given analyses. This structure should alleviate any confusion or need to return to previous chapters, and will hopefully create a more readable dissertation.

The first of the data-driven chapters will deal with the analysis of the documentary evidence as presented in Chapter IV: *The Documentary Record*. After providing an overview of the origin of the archival records and their current condition, the methodology used in the analysis of the documents will be discussed. The archives consist mostly of marriage and baptism records from St. Peter's Church in Samaná, one of the two Methodist churches which have served the American community. This chapter will also involve the analysis of ethnohistorical sources, the most significant being the United States Report of the Commission of Inquiry to Santo Domingo from 1871. General information regarding the Americans which has been gleaned from the archives will then be offered. One of the more interesting components resulting from an analysis

of the ethnohistorical documents has been the opportunity to compare the American enclave in Santo Domingo with that in Samaná. The report from 1871 has also provided a wealth of information concerning local attitudes on the Spanish annexation, the potential U.S. annexation, and general national sentiments. But the most significant portion of the examination of the documentary record has come in an exposure of the intentional boundary-making practices implemented by the American community in Samaná. The documents have provided great insights into multiple generations of this enclave.

The second of the data analyses chapters, Chapter V: *Oral Histories*, is centered on oral history interviews and includes data sets from my own fieldwork in 2010, as well as one from the 1980s performed by linguistic researchers (Poplack and Sankoff 1987). The chapter will begin with a discussion of the methodologies used in performing and analyzing the two sets of interviews. It will then provide insight into the various markers of membership in the American community. Surnames from the United States continue to stand out in Samaná and even strike Dominicans elsewhere as unusual and foreign-sounding. The importance of the English language, and the formal and informal modes of language transmission for this enclave will also be examined. Moreover, the oral histories have illuminated the process of language death which has greatly impacted this group. From there, the chapter moves into a discussion of the Methodist churches in Samaná and how they have served as centralizing, organizing institutions for this community. Finally, the oral histories have provided a look into a time period not represented in the documentary record – the era of Trujillo. As will become apparent, the impact of this dictatorial regime on the American enclave has been tremendous.

Chapter VI: *The Samaná Cemetery Survey* is concerned with the analyses of the Samaná Cemetery Survey. This aboveground study mapped and catalogued 2,421 grave markers while looking for spatial patterning that spoke to social divisions within the Samanese society. The size, layout, and slope of the site presented some very real challenges to the survey, which are discussed at the beginning of the chapter in the methodology section. General findings from the survey will then be reported. One of the more interesting components resulting from the study of the cemetery is the identification of two distinct phases of use. The differences in the markers between these two time periods, and what they signify, will be considered. Lastly, practices of reuse and recycling of spaces and material present in the cemetery will be examined. Whether or not the cemetery highlighted social boundaries within Samaná through spatial and stylistic patterning will be left for the discussion in this chapter.

The conclusion of this dissertation, Chapter VII: *Conclusions and Discussion*, will examine what the various lines of evidence have revealed about the processes of community formation, maintenance, and dissolution for the American enclave in Samaná. It will also explore the use of this community as a case study in early processes of transnationalism and globalization. Furthermore, it will look to the intersections of race and nation throughout the trajectory of the Americans' communal identity.

Contributions

This dissertation explores the formation and maintenance of a diasporic community on the Samaná Peninsula in the Dominican Republic. The descendants of freedmen from the United States, this group continued to identify as “American” for well over 100 years; however, their primary use of English, strict Protestantism, and cohesive community is all but gone. The historical archaeological approach implemented in this study relies on ethnohistorical methods and incorporates material, archival, and oral historical sources. Such an approach will allow for a diachronic view of the community and will enable articulations with multiple bodies of scholarship.

By providing a study centered on a free African American community in Haiti (and then the Dominican Republic), this study will broaden the scope of historical archaeological studies of the African Diaspora. While this is a popular topic within the subfield, most of the existing research has focused on the plantation setting. Studies on free black communities seem to be increasing in number (e.g. Sandy Ground (Schuyler 1980), New Philadelphia (Fennell 2009), and Timbuctoo (Barton 2009)), but the international migration undertaken by the African Americans in Samaná creates an especially unique set of circumstances. The original immigrants, and their cultural practices passed down to ensuing generations, also speak to the free black community of early-19th century Philadelphia. At the very least, this dissertation will provide insight into an African American community formed after free blacks fled the United States for the free, black Republic of Haiti.

Archaeological studies of the Dominican Republic have been occurring for quite some time (e.g., Krieger 1929); however, much of the research done on the island has focused on pre-contact Taíno or underwater ship sites off the coast. The historical archaeology performed in the Dominican Republic has been limited primarily to a handful of colonial town sites, and one early plantation (e.g. Deagan and Cruxent 2002; Tavares María 2000). This project will expand the range of archaeological work done on Hispaniola and in the Dominican Republic in general. The Samaná Cemetery Survey will also help to diversify the work done on historical cemeteries. By providing a Latin American, Caribbean case study, this research will contribute to the discussion of cemeteries in interesting ways. The repurposing of materials and spaces, and the general attitudes toward death and commemoration seen in the Samaná cemetery should help to problematize presumptions which historical archaeologists hold when beginning the study of a site of this sort. Moreover, this cemetery is unique among Caribbean case studies as it is not associated with an enslaved community. Thus, this research will contribute to the number and variety of sites being studied in the Dominican Republic.

Culture change and diasporic identity, the focus of this project, are also central to major lines of research within African Diaspora studies. This research will also be in dialogue with the scholarship of transnationalism and globalization, through the investigation of diasporic networks and the national and imperial contextualization of the local community. In regards to both bodies of literature, the methodology used in this project will contribute an alternative approach through which to explore these issues of diasporic identity. As this enclave is, in essence, an example of a reversal of the majority

of transnational communities studied to date – moving from the incipient Global North to the Global South – this research will add a new component to the discussion of shifts in the racialized structures immigrants often face. The longevity of this community, and the historical archaeological methods used, will also allow for the Americans in Samaná to serve as a case study in the local effects of shifting national projects and their racialized natures. One of the greatest strengths of this project is that the multilevel analyses – local identity formation, maintenance, and dissolution, intersections of race and nation in Samaná, and imperial competition – will offer insights at the junctures of the various literatures. Furthermore, it will increase our understandings of Empire (and in particular an incipient American Empire) at a point when hegemonic powers were in transition, and what such global developments meant at the local level.

Chapter II: Historical Context: Philadelphia, Haiti and Samaná, Dominican Republic

The historical context with which this chapter is concerned is necessarily broad in scope. It will range from early 19th century Philadelphia, to the new Republic of Haiti and to more recent history within the Dominican Republic. An understanding of the rising racial tensions from which the American freedmen were fleeing is as crucial a component to the story as their landing on Hispaniola and the national and international intrigues which followed. The American émigrés also faced situations and hardships particular to Samaná which sets their story apart from those Americans who landed elsewhere on the island. I will begin with a discussion of the free black community in Philadelphia during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, followed by a brief account of colonial Santo Domingo and the Haitian Revolution. A discussion of the Haitian emigration, from the recruitment to the actual journey to the island, will then be provided. Finally, an overview of the American settlement in Samaná will give insight into various topics such as Samaná Bay's coveted location, the U.S. Marine occupation of the Dominican Republic, and the Trujillo regime. The intersection of race and nation within the communal identity of the African Americans in Samaná is the primary focus of this research. Taking into consideration the various national contexts with which this group has been associated is central for developing an understanding of how this communal identity was formed, maintained for well over a century, and why it is now disappearing.

Late 18th and Early 19th Century Philadelphia

Philadelphia's very existence can, in a sense, be directly connected to political and military undertakings in the Caribbean. The Penn and Venables 1655 campaign to capture various Spanish holdings for the British crown failed to take Santo Domingo, but it was able to capture the sparsely populated island of Jamaica. Sir William Penn rose to the rank of Admiral in the British Navy and his son would later benefit from his prominent position; in 1681, William Penn, the son, was granted land in America and Pennsylvania came into being (Soderlund 1983). 150 years later, at the beginning of the 19th century, Philadelphia was a major American metropolis known for its cultural and scientific contributions. Larger than New York City (though not for too much longer), it was primarily a seaport; two deep and navigable rivers, the Schuylkill and Delaware, allowed for tremendous trade with the sugar islands of the Caribbean and later places as far east as China. The heyday of trade with these islands would quickly come to an end and within the first quarter of the 19th century Philadelphia would be swept up in the Industrial Revolution. It was during this transition when racial tensions began to rise as poor, white European and poor, Southern black immigrants flocked to the city (R. Miller 1982; Nash 2003; Richardson 1982).

The Free Black Community

Post-Revolutionary Philadelphia had a reputation for tolerance and would soon become a center for the abolition movement. Needless to say, it proved to be an attractive place for free blacks, newly freed slaves, and fugitive slaves to settle. By the late 1780s,

Philadelphia had the largest free black community in the nation, though they were still a small minority within the city.¹ Around this time, and in large part due to the influence and support of the Quakers, segments of the city's white and black communities began to advocate for abolition as well as rights for free blacks. Although the beginnings of racial tolerance would not last, it allowed for the black community to put down roots in the city. It was also during the late 18th century that the beginnings of a black middle class began to form in Philadelphia; several members of the community were even able to rise above the middle class (Nash 2003).

During the late 18th century segments of the black community worked hard to establish not only fruitful careers, but also to cultivate respect within the larger population and a sense of identity independent from their plantation past. While still retaining many practices originating in Africa, Anglo cultural ways were also adopted. Northern blacks were beginning to identify as both American and as black. Gary Nash (2003) uses naming practices within the community to demonstrate the development of a unique African American identity and what W. E. B. Du Bois (2003) called a "double consciousness." As ex-slaves changed their names and black institutions were founded and grew within the city, the names taken on by individuals, as well as social, religious, and aid societies, conveyed the tension between creating an identity that would be seen as respectable within the larger American society while maintaining a connection to a past identity from which they had been physically and forcibly removed. According to Nash

¹ According to Nash (2003) the total black population in Philadelphia constituted 3.6% of the city's entire population in 1780; stated another way, there were 1,100 blacks in a city of 32,000 people.

(2003), ex-slaves in Philadelphia often chose new, Anglo first names, abandoning the ridiculous, mocking, classical names they had been given by their masters (e.g. Hercules). Additionally, they decided on surnames that would distance themselves from their former owners. A very different practice was seen in the U.S. South, where many ex-slaves retained the surname (and thus patronage) of their former masters (Nash 2003). Black institutions were created during this time and were based on the structure and mission of white benevolent societies. For instance, in 1787 the Free African Society was established. Nash particularly wants us to note that it was not the Free *Black/Negro/Colored* Society, but the *Free African* Society. While this institution was based on white models, it took on a name that spoke to a shared African past and did not draw on the racialized language of the plantation. Also significant in the use of “African” by the various black institutions, is the newly formed concept of a Pan-African identity; the slaves came from a diverse number of places and ethnic groups within Africa and would not have readily identified as one large group prior to this time period (Berlin 1998; Nash 2003).

The various black institutions created during the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries indicates the need for a communalism within this minority population (Berlin 1998; Dixon 2000; Nash 2003; Newman 2008). Although Philadelphia was known as a relatively tolerant city, communal action proved to carry more weight than individual acts of advocacy. The black churches founded during this time are recognized as the most significant and central of the black institutions, often serving roles beyond their religious mission. They allowed for an independent black religious experience that

was often more expressive and emotional than services led by white ministers, provided much needed support for black immigrants newly arrived in Philadelphia, played a central role in advocating for abolition and equal rights, had a strong hand in establishing the importance of and access to education for free blacks, and acted as a focal point for the formation of the black community (Nash 2003). For example, the Mother Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church was established by Bishop Richard Allen in 1817, not because he lacked devotion to Methodism, but the constrictions placed upon black congregants by the white authority of St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church (R. Miller 1982; Nash 2003). The AME Church has grown tremendously since then, and is still an organizing force in Philadelphia and throughout the world. Leaders in the black community, such as Absalom Jones, Richard Allen, and James Forten, all had strong ties to the black congregations. They also gained respectability outside of the community through their efforts with the church and the pious lifestyles they preached and lived.

Rising Racial Tensions

In the early years of the 19th century things began to shift for Philadelphia blacks. A rise in racial tensions made life more difficult and personal safety harder to guarantee. A number of factors contributed to the increase in racial hostility, including the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804), changing demographics within the city, rising class disparities and attempts to change legislation. Traders in Philadelphia engaged in large quantities of commerce with the Caribbean, and so news of the rebellion in the French colony of Saint-Domingue quickly spread throughout the city. Between 1792 and 1798 multiple waves of

white French refugees entered Philadelphia with their black slaves. They also brought stories of the very violent revolution (Berlin 1998; Nash 2003). Although Pennsylvania's Gradual Abolition Act of 1780 meant that there were no longer slaves in Philadelphia, the fear of racialized violence inspired by the presence of the French refugees was still quite palpable. At the same time, the city experienced a large influx of both European and Southern immigrants (Nash 2003; Richardson 1982). In efforts to keep freedmen from inspiring rebellions among the slaves, many southern states required manumitted slaves to leave the region. The black community in Philadelphia expanded dramatically as rural, freed slaves were forced out of their home states and into the new urban environs of Philadelphia. The newly arrived blacks tended to arrive in poor health and with few skills applicable to their new urban setting (Nash 2003).

As Philadelphia took on multiple waves of new immigrants, it also began to hit hard times financially. The War of 1812 adversely affected the United States' Caribbean trade as the European powers often intercepted American ships on their way to enemy ports. In fact, the city faced a severe depression from 1816-1823 (Nash 2003). This, in part, led to the rise of industrial factories within the city. Despite the fact that New York would quickly surpass Philadelphia as a manufacturing center, it still developed into a major American industrial metropolis. Unfortunately, the glut of unskilled laborers in Philadelphia created serious competition and drove wages lower and lower. The new jobs in the factories and mills all went to the poor Irish, English, and German immigrants flooding into the city, leaving the poorer-paying and less stable unskilled day-labor to the new black immigrants. All of this contributed to an increasing distance between the elite

of the city and the lower classes as well as between the newly arrived white and black immigrants. Rising class tensions and stiff competition for jobs only contributed to the hostile nature of race relations within the city (Nash 2003; Richardson 1982).

Proposed and actual changes in legislation furthered the gap between the white and black communities within Philadelphia. Beginning with the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, free blacks were to face worsening conditions and fewer freedoms in the beginning of the 19th century. The Fugitive Slave Law, “allowed claimants of fleeing slaves to seize their putative property without a warrant” (Nash 2003:186). This meant that more and more free-born blacks were being kidnapped and transported to slavery in the South. Laws against kidnapping were rarely enforced and punishments were barely more than a slap on the wrist. The end of the Slave Trade, which was enacted in 1808, only spurred on the kidnapers’ nefarious activities. Examples of proposed legislation also help to illustrate an increasing hostility towards the black community. Multiple bills that would have closed Pennsylvania’s borders to free black migrants were debated between 1805 and 1814. And in 1807 one proposal suggested that free blacks be required to carry papers proving their freedom. It was only due to the activity of the black community, and support from the Pennsylvania Abolition Society and the Society of Friends that these measures did not pass (Nash 2003).

Racial tensions manifested themselves in a myriad of ways in the city. In the early 1800s blacks began to be forcibly removed from public celebrations. Philadelphia prides itself on being the birthplace of the nation and some of the black inhabitants, for instance James Forten, actually had memories of the original reading of the Declaration of

Independence; yet blacks were increasingly pushed out of the official 4th of July festivities held near Independence Hall. In 1818 a segregated prison system was instituted after white inmates began to refuse to eat with their black counterparts. As mentioned earlier, the entire black community, whether members were fugitive slaves or not, was on guard against being kidnapped and sold into slavery. Even the most prominent members of the community were not safe; around 1806 Richard Allen himself was seized by a southerner who had obtained a sheriff's arrest warrant claiming him as a fugitive slave. Because he was so well known, Allen was able to have the man arrested for attempted kidnapping; but three months later, after the man was unable to pay the fines and Allen dropped the charges, the man was set free. Furthermore, during the early 1810s, many prominent white men, who had once been supporters of the black community, began to change their theories of race from the environmental degradation of slavery to a belief in the innate inferiority of blacks (Nash 2003). Furthermore, racial violence, often perpetrated by the Irish, began in earnest in the 1820s. In 1825, Mother Bethel AME Church was the target of one such instance when white youths slipped pepper and salt into a wood-burning stove during a service. Thinking a fire had started, the congregation stampeded to evacuate the building, trampling two people to death in the process. The examples of fear, hostility, and the degradation of race relations in Philadelphia should help to contextualize the black community and the hardships they were increasingly facing as they were approached with the Haitian emigration scheme (Nash 2003).

Hispaniola, Saint-Dominigue, and the Haitian Revolution

Before turning to the Haitian emigration scheme that came to Philadelphia in 1824, it is important to contextualize the other, geographical side of the story. The island of Hispaniola, which is part of the Greater Antilles, was originally settled by the Spanish who established the colony of Santo Domingo in the southeast of the island in 1493. After a protracted period of piracy and French incursions, the Spanish ceded the western third of the island to the French in 1697 as part of the Treaty of Ryswick (Farmer 2006; James 1989; Moya Pons 1998). Although Santo Domingo became what some would consider a “backwater” colony for the Spanish, the French colony of Saint-Domingue became one of the leading producers of sugar in the Caribbean. In fact, it was often referred to as the crown jewel of the French Empire. By 1791 there were 792 sugar plantations in production and thousands of smaller plantations producing one of a variety of crops including coffee, indigo, and cocoa (Farmer 2006, citing Heintl and Heintl 1978). Accordingly, the population of the colony grew quickly. Planters initially brought *engàges*, essentially French, white indentured workers, to Saint-Domingue to work the sugar plantations. This was, in part, to limit the number of African slaves in relation to the white population. However, based on experiences in other colonies and the needs and desires of the plantation owners, African slaves began to be imported on a large scale (James 1989; Moya Pons 2007). By the time the Haitian Revolution began in 1791, Saint-Domingue was responsible for three-quarters of the world’s sugar (Farmer 2006) and it was consuming nearly two-thirds of the goods France shipped to its colonies (James 1989; Moya Pons 2007).

Such large scale sugar production required a massive labor force; the population of the colony had reached 452,000 slaves, 38,000 whites, and 28,000 mulattoes by 1789 (Moya Pons 2007). The white inhabitants were made up of two different groups, the *grands blancs*, or the plantation owners, and the *petits blancs*, made up of mostly artisans and small landholders. The mulattoes, or *gens de couleur*, actually represented a growing economic power within Saint-Domingue. But the most significant part of the colony's population was the slaves. The brutality and generally harsh conditions of the sugar plantations meant that the slave population was never able to reproduce itself, and a constant supply of new slaves was necessary to maintain numbers and production levels. By 1789 it is estimated that 30,000 slaves were being brought to the island annually (Farmer 2006; Moya Pons 2007). Despite some of the harshest conditions in the Caribbean, slaves in Saint-Domingue created an enduring and vibrant culture, and, needless to say, they led the only successful slave rebellion which resulted in the first black republic, the first republic to abolish slavery, and the second republic in the western hemisphere.

Largely inspired by the French Revolution (1789-1799), the *grand blancs*, *petits blancs*, and *gens de couleur* all seized upon the revolutionary moment and tried to forge positions of greater power for themselves. What these groups failed to appreciate, however, was that the slaves were also listening to, and being inspired by, the ideas of "fraternity, liberty, and equality" (Moya Pons 2007).

The Haitian Revolution (1791-1804)

The Haitian Revolution (1791-1804) was a long and bloody fight that was marked by international involvement, shifting allegiances, and guerilla warfare tactics. As the *grands blancs* looked to the British for help and the *gens de couleur* were allying with the Spanish, unbeknownst to the free population, tens of thousands of slaves were organizing in the North of the colony. On August 22, 1791, in the throes of a tropical storm, thousands of slaves revolted (Farmer 2006; James 1989; Moya Pons 2007). They burned over 1,000 plantations to the ground. Revenge was taken in brutal ways as the slaves retaliated against the gross injustices they had endured. Almost 1,000 whites died during the rebellion, but retribution would be taken and at least 10,000 slaves were killed with another 25,000 fleeing to the mountains. By the end of the year, in response to the continuing brutality of the *grands blancs*, an army of 100,000 slaves had been created (Farmer 2006). News of the rebellion spread rapidly around the world causing fears to rise among slave owners everywhere. This violent and large-scale rebellion in the North is still celebrated in Haiti as the beginning of the Revolution (Dixon 2000; Farmer 2006; James 1989).

While responding to the northern rebellion, the *petits blancs* and *gens de couleur* alternated between cooperation and open fighting among themselves. In the meantime, France had gone to war with the British and Spanish, who both already had a presence on the island. By 1793 the only way for France to hold on to Saint-Domingue was to abolish slavery and recruit newly freed slaves for military service.² On August 29, 1793, the law

² Remember that this is after the French Revolution had started. Slavery, emancipation, and rights for free blacks had all been debated during the establishment of the new French government.

that did just that was enacted (Moya Pons 2007). It was at this point that François Dominique Toussaint Louverture, a newly ex-slave in his mid forties, joined the French army. It should be noted, though, that Toussaint had already made a name for himself within the slave army. By 1795 the French and Spanish had signed a treaty in which the French obtained control of Santo Domingo, and the British had left the colony by 1798, taking many of the *grand blancs* with them to Jamaica. Toussaint, now the highest ranking military leader on the island, assumed control. He worked to restore economic prosperity to the French colony through the plantation system, allotting one-quarter of the harvest to the laborers instead of resorting to slavery. Nevertheless, all property was returned to the former owners and ex-slaves were forced back onto the plantations of their former masters. Despite Toussaint's efforts, this arrangement would not last for long (James 1989; Moya Pons 2007).

Toussaint's reign came to an end due to the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte. Napoleon's goal of European domination required financing, and so he began plans to overthrow Toussaint and reinstate slavery on Hispaniola. While Toussaint and his army of former slaves were ready for the incursion, Toussaint himself was captured at what was supposed to have been a parley. He would later die in an obscure prison in France (Dixon 2000; James 1989; Moya Pons 1998, 2007). Toussaint's capture was a major blow to the rebellion. Accordingly, his followers reacted by burning all property belonging to their former owners (Moya Pons 2007). The fight continued and the former slaves were greatly aided by the hazards of the local ecology. Huge numbers within Napoleon's army succumbed to yellow fever, malaria, and bacterial infections. Having

fully accepted that the French would reinstate slavery, the new leader of the Revolution, Jean Jacques Dessalines, declared independence for the Republic of Haiti on January 1, 1804 (Dixon 2000; James 1989; Moya Pons 1998, 2007). By late 1803, only 1,200 men from Napoleon's professional army, originally 58,000 strong, survived (Moya Pons 1998). Following the declaration of independence, all whites in the former colony (excepting a handful of priests) were either killed or expelled from the island. Eventually, the new constitution of Haiti would forbid whites from owning any land or building in the nation. Although the turmoil was far from over, the new, black Republic of Haiti had defeated some of the strongest militaries in the world and proven that black men were capable of autonomous rule (James 1989; Moya Pons 1998, 2007).

The Republic of Haiti and Unification/Domination of Hispaniola

The Haitian Revolution is renowned for giving birth to the first free black nation, and for creating the second republic in the Western hemisphere (the U.S. preceded Haiti by two decades); it was the first to also abolish slavery. However, the first few decades of the Haitian Republic were tumultuous and plagued by civil war which resulted in a large loss of life and property and a significant reduction in the population. As many nations were fearful of recognizing a sovereign black nation-state, it also led to the political isolation of the newly formed republic (Moya Pons 1998; Farmer 2006). Most notably, the United States and France failed to give recognition despite the continuation of significant trade with post-independence Haiti. Both countries still held large numbers of

slaves at this time (Farmer 2006). Furthermore, they were both also fledging republics. By the time that Jean Pierre Boyer came to be President of a unified Haitian state in 1820, the new black nation was in need of rebuilding, repopulating, and recognition by the global community.

The Unification of Hispaniola or the Haitian Domination of Santo Domingo

By 1809 Santo Domingo's population had shrunk by around 50 percent (emigration and death), all of the sugar mills and cattle pens had been destroyed, slavery had been abolished and then reinstated, and the colony stood in economic ruin (Moya Pons 1998). "Poverty again became universal, and a deep pessimism fell on the populace composed mainly of colored people who perceived themselves as white, Hispanic, and Catholic, and who did not want to be abandoned by Spain (Moya Pons 1998:116)." The population on the eastern side of Hispaniola continues, to this day, to see themselves as "white, Hispanic, and Catholic;" it will eventually become evident how crucial this identity has been and currently is to notions of race and nation on Hispaniola.

Rumors of French plans to take back Haiti, by way of Santo Domingo, began to circulate in 1820. Given the 1814 and 1816 attempts to take Haiti by the French, the anxiety and fears of Haitian President Boyer were well founded. And so, Boyer began planning designs to unify the island in order to protect the sovereignty of the new black republic. A substantial part of the Spanish-Dominican population was actually in favor of unification, especially those along the border area who had been supporting such a move for quite some time. For those who supported unification, the Haitian government would

bring freedom for the few remaining slaves, land, and the abolition of taxes (Moya Pons 1998). With support from both sides of the border, Boyer took control of Santo Domingo in 1822 (Candelario 2007; Moya Pons 1998).

Boyer's land distribution scheme took longer to determine than many would have liked, but it eventually attempted to create a system of land-owning *campesinos* who would be compelled to cultivate the land they had been given. To the Haitian government's surprise, the majority of people did not readily accept such agricultural policies, but instead continued to harvest mahogany, cultivate tobacco, and participate in cattle husbandry, which they had been doing for some time (Moya Pons 1998). Likewise, in French-speaking Haiti the land distribution led to the creation of a rural peasantry that was happier living a life of subsistence farming than partaking in the large-scale agricultural production of the plantations (Farmer 2006; Moya Pons 1998). Although legislation was passed that required the peasants and capesinos to work for the larger production efforts, it was hard to enforce and largely ignored. Other cultural differences between the Haitian ruling body and their Spanish-speaking population came to the fore and created points of tension (Hazard 1873; Moya Pons 1998). For instance, cockfighting, long popular among the Dominicans, was officially shut down except on Sundays and holidays. Though a seemingly small anecdote of cultural-clash, this is one example of the growing discontent with the Haitian government (Moya Pons 1998).

Boyer's reign was undermined by the continual decline of the Haitian economy. As malcontent grew, multiple factions working towards separation from Haiti emerged – one looked towards Spain, another towards France, but one movement, *La Trinitaria*, was

looking for complete autonomy and independence. It was this last faction that led the coup on February 27, 1844, setting in motion the military and political efforts necessary to secure independence. Despite serious internal conflicts, General Pedro Santana was sworn in as President on November 13, 1844 and the first constitutional government of the Dominican Republic was set in place (Moya Pons 1998).

Jean Pierre Boyer's reign over all of Hispaniola only lasted for a period of 22 years, from 1822 to 1844 (Hazard 1873; Hoetink 1962; Moya Pons 1998). Today, Dominicans tend to view this period of Haitian control of the island as an "occupation," while Haitians (and some academic writers) tend to refer to this moment in history as a "unification" of the island (Candelario 2007; Moya Pons 1998; Torres-Saillant 1998). The Dominican Republic continues to celebrate its independence from Haiti (February 27, 1844), despite the fact that they would later be annexed by Spain (1861) and then fight to recover their sovereignty (1865). Although the two nation-states have much in common, their linguistic and cultural backgrounds established during 200 years of colonial rule were insurmountable barriers to a lasting unification. Notable ramifications of the unification/occupation include the end of slavery on the Spanish side of Hispaniola, lingering hostilities between the nations and their populations, and, for purposes of this study, the recruitment and settling of U.S. free blacks in Haiti and what would later become the Dominican Republic.

U.S. Black Emigration

Finally, we turn to black emigration from the United States. First, as a reminder, the early 19th century saw a rise in racial tensions within the major northeastern cities in the U.S. Free blacks were experiencing increasing difficulties finding work, maintaining their personal security, and advocating for rights of full citizenship. Well known to the black communities was the situation of the new, black Republic of Haiti. Although initially rife with internal conflict, its situation would stabilize and by 1822 Haiti would assume control over all of Hispaniola. It is within this framework that the American Colonization Society and then the Haitian government and associated American societies would campaign for the emigration of free blacks from the United States.

The Haitian emigration in 1824 was not the first colonization scheme proposed to northern freedmen in the United States. It was not even the first movement that suggested Haiti as the destination. Prince Saunders, a free black himself, had begun arguing for freedmen to relocate to Haiti in the late 1810s (Dixon 2000; F. Miller 1975; Winch 1989). He had even been working on plans with the Haitian King, Henri Christophe, who was supportive of his efforts; however, their plans ended abruptly when Christophe committed suicide in 1820 (F. Miller 1975; Winch 1989).³ A different proposal, which had much more significant backing within the U.S., came from the American Colonization Society (ACS) which was formed in 1817 (Hidalgo 2001). The ACS was made up of prominent white philanthropists who suggested the creation of a black

³ This was during an era of divide within Haiti following the Revolution. Christophe controlled the northern half of the country, while Alexandre Sabes Pétion ruled over the south. After Christophe's suicide, Boyer managed to reunify the nation and gain control over the Republic of Haiti (Dixon 2000; Hidalgo 2001).

American colony on the West Coast of Africa that would be named Liberia. While this may have been seen as a movement “back to Africa,” it failed to acknowledge that the majority of black Americans, by this point in time, were of African *descent* and not actually *from* Africa. For southern, slave-owning members of the ACS this was an opportunity to put a great deal of distance between their slaves and potentially rabble-rousing (or rebel-rousing) free blacks. However, the free black community quickly saw through the racist intentions of the ACS and was largely against the Liberian movement (Dixon 2000; Hidalgo 2001).⁴

Despite the desire of some members of the ACS to get rid of the “negro problem” within the U.S., one young member, the Reverend Loring D. Dewey, had (relatively) more honorable intentions. After discussing the topic of Haiti with a number of free blacks in New York City, Dewey wrote to President Boyer about the possibility of free blacks migrating to his country. Thinking that Dewey was working on behalf of the American Colonization Society,⁵ Boyer responded with enthusiasm and began to make plans for supporting such a migration (Hoetink 1962; Smith 1986, 1987; Weeks and Ramírez Zabala 2005; Winch 1988, 1989). In fact, the ACS did not support the competing migration scheme and Dewey’s actions caused him to lose high-ranking

⁴ According to Chris Dixon (2000), over 1,000 African Americans left for Liberia in the 1820s. However, most were newly freed slaves who had agreed to leave the country upon emancipation. Only a handful of northern free blacks left for the African colony and conditions for these settlers were less than favorable. Despite the fact that there were some individuals who took advantage of the ACS movement, the vast majority of northern blacks were vehemently against what they saw as a racist relocation.

⁵ Whether or not Dewey intended to mislead Boyer, he did sign his first letter with a signature indicating his position within the ACS. He began his correspondence with Boyer without the informing the ACS of his intentions and the society refused to support this plan once it had been arranged with Boyer (Winch 1989).

friends within the organization; he eventually left his post at the ACS (Winch 1989). Nevertheless, Dewey's correspondence with Boyer got the ball rolling, so the speak, as the letters were published and free blacks began to show interest in migrating down to Haiti. In 1824, President Boyer sent an agent of the Haitian government, Johnathas Granville,⁶ to the United States to begin recruitment for the migratory scheme (García 1894; Winch 1989). Granville had been authorized to offer potential emigrants the following: passage to the island, 36 acres of land for every 12 people, four months' worth of supplies upon arrival, and return passage to the U.S. should the arrangement not be considered favorable. In order to fund the project, Granville was sent with a cargo of coffee that was to be sold once he arrived in the United States (Davis 2007; Hoetink 1962; Smith 1986, 1987; Weeks and Ramírez Zabala 2005; Winch 1988, 1989). Despite initial reservations, the black community began to warm to Granville's plan for migration. Black leaders, such as Richard Allen of the AME Church, began to aid his recruitment efforts; free blacks of good repute were the most sought-after volunteers (Nash 2003; Winch 1988, 1989).

The Role of Religion in the Haitian Emigration

As mentioned previously, the churches were institutions central to the black community. The influence of these organizations and their leaders is clearly evident in the Haitian emigration movement. Of particular interest for this discussion is the Mother

⁶ Although "Johnathas" may appear to be a typo, his first name was actually spelled with an "s" and not an "n."

Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church and Richard Allen, the founder and first bishop of the church. Many of the émigrés who landed in Samaná claimed a Philadelphia origin (Davis 1980a; Parsons 1928; Poplack and Sankoff 1987), and the continued presence of the AME church in Samaná indicates the centrality of this institution. In fact, as of the early 1980s, at least one member of the African American community in Samaná still had a portrait of Bishop Allen (see Chapter 5).

Richard Allen, born a farm slave, made his way to Philadelphia as a young man after buying his freedom. With time, Allen was able to establish himself firmly in the rising black middle class and as a respected member of the Methodist Church. In 1817, Allen founded the first AME Church in order to provide the black community with a religious institution which would serve their needs and cater to their style of worship (R. Miller 1982; Nash 2003). The AME Church also gave Allen and other leaders a forum to engage in discussions with the larger black community. It was at Mother Bethel, on January 15, 1817, that an overwhelming majority of individuals spoke out against the American Colonization Society's efforts to help free blacks migrate to Africa and establish the colony of Liberia (Dixon 2000; Nash 2003; Winch 1989). Philadelphians were the first to rail against the racist attitudes of some of the members of the ACS and their desire to rid the nation of the "negro problem."

Allen and the AME Church would, a few years later, play an important role in the Haitian emigration scheme. Initially weary of this plan, Allen among others changed his tone to one of support after listening to the black community's interest in the migration. The AME Church hosted Granville, the Haitian agent, in his recruitment efforts. It could

be argued that the rising sense on Pan-Africanism, which played a role in the naming of the church, also led to a sense of shared history with the former slaves of Haiti. The free black community in Philadelphia looked upon the success of the Haitian Revolution with pride. One of Allen's own sons migrated to Haiti, though not to Samaná. Furthermore, based on oral history accounts (see Chapter 5), many of the immigrants who settled in Samaná came from the Mother Bethel AME Church in Philadelphia. The reliance on faith and the centrality of the church established within the black community of Philadelphia is still evident in Samaná today.

Emigration to Haiti and Settlement in Samaná

Between 1824 and 1825 approximately 6,000 individuals⁷ left the United States from Philadelphia, New York City, Baltimore, and Boston and made their way down to the island Republic of Haiti. They settled in a variety of places around the island: Cap-Haitien (1,000), Les Cayes (500), Gonaives (500), Jacmel (600), Port-au-Prince (1,000), Puerto Plata (1,000), Samaná (200), and Santo Domingo (1,200); the numbers associated with each settlement site are the projected number of immigrants sent to those locations (see Figure 2-1 below) (Weeks and Ramírez Zabala 2005). Unfortunately, up to one-third of the émigrés died en route or shortly after arrival; the harsh conditions at sea and tropical diseases took their toll. Furthermore, it is estimated that 2,000 members of the original 6,000 returned to the United States (García 1894; GPO 1871; Winch 1988,

⁷ Some accounts place the number as high as 13,000, although the official number authorized by the Haitian government was 6,000 (Hoetink 1962).

1989). Despite these melancholic numbers, 200 people settled in Santa Bárbara de Samaná, where their descendants have remained for almost 190 years. However, the emigration scheme lasted only a short while, ending in 1825. Accusations of deceit were made against ship captains, who were said to be cheating the Haitian government out of unused fares both going to the island and returning to the United States (Winch 1989). And it seems reasonable to say that the high mortality and return rates did not encourage future migration. Despite the brief duration of this migration effort, more free blacks left for Haiti than the Liberia colony was able to attract. It was also not the last time that Haiti was looked to as a refuge, or dumping ground depending on your perspective, for African Americans.

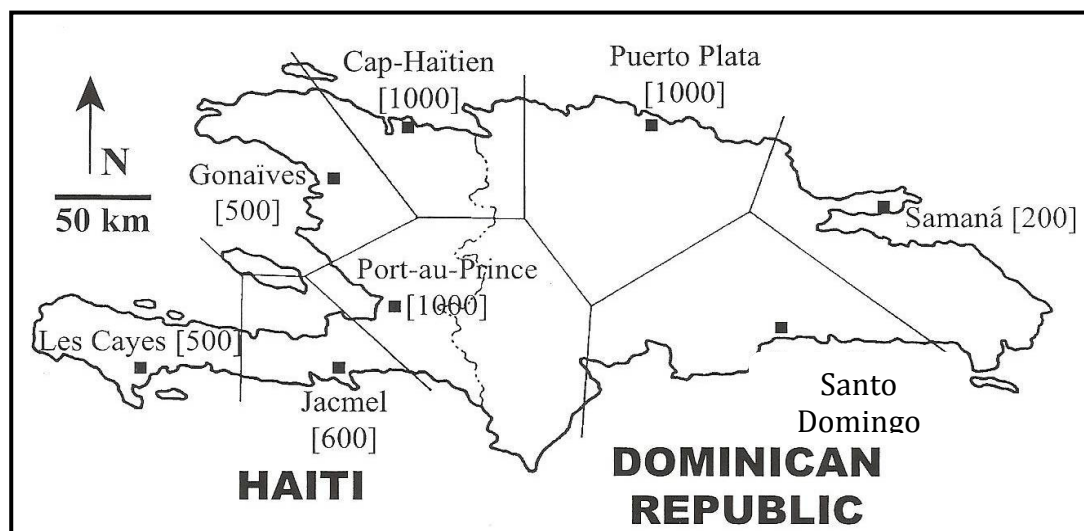


Figure 2-1. Map of Haiti with locations of settlement and numbers of projected settlers. Map from Weeks and Ramírez Zabala 2005.

You will recall that “Samaná” refers to a Peninsula, a Bay, and a town with the more formal name of Santa Barbará de Samaná (Chapter 1). In 1756 and 1760, the Spanish government first established the town of Samaná and populated it with Canary Islanders (Hazard 1873; Moya Pons 1998). In an effort to stave off French encroachment, a fort was established, but the town remained relatively isolated and cut off from the rest of the Spanish society. Later, the town would play a role in numerous military happenings. Samaná, with its protected bay, was a landing point for some of Napoleon’s troops during the Haitian Revolution (Moya Pons 1998). The bay also attracted Napoleon as a site for a future port-of-call; in fact, a map was created in 1807 outlining the future site of “Port Napoleon” (Rodríguez Demorizi 1945). A handful of French planters, with their slaves, also made their way to Samaná at the beginning of the Haitian Revolution in order to avoid the repercussions of the revolutionary activities (Hazard 1873; Moya Pons 1998). According to local lore, the white planters eventually fled the island, but left the slave population in Samaná to their own devices.⁸ Needless to say, prior to the influx of American immigrants, Samaná was a multilingual, yet out-of-the-way place.

As will become evident, the isolation afforded by the geographical position of Santa Barbará de Samaná allowed the North American settlers to establish and maintain, for well over a hundred years, their English-speaking, Protestant enclave community. The African Americans arriving in the town were the first significant population of English speakers to arrive in the area (Hoetink 1962). Although Boyer had intended for the emigrants to be made up of people with agricultural knowledge and experience, those

⁸ Hazard (1873) confirms the planters fleeing, but says nothing to the situation of their slaves.

landing in Samaná included more urban city-dwellers (Winch 1989). Yet many seemed to turn to agriculture after arriving on the island and receiving their allotments of land. In fact, chocolate became a crop that was produced for export (Hoetink 1962). The Americans also brought their religion with them to the Catholic nation of Haiti. Initially, the AME Church was the denomination of choice and was practiced through organized meetings in members' homes. Following the death of the Reverend Isaac Miller, the first leader of the AME Church in Samaná, the Wesleyan Methodist Church would begin its missionary work in the town (Davis 1980a; Hoetink 1962). Eventually, both churches would serve the immigrant (and descendant) community and the congregations would enjoy a level of mutual support and fellowship throughout the years. Furthermore, English would remain the language of the immigrant and descendant communities for more than 160 years. Most members of the community also learned Spanish and even Haitian Creole; however, as of the early 1980s the oldest generation still spoke English as their first and primary language (Poplack and Sankoff 1987). This description of the American settlers after arrival in Haiti has intentionally been brief. The coming chapters will offer much greater insight into the community in Samaná and will explore the mechanisms through which it has been able to maintain a presence in the town and through which it is now disappearing. Before turning to the analyses of the various data sets, it is important to situate the immigrant community in the broader, historical Dominican context.

The Dominican Republic and Samaná after Settlement

During the mid- to late-19th century, the Dominican Republic was characterized by political instability, increasing foreign involvement, and rule by *caudillos* and Strong Men. In March of 1861, after months of negotiations, Spain annexed its former colony in a move supported by the local government (Crassweller 1966; Krohn-Hansen 2009; Moya Pons 1998). This political shift was in large part inspired by American efforts to grow their control of and authority in the area. Spanish rule, however, did not last long as the first rebellion began in 1863. The War of Restoration was not fully completed until July of 1865, though by the end of this month not a single member of the Spanish military was on the island (Krohn-Hansen 2009; Moya Pons 1998). Harsh rule by strong men, as well as foreign interventions, would continue to plague the Dominican Republic until 1930, when the notorious dictator, Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, would assume control.

International Involvement in Santo Domingo

In 1868, Dominican President Buenaventura Baez began negotiations with the United States government over the annexation of the Samaná Peninsula. Due to its strategic position, jutting out into the Mona Passage between Hispaniola and Puerto Rico, and its potential mineral resources (primarily the presence of coal reserves), the peninsula was seen as a site for a potential station for the U.S. naval forces (Crassweller 1966; Moya Pons 1998). By 1871, there was enough interest in the annexation that the President of the United States, Ulysses S. Grant, commissioned a report on the state of

Samaná and feasibility of this endeavor. A number of experts were sent to the area in order to produce the report for Grant; interestingly, Frederick Douglass was sent as the secretary of the commission and interviewed a number of the American immigrants and their descendants in Samaná (GPO 1871). This report created by the commission has played a central role in previous research on the Americans in Samaná, and will also be featured later in the archival and oral history chapters of this dissertation (Chapters 4 and 5 respectively). Regardless, the U.S. failed to annex the peninsula, but the efforts just described should illustrate the seriousness of the intentions on both sides of the negotiations.

Despite the failed annexation attempt, American business interests grew in Samaná and the Dominican Republic more generally. The Samaná Bay Company, an American-owned enterprise, tried to lease the peninsula with the intentions of then offering it to the U.S. government as a site for the previously mentioned naval station. When local support for Dominican President Baez began to wane, however, the interests of the Samaná Bay Company were no longer a priority and its success on the island was prevented (Moya Pons 1998; Samaná Bay Company 1904). American interests in sugar production fared better. By the end of the nineteenth century there had been a shift in the cultivation of mahogany and cattle husbandry to a focus on the cultivation of sugar, cacao, and coffee for export to the United States and Europe. Corruption within the government run by President Ulises Heureaux led to this new focus on exports and the decline of small-scale agriculturalists and merchants; by the end of his reign the nation was also heavily indebted to foreign entities (Moya Pons 1998). The instability and

corruption of the strongman rule only led to further involvement on the part of the United States.

The United States Occupation of the Dominican Republic, 1916-1924

The Spanish-American War of 1898 meant that the U.S. was no longer focused on obtaining the Samaná Peninsula for military purposes,⁹ but the attempts of foreign states to reclaim the debts owed them by the Dominican Republic became worrisome for the rising power. By 1916 the U.S. Marines had occupied the Dominican Republic and would remain in the country until 1924. The impact of this occupation would be felt for years to come and in places as remote as Samaná (Krohn-Hansen 2009).

By the time the Marines left the Dominican Republic in 1924, a number of tremendous changes had taken place. First, the entire nation was stripped of its arms, leaving the general population with no physical recourse against future military and police actions (Krohn-Hansen 2009; Moya Pons 1998). In fact, the oral histories have revealed that handing over their fire-power was a significant loss for the rural population in Samaná (Chapter 5). But the Marines also helped to establish a more expansive highway system that connected the country to an extent that had never before existed. The health and education systems were also developed to a level never before achieved (Crassweller 1966; Moya Pons 1998). Additionally, and to the detriment of local

⁹ The Spanish-American War of 1898 ended with Puerto Rico and Guantanamo Bay being held by the United States (Moya Pons 1998). This was particularly significant for the trajectory of Caribbean politics as Spanish influence was waning and the U.S. truly began to solidify its control over the region. It was at this time that the Caribbean shifted to the status of the United States' "backyard."

businesses, the growth of the mostly foreign-controlled sugar industry as well as the importation of American-made goods was encouraged. However, one of the largest and longest-lasting effects of the U.S. occupation, was the growth in prominence and strength of the Dominican National Police; originally the National Guard, this military organization essentially was the nation's army by the time the American occupation ended. It was in this organization that Trujillo began his rise to power. By 1930, Trujillo, as a Brigadier General, held immense power nationally, and, more importantly, the backing of the military (Crassweller 1966). As Moya Pons (1998:337) explains, "However, the [U.S.] military government had been a government of occupation and, as such, had taught the advantages of repressive methods, especially to the members of the police who were now in charge of maintaining order in the country. With the population disarmed, whoever controlled the National Police could easily exercise enormous power over the rest of the population." Trujillo was wise to this fact and used his position and influence within the National Police to get himself "elected" to the Presidency in 1930.¹⁰

The Era of Trujillo

Trujillo's dictatorial regime is notorious for its brutality, longevity, the enrichment and aggrandizement of Trujillo and his family, and the role the United States played in both its establishment and its eventual fall. There are well known examples of the terror experienced on the island during this era, such as the 1937 massacre of 15,000 people

¹⁰ While there was an election held in 1930, most people acknowledge that Trujillo was not fairly elected. Some estimate that 25% of the electorate turned out to vote, though the official numbers reported showed more people voting than individuals who were actually registered (Crassweller 1966).

along the Haitian-Dominican border; Trujillo's sexual exploitation of women; the torture, imprisonment, and assassinations of adversaries; public humiliation and punishment of ardent supporters perceived to have accumulated too much power; and attempts made on the lives of leaders of other Latin American nations (see, among others, Crassweller 1966; Moya Pons 1998; Roorda 1998). And yet, for the purposes of this dissertation, it is important to understand what Trujillo meant for the people of Samaná. While the following section will give a brief overview of this era, the full impact of the regime for the African American immigrants may not become clear until later in the dissertation.

One of the more surprising elements of the Trujillo regime was the support it enjoyed among the rural peasantry in the Dominican Republic. This backing came about through policies designed to integrate the large, rural population into the nation, which was, in turn, part of a more broadly conceived project of modernization. Trujillo's government took on the largest development projects the country had ever seen. He focused construction efforts on the infrastructure and the public health and education systems, and he passed a number of agrarian reforms aimed at bringing the peasantry into the national economy, while also developing the agricultural sector more generally (Krohn-Hansen 2009; Moya Pons 1998; Turits 2003). Trujillo's approach to the rural peasantry was to grant them plots of land and provide irrigation and transportation systems, but also required the cultivation of the land in order to meet government-imposed quotas. This was a drastic change from the former mode of production, which had involved "slash-and-burn farming and collective use of forests, wildlife, and animals on the open range (open-access, unenclosed land)" (Turits 2003:9). But, as Richard Turits

(2003:9) explains, "For the first time the Dominican state effectively established direct taxes, a national currency, and full customs operations, the last returning to Dominican control in 1940 after more than three decades of U.S. receivership." As part of the rural masses, the African American community in Samaná would have been directly affected by these efforts at modernization.

Of course the growth of the Dominican economy directly benefited Trujillo as he came to acquire monopolies and large interests in multiple industries, beginning with salt, meat, and rice. With time, his focus turned to sugar and he began to replace the foreign investors who had once dominated this sector of production. By the 1950s Trujillo's emphasis on large scale agricultural production of sugar and the associated policy changes worked to displace huge numbers of rural peasants (Moya Pons 1998; Turits 2003). Migration to urban centers skyrocketed and by 1960, 60% of the population lived in cities, whereas in 1920, 84% of the population was living in rural settings.

Furthermore, the population had outgrown the infrastructure that had once been so noteworthy and the cost of living was rapidly outpacing stagnant wages (Moya Pons 1998). The late 1950s also brought growing tensions between Trujillo and the Catholic Church (Crassweller 1966; Turits 2003), an institution central to the lower classes (Turits 2003). By the end of the era, the Trujillo government was increasingly viewed as unstable and in decline (Crassweller 1966; Moya Pons 1998; Turits 2003). The regime ended in 1961 with the assassination of Trujillo.

Over the course of the 31-year dictatorship, the lower class masses had been transformed into a rural peasantry and urban proletariat that was fully integrated into the

national project, both economically and through a sense of a shared monoethnic nationality (Moya Pons 1998; Turits 2003). In fact, Dominican nationality, or *Dominicanidad*, was fully established during this time period, and is based on the population identifying as Hispanic, Catholic, and white; there is also an underlying opposition to Haiti, which represents all that is not Dominican (Krohn-Hansen 2009; Sagás 2000). While the issue of the interplay between nationalism and race will be discussed in the next chapter, it is important to note that Trujillo brought about an officially sanctioned and institutionalized notion of *Dominicanidad* over the course of his reign. His propaganda machine, which included radio stations, the only television station,¹¹ and the two daily newspapers, were put to use in this endeavor, but the school system was also a tremendous tool in the institutionalization of a national identity (Moya Pons 1998; Turits 2003). As will become apparent, Trujillo's efforts toward a cohesive nationalism based on anti-Haitian and generally xenophobic sentiments was perhaps one of his most lasting impacts for the African American community in Samaná.

Finally, it should be understood that for the people of the Dominican Republic, and Samaná specifically, the policies and mechanisms of Trujillo's dictatorship did not completely end with his death. Although a period of turmoil and even U.S. intervention followed the events of 1961, by 1966 Trujillo's puppet President, Joaquín Balaguer, had been elected back into office; he would serve as President for another twelve years (Krohn-Hansen 2009; Moya Pons 1998; Sagás 2000). During this time period, Balaguer relied on the violent techniques of the earlier regime; his approach to governance can be

¹¹ Of course the radio and television stations were owned by various Trujillo relatives (Moya Pons 1998).

characterized as "Neo-Trujilloism" (Krohn-Hansen 2009; Moya Pons 1998). He also began efforts to revitalize the nation's infrastructure for a new growth sector, the tourism industry. Moya Pons (1998:400) explains, "The government also invested considerably in roads, schools, housing projects and service infrastructure for the future tourist industry that Balaguer planned to develop. Hence, the most important cities, as well as many villages in the rural zones underwent a process of physical renovation." Santa Barbara de Samaná was one of those smaller, rural zones that was "renovated" by President Balaguer. As will become evident in Chapter 5, the majority of structures built by the African American community in the area were destroyed during the town's transformation and many people remember these events as the "mashing down" of the town.

Chapter III: Research Orientation

To date, the majority of historical archaeology performed in the Dominican Republic has focused on colonial Santo Domingo proper and a handful of colonial town sites. Perhaps the best known study is the one performed at La Isabela, the first settlement established by Christopher Columbus in 1493 (Deagan and Cruxent 2002). Furthermore, the vast majority of African diaspora sites studied by historical archaeologists have been centered on the plantation setting. This dissertation project offers a new component to the discussion through the study of processes of community formation, maintenance, and dissolution for a group of African Americans who migrated to what is now the Dominican Republic in the early 19th century. My research also speaks to the study of transnationalism and globalization. In a sense, it will offer a perspective on an historical transnational group whose movement has gone against the current of more modern migratory patterns (i.e., they left the rising power of the United States for the Republic of Haiti). This chapter will help to situate my research in the larger anthropological discussions to which it contributes. An overview of how documents, ethnohistory, and cemetery studies have been used in historical archaeology will contextualize the methodological design of this project. The section on race will examine anthropological understandings of this component of identity, with special attention paid to racial understandings in the Caribbean and the racialization of national projects. A discussion of modern racial realities in the Dominican Republic will help to situate this research, and the American community in Samaná in regards to its national setting. A look at the anthropological and archaeological literature concerned with migration, transnationalism,

and globalization will also be provided. Finally, I will present the overarching research questions driving this study.

Historical Archaeology: Documents, Ethnohistory, and Cemetery Studies

Historical archaeology (as practiced in the United States) shares methodological techniques with other text-aided archaeologies (e.g., Classical, Maya, and Medieval), but differs in and is defined by its subject matter, the Modern World (AD 1400 - the present). This specialization relies on archaeological and documentary records, but also incorporates data sources such as oral histories and ethnographies to study the recent past. This dissertation project relies on aboveground archaeological methods, while also emphasizing relevant documents and oral histories.

Documents and Ethnohistory

Within historical archaeology, the commonly known “Text versus Artifact” debate has traditionally focused on which line of evidence should be privileged in research. Although the earliest studies privileged documentary records associated with well-known historical sites, archaeologists have come to acknowledge the inequalities and power dynamics inherent in both the production and subsequent preferential treatment of this line of evidence.¹² Many have come to argue that one of the great strengths of historical archaeology is to give a voice to those who are underrepresented

¹² Of course, historical archaeology in the U.S. is not the only field to have made these errors and come to these conclusions.

by the documentary record, essentially people who were unable to produce their own texts. Documents have since come to be treated not only as sources of information, but also as artifacts in and of themselves; researchers now attempt to consider the full context of the author and the document itself. And yet, archaeologists also recognize that there are problems arising from the production and preservation of the archaeological record; again, contextualizing the data is vital in order to use it effectively (Deagan 1982; Galloway 2006; Schuyler 1977; Wilkie 2004). How we incorporate these two lines of evidence into our interpretations is still a topic for discussion, as is represented through recent publications such as Patricia Galloway's chapter in *Historical Archaeology* (Hall and Silliman 2006) – “Material Culture and Text: Exploring the Spaces Within and Between,” and the symposium entitled “Between Words and Things: Struggling with Sources in Historical Archaeology” held at the annual Society for Historical Archaeology meetings in Toronto in 2009. As Kathleen Deagan (1988) points out, we also need to realize the full potential of our access to multiple sources and ask questions that can only be answered by the integration of texts *and* artifacts. Most historical archaeologists now agree that both lines of evidence are invaluable and the use of multiple sources only helps to strengthen interpretations (e.g., Deagan 1988; Deetz 1988; Schuyler 1977; Wilkie 2004). Nevertheless, the incorporation and degree to which each type of data is utilized is something that varies from site to site, project to project, and between the various phases of research.

Some of the most invaluable types of written records used by historical archaeologists are documents composed from an outsider's perspective about a historical

community. Ethnohistorical methods, which draw from both anthropology and history, use an anthropological approach to such documents; at various points this has been referred to as “historical ethnography” (Chaves 2008; Krech 1991). From the beginning, the focus of this research has largely remained on Native North America.¹³ Early studies were, in fact, used heavily in the United States Indian Claims courts, in part because the documentary record was privileged over oral histories (Chaves 2008; Krech 1991; Spores 1980; Stoffle and Shimkin 1980; Trigger 1986). While the preliminary intention, which failed, was one of establishing a separate academic discipline of ethnohistory, the broadening of the range of subjects and approaches within anthropology and history has led to its categorization as a set of techniques, or a method, for studying the past (Carmack 1972; Chaves 2008; Krech 1991; Spores 1980).

In regards to archaeology, ethnohistory remains a salient and often important component of research. Most scholars see the two methodologies as separate and non-repetitive, but potentially mutually beneficial for one another (e.g., Carmack and Weeks 1981; Johnson et al. 1994). The early use of ethnohistory within archaeology is tied to the direct historical approach, which has been critiqued for using the material record as supplementary or because it has used ethnohistory to uncritically “flesh out” archaeological data (Baerreis 1961; Carmack 1972; Charlton 1981; Fletcher 1970; Kolb 1997; Trigger 1986). Today, many historical archaeologists incorporate ethnohistorical methodologies into their research, often without labeling them as such. As mentioned

¹³ However, Mesoamerica and Africa have also been more prominent in ethnohistory than other geographic regions (Carmack 1972; Spores 1980).

above, historical archaeologists analyze documents with a critical, anthropological eye, and some integrate oral historical sources into their studies. Given the various lines of data available for this project, I will be utilizing the full range of historical archaeological methodologies. Indeed, historical archaeology is itself equally based on the archival as well as the material records. Moreover, these methodologies will also provide a new approach to research within diaspora and transnationalism studies.

Cemetery Studies

As will become apparent, the aboveground archaeological study of the cemetery in Samaná offers insight into the local context of the American immigrants and their descendants, as well as how the population in the town has changed through time. This line of research articulates with a tradition of cemetery studies within historical archaeology.

Mortuary practices, how living communities commemorate the dead and deal with death, hold a significant place in both archaeological and broader anthropological research. Beginning in the 1960's-1970's, religious spaces and cemeteries became a research theme within historical archaeology (e.g., Brown 1971; Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966, 1967). These types of studies have become standard since then and have remained an important thread of discourse within the field (Veit et al. 2009; see the recent themed edition of *Historical Archaeology* edited by Baugher et al. 2009). While some anthropologists (primarily physical anthropologists or bioarchaeologists) are able to learn

a great deal about the past through the excavation of burials,¹⁴ it is but one approach to a greater understanding of the mortuary behaviors of any given historical community.

Archaeologists are often able to access such practices through other means without needing to excavate, and thus without disturbing interred human remains, through the aboveground study of cemeteries.

Cemeteries are home to a certain type of material culture in the form of grave offerings and grave markers, which offer a wealth of information by way of inscriptions, motifs/iconography, material and form, and spatial relationships to one another (Cannon 1989; Dethlefsen 1981; Veit et al. 2009). Archaeological studies of cemeteries have proven that information gleaned from this type of material culture can allow for insights into communal identity, status differentiation, familial roles and relationships, religion and ideologies of death, and perhaps most significantly, changes within a community through time (e.g., Deetz 1996; Deetz and Dethlefsen 1971; Dethlefsen 1981; Veit 2009). Although churches frequently house documentary records (when they survive the damages of time) which contain much of the base-line information provided on headstone inscriptions (i.e., names and birth- and death-dates),¹⁵ these records do not include information about the religious symbolism of the iconography; the status displayed by material, form, or spatial segregation; or the stylistic shifts through time that are all embodied by the markers and their spatial layout. As Dethlefsen says, on a local scale he “might look first in the cemetery for clues to the history and the strength of ethnic and

¹⁴ For instance, see Blakey (2001) for a discussion of the bioarchaeology of the African diaspora in the New World.

¹⁵ Most colonial and 19th century cemeteries had/have some sort of religious affiliation (Veit et al. 2009).

religious distinctions, of relationships of economic status with popular surnames, of attitudes towards innovation versus conservatism, of family roles and relationships, and to be reminded of a host of questions I may not yet have thought to ask” (1981:158). It should be clear how useful the study of cemeteries can be when conducting diachronic research of a community. The archaeological study of the cemetery in Samaná has enabled a more thorough understanding of the social context of the group in question. Furthermore, it has provided a dynamic view of the broader Samanese community through time and how the general population was impacted by the settlement of the African American immigrants.

Race

As the chapter on the historical context of the Americans in Samaná shows, notions of race and processes of racialization have greatly impacted the formation of the American community in Samaná. This project will also look at how national belonging and race intersect in the communal identity of this group. In order to situate this study, I offer a brief look at how race has been discussed in the anthropological literature, with a particular emphasis on the work done in the Caribbean. A short discussion on modern conceptions of race and nation in the Dominican Republic will also be provided.

Race “is created by attaching social and cultural significance to physical features or color, and then by grouping individuals according to phenotype” (Howard 2001:2-3; see also Wade 1997). However, what anthropologists are interested in is what “race” *does*

for people – how it enables individuals or groups to place themselves in a broader society (Alexander 1977), how it intersects and articulates with other classificatory schema such as nationality, gender, ethnicity,¹⁶ and class, and how it is politicized and mobilized. Instead of viewing race as a static component of identity, we must consider the processes of racial formation, or racialization, allowing race to be a real factor in everyday life without fixing it temporally or spatially (Thomas and Clarke 2006).

Melville Herskovits (1930, 1941) legitimized the study of black cultures within anthropology as he argued for the presence of African continuity and reinterpretations (or “Africanisms”) in the New World, despite the harsh conditions faced by the slaves in the plantation setting. His Boasian perspective informed his studies of the cultures of African descendants and stemmed from an antiracist agenda. At the time that Herskovits was making his case for African retentions and syncretism, E. Franklin Frazier (an African American sociologist) was arguing that African slaves had essentially been divested of their various cultures during the Middle Passage and thus were forced to create culture systems anew in a setting of subordination (Thomas and Slocum 2008; Yelvington 2001). This debate has often been reduced to terms of “continuity” versus “creation,” though it has continued to inform Caribbean anthropology.

Arising from the plantation system and colonialism, race in the Caribbean is often viewed as a continuum that varies based on location; however, the two poles are always

¹⁶ In Caribbean anthropology both ethnicity and race are discussed. In general, ethnicity is viewed as a more emic category which encompasses “shared identities and the commonalities of race, nation, religion, aesthetics, language and kinship” (Howard 2001:2-3; see also Alleyne 2002). Although race is a component of ethnicity (Howard 2001), racial categories will include multiple ethnicities (Alleyne 2002).

“white” and “black,” with “white” indexing power and dominance and “black,” subordination (Alexander 1977; Alleyne 2002; Mintz 1966, 1974; Yelvington 2001). Race relations in the Caribbean are often compared to the dichotomous system of hypodescent (the “one-drop rule”) in the United States (e.g., Mintz 1966, 1974); and while the poles may be the same, race in the Caribbean is often viewed as a more ambiguous and fluid system, in some instances tripartite, situational, and much more intimately linked with class than in the United States. David Howard (2001), for example, notes that racial labeling in the Dominican Republic is very much tied to context (place, who else is around, etc), and Harry Hoetink (1985) points out that the same label in different places will have different, though often similar, meanings. The intersection of race and class allows for greater flexibility, especially in the Hispanic Caribbean, as improved or declining class positioning enables movement up or down the racial hierarchy respectively (Safa 2005; Torres-Saillant 1998; Winn 2006).

The centrality of race to national projects is of great import to Caribbean anthropology. Though the majority of people in most Caribbean societies are considered to be nonwhite, there is a high degree of heterogeneity and internal division, and blackness is not a unifying factor; in many places “coloreds” or “creoles” (lighter-skinned nonwhites) have retained power. Essentially, divisions of political power still occur along color lines, thus politicizing “race” (Mintz 1974). Kimberly Simmons (2008:100; citing Anderson 1983; Brodtkin 2000; Medina 1997) points out that, “... ideologies of nationhood are also articulations of racial understanding, as one’s sense of belonging to the nation is conceptualized in racial terms.” Helen Safa (1987) argues that race was

much more central to the post-independence nation-building projects in the Anglophone-Caribbean;¹⁷ while the brown/mulatto “buffer group” of the colonial era had traditionally aligned themselves culturally and racially with the British,¹⁸ they needed to turn to the black masses to create a national identity in order to maintain political control. The ideological constructs of creolization in the Caribbean, and *mestizaje* in Latin America, “have been used to syncretize and refashion race and ethnic mixture into distinct forms of national identity” (Safa 2005:3). While the development of racialized national identities has been represented and effected through these homogenizing notions of racial mixing, Safa (1987, 2005) suggests that national identities in the Spanish-speaking Caribbean are based more on a common Hispanized culture (language, religion, heritage) than on race. Still, Ernesto Sagás (2000:128) asserts the strong intersection between race and national identity in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico where the ruling elite have labeled the racial mixture of their population as a “national problem,” and aggressively perpetuate “racial, ethnic, and cultural cleavages for their own political and economic gains.” To this end, Howard (2001) demonstrates how definitions of *Dominicanidad* are tied to relational racial positioning (both in the context of Hispaniola and internationally) that posits Haiti as black and the Dominican Republic as white or nonblack. The indigenization of Dominican history and national identity has aided the state’s efforts to deny the African ancestry of the population covering two-thirds of Hispaniola

¹⁷ Divisions within the Caribbean are often drawn along lines of English- versus Spanish-speaking countries/islands. Some (e.g., Hoetink 1971; Kasinitz 1992; Safa 2005) argue that this is a direct result of differences in the historical colonial legacies and their subsequent evolution.

¹⁸ This is not to say that the British viewed this group as occupying the same racial or class positions as the white elite.

(Candelario 2007; Howard 2001; Sagás 2000; Torres-Saillant 1998). Similarly, ideologies of *blanqueamiento*, or whitening, are inserted into national identities through conceptions of creolization and *mestizaje* (Godreau 2002; Safa 2005; Simmons 2008). Regardless of where one is in the Caribbean, political mobilization of race, which is about power and efforts to whiten the population, are found everywhere.

Of increasing importance is the articulation of race in the Caribbean with processes of transnationalism and globalization, as migrants from the Caribbean become part of pre-existing racial structures different from those of their home country (Hoetink 1985). For example, the rules of hypodescent racialize many Dominicans in the United States as “black,” regardless of how their racial identity was defined at home. Not only does this create a sense of disconnect from the dominant culture and force individuals to reevaluate how they perceive themselves (Duany 1998; Simmons 2008), but it also has very real material implications, restricting their ability to gain access to job and housing markets (Duany 1998). Jorge Duany (1998) argues that these migrants consciously promote the persistence of a strong sense of Dominican national identity as a form of resistance to the racial discrimination they face. Of course, not every Caribbean migrant is racialized as “black” in the U.S.; an individual’s experience is dependent upon where she “fits” in the racial hierarchy of the receiving country. Caribbean anthropologists also consider what globalization means for global hierarchies when race positions “white” and “black” at the poles. Because the racial hierarchy established during the colonial era has both *allowed for* and *been reinforced by* the newly intensified processes of globalization we can conclude that: “The new transnational political economy, therefore, has worked

through the persistence of an old racial order organized through socially entrenched divisions of labor in which a global working class not only remains in place (as compared to capital, which moves) but also remains segmented along racial, gender, ethnic, and national lines” (Thomas and Clarke 2006:7).

Although the racialization of *Dominicanidad* was briefly discussed above, it is important to offer a more complete look at current processes of race in the Dominican Republic. Carlos Andújar (2006) explains that although the majority of Dominicans could be categorized as black or mulatto, the official historical discourse has alienated people from any sense of pride or ownership of an African heritage; a Hispanized, Catholic version of *Dominicanidad* has come to dominate the nation and is intimately linked to notions of *antihaitianismo* (Candelario 2007; Duany 1998; Howard 2001; Krohn-Hansen 2009; Murphy 1991; Sagás 2000; Torres-Saillant 1998). An indigenization movement, highly emphasized during the Trujillo regime, has left the majority of Dominicans self-identifying as *indio* (Indian) in order to avoid using *mulatto* which connotes African ancestry (Duany 1998; Howard 2001; Sagás 2000; Simmons 2009; Torres-Saillant 1998). African descent has also become equated with being Haitian, as the Dominican Republic has, for a long time, defined itself as racially and economically in opposition to Haiti (Candelario 2007; Duany 1998; Howard 2001; Krohn-Hansen 2009; Murphy 1991; Sagás 2000; Simmons 2009; Torres-Saillant 1998).¹⁹ These social processes have led to a nation-wide denial of African ancestry and individuals declaring that there is “no racism”

¹⁹ This oppositional relationship predates Trujillo’s reign. José Gabriel García (1894), a noted Dominican historian, described Boyer’s emigration scheme as, in part, an attempt to change the physical (i.e., phenotypic) state of the Spanish population on the island.

in their country. Nevertheless, discrimination based on notions of “good” (read non-“kinky”, non-African, non-Haitian) hair and “good presence” (gloss for “closer to white on the phenotypic spectrum”) is ubiquitous (Candelario 2007; Gregory 2007; Howard 2001). Given the racialized history of the Dominican Republic, the Americans in Samaná have remained a unique minority who not only identify with and celebrate an African American ancestry, but also has a history intimately linked to Haiti. This project hopes to add nuance to the history of the Dominican Republic, Hispaniola, and the broader Atlantic World. One interesting component is the exploration of how the recent, more significant integration into Dominican society of the American descendant community in Samaná has impacted their perception of their history and African ancestry.

The Anthropology of Diaspora, Transnationalism, and Globalization

This study will articulate with multiple bodies of scholarship, including the anthropology of the African diaspora (both cultural anthropology and historical archaeology) and studies of transnationalism and globalization. Again, I will be emphasizing work stemming from the Caribbean. Significant overlap exists between these areas of research, and it is within these intersections that my research is located.

Borrowed from Greek and Jewish studies, *diaspora* began to be used within scholarly research in the 1950s and 1960s (Edwards 2001; Patterson and Kelley 2000; Zeleza 2005) and took on both a political and analytical role (Edwards 2001; Patterson and Kelley 2000). Historical archaeology followed the trend of focusing on African

diasporic communities as many practitioners shifted their research focus to the enslaved populations of the New World plantations (Shackel 2007; Singleton 2006, 1995, 1990). As mentioned above, both early and current research in cultural and archaeological anthropology have been shaped by the debate between Melville Herskovits, who advocated for African cultural continuity in the New World, and E. Franklin Frazier, who argued that slaves were essentially stripped of any cultural vestiges, including material culture, during the Middle Passage (Patterson and Kelley 2000; Singleton 2006; Thomas and Slocum 2008; Yelvington 2006, 2001). The various directions that two encompassing themes within diaspora studies, culture change and continuity, have taken, illustrate how influential this initial debate continues to be.

Diachronic studies of culture change have also been heavily influenced by Sidney Mintz and Richard Price (1976) who introduced *creolization* as an approach through which to explore the dynamics of community formation and maintenance over time (Patterson and Kelley 2000; Yelvington 2006); within historical archaeology, creolization allowed scholars to shift away from *acculturation*, which was often criticized for the passive role attributed to the slaves in the development of their own New World cultures and identities (Singleton 2006, 1998). The diasporic identities explored by much of African diaspora scholarship focuses on the dialectical relationship between identity and the various components of identity (e.g., race, gender, nationality, class) and the creation of diasporic consciousness (Patterson and Kelley 2000; Yelvington 2006, 2001). However, much of this research has been critiqued for its overemphasis on American race relations, the diaspora's relationship to the nation within the Anglophone Atlantic, and

the privileging of masculine subjectivities and conceptualizations of diasporic communities (Campt and Thomas 2008; Edwards 2001; Patterson and Kelley 2000; Zeleza 2005). Historical archaeology also sometimes suffers from this focus on English-speaking colonies as well as emphasizing the plantation setting to the detriment of other types of diasporic communities. This is slowly changing, although plantation archaeology still dominates the field (Fellows 2008; Orser 1998; Orser and Funari 2001; Singleton 2006, 1998).

Diaspora studies have begun to intersect with transnationalism and globalization paradigms. Since the early 1980's anthropologists have been attempting to gain a better understanding of transnational processes of migration and circulation of people, capital, goods, and ideas. In particular, the Caribbean as a site for research on globalization and transnationalism, especially as these processes articulate with the African diaspora, seems to be a foregone conclusion. Because the Caribbean has always experienced migration and transnational connections, many reason that it has always been a site for the intersection of the local and the global (Chamberlain 1998; Mintz 1998; Robotham 1998; Slocum and Thomas 2003). The particular colonial history and the mobility strategies that help people cope with island life have long been fundamental to Caribbean societies (Conway et al. 2005). For anthropologists, modern globalization is different from historical movements of capital, peoples, and goods due to the "intensification of both the speed and character of these processes" (Thomas 2004:9). Advancements in technology have had lasting impacts on global migration as "home" has become a lot closer than it used to be for migrants (Allahar 2006). Whereas global processes appear to be more

universal and impersonal (Kearney 1995), we can define transnationalism as “the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Basch et al. 1994:7). Dwaine Plaza and Frances Henry (2006:7) contend that, “Transnational diaspora communities can perhaps best be understood as part of the processes of global integration and time-space compression.” Although initial fears of globalization leading to vast amounts of cultural homogeneity have proved to be unfounded, this line of research has begun to explore the connections between and integration of the global and local.

The articulation between the nation-state and “the global” is an important level of analysis for globalization studies. As transmigrants and capital move between nations, “Transnational and global phenomena conflict with the jurisdiction and power of states...” (Kearney 1995:548). Through these global practices the nature of the nation-state is changing, becoming less bounded and coming to include migrants who remain tied to their ancestral nation (Basch et al. 1994). “Deterritorialization” of the nation is allowing some Caribbean states to extend their power and authority to those who are living outside of its physical boundaries (Kearney 1995). Similar to Duany (1998), Ana Ramos-Zayas (2003) has explored the mobilization of national identities by diasporic communities in order to challenge and address the discriminatory practices within their new surroundings. The development of what Duany (2000) calls “deterritorialized and transnationalized identities” may undermine notions of the nation as a discrete entity, while simultaneously reinforcing and strengthening national identities through these empowering transnational processes.

Other studies illustrate how “global and local spheres must be considered as mutually constitutive, shaped by one another, and asymmetrically organized” (Slocum 2006:5; citing Inda and Rosaldo 2002; Friedman 2003). The global-local nexus is increasingly being explored by Caribbean anthropologists; further illustrations of the local-global dynamic can be seen in ethnographic examples of gendered labor relations, such as the “pink-collar” workers of Barbados (Freeman 2000), and the sex-tourism industry’s role in (re)producing the hypermasculinity of male sex workers in the Dominican Republic and elsewhere (Frohlick 2007; Padilla 2007). Of course, as Deborah Thomas and Karla Slocum (2003) rightly argue, local area studies continue to be valuable for Caribbeanist anthropology as local analyses enable a more complete understanding of global mechanisms.

Ethnographies of how local communities are negotiating intensifying integration into global processes also expose the asymmetries inherent in globalization; as power and economic disparities tend to be depicted in terms of mobility and consumptive abilities. Steven Gregory (2007) addresses how the movement of people, commodities, and capital from developed nations act to effectively limit access to living wages, claims of citizenship, and the social and physical movement of people within the Dominican Republic. He explores how the spatial and economic restructuring brought by the tourism industry to Boca Chica and Andrés (former sugar communities) has resulted in a certain spatial “fixity” for locals. A central issue for many anthropologists is how people living in extremely adverse conditions deal with increasing globalization and thus increasing bombardment by images and ideologies from the first world consumer societies (e.g.,

Gregory 2007; Martínez 2007). Thomas's (2008:83) study of transmigrants from Jamaica demonstrates how their internal integration of the "American dream" (i.e., ideology of meritocracy) and exposure to American consumer products have led these women to seasonal hotel work in the United States in the pursuit of, "in their view, a better lifestyle." At the same time, these processes have obfuscated their view of structural racial inequalities in the U.S., even as they were so violently revealed during the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. Hegemonic ideologies know no (national) limits and, as this study will show, their impact on communities in the Global South extend further back in time than many scholars may realize.

While transmigrants navigate new forms of racialization and discrimination in their "host" countries, they often romanticize "home" in a manner that leads to disillusionment upon their return (Allahar 2006; Potter and Conway 2005). Challenges can include: being othered, the feeling of living between two worlds, ill adjustment to the hardness of daily life, the highly racialized class structure, and, especially for women, more extreme forms of gender disparities (Potter and Conway 2005). Even when returned migrants can truly "build a better life" for themselves at home, the construction of a house can cause resentment and suspicion and undermine their integration/acceptance by those who never left (Horst 2006). Transnationalism *can* serve as a response to the forces of global capitalism and global racial hierarchies, acting as a coping strategy (Basch et al. 1994). However, "not all migrants enjoy equal access to the statuses and resources needed to participate in a full range of transnational social, economic, and political projects" (Pessar 1997:9).

Diaspora and transnationalism/globalization have begun to intersect in more meaningful ways, which is illustrated by recent studies of transformations in the cultural production of blackness globally (see Thomas and Clarke's 2006 edited volume) and through calls for connecting local diasporic communities to global developments (Patterson and Kelley 2000). My research will contribute to these sorts of interventions through a better understanding of the historical nature of how global links between diasporic communities and their broader geopolitical contexts impact local sociocultural processes.

Previous Research

This is not the first study done concerning the American community in Samaná; in fact, an article about the group and the African American spirituals they continue to sing was published in the late 1920s. A brief overview of the prior research will help to situate this dissertation within this body of scholarship. Elsie Clews Parsons (1928) published a short article that could be considered an early ethnomusicological account in the *Journal of American Folklore*. She gave a brief description of the community, who identified themselves as "American," though it seems she was primarily focused on the Wesleyan congregation in Clara. Her primary focus was the African American spirituals, or "anthums" (which she spelled phonetically), that were being sung as people worked in the fields and attended various community events outside of the church. While Parsons did not offer much beyond a basic description, her interest in the music of this

community would be echoed by later researchers and as will become apparent, her field site, Villa Clara, is a notable location for this community.

The next study of the Americans in Samaná did not come until Harry Hoetink conducted his sociological fieldwork in January of 1962. He went on to publish an article on this community in *Caribbean Studies* later that year. This article provides a wealth of historical, geographical, and sociological information. His research was based on his observations, interviews with community members, and his study of archives held by the minister of St. Peter's Church. While he provides an overview of the community, he also recognized that the cohesion of the group was in decline and repeatedly called for further study to be done.

Based on fieldwork in the 1970s, Martha Ellen Davis (1980a; 1980b; 1981a; 1981b) published a series of articles that continued and expanded upon the work of Parsons (1928); all of these articles focus on the music of the American community. Trained in anthropology and ethnomusicology, Davis's four articles begin with an overview of the enclave's history and social structure, with special attention paid to the Protestant churches. She points out that members of the African Methodist Episcopal Church seem to have retained a greater sense of and appreciation for their African ancestry than the congregation at St. Peter's. She also talks of the role of the loss of the English language and the restructuring of the town (which she witnessed) in the coming demise of the American community. This first article sets the stage for the following three, which focus much more specifically on the hymns and anthems sung by the

enclave. In the final article she transcribes a number of the songs and offers notes on their significance.

Following Davis's publications in the early 1980s, other scholars came to the area, all studying different components of the American community. Shana Poplack and David Sankoff (1987) conducted linguistic research through interviews with American English speakers in the area. Through their study of the local dialect, they were able to determine the relatively limited influence Spanish and other English speakers had had on the American English of the enclave. They also concluded that the English spoken in Samaná was a derivative of American Black English of the early 1800s and that it was not a creole language (at the time it seems that there was some debate as to whether American Black English derived from Standard American English or was a creole language).²⁰ Chapter IV will make obvious how my own research has greatly benefitted from the interviews Poplack and Sankoff conducted in 1981 and 1982.

Another sociologist, E. Valerie Smith (1986, 1987), also undertook her dissertation fieldwork in Samaná during the early 1980s. Her research was centered on mate selection within the American community through time. After examining archives held by both churches, creating family trees, and interviewing members of community, she found that marriage within the group was much more common than marriage with outsiders. For the majority of the enclave's duration, members were more likely to marry other Americans than Dominicans or Haitians. In 1987, Smith published a short article

²⁰ Other linguistic studies stemmed from this initial fieldwork (e.g., Tagliamonte 1991; Poplack and Tagliamonte 1994).

which explored the importance of the churches and English for the continuity of the community. It also highlighted the Americans' continued emphasis on their African ancestry.

Virginia Ramírez Zabala's 2005 master's thesis centered on the American descendants on the Samaná Peninsula, but was not focused solely on people still living in the town and general vicinity. Many of her informants resided in Las Terrenas, a town on the northern coast of the peninsula. Her ethnographic research focused on the assimilation of the community into the dominant Dominican society, with a focus on elements such as economic conditions, language use, religious practices in the home and in the churches, and American foodways. Later, in 2005, Ramírez Zabala, along with John Weeks, published a short account of the Americans in Samaná. Providing an overview of the emigration and the community since settlement, this article introduced a new generation to the American enclave in Samaná. One of the more interesting components of this piece was the included recipe for "Johnny Cakes" a bread the immigrants brought with them which is still being made in the area and sold along roadside stands.

The most recent article published on the American community comes from Davis, the ethnomusicologist mentioned previously. Her 2007 piece presents an oral history given by Doña Martha "Leticia" Willmore. Published in the Dominican Republic, Davis translated the English-language interview into Spanish. Doña Willmore's account is, unsurprisingly, very similar to those I collected from her in 2010. This article further

solidifies her position as the primary local historian and keeper of the community's history.

The Americans in Samaná

Fleeing rising racial tensions and increasing fear for personal safety, free black emigrants left the United States in 1824 for the free black Republic of Haiti. Although there were eight sites earmarked for settlement, the only American enclave to remain a cohesive community past the first and second generations was the one located in Santa Barbara de Samaná. This historical archaeology project drew from multiple data sets in order to gain insight into the processes of communal identity formation; the intersections of race and nation in the creation, maintenance, and dissolution of a communal identity; and how a diasporic consciousness is impacted by local, national, and global developments. The immigrants and their descendant community in Samaná have served as a diachronic case study. Throughout this research, I have utilized a variety of archaeological and ethnohistorical approaches in order to think through the following questions:

What new identities, social arrangements, and phenomena does the movement of people, ideas, and capital produce? And what roles do both an imagined "homeland" and global context play in these processes?

The goal of this research project was to explore the processes of diasporic community formation, while also contextualizing the local social phenomena in a global context. Although the formation of the American community in Samaná predates the migratory circulations and advancements in technology that accompany recent processes of globalization, it was presumed that many of the issues facing this early, historical transnational community would be similar to those faced by groups in more recent movements. Furthermore, the original research design hoped to offer insight into an African American community that existed independently of the plantation system. Expanding the range of diasporic communities included in archaeological research would help to develop a more complete picture of diasporic experiences. In order to push the temporal range of transnationalism and globalization studies, as well as the scope of archaeological work on diasporic communities, I have asked the following questions:

- 1. In what ways, and through what cultural practices (including material culture and settlement patterns) is an American identity produced, reproduced, and then diminished in Samaná?**
- 2. What roles have nation and race played in the creation, maintenance, and dissolution of this communal identity?**
- 3. How was this community impacted, through time, by competing nationalisms and imperialisms in the Atlantic world?**

In order to answer these questions, I have relied on multiple lines of evidence—the documentary record (archives from St. Peter’s Church and ethnohistorical sources), oral histories collected in Samaná (my collection from 2010 and a series of linguistic interviews from the early 1980’s (Poplack and Sankoff 1987)), and an aboveground study of the local cemetery. Due to the fact that none of the data sets represented the complete time span of the community, this project was only possible because of the multiple lines of evidence. Of course, unexpected results and issues arose throughout the course of this project. One surprising revelation came to light during the survey of the cemetery; halfway through the fieldwork I learned from an informant that an earlier public burial site had been built over as of the mid-20th century. And, in fact, most of the interments in the current cemetery date to later decades. With that said, I will leave for successive chapters a consideration of whether or not the survey of the cemetery proved useful.

Despite the inevitable minor setbacks along the way, each of the various data sets spoke to different elements of the above questions. Judgment on the degree to which I was successful in answering these questions will have to be reserved until the conclusion. Nevertheless, I am confident that the results of this research will help to shed light on the important components of communal identity formation, maintenance, and dissolution for the Americans in Samaná. Furthermore, information gleaned from the data will illustrate various manners in which the community was impacted by national and global developments.

Finally, I would encourage readers to keep a few key ideas in mind as they approach the remainder of this dissertation. Other than the time frame, another point of divergence between this community and other transnational groups that have previously been studied has been the movement from the incipient Global North to the Global South. Additionally, during the course of this community's history, a number of racialized national projects have taken shape and have impacted the group's trajectory. Lastly, the methodologies of this project may offer a new alternative for transnationalism/globalization and diaspora studies.²¹ Some may call this historical ethnography, or ethnohistory, and those may be appropriate terms, but it has relied on methodologies and types of data that have been incorporated into historical archaeological studies for quite some time.

²¹ John W. Pulsis (e.g., 2006) offers one example of diaspora scholarship that makes heavy use of ethnographic readings of archival sources – some might refer to this as historical ethnography (Chaves 2008).

Chapter IV: The Documentary Record

A critical component of any historical archaeological investigation is the documentary record, when it exists. This line of evidence has been a significant part of past research; one of the major debates within the field has asked whether the documents or the material record should be privileged in interpretations (see Chapter 3).

Practitioners have since moved past this debate and have worked to approach all of the various lines of evidence with a critical eye, while incorporating them into a more complete anthropological understanding of the past. This chapter will focus on the documents which come in the form of archives from Saint Peter's Church in Santa Barbara de Samaná, previous use of these archival sources, and ethnohistorical documents. A brief overview of the different sets of documents will then be followed by a discussion of the methods used in this analysis. A discussion of what was found in the documentary record will then be provided, with a particular focus on how the African American immigrants in Samaná formed and maintained a cohesive community. The establishment of physical and social boundaries will be of particular interest.

The primary archival collection used in this research comes from St. Peter's Dominican Evangelical Church in Santa Barbara de Samaná. As previously mentioned, St. Peter's was the original Wesleyan Methodist Church in town, but became a member of the Dominican Evangelical Church in 1931 (Hoetink 1962). Having always been known as "St. Peter's," the church is still referred to as such, or the Spanish equivalent "San Pedro;" it is also commonly referred to as "La Chorchá." While the denominational

and national affiliation of the church has shifted,²² the congregation and church leadership retain a sense of pride in the institution's deep ties to and history within the community. To this day they celebrate the anniversary of the founding of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Samaná.²³ It should come as no surprise that St. Peter's has kept the records once created and maintained by the church during its Wesleyan incarnation. The archival collection consists primarily of marriage and baptism registries. While there are remnants of death registers and other types of documents, there are no more than a few of each of these types of record. For this reason, the following analyses will include only the baptism and marriage registries, which date from 1910 to 1939. Unfortunately, registers with dates prior to 1910 were not found.

Two researchers who worked in Samaná prior to my fieldwork have made use of these archival sources. Harry Hoetink published the first research on this community in 1962 in the form of a brief article in *Caribbean Studies*. While this article includes a wealth of information, he references the archival sources in a limited manner and ends the article with a call for more work to be done in the area. The other scholar, E. Valerie Smith (1986, 1987), did her sociological fieldwork in Samaná in the 1980s. Her dissertation focused on mate selection within the community and relied on archival sources, oral histories, and genealogies. Both of these scholarly works incorporated documents from St. Peter's that are no longer available for study. While neither work

²² The Dominican Evangelical Church is a Protestant denomination. Founded in the early 1920s, it began as a conglomeration of Evangelical United Brethren, Methodists, and Presbyterians (Hoetink 1962; Wipfler 1966). It was not a huge denominational shift when St. Peter's was incorporated into the Dominican Evangelical Church, but it did mean the end of affiliation with the British Wesleyan Methodist Church.

²³ In fact, the Dominican Evangelical Church celebrates this anniversary as the Church's founding, despite the new affiliation that began in 1931.

provides raw data from the archives, I will be citing their findings throughout this chapter.

The final set of documents is made up of a variety of ethnohistorical sources. The documents I classify as “ethnohistorical” are written by someone outside of the community and from a non-anthropological perspective. Often written as travel accounts, or reports on the geological or economic conditions of an area, these documents tend to have a focus beyond the local community in which the author is temporarily situated. Nevertheless, descriptions of the local communities are frequently included and prove useful to historical archaeologists. During my research I came across multiple sources who mentioned the American immigrant population in Samaná. While never the primary focus of the work, and often merely mentioned in passing, these authors described the community as they encountered and experienced it. I do not take the accounts of the community in Samaná at face-value, but have found that descriptions from different sources, including the oral histories, often corroborate what is being reported. The most unique and significant of these sources is the 1871 Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Santo Domingo. At the beginning of 1871 a commission was sent from the United States to create a report on the state of the Samaná Peninsula as a potential naval station; the U.S. was hoping to annex this strategically located piece of land from the Dominican government. The resulting report has proven to be a rich source of information for my research, since a number of American immigrants, or their descendants, were interviewed over the course of the commission’s study. These interviews were recorded by a stenographer and printed at the end of the report. Although the interviews are not long,

they are quite telling in regards to the state of the African American community in Samaná. As will become obvious, this report is a key piece of the documentary record.

Condition of the Documents

While on a preliminary research trip to Samaná in March 2010, I was granted access and permission to photograph the archival records held by St. Peter's Church. At that point in time they were being stored in the home of Doña Anabelka Ray, the secretary of St. Peter's Honduras satellite church. Due to time constraints and the local conditions, the most effective approach to these records was to photograph them all in one day, enabling prolonged analysis upon returning to the United States. In all, over 400 pages were photographed. Although not ideal, the digital images proved to be of high enough quality for my purposes. The few pictures that were slightly out of focus were still readable and thus usable. The documents from St. Peter's primarily consist of marriage and baptism records and include both Wesleyan and Dominican Evangelical congregations, though this difference is not explicitly stated. The earliest date to the 1910s and the most recent have dates in the 1950s. The density of records is not consistent decade to decade, or even year to year, which has created some limitations concerning quantitative analysis. Nevertheless, these records lent themselves to both quantitative and qualitative analyses.

St. Peter's records have been passed down through the years to the standing minister, with storage conditions being inconsistent and far from ideal. The Dominican

Republic is a tropical, humid nation that suffers from hurricanes, earthquakes, frequent power outages, and in many instances, extreme poverty. Furthermore, the majority of houses and even commercial buildings lack air conditioning. It would be unrealistic to expect a local church in the more remote area of Samaná to prioritize the maintenance of a climate controlled environment for these documents. Despite the value placed on the Church's history and the recognition of the importance of these documents, the collection is in poor condition and continues to deteriorate. Previous research utilizing these records (Hoetink 1962; Smith 1986) also noted that the collection was in rapid decline even during those time periods. The current physical state of the records also speaks to this observation; the vast majority of the documents are crumbling around the edges, loosed from any binding that may have existed, and have no discernable organization system.²⁴ Despite the incomplete and deteriorating nature of the archives, they still contain a wealth of information that is not necessarily represented by other lines of evidence used in this study. Both the content and time period encompassed by these documents is essential for a more complete exploration of the immigrant community in Samaná.

Hoetink (1962:8) confirms that the archives have been handed down through the church leadership when he describes the documents he encountered in the early 1960s: "... I was fortunate enough to find in the pastor's house at Samaná some registers of births, marriages and deaths of the 1870's and the 1890's, some loose leaves with similar information of the years 1856-1858, and further the minutes of the Officers Meetings of the Methodist Church for most of the years 1900-1940." He does not specify which

²⁴ I have already provided the Church with digital copies of the photographs taken in 2010.

Methodist church generated these documents, though based on his discussion throughout the article I am assuming that the pastor mentioned was from St. Peter's (and not the AME Church). Smith (1986) also makes note of the deteriorating state of the documents she encountered in the 1980's. Finally, it seems that the municipality no longer has possession of any early archival materials due to a fire in 1946.

The ethnohistorical documents are actually easier to obtain, and most used in this study had already been digitized by other scholars. General searches on the internet and within the University of Pennsylvania's library system have provided all of the documents of this type included in this analysis. Further archival research was done at the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Pennsylvania Historical Society. Although a handful of documents were found during these trips, they are primarily concerned with recruitment efforts in the United States for the Haitian emigration scheme. Because the community in Samaná is the primary focus of this dissertation, the documents from the emigration efforts will not be incorporated into this discussion.

Methodology

The baptism records held by St. Peter's Church and used in this study date from 1910 to 1936; the marriage records date from 1911 to 1939. Not every year is represented, let alone complete. In fact, it is uncertain if there is a single year fully represented by the existing documents; furthermore, those that are still present are often missing information. Nevertheless, these records contain information beyond when and

where the baptism or marriage ceremony took place. The formatting of the hand-written documents remains fairly consistent throughout the decades, with minor changes or omissions appearing occasionally, but seemingly unintentionally (this seems to follow a standard²⁵ Wesleyan layout). Information recorded on the baptism register includes: child's name, legitimacy, parents' names, birth date, baptism date, place of residence, place of baptism, and the minister's name. Figure 4-1 is an example of the baptism form.

Child's name	Parent's name	Date of Birth	Residence	Date of Baptism	Place of Baptism	Minister
Ana Rosa	Matilda Green	July 26 th 1910	Samana	Jan 3 rd 1912	St. Peter's	H. St.
Benita Florencia	Isabella Green	May 16 th 1910	N. West	Jan 6 th 1912	" "	" "
Emilia	Antelia Disney	May 30 th 1910	San Caratas	Jan 7 th 1912	" "	" "
Maria Carmen	Alexandra Ana Josefa Isaac	Jan 12 th 1912	Samana	Jan 8 th 1912	St. Peter's	" "
Andrea	Jacob & Eliza Carey	Oct 30 th 1910	Honduras	" 11 th 1912	Bethesda	" "
Daniel	Jeremiah Catherine Kelly	July 21 st 1911	Samana de la Mar	Apr 30 th 1912	St. Peter's	" "
Rosalia	Mamuel Susan Monego	Aug. 6 th 1910	Los Cocos	Mch 3 rd 1912	St. Peter's	" "
Regina	Samuel Hannah Sanchez	Sept 26 th 1910	North West	Mch 12 th 1912	Bethesda	" "
Juan Alfaro	Thomas & Madona Simon	Jan 15 th 1910	" "	April 16 th 1912	St. Peter's	" "

Figure 4-1. Baptism record dated 1912 from St. Peter's Wesleyan Methodist Church in Samaná (photograph by author).

The vast majority of the baptism forms were recorded horizontally on a single page, as seen above; however, a number of them were prepared vertically, across two pages which have since been separated due to binding issues. I was able to cross-mend

²⁵ I have come across registries from other Wesleyan missions on-line (for example see https://www.familysearch.org/learn/wiki/en/South_Africa_Methodist_Church_Registers_%28FamilySearch_Historical_Records%29).

(in a sense) 23 forms (meaning that 46 pages were matched) allowing for inclusion of these documents in the analysis. Handwriting, dates, number of entries, and other identifying features allowed for these pages to be matched (see Figure 4-2).

Unfortunately, I was unable to find sister pages for five pages.

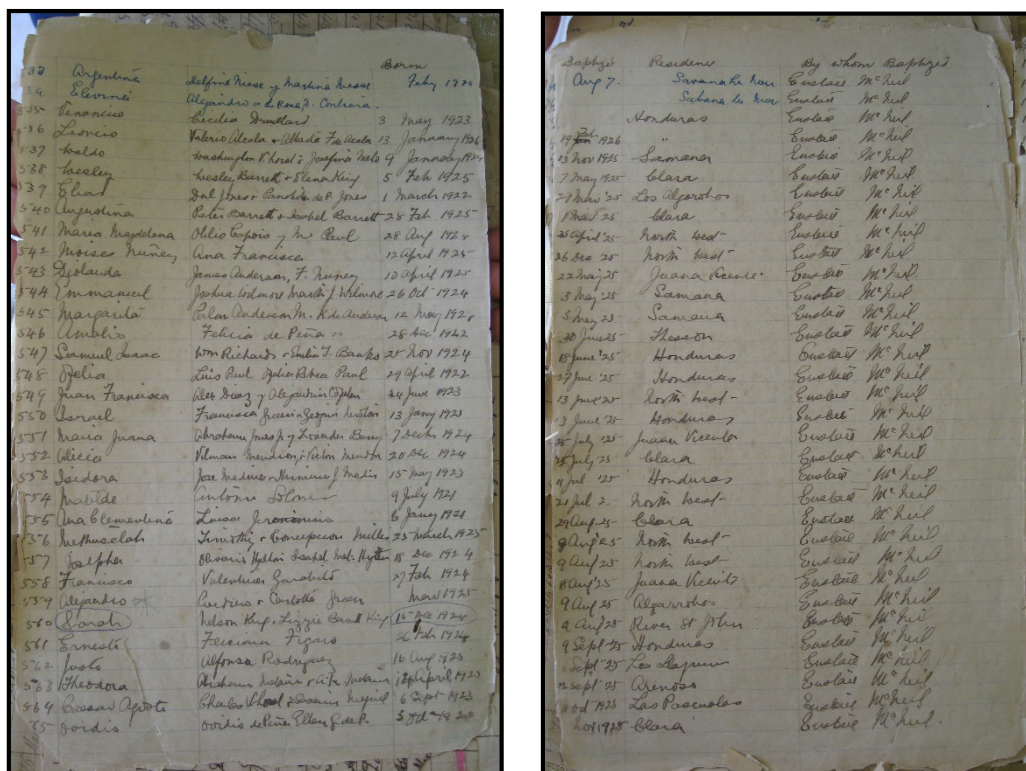


Figure 4-2. Baptism register from St. Peter's Wesleyan Church. The vertical format and lack of binding required these two pages to be mended in order to complete the record (photographs by author).

Each form recorded multiple baptisms, though more often than not they were performed on different days and in different locations. It also appears that some were added to the record after the fact, as the baptism dates are not always in chronological order. Each line on the form above represents one baptism and what I will refer to as a

single “entry.” Throughout the analysis of these records, I rely on the original temporal organizational scheme; the baptism year is the primary focus, rather than the birth dates of the children. The timing between birth and baptism was not consistent and it is clear that at one point in time these records were bound and divided based on the year of the baptism. With that being said, the majority of entries show that most children were baptized within their first year of life. Occasionally, what appear to be much later additions (based on type and color of ink, placement of the entry on the paper, handwriting, and language) would be added to a record. These entries were not included in the analysis, as they do not appear to be original to the documents. Incomplete entries were not included unless the missing information (such as birth date) did not impact the analysis being conducted; surprisingly, the vast majority of entries were relatively complete.

The marriage registers also had a standardized format. Information recorded on the marriage register includes: Date of Marriage, Name and Surname, Age, Condition (i.e., marital status) Trade, Residence, and Father’s Name – information was recorded for both the groom and the bride. Figure 4-3 provides an example of a marriage record. As can be seen in the photograph below, each marriage received its own page, although occasionally two marriages were squeezed onto a single page. Like the baptisms, each marriage is referred to as a single “entry” in the register. Obviously, the date of the marriage was used to organize the records temporally. Hoetink (1962) points out that marriage ceremonies in the church took place after the civil marriages had occurred. Keeping this in mind, as well as the general state of the documents, it seems likely that

there are marriage records missing. In fact, no marriage records dating to 1910 have been found. On the other hand, the marriage registers continue through 1939, unlike the baptism registers.

No	Date of Marriage	Name & Surname	Age	Condition	Trade	Residence	Father's Name
55	24 July 1916	Isaac Anderson	37	single	Agre	Honduras	Martin Trinidad
		Teresa Green	30	widow	"	Honduras	Peter Green
<p>This Marriage was solemnized by me W. L. Mears on St. Peter's Sunday</p> <p> this marriage was solemnized between witnessed by </p>							
		Isaac Anderson			Simon Paul		
		Teresa Green			Juana Motivier		
					J. S. Dandridge		
					Moses Anderson		
					Charles Hamilton		
					James Adams		

Figure 4-3. Example of a marriage register from St. Peter's Wesleyan Church (photograph by author).

Excel databases were created to record the necessary information from the baptism and marriage records. An image number assigned to each photograph²⁶ was used to record the provenance of each entry. For examples of the excel databases please see Appendix A. This recording method serves to highlight data which may be analyzed in an effort to answer broader questions regarding the community, such as: *Where were*

²⁶ Each photograph is maintained in jpeg format and retains the original image number assigned by the camera. The images have been sorted according to date, type of document, and language.

members of the immigrant community living? What was the relationship between the two Protestant congregations like? What did members of the community do for a living? The baptism and marriage dates also allowed for an examination of how the community was changing through time. Unfortunately, the study only covers a few decades, but these records do seem to cover a period of transition for this community. This notion of change will be discussed in full later in the chapter. For now, it is important to explicate some of the particular methods used to record the data.

As language has and continues to play an important role within the descendant community, it was crucial to record the language used on each document within the collection. “Principal language,”²⁷ either English or Spanish, was determined during an initial evaluation of each document and was based on a number of criteria. For these records, the best indicators of language were the titles at the top of each column (e.g., “Child’s Name” versus “Nombre”) and the months that were written out in the various dates given (e.g., “July” versus “Julio”). While English and Spanish surnames may indicate origins of the family, they do not point to the language of the document. Place names are also a poor indicator, as people commonly use long-standing place names that are foreign to their native language; one only has to look at “Samaná,” originally known as “Xamana” to the native Taíno, for an example of this phenomenon. The cognates used to describe legitimacy were often abbreviated, rendering this part of the baptism entry as

²⁷ Because of personal and place names, both Spanish and English often appeared on the same document. I consider the “principal language” to be the one used by the institution, or rather the official language of the church. I assume that the language which dominates the form is that which is used by the leadership of the church and is thus the official language.

another poor gauge of language. “Legitimate/Legítimo,” “Illegitimate/Illegítimo,” and “Natural” (same spelling in Spanish), are all respectively abbreviated in the same way regardless of language; unless they were fully written out at some point on the record, they were not used for determining the principal language of the document. Because all of the indicators were not always present, it was important to rely on multiple markers of the official language throughout the analysis. From 1910 until 1936²⁸ and from 1911 until 1938, the primary language used on the baptism and marriage records respectively was English. From 1937 on, the main language on the baptism forms was Spanish. Beginning in 1938, the marriage registers are recorded in a mix of Spanish and English, but English still appears to be primary. As will become apparent, the language used by one of the institutions central to the American community (St. Peter’s) is an important factor to consider when studying processes of community formation, maintenance, and dissolution.

Although not a perfect indicator of group membership, surname plays an important role in the evaluation of the baptism records. To this day, the Samanés place a great deal of value on Anglo surnames, which serve as markers of a non-local family history. Samaná has a long history as a place of international trade and as a strategic location for the settling of populations as a means to secure colonial and national boundaries. And so, historically there have been multiple communities of various origins living on the peninsula and within the vicinity of Santa Barbara de Samaná. Prior to the arrival of the African American immigrants, there were groups in the area identifying as

²⁸ For this range of years, 1930 is the only year without a single entry in the baptism collection.

Canary Islanders (originally settled by the Spanish in 1756 and 1760), French planters (who had fled the Haitian Revolution, but decided to stay on the island), Haitians (who had relocated to the area during the Haitian occupation/unification), and local Dominicans²⁹ (who were born on the peninsula or had moved into the area from other places in the colony of Santo Domingo through time). Surnames reflect place of origin for the family, and while it is not a perfect indicator, in this case I argue that because of associated religious and linguistic differences it also often indicates group membership within Samaná. St. Peter's baptism records contain surnames from each of the three colonial/national/linguistic groups: English, French, and Spanish. As might be expected, the French and Spanish membership at St. Peter's was rather minor (at least within the earlier dates covered by the records). The Spanish and French colonials brought Catholicism with them from the Old World and often imposed it upon their slaves. Furthermore, language also posed a barrier to membership at St. Peter's, as services were performed in English through at least the early 1930s. These linguistic and religious markers helped to define social boundaries that were more or less, though not entirely, aligned with English, French, and Spanish surnames.

While evaluating the documents, individuals were placed into three different categories based on their surname's place of origin/associated language as well as the

²⁹ I use the term "local Dominican" in order to differentiate this Spanish group from the Canary Islanders; however, I do recognize that the Dominican Republic was not a formally recognized geopolitical entity until 1844.

group affiliated with that surname: *Anglo* (the American Immigrants),³⁰ *Spanish* (local Dominicans/Canary Islanders), and *French* (local French and Haitians). A fourth, *Other*, category was used for those names with unknown places of origin, or for those which were illegible and thus unclassifiable. The Anglo surnames in the area are known to have originated with the American and other English immigrants; the English immigrants were mainly from Turks island, though there was never a mass migration (Smith 1986). It is difficult to distinguish between the American and English immigrants based on surname and as most of the Turks islanders were Protestant (a Wesleyan mission was located there (GPO 1871)) and integrated into the American community via marriage, it seems reasonable that they are grouped together. Both the Spanish and French surnames are associated with the populations mentioned above who spoke Spanish and French/Haitian Creole respectively. For obvious linguistic reasons, the French planters and Haitians have been grouped together, as well as the local Dominicans and the descendants of the Canary Islanders.

While it is problematic to base group membership entirely on surname, E. Valerie Smith's 1986 dissertation research shows the endogamous practices within the American immigrant community, which helps to validate this approach. Via the archival records (which were much more complete 30 years ago) and through oral histories and the construction of family trees, Smith was able to determine that the American immigrants

³⁰ I use *Anglo* because it encompasses surnames that originated in both the United States and the former British colonies. As there was intermarriage with English-speakers from some of the British islands it can sometimes be difficult to separate these two groups from one another – and they were often considered one ancestral group by members of the community

and their descendants had been marrying within their community. Her study also discusses the occasional marriage between Americans and Turk's Islanders. As will become apparent through the analyses presented below, the African American community actively worked to separate themselves from the surrounding communities, which also supports the validity of the reliance on surname categories. While still problematic, it seems reasonable to rely on surname as a marker of group membership, at least through the mid-1930s when the Wesleyan Church would change national and denominational affiliation and other changes within Samaná's population began.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the baptism and marriage records contained multiple spellings of surnames and place names. This may have been due to the linguistic background and abilities of the individual recording the baptisms, or to those of the person dictating the record (Smith 1986). It often represents the fact that the multiple languages in the area were influencing one another. For example the American surname "Johnson" is occasionally recorded as "Yohnson" due to the Spanish pronunciation of the name. However, for the most part it was easy to reconcile the different spellings for classification purposes. In some instances it was as simple as recognizing that "Arenozo" and "Arenoso" were the same place. See Smith's 1986 dissertation for a more in-depth discussion on the changes in the spelling of surnames. The few surnames of undetermined origin were placed into the *Other* category, and the place names that were not recognizable were listed as *Unidentifiable* (UID). Finally, we turn to the data collected from the various sets of documents.

General Information from the Marriage and Baptism Records of La Chorchá

The marriage and baptism records contain a wealth of general information that is relevant for this study of the African American enclave in Samaná. Although the following section is not all-encompassing, information concerning the ministers, occupations, and gendered labor will be presented.

The Ministers

Both the marriage and the baptism records list the minister performing the ceremony. Drawing primarily from the marriage registers (the records cover a longer period of time), we can get a sense of who was leading the congregations at St. Peter's and the AME Church between 1911 and 1939. Below, the ministers for each decade are listed in the order in which they appear in the documents (i.e., chronological order). If they have listed their affiliation it has been included in the table; leadership of St. Peter's is assumed when no affiliation is listed.

1910s	Alfred E. Adams Jacob P. James; AME Minister W. Emerson Mears
1920s	William Solomon Frederick Faide; AME Minister Eustace McNeil; Wesleyan Minister Philip Van Putton

1930s Philip Van Putton; AME Minister
 Frederick Faide; AME Minister
 A__orater Sancheaz
 Enrique Rivera
 D.S. Williams
 Domingo Marrero
 Domingo A. Velez

The fact that the relationship between the two congregations (Wesleyan and AME) was mutually supportive is indicated by the crossover of the ministers. It was not uncommon for AME ministers to appear in St. Peter's registers as having performed various ceremonies, in this case marriages. Ethnohistorical sources (Foreign and Commonwealth Office Collection [FCOC] 1850; Schomburgk 1853) tell of the absences of Wesleyan ministers from Samaná as they visited congregations in the countryside or in Puerto Plata. And so, it seems apparent that the congregations had little objection to AME pastors filling the vacancy of absent Wesleyan ministers. Although it should also be noted that AME ministers were normally clearly demarcated as such.

This list of pastors also illustrates the transition from the Wesleyan Methodist Church, run by the British, to the Dominican Evangelical Church in 1931. Once the congregation had decided to make the denominational shift, pastors would no longer be sent from Britain, but from Puerto Rico and then later the Dominican Republic (see Chapter 5). Reverend Sancheaz, the first with a surname of Spanish origin, does not appear in the records until 1933, two years after the change in affiliation. Prior to Rev. Sancheaz, every minister is clearly of British or American origin (or at least local American descent). All of the documents from the first two decades are entirely in

English, further supporting the ministers' Anglo origins. From Sanchez on, the ministers all have Spanish names, with the exception of D.S. Williams. Furthermore, beginning in 1937, the baptism records are entirely in Spanish; the marriage records begin to use both languages beginning in 1938.

Interestingly, it also appears that there is more continuity in the ministry in the first two decades. The 1910s showed a total of three ministers and the 1920s had only four. By the 1930s seven ministers were present in the records, with five of those seven appearing in the final seven years of the decade (1933-1939). Moreover, the two ministers presiding over the marriages from 1930-1932 were both from the AME Church. Essentially, through the documents we are witnessing the volatility that comes with the personnel changes resulting from the church's change in denomination. The instability in the church leadership, along with the linguistic transition seen in the documents, points to the fact that the 1930s were a time of transition for the American descendant community.

Occupations and Gendered Labor

One interesting piece of information listed on the marriage records from La Chorchá is the occupation of both the bride and the groom. A brief look at how the parishioners were laboring will provide some insight into the everyday lives of Samaná residents during the early 1900's. The vast majority of the grooms (153 out of 221) were listed as farmers or agricultural laborers. It is unclear whether these men were working their own small plots of land, or larger plots owned by someone else; however, based on ethnohistorical documents, we know that many people in Samaná were engaged in

subsistence agriculture, and often produced more than their family needed (GPO 1871; Schomburgk 1853). Other jobs held by grooms listed over the course of the three decades (1911-1939) included: Assistant Station Master, Bank Clerk, Barber, Carpenter, Civil Servant, Clerk, Engineer, Fisherman, Joiner, Laborer, Mason, Mechanic, Merchant, Painter, Pilot, Sailor, Sawyer, Sergeant in the National Police, Shoe Maker, Shop Keeper, Tailor, and Telephone Clerk. Many of these jobs were listed only once, and there were a handful of grooms who had no occupation listed. Over the course of the three decades, there was no significant change in the primacy of farming, though a notable number of men were sailors. The “pilot” listed above could also be included in this group, as he was most likely the pilot of a small water-faring vessel (and not an aviator). Multiple grooms also participated in the trades of carpentry and tailoring. Given the fact that St. Peter’s was the home church in the center of the town of Santa Barbara de Samaná, it is not surprising that the list of men’s occupations is so varied and represents trades that would be expected in a more urban center. Nevertheless, the large proportion of farmers illustrates that while the town of Samaná may have been the “urban center” for the Peninsula, it was still a relatively remote and isolated place.

Almost half of the brides in St. Peter’s marriage records (100 of 221) were listed as having no occupation.³¹ For the brides with jobs, the list of possible occupations is shorter: Farmer, Civil Servant, Dress Maker, Domestic, House Keeper, House Wife, School Teacher, and Seamstress. Dress makers and seamstresses were listed separately,

³¹ This number represents the entries that had a line drawn through the space given for the bride’s occupation; it does not include those entries that contained just a blank space.

but combined represent a significant number of employed brides. A total of three teachers were listed over the course of the three decades. Interestingly, this was not an occupation held by any of the grooms, though the teachers we hear most about in the U.S.

Commission Report (1871) and in the oral histories (Chapter 5) are men. A notable percentage of women are listed as “domestics,” but there is a dramatic increase in this occupation in the final decade. While it is hard to come to any conclusions based on this shift, it is important to remember that the 1930’s was a period of transition in Samaná. The changes occurring in the church and the beginning of Trujillo’s rise to power were taking place. It was at this point in time that the population in Samaná began to grow. A relatively small percentage of the brides were listed as farmers, yet it would be unwise to assume that the women with no occupations, or listed as “house wives,” did not contribute to the subsistence activities of the family. In modern-day Samaná, most women who are able maintain a yard space filled with trees and plants producing various foodstuffs; it is safe to assume that the same practices were taking place in the early 20th century (see Chapter 5).

Through this very general look at the occupations held by brides and grooms in La Chorcha’s marriage registries we can get a sense of how people were making a living in Samaná in the early 1900’s. We also bear witness to the gendered division of labor present in the area, which feels all too familiar to both the United States and the Dominican Republic in the early 20th century.

The American Enclaves in Santo Domingo and Samaná

Of the approximately 2,000 American immigrants who stayed on the island of Hispaniola, we know that the majority of them integrated into the larger cities, such as Port-au-Prince, Santo Domingo, and Puerto Plata. As stated previously, the American enclave in Samaná is unique in that it was able to maintain a cohesive community for close to 200 years. Based on the archival and ethnohistorical documents, a comparison of the American immigrants in Santo Domingo and those in Samaná can help to expose the processes of community formation, maintenance, and dissolution at play in both places. The 1871 U.S. Commission Report is a particularly useful document in that it gives us insight into the immigrant communities in both Santo Domingo and Samaná around 48 years after settlement. As will become apparent, the trajectory of the enclave in Santo Domingo is markedly different from that in Samaná.

Language Persistence

Previous scholars have all pointed to the importance of the continual use of English within the American descendant community in Samaná (e.g., Davis 1980a; Hoetink 1962; Ramírez Zabala 2005; Smith 1986). Later chapters within this dissertation will also confirm the centrality of the language (see especially Chapter 5). Through the interviews of the 1871 report, a difference in linguistic practices appears between the enclaves in Santo Domingo and Samaná. George Lewis Judd, the son of an American Baptist missionary and himself a school teacher in Samaná in 1871, was asked if people wanted to learn Spanish in his school; he reported back, “No, sir; English altogether. All

my scholars talk English ... they know the Spanish and this French creole patois; after hearing them chat in the street in Spanish and French creole you would be astonished to see them read and write English” (GPO 1871:228).³² The multilingual nature of the American descendant community has been confirmed by the oral histories collected in Samaná (Chapter 5), but from Judd’s testimony it is clear that English retained its primacy within the community. Furthermore, the marriage and baptism registers from La Chorcha provide even more evidence of the role of English as the primary language within the enclave. It is not until a few years after the denominational switch that St. Peter’s documents began to be recorded in Spanish. The baptism registries do not change to Spanish until 1937 and as of 1939 the marriage records are being written in a combination of English and Spanish. And, despite the institutional change, members of the community continued to speak English as their first language. In fact, members of the final generation for whom English was their primary language were interviewed in the early 1980’s as they entered their twilight years (Poplack and Sankoff 1987; Chapter 5).

Based on the interviews in the 1871 report, the transition to a Spanish-speaking community occurred much quicker in Santo Domingo. Elijah R. Gross, who “came from Philadelphia with the American colony” (GPO 1871:254), albeit as a young boy, was interviewed in Santo Domingo, where he had lived for most of his life. When asked if the children of the American settlers could read and write he responded, “Yes, sir, in Spanish, but not in English; they speak Spanish better than English” (GPO 1871:255).

³² The “French creole patois” to which Judd is referring is Haitian Creole. Generally speaking, “patois” is used to refer to English-based creole languages. This term, however, has found its way into local Samanese parlance to describe Haitian Creole (see Chapter 5).

Another interviewee in Santo Domingo named George Fountain, the adult son of American immigrants, described his family's linguistic practices at home: "... my mother and father speak American; my brothers and sisters speak Spanish; when he is in the house, we speak American" (GPO 1871:268).³³ Although slightly unclear, it seems that the person George is referring to in the last clause is his father. So, it appears that the second generation of Americans in Santo Domingo could understand and speak English, but were, perhaps, more comfortable with Spanish. Among this generation, those who could read and write did so in Spanish. Within a generation of settlement, the American immigrants in Santo Domingo were already losing one of their most distinguishing characteristics, their primary use of the English language.

Education

In education we are doing what little we can among ourselves. We are not willing to have our children grow up in ignorance, and we have little schools to teach them what we can. As for the natives, the government does not do anything for them, and they don't do much for themselves. We had a good school-house which we were building here, but the Spanish war came and they burned it up. The natives have about no schools. [Reverend Jacob James in GPO 1871:230]

³³ Interestingly, this story of multigenerational linguistic practices in the home sounds very similar to accounts told in more modern oral histories collected in Samaná. A number of Spanish-speaking informants encountered in 2010 could understand English much better than they could speak it, as it was their parents' primary language (Chapter 5).

The above quote is from one of the most venerated leaders within the American community in Samaná. Reverend Jacob James was among the original immigrants and, at the time of the 1871 Commission study, he was serving as one of the local preachers in the Wesleyan Methodist Church (see Chapter 5 for remembrances of him in the oral histories). This quote is particularly telling as it exposes the community's view not only on education, but on the local Dominicans and Haitians who shared their geographical region. For now, I will focus on the role of education in maintaining group cohesion in Samaná.

During Frederick Douglas's interview with a group of American colonists, he learned that the Methodist Church³⁴ maintained both a day school and a Sunday school that served between 80 and 90 children (GPO 1871:231). Another member of the community, Joseph P. Hamilton, reported that there were two schools in Samaná, one of them being that run by Mr. Judd, who was mentioned above (GPO 1871:223). Mr. Judd pointed out that in addition to the schools, "There are two women up town who pretend to give some schooling; they do not keep an organized school, but teach five or six scholars" (GPO 1871:227).³⁵ It is clear that while the Dominican government offered nothing in the way of support for education, the American immigrants made real efforts to teach their children beyond the confines of the home. Also, recall that Mr. Judd explained earlier that all of his students wanted to be taught in English, despite their

³⁴ It is important to remember that in 1871 the Wesleyan Church was the only Methodist congregation in town. The AME Church would be reestablished in Samaná in the first decade of the 20th century.

³⁵ On a side note, notice that the women are not named and the description provided seems to diminish their status as true teachers.

multilingual abilities. Benjamin Burr, a white entrepreneur from Maine who had been in Samaná for two years, was asked by the Commission if, “the heads of families desire that their children should learn” (GPO 1871:218)? His response illustrates that the African American immigrants were not the only ones who thought that the importance they placed on education separated them from other segments of the population in the area; Burr responded: “I do not think they do. I speak of the Spaniards, not the American negroes. The Spaniards do not seem inclined to send to school. The American negroes are very anxious to send their children to school, and do send them” (GPO 1871:218). The schools provided institutional support for the transmission of English and other cultural practices that would help distinguish members of the American enclave in Samaná. Through the documents we can see that formal education played a central role in Samaná, not only in the transmission of the English language, but in the establishment of a separate communal identity. This identity was in part demarcated from the “natives” by the emphasis it placed on education.

On the other hand, the schools in Santo Domingo, or the lack thereof, worked to disrupt a sense of cohesion among the immigrants and their children. Tellingly, the topic of schooling did not enter into the interviews in Santo Domingo to the degree it did in Samaná. However, we have already learned that the children of the American immigrants in Santo Domingo were speaking Spanish better than English. One of the reasons behind the linguistic transition becomes clear when we consider what George Fountain said about the schools; when asked if, “your colored people have a school?” he responded, “Yes, sir; Spanish” (GPO 1871:268). Furthermore, Elijah Gross explained, “We have a

college and some private schools here, but it is prohibited to teach Protestantism in them... I try to educate my own children at home” (GPO 1871:255). It seems likely that he is referencing the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo (the oldest university in the New World), which has always taught entirely in Spanish. The mention of private schools also shows that the Dominican government was not providing general schooling for the children of the capital, similar to Samaná. And so, due to the demographics of the city, the schools attended by the children of the American immigrants would have been taught in Spanish and would have not have served as institutional backbones for the enclave in Santo Domingo.

The Methodist Churches

The U.S. Commission was also interested in the level of religious tolerance within the Dominican Republic, and so, through their report we can obtain a sense of how well the Protestant Churches of the American immigrants were received. Mr. Burr, the New Englander who had been in Samaná for two years, described the religious landscape of the town when he said, “The Roman Catholic religion is the prevailing religion,” but, “There is no religious animosity, that I have seen” (GPO 1871:218). The relationship between the general population of Samaná and the Methodist Church did not enter into the Commission’s interviews to a large extent. However, one exception to this came when Joseph Hamilton was describing local conditions during the Spanish annexation which had ended only six years prior.

When the [Spanish] archbishop came, he stopped our religion (Protestant) here, and at Puerto Plata, and everywhere. The Methodists could not worship publicly; but they did privately. Here our people spoke up so much about it that the governor said we could hold private worship in the country, but shut up our public places of worship. Mr. James, the preacher, asked him to be so good as to give him that in writing, and he did so, and they retired to the country and worshipped privately. After the Spaniards were driven out public worship resumed. Since then there has been no trouble between us and the Catholics. The governor himself—Cabral's governor—made us a present of 2,000 feet of lumber. The present government has treated us very well. The government of the island never attempted to interfere within our religion. [Joseph P. Hamilton in GPO 1871:222]

This testimony speaks to the Spanish view on religious tolerance, but also to that of the local authority in Samaná. Local sentiments toward the Methodist congregation seem to be of the live-and-let-live variety. During Spanish control of the island the Governor of Samaná seems to have outwardly followed the official policy toward non-Catholic denominations, while knowingly turning a blind eye to services held outside of the public sphere of the church structure. The Spanish did destroy parts of St. Peter's compound, which included a mission house, chapel, and school (GPO 1871), but as Mr. Hamilton reported, by 1871 the Dominican Governor had gifted the congregation with wood in a move supportive of their efforts to rebuild. Reverend James informed the U.S. Commission that as of 1871 his congregation consisted of approximately 250 members,

with an even larger weekly attendance count (GPO 1871). Services at St. Peter's were held regularly on Sundays with a Wednesday night prayer-meeting also being offered (GPO 1871). Obviously, the Americans in Samaná enjoyed a relatively high degree of religious freedom.

The American enclave in Santo Domingo actually seems to have also enjoyed a relatively tolerant religious environment, though they may have been more directly impacted by changes in the political landscape; of course this is not surprising given the fact that they were located in the capital city. Mr. Gross (quoted above) explained, "Under different administrations our freedom of worship has been interfered with; the late [Spanish] Catholic archbishop especially distinguished himself in that respect" (GPO 1871:254). He goes on to say that the current Catholic leadership had not caused any difficulties for the Methodist congregation. The Americans in Santo Domingo did, however, have to contend with issues common to high-density urban settings. The following exchange between the Commission and John Jones, an original immigrant who had lived in Santo Domingo since he was 15 years old, illustrates one such event. "Q. Do you [Methodists] have any ill treatment from the government here?—A. No, sir; only from the vagabonds. Sometimes they come to stone the church. Q. Like they do in New York sometimes?—A. Yes, sir" (GPO 1871:252). On the other hand, the only accounts of damage or vandalism against the church in Samaná come from times of war and are attributed to military actions. Finally, William Gabb, an American who had spent two years in the Dominican Republic doing a geological survey, may have summed up the Dominican government's position on the religious activities of the American enclaves

when he said, “There are two small communities of American negroes who call themselves Protestants, but do not belong to any definite sect. . . . The two little communities are so small and unimportant that there is no feeling about them” (GPO 1871:232). Essentially, the small size of the American communities may have caused the Dominican government and Catholic religious leadership to not concern themselves with the fate of the Protestant congregations. And yet, it seems the Methodist church was not enough to hold the Americans in Santo Domingo together as a cohesive community.

Annexation, Race, and Nationalism

As mentioned previously, the U.S. Commission of 1871 asked many of their informants about the Spanish annexation of Santo Domingo, which had started in 1861 and, due to the War of Restoration, ended in 1865. The motivation behind this line of questions was the desire to determine what the Dominican population thought about annexation by the United States. The responses given to questions regarding both Spanish and American annexation in both Santo Domingo and in Samaná expose some of the local understandings of race and also speak to the weak sense of Dominican nationality within the general population. For most people, the primary concern was day-to-day safety and long-term stability, regardless of the national package in which it came.

Prior to Spanish annexation in 1861, political instability and associated military and paramilitary actions were nothing new to the Spanish side of Hispaniola. In a published report from 1858, the Assistant Missionary in Samaná, Peter Van der Horst (an

American immigrant), described a revolt by a segment of the Dominican population known as the Cibaeños. They had laid siege to the town of Samaná and were attempting to capture the government men stationed at Fort Buenaventura as they left the fort on provision procuring missions. The siege impacted more people than just the soldiers stationed in Samaná; multiple families fled their homes in the surrounding countryside and took refuge in the town (The Wesleyan Missionary Notices 1858). In 1871 Reverend James described the effects of the instability on the morale in the town, “The revolutions and wars have got us down so that we cannot do as we would have done. We once had a church here, and a school-house and a mission house ... but all was destroyed and burned up in the wars. ... Now we are hoping for better things from [U.S.] annexation” (GPO 1871:230). The general sentiment throughout the Dominican Republic was that annexation by the United States would bring stability to the government and thus to daily life. General Theophilus James, brother of Rev. James, explained, “[Dominicans] desire annexation to the United States for the sake of peace and tranquility; that each man may enjoy what he earns by his labor” (GPO 1871:228). Similar notions were expressed by informants in Santo Domingo, but another element was added to the concerns of these city dwellers; it seems that in the various wars and revolutions men were pressed into military service. Theodore Hall told the Commission, “When there are troubles the men are always called off to war. First, it was with Hayti. ... The next time the men would get to work and make a little money, and then they would be called away again” (GPO 1871:253). The threat of loss of life, personal property, and wealth seem to have been real enough for the majority of Dominicans to be in favor of annexation to the United States.

There does not seem to have been a strong sense of a Dominican nationality that would have prevented the population's willingness to adopt a new nation-state through annexation. Indeed, Mr. Judd believed that, "There is no patriotism in the country. The only salvation is for some other government to step in" (GPO 1871:227). Some of the interviewees from 1871 acknowledged that if the United States was not going to annex the Dominican Republic, the nation would benefit from annexation to a different, yet still powerful nation, as long as that nation was not Spain (e.g., General Theophilus James in GPO 1871:228). As Joseph Hamilton suggests, the lack of stability may have undermined any positive feelings toward the nation. "When a man labors and labors and labors and finds it all in vain; when revolutions and troubles are constantly in the country, destroying all that he gets, the time will come when he must be disgusted, and he will renounce his own nationality for the sake of security, that his labor may produce something. There is no security now" (GPO 1871:222). Of course, we do learn that the Americans in Samaná did maintain a sense of patriotism, but their loyalty lay with the United States. Reverend James explained, "Although we have been here so long, we have preserved our feelings as Americans" (GPO 1871:230). External verification of these sentiments comes from Mr. Judd when he said, "This American colony about here have preserved their nationality with great persistency for the forty years they have been here, in spite of revolutions" (GPO 1871:228). That the immigrants and their descendants continued to identify with the United States may have been influenced by the fact that it represented a more stable life, especially after the Civil War ended slavery.

Spain was never an option for the majority of Dominicans following the 1861-1865 annexation; it had not gone well for the general population, though some may have been targeted more than others. One informant in Samaná pointed out that the Spanish had “mistreated the poor colored people” (Joseph Hamilton in GPO 1871:222). George Judd, a white American, explained that the Spanish,

came with guns and bayonets, and treated the people almost as slaves. ...

Besides, this people knew, for they are intelligent, that the Spaniards were slaveholders in Cuba on one side and Porto Rico on the other. The Spaniards sometimes would say that they would make them all slaves. ...but now they know the Americans have abolished slavery and there is no fear of them. [GPO 1871:227]

Mr. Judd was not the only informant to point out that the Americans were no longer slave holders. Rev. James explained that there had been talk of annexation by the United States 20 years prior to 1871, but that people were less supportive of the move then, as the U.S. was still a slaveholding nation. He goes on to say, “But now the United States is a country of freedom. We all know that, and all want to join the United States” (GPO 1871:230). Rev. James also informed the Commission that during the American Civil War his community had kept abreast of the news of the “rebellion” through newspapers. Interestingly, the only informants in the 1871 report who spoke of the racial prejudice practiced by the Spanish and the freedom now enjoyed by all Americans were located in

Samaná. In this report we also see multiple members of the American community in Samaná refer to themselves as “full black” (GPO 1871:229) and Rev. James explained that, “We [the Americans] are all colored people” (GPO 1871:229). Furthermore, one of the white outsiders who had lived in the town for a couple of years said, “There is a greater proportion of blacks in Samana than in any other part of Dominica” (GPO 1871:227). This last sentiment persists among Dominicans to this day (see Chapter 5). 48 years after the 1824 migration, some of the original immigrants were still living and the second and third generations were growing up hearing their stories of the United States. Remnants of the fear of racial persecution and even enslavement that led the American immigrants to flee the U.S. seem to still be present in the community as of 1871. For the people of Samaná, the slaveholding status of the powerful nations that would potentially annex them was of great concern.

Physical and Social Boundary Making in Samaná

Thus far, the ethnohistorical documents, especially the 1871 U.S. Commissioned Report, as well as the baptism and marriage registers, have allowed for a greater understanding of the American community and general situation in Samaná. Much of this analysis has been relatively straightforward and some of the insights have come directly from the immigrants or their descendants. This section, however, will explore how the baptism and marriage records from St. Peter’s were used to evaluate spatial and thus social boundary making in Santa Bárbara de Samaná and the surrounding areas on the

peninsula. Based on the relationship between surname categories (described in the Methodology section above) and place of residence as recorded on the various registers, I ask the following questions of the documents: *Is there any pattern as to where the immigrants are living? And what might a pattern indicate about this community?* Based on the sentiments of social division expressed in the 1871 U.S. report and the contemporary travel accounts, as well as the oral histories I have collected and my experiences in present-day Samaná, I hypothesized that the baptism records would indicate clustering of community members in certain neighborhoods and villages. First, stemming from ethnohistorical accounts, an introduction to physical and social boundaries in the Dominican Republic and Samaná specifically will lay the groundwork for the study of the archival records.

Geophysical Boundaries and Population Density of Samaná

Both the geographical situation of Samaná and the relatively low population density within the peninsula, played a large role in the long-term integrity of the local immigrant community. The Samaná Peninsula seems to have once been an island, though the area connecting the land masses became known as the Gran Estero, which is still a relatively marshy place (Hoetink 1962; Schomburgk 1853). The 1871 U.S. Commission Report provided this description: "... the Gran Estero, a channel or series of natural canals which here cross from the river northward to the sea, and cause the peninsula of Samana to be, in fact, an island" (1871:135). Travel accounts from the mid to late 19th century also commented on the rough and mountainous terrain encountered on the

peninsula (e.g., Hazard 1873; Stuart 1878). It seems that the lack of maintained roads meant that it was often easier to access Samaná by boat. While being interviewed by Frederick Douglass for the 1871 Commissioned Report, Reverend Jacob James gives us a sense of what the physical isolation meant for the economy of the town. “If we only had roads, which could be built without very great expense, leading up into the country, everything would be more valuable there. Things can only be disposed of at the water side to vessels. Every family now produces more vegetables and fruits than they want, leaving them to rot and waste” (GPO 1871:230). In fact, it seems the people of Samaná traded mostly with Turks Island, which was a British colony and easily reached by boat (Cazneau 1878; FCOC 1850; GPO 1871; Hoetink 1962).

Sociologist Harry Hoetink (1962) reasons that only a few hundred people were living in Samaná when the immigrants first arrived in the 1820s. Recall that the population of Samaná was made up of descendants of Canary Islanders, Dominicans from other areas of the island, remnants of the French planters and their slaves who had fled during the Haitian Revolution, and Haitians who had relocated to the area during the Haitian occupation/unification of the island. By 1871 we know that the Methodist Church in Samaná had a congregation of 200 to 250 members who were mostly American immigrants or children of immigrants, and as many as 400 people attended Sunday services; the immigrant community in total numbered as high as 600 (GPO 1871). When he was doing research in Samaná in 1962, Hoetink approximated the town’s population to be between 3,000 and 4,000 people; even by the mid-20th century the town’s population was not especially large. The American immigrants may have been a minority

within a local population made up of Dominicans, the French, and Haitians, but, especially until the mid-20th century, they were never an extremely small minority group; this situation stands in stark contrast to the Americans who had settled in the larger cities (e.g., Santo Domingo and even Puerto Plata). Although a naturally formed geographical boundary separated the community in Samaná from the rest of the country and may have contributed to the small population density, it enabled the processes of community formation and maintenance to take hold within the area. The final section of this paper will explore how the American immigrants capitalized on these geophysical boundaries to establish local physical spaces which allowed them to socially distance themselves from members of the larger Samanese community, whom they referred to as the “natives” (i.e., the local Dominicans, Haitians, and French who remained in the area after the various occupations).

Social Boundaries Internally Defined and Externally Validated

The ethnohistorical sources point to internally perceived divisions within the larger Samaná community – social lines were drawn between the “Americans” and the “natives.” The perceived social distance between the “natives” of Samaná and the American immigrants is illustrated by Reverend James when he says, “We try to keep our people together here as Americans, so that they shall not fall away into the ways of the natives and almost become natives, as they have done too much at Puerto Plata, where they are all mixed up. Our people are honest working people” (GPO 1871:229-230). Recall that Rev. James also made a statement regarding educating young people in which

he differentiates between the Americans' emphasis on education and the "natives" lack of interest in teaching their children (see page 88; GPO 1871:230). As minister of the Methodist congregation, James was a leader within the immigrant community. It seems safe to assume that the majority of the American immigrants shared his sentiments of the "natives." Travel accounts from the same general time period repeat the notion that the American immigrant community was hard working, industrious, and better educated than the more indolent, ill-informed "natives" (e.g., Cazneau 1878; Schomburgk 1853; Stuart 1878). As earlier discussions have shown, it appears that by 1871 the community in Samaná was a cohesive group, retaining a stronger sense of their Methodist, American origins, and preserving the use of English among the younger generation. Analysis of baptism and marriage records from St. Peter's Wesleyan Methodist Church indicate that these social divisions were real in practice and reinforced through physical boundaries established by the immigrant community.

Physical and Social Boundaries Seen in the Archival Records

The baptism records covering the decades beginning in 1910 and 1920, and those from 1931-1936 served as one set of primary sources for this section. Unfortunately the records from the year 1930 were completely missing and the records change language and format beginning in 1937. The other set of primary sources are the marriage registers from 1911-1919, and those from the decades beginning in 1920 and 1930. The marriage records for 1910 were regrettably missing. The marriage records from 1938-1939 were written in a combination of English and Spanish, but were recorded in the format

consistent with the previous forms; these registers have been included in this study. As mentioned earlier, it is possible that every year included in the study is incomplete, and yet I believe the sample size to be large enough to validate their inclusion in this study.

Although the baptism and marriage records include a wealth of information, for this component of my research the following types of data from the forms were deemed pertinent: baptism/marriage year, parents'/bride and groom's surnames, and place of residence. I recorded this information systematically in order to gain a better understanding of whether surnames were associated with various neighborhoods and villages within Samaná and the surrounding areas through time – and if so, which ones. Each parent on the baptism register was recorded as a single individual and the two were assumed to be living together in the same place of residence; and so, an entry with two parents meant that two individual surnames (even if they shared a last name) were recorded for the given location. Each bride and groom was treated as a separate entry and a discrete place of residence was listed for each. Although there is bound to be overlap of individuals year to year, i.e., parents having multiple children within a single decade, allowing for the fact that the records are incomplete by nature, this did not seem significant enough to impact the results. The data was grouped by decade as a method to evaluate changes through time while controlling for the reality that some individual years are better represented than others in the records. After entering the data into two excel databases (based on the type of document - baptism and marriage) I grouped the relevant

information by decade³⁶ and evaluated the community's general composition and where they were living. The results from the baptism registers will be discussed first, followed by a look at the results from the marriage records.

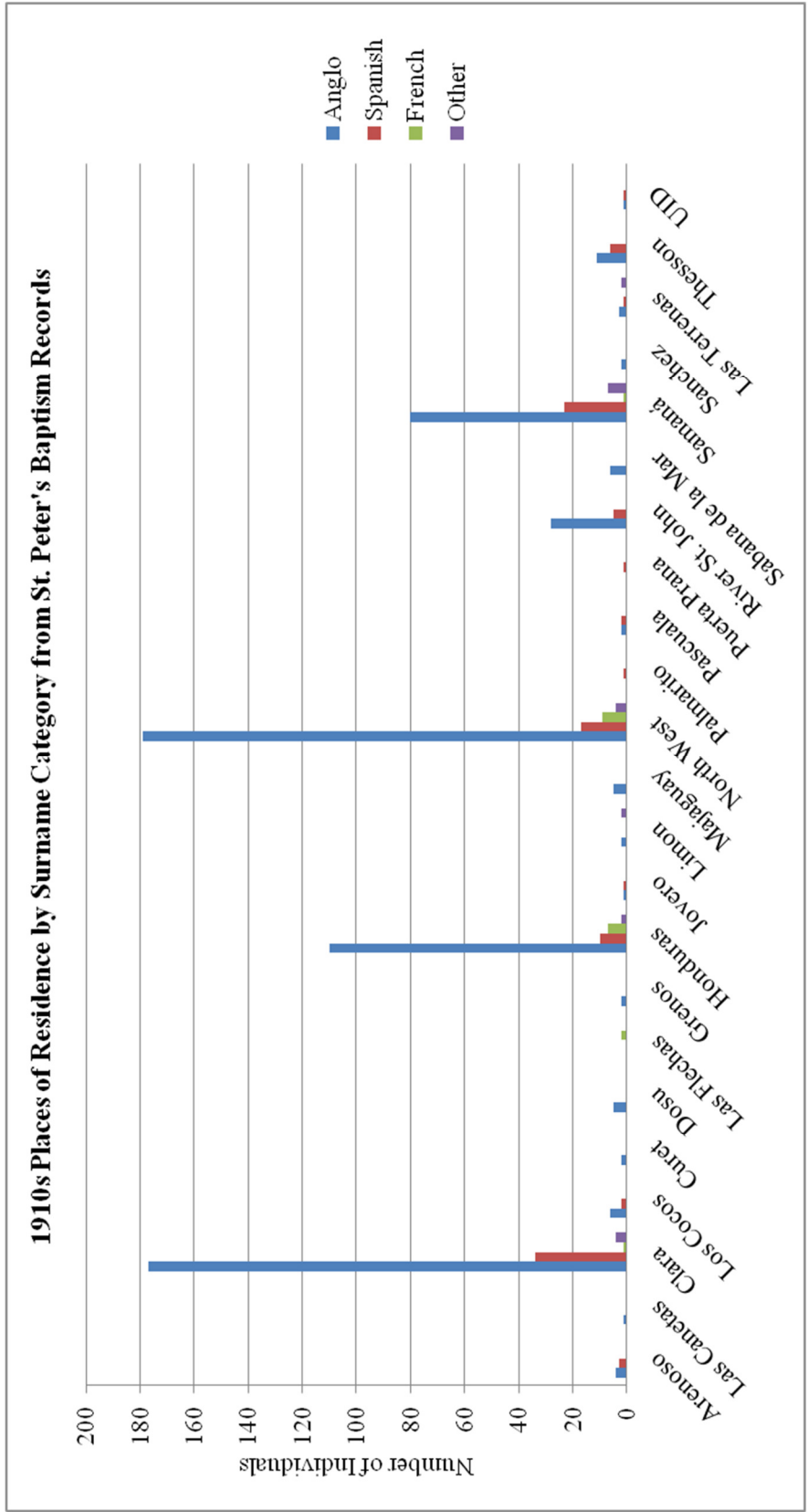
Table 4-1. Composition of St. Peter's congregation by decade; data from St. Peter's baptism records.

Decade	Individuals with Anglo Surnames		Individuals with Spanish Surnames		Individuals with French Surnames		Individuals with 'Other' Surname		Total # of Individuals by Decade
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
1910s	627	81	107	14	20	3	21	3	775
1920s	688	66	253	24	34	3	66	6	1041
1931-1936	200	54	128	35	12	3	27	7	367

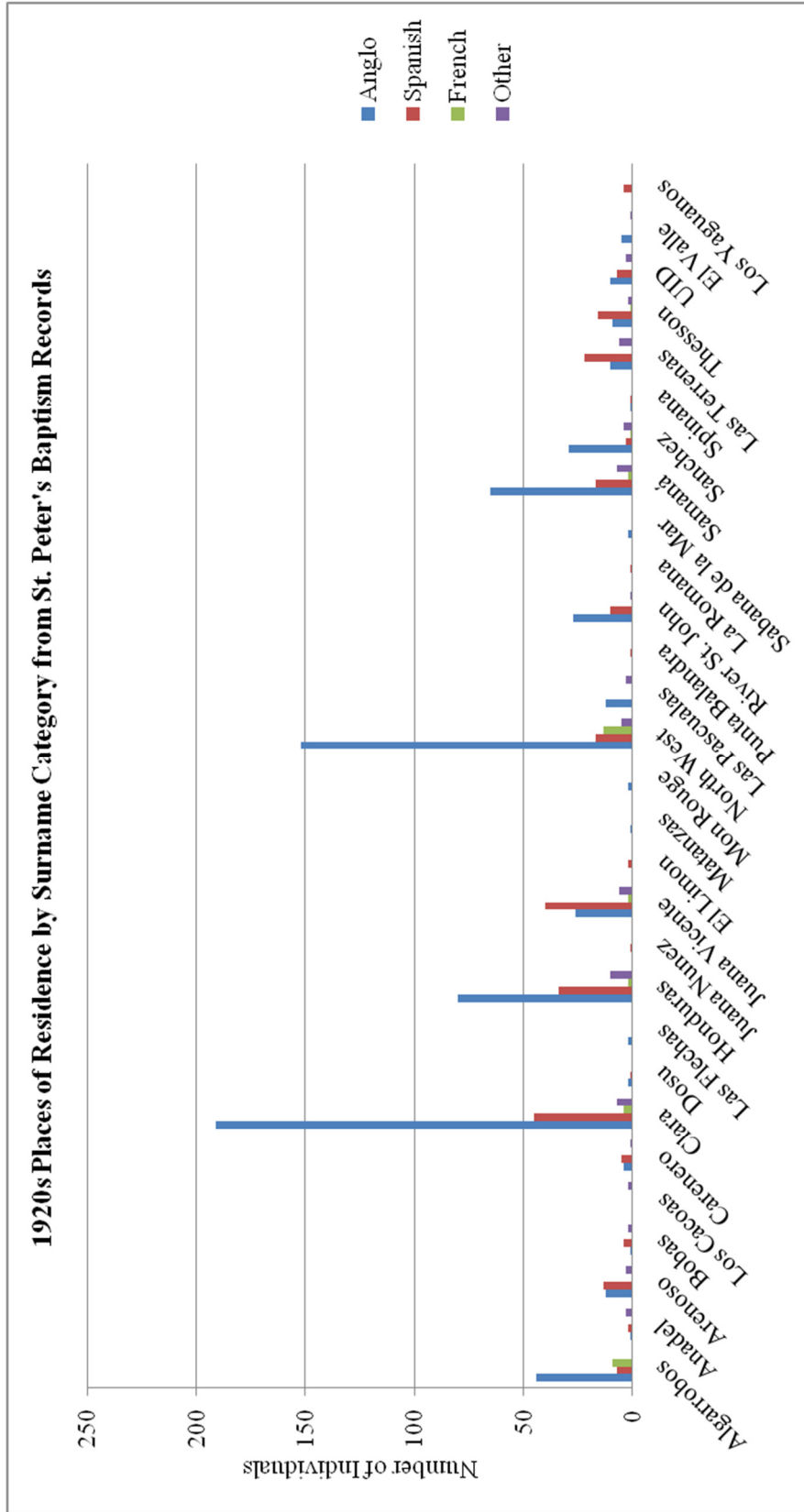
As Table 4-1 shows, from 1910 to 1936 within St. Peter's congregation, the percentage of the immigrant population experienced a decline, while the percentage of the Dominican population steadily increased. The French population, however, remained consistent. This change in composition of the Church's congregation could point to larger phenomena within the community, but requires further study.³⁷ A series of graphs will demonstrate where individuals, based on surname category were living by decade.

³⁶ I realize that for the baptism records, 1931-1936 is not a complete decade, but it does represent about 60% of the information that I could have expected to obtain for the decade beginning in 1930. The marriage records also have an incomplete decade – the 1910's – but are only missing one year.

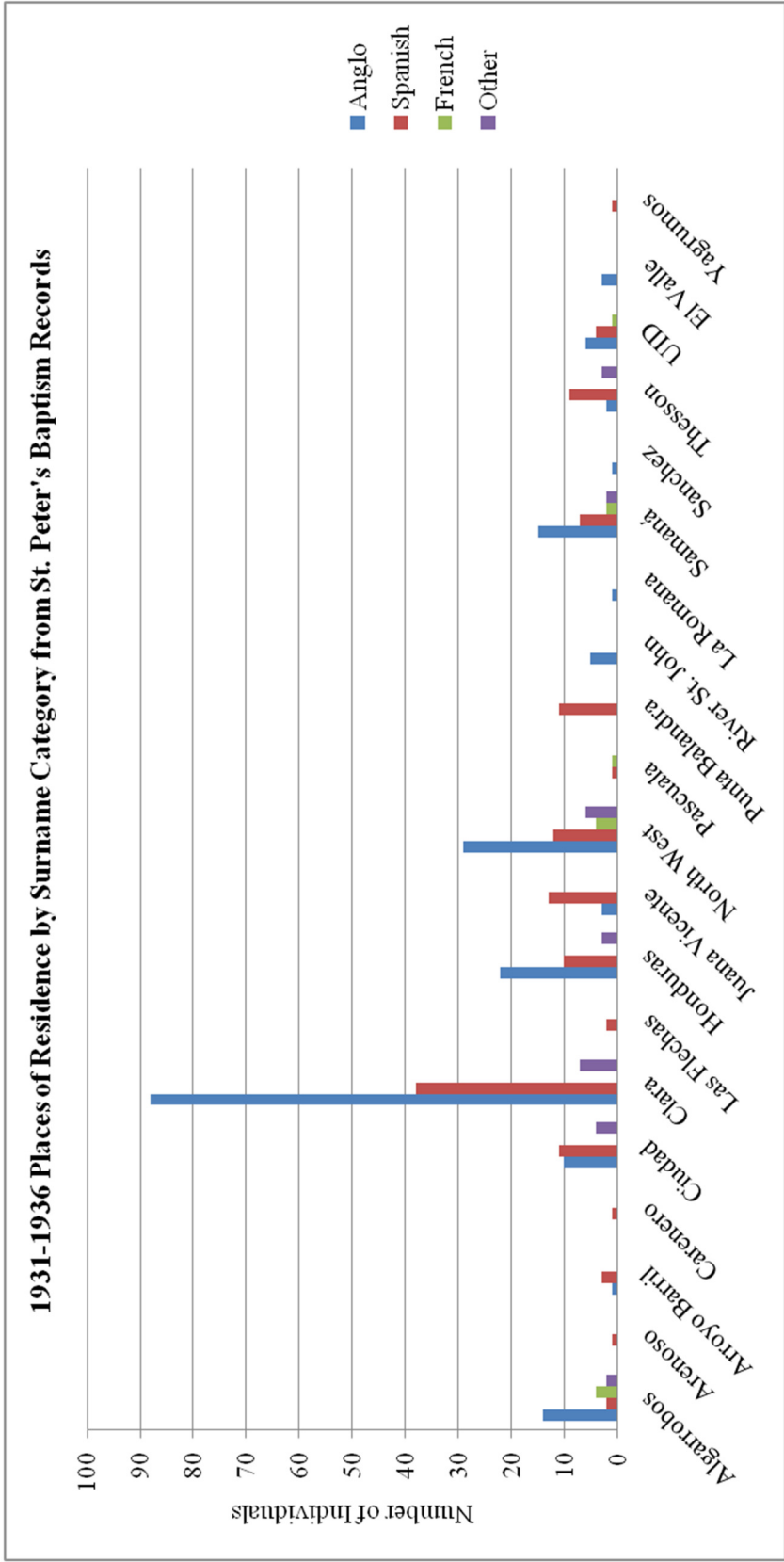
³⁷ Changes in language in which services were offered may have played a role here. Additionally, the denominational change from Wesleyan Methodist to Dominican Evangelical came in 1931 and may have caused some of the Americans to move to the AME Church.



Graph 4-1-1. Places of residence for St. Peter's Wesleyan Church's members as listed in the baptism records and based on the four surname categories. This covers the decade beginning in 1910.



Graph 4-2. Places of residence for St. Peter's Wesleyan Church's members as listed in the baptism registers and based on four surname categories. This covers the decade beginning in 1920.



Graph 4-3. Places of residence for St. Peter's Wesleyan Church's members as listed in the baptism registers and based on four surname categories. This covers 1931-1936.

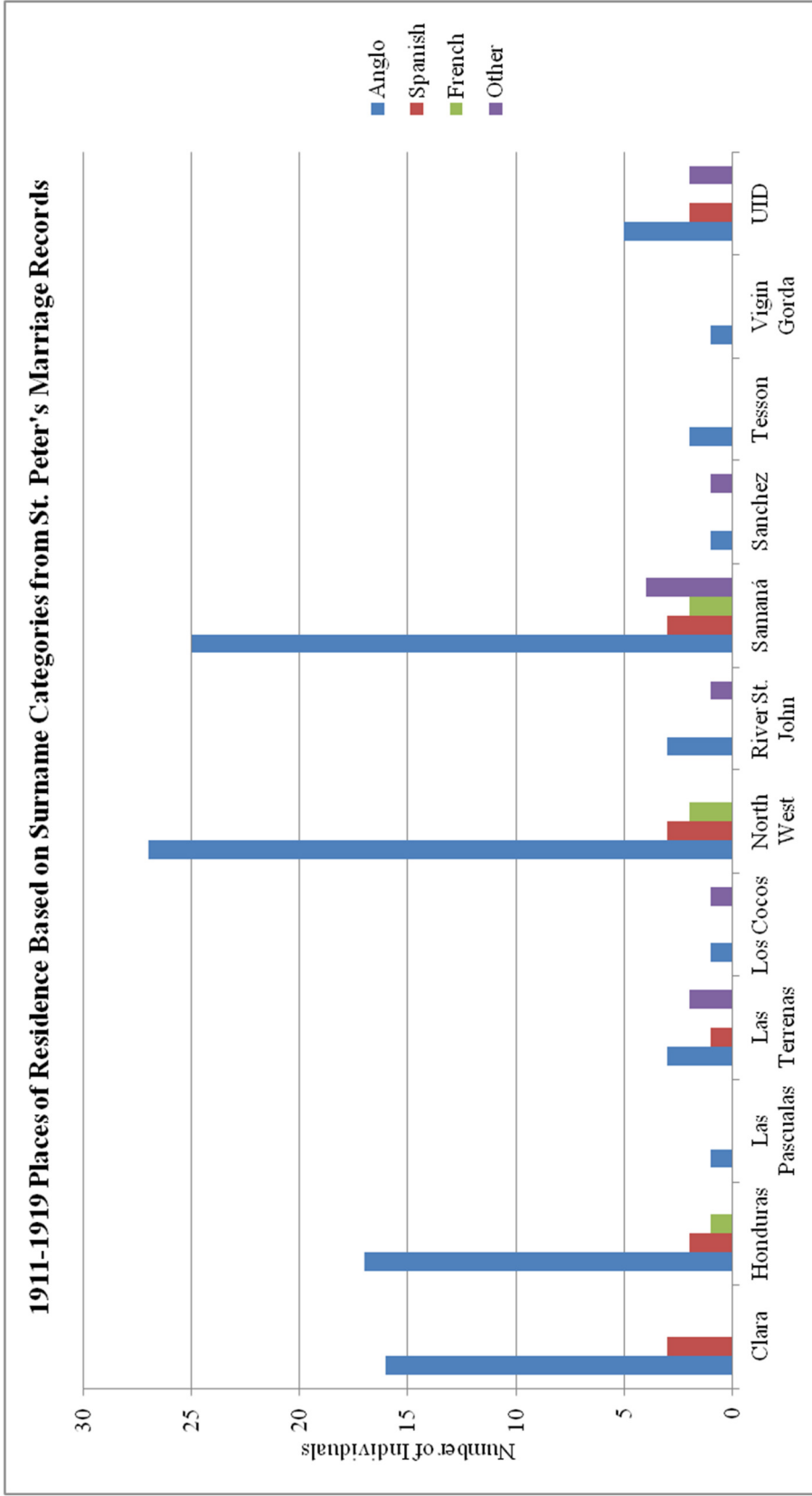
Graph 4-1 indicates five places where 20 or more immigrants were living in the 1910s – Clara, Honduras, North West, River St. John, and Samaná. Despite not having information about the residence patterns of the local Catholic communities, it is apparent that the immigrants were clustering in these five locations. Furthermore, Clara, Honduras, North West, and Samaná all have 80 or more individuals living in the same location. We can consider these four clusters as the primary locations where the immigrant community was living.

Graph 4-2 indicates some shifts as there are now 8 locations with 20 or more immigrants – Algarrobos, Clara, Honduras, Juana Vicente, North West, River St. John, Samaná, and Sanchez. But the four main clusters of immigrants remain the same with more than 50 people still living in Clara, Honduras, North West, and Samaná. There does seem to be some movement away from the primary clusters in the 1920s, but I argue that there is still enough of an immigrant presence to deem these locations as primary clusters.

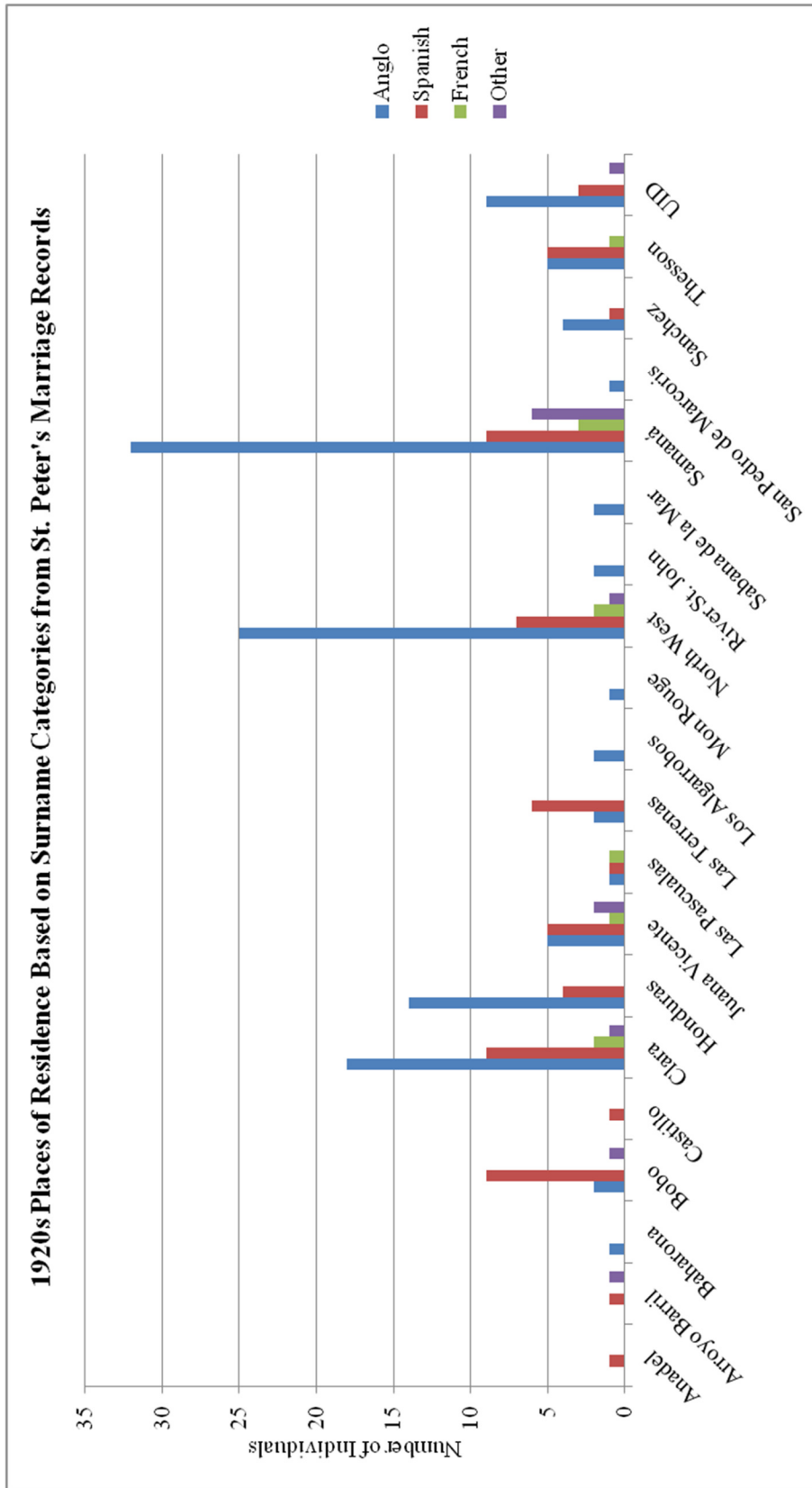
Unfortunately, Graph 4-3 relies on heavily incomplete data. Unlike the previous two graphs, this represents six years of data, rather than a full decade. Nevertheless, it still indicates that Clara, Honduras, and North West remain places of clustering for the American immigrants. Samaná has fallen below the 20 individual-threshold, but remains a relatively large cluster, as does Algarrobos. This may be more indicative of the incomplete nature of the records than the lived reality. Although incomplete, the data from 1931 to 1936 does seem significant enough to include in the discussion.

The baptism records from St. Peter's Church show that the American immigrant community was clustered in four primary areas in and around Samaná: Clara, Honduras, North West, and Samaná (the town of Santa Bárbara de Samaná).

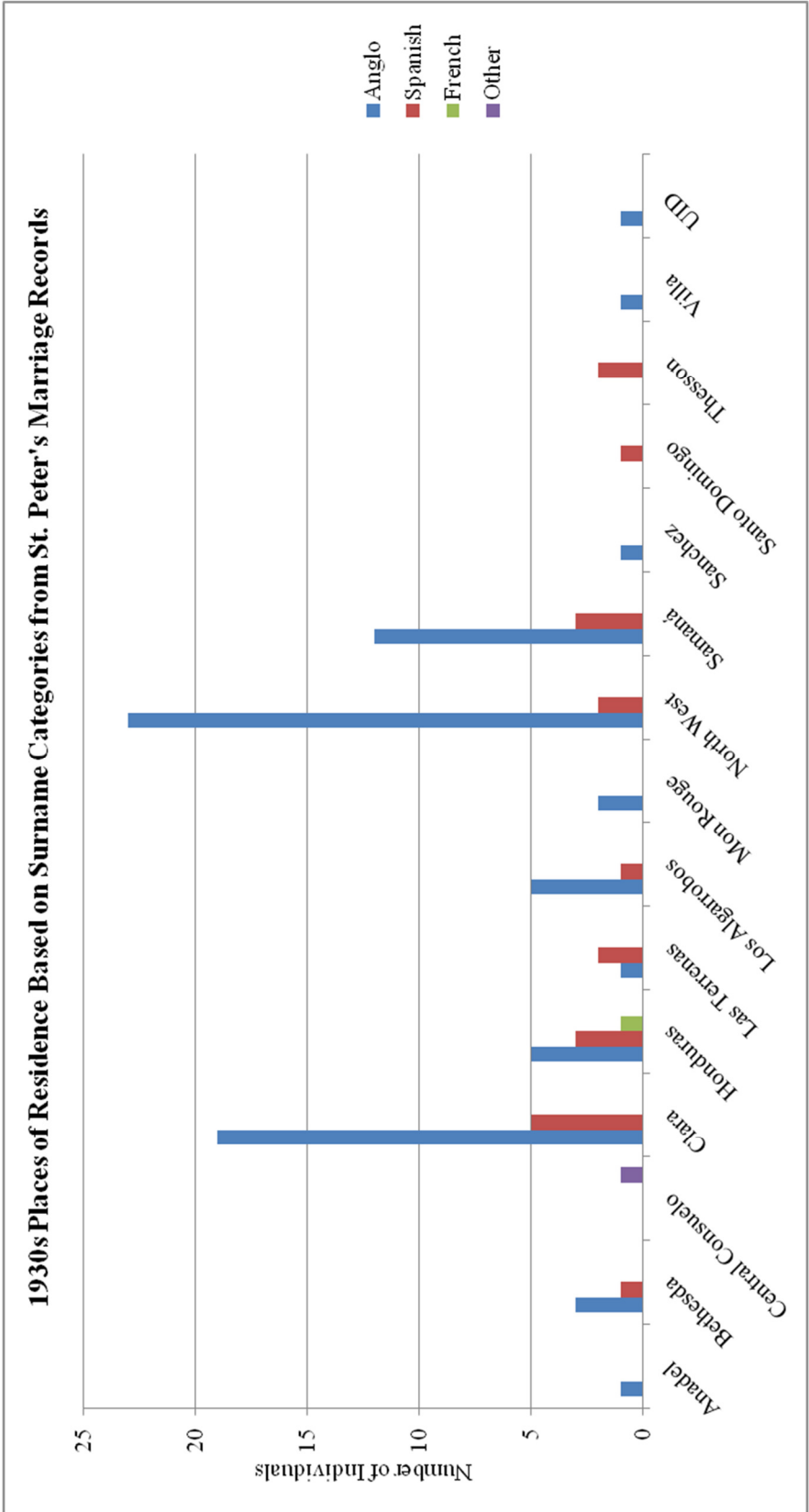
Unsurprisingly, the marriage registers show similar patterns of clustering. It should be noted, though, that the marriage records represent a smaller sample size in the number of entries, yet a seemingly more complete sample set in terms of the number of years included. Essentially, fewer people were getting married than having babies, but the records themselves appear to be more complete.



Graph 4-4. Places of residence for St. Peter's Wesleyan Church's members as listed in the marriage records and based on the four surname categories. This covers 1911-1919.



Graph 4-5. Places of residence for St. Peter's Wesleyan Church's members as listed in the marriage records and based on the four surname categories. This covers the decade beginning in 1920.



Graph 4-6. Places of residence for St. Peter's Wesleyan Church's members as listed in the marriage records and based on the four surname categories. This covers the decade beginning in 1930.

As Graph 4-4 indicates, from 1911 to 1919 members of the American community were clustering in Clara, Honduras, North West, and Samaná. Each of these areas had more than 15 people listed in the marriage records as residents. No other neighborhood came close to this number.

In the 1920s (Graph 4-5) there seems to have been an increase in the number of places represented in the marriage records; of course, this decade had a significantly higher number of entries than either of the other two decades discussed, which may explain this difference. Tellingly, Clara, North West, and Samaná still had over 15 residents listed, and Honduras still had a proportionately high number of American residents, with just under 15. Both North West and Samaná had a substantially higher number of Americans than anywhere else.

Finally, in the 1930s (Graph 4-6) both Clara and North West have maintained their American populations, while both Honduras and Samaná seem to have experienced a decline in the number of American residents. The 1930s represent the smallest sample size of the three decades included in the marriage records, which may be affecting these results. However, even with the lower number, Clara, North West, and Samaná all have proportionately high percentages of American residents.

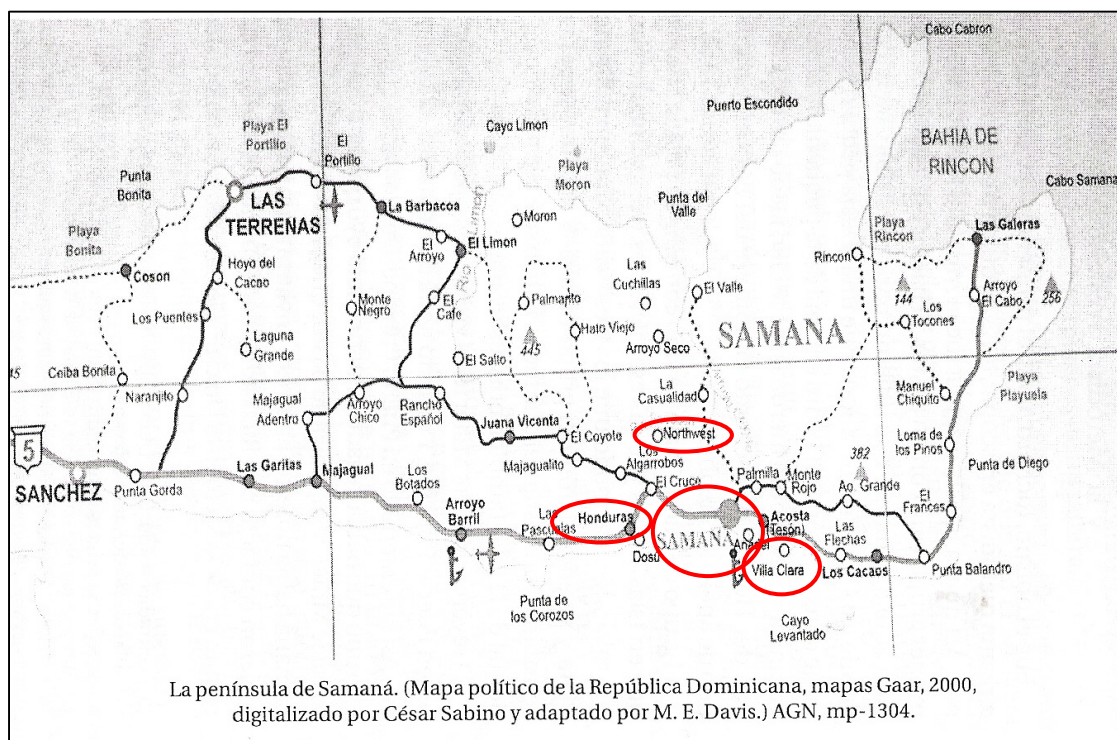


Figure 4-4. The Samaná Peninsula with Clara, Honduras, North West, and Samaná Highlighted. Map adapted from Davis 2007.

Based on both the baptism and marriage records, the four primary clusters of Americans occurred in Clara, Honduras, North West, and the town of Samaná. The consistency of the marriage records decade-to-decade reinforce the interpretation of the baptism records. Based on the variety of surnames and the number of individuals living at each location, it is safe to say that these clusters were not merely immediate, or extended familial units.

Table 4-2. Variety of Anglo Surnames* for the Four Primary Clusters by Decade.

Decade	Clara		Honduras		North West		Samaná	
	# of Surnames	# of People	# of Surnames	# of People	# of Surnames	# of People	# of Surnames	# of People
1910s	11	177	16	110	23	175	25	80
1920s	16	191	20	80	26	152	27	65
1931 - 1936	12	88	8	22	13	29	11	15

* The "# of Surnames" represents the number of distinct surnames found at each place. Variations on spelling are not counted individually and combined surnames (e.g., Anderson Barrett, rather than just Anderson or just Barrett) that are already represented are not counted separately.

We also know that by 1871 people both owned and rented land for farming purposes (GPO 1871). The original land assignments doled out in 1824-1825 may or may not correspond to the general locations of the clusters in Clara, Honduras, North West, and Samaná. Although, in 1871 one informant in Samaná explained, “The American negroes here have [land] titles granted by Boyer—Haytian titles. They are considered perfectly good” (GPO 1871:219). Regardless, I would argue that the increase in population size and the ensuing 90-110 years, and the wars and conflicts included in that time period, meant that it would have taken effort and an intentional desire to remain as clustered as the community did as of the early 20th century. Coupled with the variety of surnames represented in each area, it would appear that there was, in fact, a degree of movement of families and individuals since the original allotment of land in the 1820s.

Discussion

The documentary record helps to illuminate the processes of community formation and maintenance for the American immigrants and their descendants in Samaná. Additionally, it provides a general glimpse into the everyday life of this community in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Although Santa Barbara de Samaná was the largest town on the peninsula, its inhabitants were primarily involved in the production of agricultural goods, whether on a subsistence or commercial level. It has also become apparent that the American community was a traditional, patriarchal society, much like its nation of origin. Based on the fact that no women were individually interviewed for the 1871 Commission Report, it seems that men were filling the roles of public leaders and spokesmen. While this could also point to who the American Commission deemed worthy of interviewing (i.e., the men), the occupational data from the marriage registers, the list of ministers, and the discussions of teachers in the report and the oral histories (Chapter 5) indicate that the immigrants remained fully American in the gendered hierarchy of their community. Of course, this was not foreign to either the Haitians or Dominicans.

The list of Methodist ministers stemming from the baptism records indicates that the church relied on missionaries sent from England, as well as local Americans who often served as assistant ministers, until the church shifted denominational and national affiliations. The instability of this period of transition is very much apparent in the records from the 1930's; the high turnover rate of the new Puerto Rican ministers, as well as the lack of a uniform linguistic shift in the documents illustrate how this was a time of

uncertainty and change for the community. Nevertheless, the supportive and interconnected relationship between the two Methodist churches in town is notable. Represented by the presence of ministers from the AME Church in the Wesleyan records, the interconnections between the two congregations ran deep. Despite the fact that there were two different Methodist churches, Protestantism was a uniting factor for the American community.

The U.S. Commission Report created in 1871 is, obviously, a tremendous source of information. One of the most useful components of this document has been that it provides a juxtaposition between the American enclaves in Santo Domingo and Samaná. Through the interviews provided in this document it has become clear that the American community in Santo Domingo was being assimilated, within the first and second generations, into the larger, dominant society of the capital city. Just shy of 50 years after migration, the second and third generations were already speaking Spanish better than English; this situation could be attributed, in part, to their attendance at schools taught in Spanish. While the Americans in Santo Domingo did enjoy a degree of religious tolerance, they seemed to have been affected by changes in the political sphere and their close proximity to the seat of the Catholic leadership more than their counterparts in Samaná. Furthermore, this congregation had to deal with issues of vandalism which may have been a result of their urban setting. While they were usually allowed to practice their Protestant faith in the capital of an officially Catholic country, this group of Americans was contending with problems that a more rural congregation rarely had to face. The more extreme minority status, along with the lack of strong institutional support, led to a

faster rate of loss of linguistic and cultural practices for the American enclave in Santo Domingo.

One of the most interesting things to come from the analysis of the documentary record has been the exploration of the boundary making which contributed to and allowed for the formation and maintenance of a communal identity for the American immigrants and their descendants in Samaná. Geophysical, national, sociocultural, and spatial boundaries all played a role in the continuation of the American enclave for well over 150 years. Ethnohistorical sources speak to the geographic barriers that led to the Samaná Peninsula enjoying a large degree of separation from the rest of the island. The Gran Estero, along with the mountainous terrain, meant that Santa Barbara de Samaná was a sometimes difficult place to reach. This also meant that the peninsula was, to a certain extent, politically isolated. Illustrating this point was the account of the provincial Governor officially closing the Methodist church during the Spanish annexation, while turning a blind eye to the continuation of services in the countryside. The distance from the capital, in conjunction with the difficulties presented by the landscape, left Samaná relatively geopolitically isolated. Such seclusion allowed for a local political and social situation in which the American immigrants were able to establish their community and flourish.

Despite the relative isolation, Samaná did feel the effects of the various wars and rebellions. The loss of resources and property due to political instability were among the chief complaints for the individuals interviewed in 1871; oral history accounts repeat these same concerns (Chapter 5). Along with the majority of the country, the Americans

were very much in favor of annexation by the United States in the mid- to late 19th century. For most Dominicans, it appears that any sense of patriotism was easily overcome by the desire for a national government that would bring stability to daily life. The promise of a stronger economy and a government that was not dominated by militaristic rule was enough of an incentive for Dominicans to accept a change in national affiliation. For the American immigrants and their descendants, the stability represented by the United States, especially following the Civil War, may have helped the continuation of their identification with the nation of their origin. Furthermore, many members of the community also continued to incorporate a sense of African ancestry into their communal identity and were very interested in the outcome of the United States' Civil War. It seems that the end of slavery in the U.S. allowed the enclave in Samaná to continue to embrace their sense of being American, while also staying true to their African ancestry and the reasons for their migration. In a sense, the failure of the Spanish annexation, which was characterized by a heavily militarized and prejudiced government, led to a greater enthusiasm for the United States as a potential savior for the Dominican people. This would have only reinforced the immigrants' desire to associate their community with the United States.

Command of the English language, Methodism, and a suite of foreign cultural practices all indexed membership in the American community in Samaná. The documentary record indicates that the Americans were actively cultivating a communal identity that was easily distinguished from the "natives" in the area. Throughout the 1871 interviews the American immigrants clearly thought of themselves as inhabiting a

different social position than the Spanish and French/Haitian Creole speakers in the town. The Americans defined themselves through an adherence to a Protestant work ethic, prioritizing education, maintaining their living spaces in an orderly fashion, and being a God-fearing people (GPO 1871). Interestingly, a number of ethnohistorical sources presented the Americans, as opposed to the locals, in a similar manner (e.g., Hazard 1873; Schomburgk 1853; Stuart 1878). Indeed, unlike the enclave in Santo Domingo, this group also had the institutional support that now seems to have been necessary for the maintenance of a distinctive group identity. Moreover, we have learned the degree to which the English language was emphasized in the schools and churches which served as the institutional backbone for this community. The enclave in Samaná also looked to the fate of other American immigrant communities on the island as cautionary tales. Recall Reverend James's description of how the Americans in Puerto Plata had all but become "natives," while the group in Samaná were "honest" and "hard working." His account illustrates how his community was defining its subjectivity in relationship to the broader Samanese society, and to former American enclaves that had not been able to maintain a cohesive American community. And so, the immigrants relied on their cultural, religious, and linguistic practices, and the associated institutional support, for group cohesion, but their sense of communal identity was also dependent on an oppositional relationship to the surrounding society. The documents have made it very clear that the Americans, and others, viewed the enclave as a unique segment of the town's population.

The marriage and baptism records have also exposed spatial patterning in living arrangements which helped to create physical boundaries in and around Samaná; these

spatial divisions worked to buttress the social lines defining the American community. The documents have shown that the immigrants and their descendants were, even as late as the first few decades of the 20th century, clustering in neighborhoods and hamlets surrounding the town. The four primary areas, as confirmed by both the marriage and baptism records, were Clara, Honduras, North West, and Samaná itself. The amount of time between the initial settlement and the dates inscribed in the records is indicative of the intentionality of this clustering. The wars, rebellions, and general instability suggest that at times it may have been difficult for the immigrants' descendants to maintain possession of the original land allotments from President Boyer. And while there were non-Americans living in these areas, the density of Americans in these neighborhoods is believed to have been rather high.

By creating living spaces dominated by members of their own community and which extended beyond the confines of the home, the American immigrants were ensuring that their children would grow up with a well-defined communal identity. All of their closest neighbors would have been English-speaking Protestants who helped to reinforce the cultural practices brought over from the United States. Living spaces in tropical areas such as the Dominican Republic, and even the U.S. South, extended beyond the immediate confines of the walls of the house. Yard space provided areas for cooking, congregating, and performing a variety of activities requiring well lit and cooler spaces.³⁸ Interaction with neighbors would have been inevitable. Oral histories support

³⁸ There is a long tradition of the use of yard spaces in Africa and the African Diaspora. Archaeologists have discussed the importance of yards in both North America and the Caribbean. Yards are still important

these notions and indicate that members of the community were living in areas that were dominated by immigrants, to the exclusion of the local Dominicans (See Chapter 5). This is not to say that there was no interaction between the various groups within the area; however, the data from the marriage and baptism records show that the American immigrants were living in clusters, and I argue that this was intentional.

These physical demarcations between living spaces were a means to publicly establish divisions between members of the immigrant community and "natives." In essence, clustering together in the various places of residence allowed the American immigrants to further their project of otherizing the local Dominicans, French, and Haitians and thus strengthen their own sense of community. These living arrangements worked in concert with the weekly meetings at the Methodist Church, as well as the children's participation in the local schools, which were all taught in English; the schools and churches were public spaces where the Americans would congregate to the exclusion of the non-English speaking, local "natives." The establishment of seemingly exclusionary physical spaces indicated who belonged socially and who did not.

The documentary record has shown how social boundaries between the American enclave and the surrounding Samanese society were created and maintained through an intentional emphasis on linguistic, cultural, national, and religious differences. Furthering this project was the establishment of defined public and private spaces opened primarily to members of the community. The Americans in Samaná were also tremendously

to living populations throughout the Caribbean. (For two archaeological examples see Armstrong and Kelly 2000; Heath and Bennett 2000.)

buttressed by the English-language, Protestant institutions they established and the fact that they were a relatively significant minority within the larger population. Moreover, the geopolitical isolation of the Samaná Peninsula allowed for these sociocultural processes to take shape. Through this unique combination of circumstances and a strong desire for the cohesion and continuation of the community, the enclave in Samaná did not share the fate of the Americans in Santo Domingo and Puerto Plata.

Chapter V: Oral Histories

Oral histories are often used by historical archaeologists in order to gain insight into the narratives of descendant communities. At the very basic level of interpretation, oral histories can provide information that is not readily available elsewhere (i.e., in the material or documentary records). At times complimentary and/or contradictory, this line of evidence can be useful for anthropological interpretations of social processes. Emic perceptions of what *is/was* (or is *not/was not*) important historically are revealed in these narratives. What did the immigrants emphasize while telling their family history to their children? Was the place from which they emigrated more talked about than what happened once they got to the island? How did they feel about the people who were already living in the area? Furthermore, oral histories can also point to issues and topics that the extant population finds interesting or important. What role is the community's history playing in modern social processes? Is social and cultural work being done through the transmission of these stories? Oral histories can offer the anthropological archaeologist a wealth of ethnographic and ethnohistoric data. This research project makes use of two sets of oral history interviews conducted in Samaná; the first was collected by two Canadian linguists, Shana Poplack and David Sankoff, in the early 1980s, and the second set stems from my own fieldwork in the spring and summer of 2010. This chapter will briefly outline the methodology used in gathering the oral histories before delving into the primary focus: the place of these narratives in the processes of community formation, maintenance, and dissolution. A communal memory, or rather a shared sense of history, has provided the base for a communal identity; but we

can also see the influence of what became the more dominant, official Dominican narrative as we look at how the community and their oral tradition have changed through time.

General Considerations and Methods

As mentioned previously (Chapter 3), linguistic interviews were conducted in Samaná in 1981 and 1982 (Poplack and Sankoff 1987). The researchers interviewed 19 people who ranged in age from 71 to 103 years old. All spoke English fluently and identified as members of the Samaná American community. This linguistic study was limited to the “oldest (and last) generation of *native* speakers of Samaná English” (Poplack and Sankoff 1987:294; emphasis theirs). The Samaná English Corpus, as this collection of interviews is called, is housed at the Sociolinguistic Laboratory at the University of Ottawa, which is run by Shana Poplack. In June 2012 I visited the lab for one week and was given access to the transcripts of the 1980s interviews. To an extent, the type of interview performed by the linguists was different than those conducted with the explicit purpose of recording oral histories. The primary goal being the study of the language, the interviewers were less concerned with content than with the ease and natural flow of the conversation. This presents some limitations for the use of these interviews in making anthropological interpretations, but any major concerns will be made clear as the discussion of the interviews develops. With that said, the vast majority of these interviews centered on the history of the community, the informant’s family and

history of language acquisition, and the regional history. This data set has proven to be a valuable resource, representing a period of time that my own research had been lacking. In March of 2010 I interviewed a number of Spanish-speaking and English-speaking members of the descendant community. My Spanish is at an intermediate level, and so many of these conversations were performed with the aid of Virginia Ramírez Zabala, a native Dominican and scholar familiar with the American descendant community (see Chapter 3). Unfortunately, the interviews conducted in March 2010 were not recorded, though I was able to take detailed notes during the course of the conversations. These interviews tended to be more superficial than the more formal oral histories I later conducted in the summer of 2010; in part, this was due to the lack of knowledge and sometimes interest of these participants. However, these interviews provide interesting insights into what remains of the descendant community. We were led to potential participants by a number of local contacts. In all, 27 people were interviewed during 20 interviews; eleven spoke only Spanish, eight spoke English, and eight spoke a mixture of the two, with Spanish normally being the language with which they were most comfortable. The participants ranged in age and in socioeconomic status.³⁹ All of the interviews I conducted in 2010 involved open-ended questions on topics such as the general history of the immigrants, the individual's family tree, their feelings towards their ancestry, the individual's history of language acquisition, the history of the two Protestant churches in town, and the history of Samaná. I explained the objectives of my research

³⁹ Unfortunately, due to the more informal nature of the interviews and expectations of decorum, I cannot be more specific about ages of the informants. The interviews conducted in March of 2010 were, as I stated earlier, often brief encounters. We had days where we interviewed as many as ten people.

with each individual at the beginning of the conversation and obtained their verbal permission to proceed with the interview.⁴⁰

The more formal oral history interviews I conducted took place in and around Samaná in the summer of 2010 and focused solely on native English speakers. A total of five participants were interviewed, all of whom were in their late 70s and early 80s. Each interview was digitally recorded and then later transcribed. I also took hand-written notes both during and after the conversations. Although I had spoken with all of the informants previously, these were more formal oral history interviews that they had been made aware of in advance. The open-ended questions were similar to, if not the same, as the ones asked in March, but both the follow-up questions and the answers were more in-depth. There was no organized approach to the selection of informants, but rather a local volunteer, Benjamin Phipps Green, offered to introduce me to the members of the oldest generation who still spoke English fluently. Benjamin is a descendant himself, though he speaks very little English; in fact, like many members of his generation (he is in his late 30s), he understands a good deal of English, but is unable to speak it very well. While it is possible that there were other English speakers in Samaná whom I did not interview, his guidance was invaluable and his introduction was often a necessity. I was led to believe (by more than a few people) that the five informants interviewed were the majority of individuals still speaking English fluently in the area.

⁴⁰ Scholars are often not required to obtain IRB approval for oral history interviews, though I made a good-faith effort to ensure that all interlocutors were aware of the details of the project in which they were participating.

Instead of addressing each set of interviews individually, the following discussion will be centered on a variety of themes that have proven to be significant throughout my analysis. There is, of course, overlap between the various themes. My intent is to highlight anecdotal and quantitative data, when possible, that will help to shed light on the role of the shared history within communal processes at play in Samaná. While this is not a cultural anthropological study, I will include the description of a few ethnographic insights, which reinforce my interpretations. Unfortunately, there may seem to be an overreliance on paraphrasing of informants. Due to the recording methods of the interviews in March of 2010, I will rarely be able to directly quote individuals. Furthermore, in compliance with the University of Ottawa's Sociolinguistic Lab's ethical guidelines, I am unable to name or directly quote interviewees from the 1980s interviews. Nevertheless, these collections of oral histories provide a cross-generational glimpse into local processes of communal identity and how they have been impacted by national and international conflicts.

What's In a Name?

In Samaná, Dominican Republic, a person's last name is an important component of their identity. A quick survey of the phonebook or the cemetery (see Chapter 6) shows that while Spanish surnames dominate, there are a large number of Italian, French/Haitian, Anglo, and even some Eastern European names in the area. For many people, their last name indicates something about their ancestry or their familial history. Whether English was their first language or they only speak Spanish, a last name that

sounds American (or what I refer to as *Anglo*⁴¹) signifies that they have ancestors who were “not from here.” I frequently heard this refrain of foreignness from informants (SOH/CC, RC, JGK, SJK, NK, KDK, VJC, LV).⁴² The concept that their family was from abroad was accompanied by a positive, often proud sentiment; especially when “abroad” was defined as the United States or England (confusion between the U.S. and England will be discussed later, but for now, both represent First-World nations). The connection with the affluent and powerful United States, as afforded by the Anglo surnames, was a key component in these feelings of pride. For most people in the Dominican Republic, the United States represents a place of wealth and prosperity; it also is a source of hope, as many Dominicans migrate to the U.S. with expectations of improving their family’s financial situation. An Anglo surname signifies a more personal connection with this powerful nation, and was expressed in a number of ways during the oral history interviews.

Naming Practices and Who Belongs

In the Dominican Republic most people will give two surnames when asked, that of their father and that of their mother; however, when passing on a surname to a future generation the paternal surname takes priority. For instance, my guide to the local descendant community (and sometimes volunteer in the cemetery), goes by the name of

⁴¹ See footnote 8 in Chapter 4 for an explanation of why “Anglo” is being used to label this surname category.

⁴² Codes indicate the oral history collection and the speaker. For the Samaná Oral History Project (SOH) speakers are identified by their initials. For the Samaná English Corpus (SE) speakers are identified by their speaker number.

Benjamin Phipps Green. Phipps is his father's last name, while Green comes from his mother's side of the family. Benjamin's children will take Phipps, but not Green, when forming their own name. Furthermore, Phipps will be the primary of their two surnames (the second one coming from their mother). But what happens with a child out of wedlock? When a couple is unmarried and has a child, that child will take the surname of her mother. Yet, if a second child is born to the same parents, the couple will then socially be considered married (even without a legal marriage) and the mother and children will take the surname of the father.⁴³ All of this leads to a couple of anecdotes illustrating how important the Anglo surname has come to be within the descendant community in Samaná.

One participant explained that her daughter was about to have a second child with a local Dominican man, whom, incidentally, the family liked very much. While everyone was excited for the coming birth, they were a bit nervous and upset due to what the second child would mean in terms of surname. Both the grandmother and mother-to-be did not want the children growing up without the primacy of the Anglo surname of which they were so proud (SOH/JGK). Their Anglo last name was an important identity marker; for this Spanish-speaking family who had moved over to the Pentecostal church, this was the last connection they seemed to have with their American ancestors. Another woman explained that her American last name came from her mother; her father was Dominican,

⁴³ This custom, what we may consider a common-law marriage, has long been practiced in the Dominican Republic. It has not always been financially or geographically feasible to obtain a legal or church-based marriage for people in more rural areas. However, it is a convention that has been condemned by previous members of the Samaná American community. See Chapter 4.

but because her parents were not married she was able to take the surname of her mother. This was a conscious decision for this woman, and her surname was a point of pride (SOH/VLJ). Despite the fairly limited flexibility in naming practices, when possible the Anglo surname seems to be prioritized over a Dominican name.

Through the oral histories we can see that intermarriage has long been encouraged within the descendant community (also see Smith 1986). Many of the informants from the 1980s explained that it used to be frowned upon to marry someone who did not speak English and lamented the increase in marriage with what many of them called “Spaniards” (i.e., local Dominicans) (SE/1, 7, 9). Even in 2010 the oldest generation was upset with their children who married Dominican partners and failed to teach the youngest generations English (SOH/ MWJ, RSN, IGB). The original immigrants continued American practices of passing on paternal surnames and women dropping their maiden names in order to adopt their husbands’ last names upon marriage.⁴⁴ (Although not discussed in Chapter 4, this is confirmed by the documentary record.) This has meant that some of the original 33 Anglo surnames are no longer present in the descendant community. The noted local historian of the community, Martha “Leticia” Willmore, told me of Joe Wright who was among the original immigrants. Joe and his wife had three daughters after arriving on the island; thus, because Joe was the only Wright in the community and all three daughters married, we no longer see that surname in Samaná (SOH/MWJ). Another informant from the 1980s confirmed the disappearance of some of

⁴⁴ Dominican naming practices upon marriage are not drastically different. The new wife will, however, keep her father’s surname and then follow it with “de” and the new husband’s paternal surname.

the surnames and also pointed out that many of the women stopped using their maiden names upon marriage, which further contributed to the loss of names (SE/18).

Additionally, it has come to my attention that a number of Spanish and French/Haitian surnames have made their way into the group through marriage into the community; due to paternal naming practices these surnames are now carried by individuals who consider themselves full members of the descendant community, having grown up speaking English and attending one of the two Protestant churches. The repetition of a handful of these non-Anglo names in the documentary record supports the existence of this phenomenon. The oral histories present a few instances where the presence of these seemingly non-Anglo surnames is justified and members carrying these names are validated as authentic members of the community. For example, when asked about another, known member of the English-speaking descendant community with the surname Nuñez, one informant explained that though Nuñez was a Spanish name, that family had been among the original immigrants; they had come from America (SE/2). Metivier is a French/Haitian name that was debated to a small extent; one informant began to explain that it was a Haitian name, but quickly acquiesced to another participant who reported that it was actually among the first immigrants (SE/6, 21). Finally, Alcalá is another Spanish name belonging to community members who are described as being “English” and not “Spaniards” (SE/15). These sorts of explanations about the foreign names within the community allowed for the preservation of, and stressed the perceived importance of, intermarriage practices, a continuance of the separation between the local Dominican community and the Americans, and a connection to the United States despite

the non-Anglo surname. Again, we see the emphasis and thus importance of the Anglo surname.

Dominican, but Not

The Anglo surnames of the descendants also act to set these individuals apart from the broader Dominican community, both at home and abroad. Although more than one individual commented on how common their surname was in Samaná (SOH/AKJ, RSN, VJ, RC, CC, SJK, VJ), others pointed out how foreign it sounded to Dominicans in other parts of the country (SOH/BJ, LV, KDK, RSN; SE/17). I should point out that while these names were somewhat common in Samaná, they still sounded unusual to Dominicans who *did* possess them. A couple of younger members of the descendant community reported that while at the University in Santo Domingo people would become interested in them upon hearing their last names, Johnson and Dishmeyer (SOH/BJ, KDK). These names made them unique. One young man even told of moments when salespeople, after learning his surname, would try to charge him prices normally reserved for foreigners. He would then have to prove his "Dominicaness" in order to avoid being overcharged (SOH/KDK). Another young man had more positive experiences with his last name, which is Vanderhorst. He explained that because the name was so uncommon, if he ever met someone else with this name they knew they were members of the same extended family. He also told me of his experience working in the tourism industry and occasionally running into Dutch tourists with a variation of his surname, an exciting and fun moment for all parties involved (SOH/LV). For this younger member of the

community, his surname often provided a means through which people were brought together based on their unusual sounding name. His story exemplifies that the Anglo surnames are a means through which people form a community based on common ancestry.

On the other hand, in one interview I was told of a family member who had moved to the United States and was relying on his Anglo surname to separate himself from other newly arrived Dominicans. Because his name, Johnson, was common in his new country, he was able to adopt an identity that was not as foreign to his new compatriots. I should note that his family did not think well of his behavior towards other Dominicans (SOH/BJ, VLJ, SJF). But, in this instance we see the explicit use of the Anglo surname to claim a very personal and historical connection to the United States, accompanied by a denial of his physical origin in the Dominican Republic. It would be interesting to explore whether or not this tactic actually served this individual well.

A Personal Link to a World Power

One Spanish-speaking participant explained that her last name, Green, “es el nombre fuerte” (SOH/JGK). (“It’s a strong name;” translation mine.) Numerous other individuals, with different, but equally Anglo-sounding surnames shared similar sentiments of having a “strong” last name (SOH/LJ, SJP, SJF, JJF). At the same time, some people admitted that Dominicans found these names difficult to spell and pronounce (SOH/JGK, LV). It seems likely that the “strength” of the last name is reflective of the strength of the nation from which it originates; this sentiment becomes

obvious in light of the following anecdotes. One woman put a more poetic-spin on her last name, Johnson – for her parents, she explained, Johnson was like a “flag.” Essentially, it was an outward marker of her family’s connection to America and they bore it proudly (SOH/VLJ). The analogy becomes more striking when we consider the symbolic importance most nations place upon their flags. On the other hand, I witnessed one instance where a non-Anglo-sounding surname led to feelings of uncertainty and shame. One young man with the last name Dishmey told me that his name and family’s history made him a bit “uncomfortable” because some people had linked it to Haiti. Upon hearing that his ancestors were, in fact, originally from the U.S., he expressed feelings of relief and pride (SOH/KDK). Not only is Haiti generally accepted as the “poorest nation in the western hemisphere,” but there is a long history of tension and anti-Haitian sentiment in the Dominican Republic. This individual was only too quick and happy to accept the connection to the United States and dismiss a familial history originating in Haiti. Anglo surnames in Samaná index the United States and all that comes with it; most of the descendants are proud to carry this symbol of Anglo ancestry on their official documents and identification.

The Anglo surnames have also come to be associated with a wealth that is often represented in American pop culture. During one interview with multiple Spanish-speaking descendants, many of whom had very little interest in the actual history of the community, the excitement over hearing their last names in American movies was made quite evident (SOH/JGK, HG). In a small way, hearing their surnames in Hollywood blockbusters allowed them to imagine themselves as being at least part American.

Another family, with the last name Jackson, half-jokingly told me of the potential that they were related to Michael Jackson. The youngest members were surprised to learn that Jackson is a common name in the U.S., and yet I believe they still held out hope that they would one day reconnect with their famous and wealthy American relatives (SOH/VJ). Additionally, a good number of the people interviewed mentioned the family rumor that there might be an inheritance waiting for them in the United States. Some even specified Philadelphia as the location of this money, which was just waiting to be claimed (SOH/JGK, SJF, SJK, NK, VJC). Tellingly, the individuals who held this belief were among the poorest of the participants. Few, if any, who made this claim, would be considered middle-class in the Dominican Republic. This yearning for a foreign inheritance might be the most striking example of the Anglo surname signifying a more personal connection to the wealth and power of the United States. And finally, a number of people expressed the desire to “go back” to America, despite the fact that they had never left the Dominican Republic (SOH/JGK, CC, RC, SJK, RSN, VJ). Their family’s American heritage, as indexed by their surname, gave them the leeway to imagine the U.S. as a homeland to which they could someday return. It is clear that sharing last names with people in American pop culture made it easier for some of the descendants to picture themselves “there.” In some ways, having an Anglo surname has brought the “American Dream” closer to home.

The Importance, and Death of, English in Samaná

Between the settling of Canary Islanders in 1756 and 1760 and a semi-constant influx of people from the French side of the island (Moya Pons 1998),⁴⁵ Spanish, French, and Haitian Creole have had a long presence in Santa Barbará de Samaná. The North American immigrants made up the first significant English-speaking population on the Peninsula. Within a few years of their arrival, many of the Americans were learning enough Spanish and Haitian Creole to communicate with their neighbors. Obviously, Samaná has long been a multilingual community, although in recent years this has been less and less true. English served as one means through which the immigrants and their descendants set themselves apart from the “natives” (see Chapter 4) and maintained their sense of community. From the oral histories we learn of the multilingual nature of society in Samaná, the importance of English-language education for the American community, and some of the forces external to the community that have impacted linguistic practices in the area. Furthermore, we get a glimpse of the centrality of English as a marker for group membership.

Multilingual, but English Speakers

Some informants told tales of parents and grandparents who spoke English, Spanish, and what they referred to as “Patois” (Haitian Creole); many of the individuals interviewed spoke all three languages themselves (SE/6, 12, 13, 15, 16, 20; SOH/MWJ). On the other hand, some participants asserted that their grandparents died never knowing

⁴⁵ The French had been moving into the area since the buccaneers of the sixteenth-century. French planters along with their slaves also moved into the area during the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804).

how to speak anything but English (SE/3, 9, 18, 19; SOH/JSG, VJ, RSN); at least one interviewee even claimed to be unable to do something as simple as buying bread in Spanish (SE/21). Poplack and Sankoff (1987:294) noted that while some of their informants claimed to not know any Spanish, "later observations of their interactions with monolingual Spanish speakers indicate that this claim is somewhat of an exaggeration." This denial of Spanish language skills illustrates the importance these individuals still placed on speaking English. It was essential to them that the researchers accepted English as their primary language. As proof of their fluency in American English, one man proudly told the story about his sister's encounter with visitors from the United States: upon hearing her English these tourists asked his sister when she had moved to Samaná from America, to which she responded that she had never seen the country (SE/1). By the time I was conducting research in Samaná no one was able to make the claim that they did not know Spanish because the English-speaking population had dwindled significantly and the local Dominican population had dramatically grown. And yet, English remained a tremendous source of pride for many of my participants.

The Community and Early Language Acquisition

By 2010 the native English-speaking population in Samaná was all but gone. Poplack and Sankoff (1987) refer to the linguistic process that took place in Samaná as "language shift" which then led to "language death." Through the oral histories we can see that the gradual decline in the use of English in Samaná is directly tied to the history of both informal and formal education. Most, if not all, of the participants in both sets of

interviews acknowledge that they first learned English at home from their parents or guardians. A common denominator for those who spoke English fluently was that their parents never spoke anything but English at home, and they were often surrounded by other English speakers. Essentially, community members in their mid-to-late 70s and early 80s (as of 2010) seem to have been the last generation to have been raised in neighborhoods and villages where English was the dominant language. Leticia Willmore pointed out that when she was a child, Barrio Willmore (the neighborhood in town in which she has always lived and which is named after her family) was an almost entirely English-speaking quarter. Since that time, Barrio Willmore has experienced a large scale influx of Spanish-speakers and Doña Willmore bemoaned the fact that you no longer hear English being spoken in the streets outside of her home (SOH/MWJ). Isabel Green de Phipps also grew up in Barrio Willmore; she agreed that the population density is much higher and that English is no longer the dominant language in the neighborhood (SOH/IGB). This is not the only example of informants explaining that during their childhood everyone in their neighborhood spoke English or described their neighbors as "English" or "American." Even in the 1980s informants claimed that the majority of their neighbors (most likely inhabitants of their generation) spoke English; these places included Honduras, Los Algarrobos, Monterojo, and Villa Clara (all smaller hamlets outside of the town) (SE/1, 14, 18, 19, 21).⁴⁶ Through the description of the linguistic characteristics of certain neighborhoods, it is obvious that within the Samaná Peninsula

⁴⁶ Recall from Chapter 4 that both Honduras and Villa Clara (also known as Clara) were among the four primary clusters of American neighborhoods. Moreover, Barrio Willmore would be considered a section within Samaná proper.

immigrants and their descendants clustered together in living situations where English would be the dominant language. Having a larger English-speaking community nearby definitely aided in early language acquisition.

The younger generations interviewed in 2010 had a much different upbringing in regards to initial language acquisition. To begin with, shifts in the local population meant that there were not proportionally as many English-speakers in the immediate vicinity. This began during the Trujillo regime, but the changes in demographics became even more drastic after Balaguer took power for the second time in 1966. Prior to the transition to a more Dominican-heavy population were Trujillo's xenophobic policies and policing of the use of English. A more in-depth discussion of Trujillo's role in Samaná will be forthcoming. Later generations describe how some parents chose not to speak English in the home in order to prevent their children from speaking "bad Spanish" (SOH/IGB, VLJ, JGK, GPW). At some point in time the English spoken in Samaná came to be called "guidí guidí" by the local Dominicans (SOH/IGB, GPW).⁴⁷ The fear of being shamed and bullied by their Dominican peers discouraged many children from learning English at home, even when their parents and grandparents made attempts to teach it to them. One of Poplack and Sankoff's participants told them about the grandson she was raising and how he often refused to speak English with her, despite her resolve to speak nothing but English to him. It seems that his protestations to speaking the language would become stronger after having been outside playing with local Spanish-speakers (SE/7). A good

⁴⁷ Smith (1986) and Ramírez Zabala (2005) both encountered this phrase. While I spell it phonetically in Spanish, Smith spelled it "gweedy gweedy" (using English phonetics) and Ramírez Zabala spelled it "guiri guiri."

portion of the youngest generation interviewed now regrets not having learned English from their parents or grandparents (SOH/BPG, LV, JGK, BJ; SE/3, 6, 7, 10), although much of this regret seems to be tied to the opportunities within the tourism industry which come with a native-knowledge of English. The language death occurring in Samaná illustrates how important the family and larger community are in the preservation of a minority language. Taking this to the logical conclusion, it is obvious that the dissolution of the descendants' communal identity is strongly associated with the dearth of English speakers within the younger generations.

Formal English Education

Formal English education in Samaná is a slightly different and illuminating story. Institutionalized education in Samaná was not instigated by the government, but rather by the Protestant churches. This fact was and is a huge source of pride for all of the immigrants and their descendants who have at least a basic knowledge of the community's history. Their belief in education has long been used as a feature that sets them apart from the "locals" and "natives" on the Peninsula (see Chapter 4 for a discussion of this topic within the documentary record). Initially the formal schools in Samaná were all taught in English and students would learn reading, writing, and basic math skills. One interviewee remembered her time as a teacher in a school associated with one of the satellite chapels of the Bethel AME Church. As a young woman she spent the majority of the week away from her family, who lived in Arenazos, teaching in the agricultural hamlet of Juana Vicenta. She would return on Friday only to venture in to

Samaná proper on Saturdays in order to continue on with her own education. Reverend Van Putton,⁴⁸ minister of the AME Church, was responsible for her placement as a teacher as well as her lessons in English (SE/18). Other informants remembered the names of their various teachers, particularly Mr. Horacio and Mr. Fail, who were known as strict disciplinarians (SE/11, 12, 16). Teaching responsibilities in Samaná often fell to the ministers overseeing the Wesleyan Methodist Church and the AME Church. It seems clear that the pastors were also in charge of appointing teachers in the satellite churches and often drew from their older pupils for these positions. During the beginning of the twentieth century, attending school would happen sporadically and was often prohibitively expensive. The various periods of military and political conflict, the harvest and planting cycles, as well as the associated costs, often interfered with a child's education (SE/2, 4, 9, 16; SOH/JSG). Nevertheless, the importance of a formal education has always been an organizing principle of the immigrant community and earlier in their history English was the language in which the schools taught. Both churches were responsible for this institutionalized education system, but you cannot deny that the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the religious background of many of the original immigrants, has emphasized the importance of education from its founding (see Chapter 2 and Nash 2003). Formal English education served as a way to standardize the English of the community, but also provided institutional support for maintaining the separation between the immigrant enclave and the local Dominicans and Haitians.

⁴⁸ Reverend Van Putton was listed in the archival documents as a minister of the AME Church in both the 1920s and 1930s.

By the time I arrived in Samaná, the majority of descendants who spoke at least a degree of English had never studied the language in the local schools. If they had, the learning took place in Sunday school and not in a government run institution. One of the few exceptions to this is Leticia Willmore who started school when it was still being taught in a bilingual format. According to Doña Willmore (SOH), the government "said that they [had to] teach so many days in Spanish, and so many days in English. Then, they, they took over, all together the English out of the schools." The Dominican government had claimed the schools set up by the churches and were phasing English out of the curriculum (SOH/MWJ; SE/6, 11, 12). More than a few of the informants from the earlier interviews remember the transition to the Spanish language schools under the Trujillo regime. And many of these individuals were upset that their children and grandchildren would never receive formal instruction in English (SE/6, 11, 14, 15, 16, 21). Interestingly, one participant from 2010, Ana King de Paul, informed me that when her generation started school no one knew Spanish at all (SOH/AKP). Although the community tried to resist the change to Spanish-language education, their requests fell on deaf ears and they were left with the church once again being the primary institutional source of English education. Isabel Green de Phipps (SOH), explained that she first learned to read English as a child by following along with the reading of the Bible during morning prayer services which took place in church members' homes. Sunday school became the primary place that children were introduced to English outside of the home. The demise of formal English education meant that parents were entirely responsible for passing on their language skills to children. Combined with the increasingly dominant

Dominican population in the area, this became a greater and greater burden to bear. As was discussed previously, more and more parents stopped teaching their children English in the home due to various social pressures. The loss of informal and formal English education caused a shift within the community from the fear of speaking “bad Spanish,” to the current fear of speaking “bad English” if it is attempted at all.

No Longer English from “Back Yonder”

The handful of speakers who knew English fluently in 2010 were never shy about speaking with me and were more often than not excited to have an opportunity to use their first language with someone new. (All of these interlocutors were also fluent in Spanish.) Contrast this with your average Dominican who has some knowledge of English, or members of the community who did not grow up speaking English regularly, and the difference is striking; a pronounced shyness takes hold of these individuals and many feel the need to remind you that their English (no matter how proficient) is not “good” or “fine” English. In general, Dominicans who have had some English instruction and are not directly in contact with native speakers on a regular basis (i.e., they do not work in the tourism industry) are exceedingly shy about using their secondary language skills.⁴⁹

Notably, there seems to be a resurgence in the desire to learn English among some members of the younger generations. Many of them have been exposed to a limited

⁴⁹ This observation is based on my own personal experiences in Samaná and Santo Domingo. However, a similar observation was also made by Virginia Ramirez Zabala who accompanied me on all of the interviews of March 2010. As Virginia is a native Dominican and non-native English speaker, I place a lot of weight on her opinion regarding this matter.

amount of English from a young age, primarily from their grandparents, some from their parents. An interest in the family history, combined with the desire to more easily participate in the global economy (i.e., through the tourism industry or through labor migration to the United States) has served as motivation for a handful of these men and women to learn English. This is made evident through two younger descendants who made efforts beyond their family ties to learn English; one is employed in the tourism industry (SOH/LV), and the other studied English at the Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo because she wanted to be a bilingual secretary (SOH/BJ). Unfortunately, a common place for English education at present tends to be the English language “institutes” that are becoming more and more popular in developing nations; two young men used a local institute for English instruction (SOH/LV, KDK). Although the local high schools in Samaná are now offering some level of instruction in English,⁵⁰ the descendant community is no longer learning the English of their ancestors. While the oldest living generation continues to speak a derivative of nineteenth century American English, the youngest generations who are making efforts to learn the language are learning a more modern, standard version. Gone are the days of talking about how their ancestors came from “back yonder,” a phrase commonly heard in almost all of the oral history interviews. Furthermore, it is unlikely that future generations will describe their relationship with English in the following manner: “It’s my language!” This sentiment

⁵⁰ In fact, the younger informant who had learned English at the University taught it at the private school administered by St. Peter’s Church. Interestingly, she was one of the shyest individuals when it came to speaking English with me, but when she did speak English she appeared to be conversational at the very least (it was difficult to truly gauge her level of fluency due to her shyness).

was shared by a number of the older individuals I interviewed in 2010 (SOH/JCS, RSN, VJC); at least two informants of the 1980s interviews expressed the same attitude (SE/6, 16), while a few others made it clear that "American" was their best language (SE/3, 9, 12, 16, 21). With that said, all of the younger members who have learned English are obviously proud of this newly acquired connection with their American ancestors. And many have been inspired to learn more about their heritage.

The Role of the Churches

The importance of the two Protestant churches in Samaná has already been elucidated by a number of scholars (see Chapter 3). Unsurprisingly, the centrality of the churches is verified by a majority of the interviews conducted in both the 1980s and in 2010. The Protestant churches in town have helped to institutionalize the customs and language of the immigrants, as has already been made apparent through the discussion of English-language education. Although the original settlers were not made up of two denominations, the local history has led to an apparent division within the descendant community. It is important to note, however, that this divide is not characterized by caustic relations or even a strongly perceived division within Samaná. If anything, the relationship between the two Protestant churches has been one of mutual respect and aid in time of need (see Chapter 4 for evidence of this in the archives). There has also been a fluidity of members between the two congregations. Nevertheless, the communal memory of the congregations has, in some instances, shifted away from one another. Historical occurrences are weighted differently and both groups strongly emphasize the

founding of their respective churches. This section will explore how narratives of church and immigrant origins have been intertwined and at times conflated; the role of the churches in institutionalizing the local American identity; and the role of the churches in racial understandings and identifications.

Origin Stories

The founding of the two Protestant churches in Santa Barbará de Samaná is a point of pride for the descendants of the North American immigrants. Both congregations tend to mention their churches' respective origin stories whenever the topic of their group's history comes up. As previously mentioned, the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church was founded in Philadelphia in 1817 by Bishop Richard Allen, who, along with his church, played a central role in the Haitian emigration scheme (see Chapter 2 and Nash 2003). In fact, it seems that many of the original immigrants who settled in Samaná were members of this church. According to numerous interviews, primarily those with Leticia Willmore (SOH) and Mose Shepherd (Poplack and Sankoff 1987), the settlers, led by Isaac Miller, continued their practice of Methodism in the vein of the AME Church once on the island. Despite the lack of a physical structure, services were conducted in members' homes on a rotating schedule. Participants explained that Richard Allen had sent Reverend Isaac Miller with the settlers to explicitly serve as their pastor (SE/6; SOH/MWJ; Willmore 1976); however, documents show that he was not actually ordained by the AME church until a return voyage to the United States allowed him to attend two of the church's annual conferences, one in Baltimore and the other in

Philadelphia. It was at these meetings in 1830 that the church leadership recognized him as an elder and a minister charged with overseeing the congregation in Samaná (Payne 1891). That Bishop Allen was attributed with intentionally attending to the emigrants' religious needs prior to leaving the U.S. highlights the community's desire to have their local history forever intertwined with that of the church. It exemplifies this need to show that their physical and legal wellbeing was in no way disconnected from their spiritual wellbeing. It also promotes the notion that the American immigrants have always been God-fearing people, some informants would say in contrast to the local Dominican and Haitian populations (SE/7, 9; Willmore 1976).

Unfortunately, Rev. Miller passed away from an illness only a few short years after returning to Haiti. Jacob James and Peter Van der Horst, two of the original immigrants and members of the AME Church in Philadelphia, tried to keep up the religious services after Miller's passing, but neither had formal training nor official support from the church (SOH/MWJ).⁵¹ As some descendants have reported in their interviews, the immigrants appealed to Mother Bethel AME Church in Philadelphia for another minister, but heard no response. And so, the community turned for spiritual leadership to the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries who were based out of England and already established in Puerto Plata and Turk's Islands (SOH/MWJ; SE/6; Willmore 1976). The Wesleyans were a viable alternative because they met two important qualifications: they spoke English and were Methodists. Fortunately, they took advantage

⁵¹ Both of these men also appeared in ethnohistorical sources as local ministers for the Wesleyan Methodist Church (see Chapter 4).

of the opportunity to expand their foreign missionary work and were more than happy to take on the congregation at Samaná (Willmore 1976; SOH/MWJ). Though, as a few people pointed out and the documents have confirmed (Chapter 4), the Wesleyans did not always have a full-time minister in the town. For a good period of time the missionaries were serving both Puerto Plata and Samaná and the trek from one town to the other was difficult and often treacherous (SE/6; SOH/MWJ; Willmore 1976). Unfortunately for the inhabitants in Samaná, Puerto Plata was a much larger city and a vibrant port-of-call which made it an attractive home base for the Wesleyan operation. At times the absence of a spiritual leader was an impediment to the immigrants' continued religious practices, but many of the local men took on leadership roles (as they had previously) and would often serve as lay preachers for the community (SE/6, 7; SOH/RSN, MWJ; Willmore 1976). And, in later years ministers of the AME Church would often fill-in for the Wesleyans (SE/6, 18; Willmore 1976; Chapter 4). The persistence with which the settlers sought to continue their religious and spiritual endeavors is an important component to the groups' collective memory. They often feel that their sense of faith and moral propriety has and continues to set them apart from the local Dominicans and Haitians. One interviewee explained that the Protestants were more likely to try to keep the Sabbath while their Dominican counterparts were more likely to drink rum (SE/9). Another said, "And our people unlike the real Dominicans were not only religious, but tried to be very moral and decent, none of our young men or young ladies ever went out of their homes without getting married, to live in concubinage or promiscuity" (Willmore 1976:9). For a long time, Protestantism was an effective marker of the group's ancestry

and communal identity. To this day Catholics are a majority in the Dominican Republic and Haiti and to be Protestant is a bit unusual.

St. Peter's Wesleyan Methodist Church, now St. Peter's Dominican Evangelical Church, celebrated their 186th anniversary in Samaná in the summer of 2010 (see Figure 5-4 on page 172). Despite the change in affiliation, St. Peter's Chapel, often referred to as "La Chorchá," remains an icon for the descendant community. The physical structure of St. Peter's has become a noted destination for tourists;⁵² for members of the congregation it seems to embody their families' origin stories. On most afternoons in Samaná you will find a local tour guide waiting at the doors of St. Peter's. In fact, this is where I first met one of the English-speaking descendants whom I would later interview at length; Ana King de Paul is not just an English-speaking tour guide (her language skills serve her well), but also a long time member of La Chorchá who is extremely involved in their music programs. When we first met at St. Peter's the only topic she wanted to discuss was the church, which is not entirely unreasonable when you consider that she was serving in her role as a tour guide; even more significant is that during our more formal interview at her home, she continued to focus on the history of the church (SOH/AKP). In fact, the English origin of the physical church structure is a great source of pride for this congregation; the metal framework for the building was sent from England by the Wesleyan Methodist Church. The visible metal frame served as a base for the local

⁵² It has even made it into various travel guides.

woods that were used to finish the building.⁵³ The chapel was an unusual architectural style for the area when it was first erected (it was completed in 1901), but since Balaguer tore down and then rebuilt the town in the 1960s and 70s its uniqueness has been amplified. Along with the sign reading “Glory to God in the Highest” that hangs over the altar (see Figure 5-1) this structure serves as a physical reminder of the foreign ancestry of many of the congregants. Yet, it seems that among the members of St. Peter’s the English origin of the Wesleyan denomination and the church itself has led to the conflation of England with America when considering the homeland of their ancestors. Growing up attending St. Peter’s means that children are repeatedly told the story of the English missionaries who came to help the immigrants after they were left without institutional support and the English origin of the structure in which they worship every Sunday. Unless their parents are telling the narrative of the original immigrants themselves, the church’s origin story is that which is emphasized.

⁵³ In a way the structure serves as an analogy of the relationship between the immigrants and the Wesleyan Church itself.



Figure 5-1. Interior of St. Peter's Church (photograph taken by author).

Over the course of the oral histories I collected in March of 2010 it became obvious that a large number of individuals were conflating the English origins of the Wesleyan Church with the American origins of their ancestors. When asked where their family was from, a number of individuals would respond with “Inglaterra” (England). Some would also go on to identify Philadelphia or New York, and when I would ask them to clarify where these places were, they would repeat “Inglaterra” (SOH/JGK, JSG, BG, VJC, BJ, AKJ, RC, CC, SJK, NK). The average Dominican is well aware of the North American location of Philadelphia and especially New York City; many have family members living in these cities. It seems unlikely that this is just a case of miseducation. Yet during these interviews, the geographical discontinuity was not noticed

or fretted over (except by me and Virginia Ramirez). Tellingly, the majority of people who suffered from this confusion (although they would not characterize it as such) were members of St. Peter's, or had, at some point in time, been affiliated with this congregation (SOH/JGK, JSG, BG, VJC, BJ, AKJ). (At least two interviewees were currently attending Pentecostal churches that were closer and cheaper to get to in relation to where they were living.) After reflecting on this situation, it became clear that members of the AME Church were much less likely to make this mistake. As it concerns the much celebrated founding of the two churches, the primary differences are that the AME Church came from the U.S. and was founded and run by an ex-slave, while the Wesleyan Church (including the physical structure in Samaná) was from England and run by white clergymen. To a certain extent, this confusion over Philadelphia and England must be a conflation of the origins of the community and the Wesleyan church.

After reviewing the 1980s interviews, it has become apparent that the telling of St. Peter's story was not solely responsible for these geographical confusions. It seems that using "English" and "American" interchangeably when referring to a native English speaker used to be common parlance. But it is important to note that this older generation never once faltered on the North American origins of their ancestors, regardless of their religious affiliation. And, an occasional distinction between "English" and "American," in terms of language, would be made; for instance, one informant explained that the descendants around Samaná did not speak "proper" English from England, but rather they spoke English from America (SE/19). Another man explained that he spoke "American" better than Spanish or "Patois" (SE/16). Over the course of this community's

short history, it was not uncommon to refer to all English speakers as “English” (e.g., SE/1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 15, 19). Furthermore, many of the earlier generations would refer to the local Dominicans as “Spaniards” (e.g., SE/1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 15). It seems that these naming practices remained in place as the language of the community shifted to be predominantly Spanish – “inglés” (English, mainly referring to the language), “ingleses” (English people), and “Inglaterra” (England). Combined with the repeated telling of the English origins of the Wesleyan Church, it seems reasonable to understand how “Americano” was not picked up by Spanish speakers and the confusion over their ancestors’ place of origin has come about for congregants at St. Peter’s.

I have briefly discussed the initial effort to retain the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Samaná, but there is much more to the narrative of its local founding. Central to this story are notions of race within Samaná and how they have changed over time. For what will hopefully become obvious reasons, the discussion of the AME Church’s founding will serve as a transition into the section on notions of race within the congregations of Samaná.

Race and the Churches

There are multiple accounts of the founding of the local African Methodist Episcopal Church in the oral histories (SE/6, 13, 17, 21; SOH/MWJ; Willmore 1976). Most people tell a variation of the following story, told by Doña Willmore (SOH). First, some background information will be necessary for the story: Jacob James (the elder) was a local minister who had been ordained at a Wesleyan Methodist synod in Haiti. He

sent his son, Jacob Paul James, to the United States in order to attend college. You will recall that the Wesleyan Church sent a metal frame for a chapel to Samaná from England.

Here is Martha's account:

So when they donated, um, this iron frame and the governor was ... Anderson, he was the governor. And he was the steward of the church. ... so then he asked that everyone had to give a contribution of ten dollars, for the helping of the, of the building of the church. The frame is sent, but they needed lumber, they needed everything else. So then he, made them know that they had to pay. You know like he was tough. And they didn't like that way that he agreed with them and he act with them. So they said that there was, and in that time then they had Jacob James, Jacob Paul James, he had sent his son to, to study theology. He made his bachelors degree in Washington. And he studied theology. And then the AME Church ordained him and sent him to, to work with the group in Santo Domingo. So when the group of Samaná heard that Reverend James was working with a group in Santo Domingo, they wrote and told him they wanted him to come to Samaná and reorganize the African Methodist Episcopal Church. And they obeyed the laws and constitution of the church. So he came and they reorganized. They bought the lot where you see the AME church is now. [SOH/MWJ]



Figure 5-2. The AME Church in Samaná (photograph taken by C. Fellows).

Other versions of this story add different elements that are both interesting and telling. Three such accounts stand out as the most informed and in-depth; all three come from prominent members of the AME community who were noted local historians in that many people would defer to their knowledge of the community's history. The most recent was that of Doña Willmore, provided above. Another telling comes from the interviews in the 1980s. And the final comes from Reverend Nehemiah Willmore in the form of a written account dating to 1976.⁵⁴ Before I dissect the differences in the narratives, let me

⁵⁴ This account has been included in the oral history section, despite its written format. Nehemiah Willmore was a prominent member of the descendant community and authored this history of the community alone, on a typewriter in 1976. As he had some of the most in-depth knowledge about the community's history, I have a sneaking suspicion that his oral history would sound very much like this written narrative.

lay out the various elements which set each story apart from one another. Martha Willmore's version has already been presented.

Informant 6 from the Samaná English Corpus explains that it was the Wesleyan Church who sent Jacob Paul James to the United States for a college education. He goes on to say that once he returned to the area the Wesleyans decided that they did not want this black minister "interfering" with the black congregation. And so Rev. James went to Santo Domingo. Speaker 6 briefly mentioned that there was some discontent among members of the Wesleyan congregation, though he did not bring up the issue of the forced donation of money for the building of the church. And yet, he did express that the members were unhappy enough that they decided to reestablish the AME Church and wrote to Rev. James in Santo Domingo for help.

Nehemiah Willmore (1976), uncle of Martha Willmore, has a much more detailed account of the events leading to the split. It should also be obvious that much of Martha's historical knowledge stemmed from her uncle, although I do not know if she had access to a copy of the manuscript I reference. Nehemiah begins with background information about Jacob Paul James's return home after college. Apparently, he intended to take over the Wesleyan ministry from his father, but the congregation had become so used to white pastors that they fought his appointment at St. Peter's. Although the Wesleyan synod would have supported his cause, James did not fight the congregants who opposed him, and returned to the United States where he began his association with the African Methodist Episcopal Church. After his ordination in the AME Church, he relocated to Santo Domingo to serve the small American community which remained in the capital.

But first he made a trip to Samaná for a quick visit: “His parents were still alive, so not very long after he came to see them, and told his people here *how happy he now was to be in a church and society of his own race and color*” (emphasis added; Willmore 1976:8). Nehemiah goes on to explain that the iron framework for St. Peter’s was sent from England because of how unified the community was; that this was a kind gift, but that times were hard and money needed to be raised for the rest of the necessary materials. After a number of people refused or could not pay the tax imposed upon them to raise the funds, a number of young men ended up in the public prison. Unfortunately, Governor Anderson, who was as Nehemiah (1976:9) said “one of our own people,” was involved in this scandal. He goes on to compare what happened in Samaná to the original founding of the AME Church in Philadelphia:

How and why the AME Church was reorganized in Samaná, which was almost Philadelphia, similar to that which caused our forefathers to walk out of St. Georges. The group that met together was over 30, and they decided that they would not stand for such treatment in the church, and that they would band themselves together (and their number grew daily and many of the older men who considered themselves too old to join them, greatly encouraged them). Knowing that the Rev. Jacob Paul James was now in the church in the capital, or Santo Domingo; they decided to write to him at once. [Willmore 1976:10]

Rev. Willmore goes on to explain that despite the actions taken against him by members of the Wesleyan Church, Rev. J.P. James would frequently fill-in for the Wesleyan pastor who was based out of Puerto Plata and only made it to Samaná about once a month. This is confirmed by the documentary record (Chapter 4).

Although Rev. Willmore's account of the founding of the AME Church in Samaná is a diplomatic (toward the Wesleyan Church) and celebratory telling, it connects the narrative of the founding of the local church with that of the original church in Philadelphia. Facing unfair and racist practices from a Methodist Church led by white men, congregants took it upon themselves to form a religious community that served their particular needs. His story also draws parallels between Rev. James and Bishop Allen, who both overcame racial prejudice and acted in a benevolent and Christian manner upon obtaining more elevated positions, even when faced with those who had previously worked against them. Informant 6 also puts forth a story that celebrates Rev. J.P. James's rise above racially motivated discrimination; the difference is that it was the Wesleyan Church, rather than the community members, that was responsible for the racist behavior. A particularly interesting moment occurs when Nehemiah reports that Rev. James informed the people of Samaná that he was especially happy to belong to a church that was created for and by people of his race. Willmore is able to subtly juxtapose the two congregations in Samaná through the telling of this story, where race seems to be one of the key components at the heart of the differences. Interestingly, Martha Willmore's version of events does not mention the racial underpinnings of the conflict that divided the two congregations. This may just be the result of temporal distance from the event

and the oral nature of this historical account. Whether or not an argument could be made for generational differences in the discussion of race in Samaná will be explored in more depth shortly.

For modern members of the AME Church, their religious institution serves as a tangible link to their ancestors, to Philadelphia, and to Bishop Richard Allen. The parallels in the founding stories just discussed make this apparent. Allen is a much beloved and celebrated figure in African American history, and is seen as a central force within the now global African Methodist Episcopal Church. Interestingly, he was mentioned in interviews in Samaná (SOH/RSN, MWJ; SE/6, 11; Willmore 1976) and even by one woman who knew absolutely no English (SOH/SJK). For some, a reverential tone was used to discuss Allen's personal fortitude, endurance, and dignity in buying his way out of slavery, rise to financial success, and founding of Mother Bethel in the face of discriminatory practices of St. George's Methodist Church (SE/6; Willmore 1976; see also Nash 1988). As of the 1980s, one informant even had a picture of Bishop Allen (SE/11) and many had a book published by the church that recounted its history (SE/6, 18; SOH/RSN). The reason that the inclusion of Richard Allen in the community's narrative is significant becomes more apparent when we consider the fact that by the 1980s (and 2010) members of the AME Church were much more likely than their Evangelical counterparts to bring up the topic of slavery when discussing their ancestors (SE/6, 7, 18, 21; Willmore 1976). In the interviews conducted by the Canadian linguists

eight⁵⁵ people discussed slavery. (It is important to note that the linguists were often the first to bring up slavery, but the participants included in the count of eight were not uncomfortable or shy when the topic was raised.) Out of those eight, five were members of the AME Church, one belonged to St. Peter's, and two had an unknown affiliation. Almost everyone participating in talk of slavery explained how their ancestors came to Samaná "running away" from the sinful institution. Some even mentioned that a few of the original immigrants had been rescued from slavery as children by non-family members and by the time they arrived on the island had essentially been adopted by these families (SE/18; SOH/MWJ). In 2010 only seven people mentioned slavery. (I intentionally did not bring up the topic.) Of those seven, four were current members of the AME Church, one had grown up in the AME Church (she now attended St. Peter's with her husband), one had an unknown religious affiliation, and only one had always been a member of St. Peter's (SOH/IGB, JBK, JCS, MWJ, NK, RC, SJK). Furthermore, the only participant known to have never had an association with the AME Church was the only person noticeably uncomfortable with the thought of her ancestors being slaves. Although the sample size is relatively small, the willingness to claim slaves for ancestors becomes telling when we place the discussion into the broader Dominican context, as most Dominicans negatively associate slavery with Haiti (Chapter 3). One informant even explained that his ancestors were slaves and that was why people in Samaná were so

⁵⁵ I have included Nehemiah Willmore in this number. As his account was written in 1976 it is likely that he was still around and active in the community four years later. In fact, although he was not interviewed a couple of people mentioned him to the researchers.

dark (SOH/RC).⁵⁶ In the Dominican Republic a dark complexion is also negatively associated with slavery and Haiti. It is generally impolite to refer to someone as “negro,” as it connotes “haitiano.” The interviewees in 2010 were more likely to talk about slavery generally, rather than making specific mention of ancestors fleeing slavery. However, it is significant that the topic was even referenced. Richard Allen’s biographical background and the admiration congregants often feel toward him has definitely influenced the fact that a slave for an ancestor is likely to be more acceptable for members of the AME Church.

Another connection between the African Methodist Episcopal Church and racial thinking in the descendant community of Samaná comes in the reference to “Africa,” or rather the lack of reference to Africa in the oral histories. It is hard to know if the very name of the church has had an impact on individuals referencing Africa, or if it harkens back to the earlier discussion of slavery. Regardless, by the time I arrived in Samaná one woman made reference to the African origins of her father’s family; although she currently attended St. Peter’s, she had been raised in the AME Church (SOH/IGB). Even in the 1980s only three individuals mentioned Africa (two were members of the AME Church and one had an unknown religious affiliation) (SE/4, 6, 11). This silencing of an African past is a long way from the beginnings of a Pan-African identity that was

⁵⁶ Virginia Ramirez and I had another interesting moment while in Nagua, a small city on the edge of the Samaná Peninsula. While speaking with a salesperson, Virginia found out that his brother was living in the town of Samaná. When she followed up with the question, “Are you from Samaná?” he responded quickly and emphatically that he was not, obviously, because he was not black! The implication was that people from Samaná are darker-skinned than most Dominicans. Virginia later confirmed that she had heard this idea before. And recall that a similar sentiment was expressed in the 1871 U.S. Commission Report (Chapter 4).

inherent in the naming of the original AME Church in Philadelphia (see Chapter 2 and Nash 2003); especially when you recall how important the link between the narrative in Philadelphia and that in Samaná has been for the AME congregation. However, one particularly interesting moment came in the 1980s when informant 6 told the story of a confused Wesleyan missionary. He explained that one of the British missionaries sent to Samaná had not been familiar with black people (as Christians one must presume) and wrote back to his governing board that there were no Wesleyans to minister to in the area, only Africans. Now, the interesting part is that informant 6 then goes on to say that the missionary was actually telling the truth in a way – although there was no African church operating in the town, black people were, in fact, African people. In one short anecdote we see reference to African ancestry and, I argue, to the “African” institutions that were being established in the American North prior to emigration, such as the African Methodist Episcopal Church. In later generations the acknowledgment of African ancestry would be even less forthcoming as they were in the 1980s.

Finally, I did examine both sets of oral histories for the use of racialized terms (i.e., “white,” “black,” etc.), but found no significant differences between the congregations, or even between the generations. Based on a handful of encounters I got the sense that people today are a little more sensitive about the dark complexions of their ancestors (and themselves), but given the limitations of the data set, I cannot draw any firm conclusions. I will offer a few instances where race became an interesting (for me, not the informant) component of the discussion. First, more than a few people referenced a white or light-skinned ancestor, some of whom had married a woman of African

descent; thus explaining the extended family's darker complexion, while also linking the family to a white/lighter ancestor (SOH/MWJ, JGK, IGB, SJK; SE/1, 6, 7). One woman told me about the physical characteristics that were common in her extended family, the Greens. While doing so, she explained that she wished she had received the lighter complexion that her family was known for (SOH/JGK). Another woman, most certainly distantly related to the one just mentioned, said that her mother, also a Green, had been "poor but light-skinned and proud" (SOH/IGB). This last quote gives us a glimpse of the intersection between race and class within the Dominican society at least, but most likely that of the U.S. as well. A final anecdote comes from a young man who had a very dark complexion, even by standards in Samaná. Earlier, I told the story of a younger descendant who had been told that his last name, Dishmey, was Haitian and how that made him uncomfortable. What I left out of the earlier telling is that this young man is also sometimes called "Haitian" because of his dark black complexion. It seems that his skin color had fed into the narrative of Haitian descent, and his level of discomfort with what he perceived to be his family's origins. His relief that came in reaction to the revised narrative of his family was noteworthy (SOH/KDK). While I would like to say more about attitudes toward race within the extant descendant community, I believe that would require more in-depth ethnographic fieldwork.

Institutionalized Identity

I have already explored the importance of the English language for the immigrants and their descendants and the role of the church in institutionalizing this

language through their schools. Nevertheless, both St. Peter's and the AME Church have acted as a means through which other cultural practices were institutionalized at the local level – cultural practices which characterized the immigrants' community and communal identity. One such practice that many informants talked of are the harvest festivals which were and still are centered at the church (SOH/AKP; SE/14, 18, 19). The harvest festivals were a time to raise money to support the church, but it also meant that members would have a more public outlet to express the various cultural practices associated with the American community. Women prepared more traditional foods to sell, meaning that locals outside of the community would have the opportunity to sample some American cuisine (SOH/AKP; SE/14, 18). A more corn-based (rather than rice-based) diet characterized their foodways. To this day the older members of the population reminisce about grits, cornbread, Johnny cakes, collard greens, and ginger beer (SE/8, 14; SOH/MWJ, IGB). The festivals also meant that people would gather to sing songs and play games from “back yonder.” Also associated with the harvest are the songs that were sung in the fields as they worked; some informants recognized that this was a practice that went straight back to the days of slavery (SE/18, 19; Willmore 1976). The harvest festival has provided the older generations the opportunity to pass on this sort of knowledge to their children and grandchildren. It has been an institutionally supported moment of cultural transmission for the immigrants and their descendants.

While the harvest festival is still occurring, the younger generations have lost the culinary knowledge of earlier generations and corn is less commonly planted in the area (SOH/MWJ; Willmore 1976). Furthermore, it seems that the anniversary celebrations

(which are separate from the harvest festival) of each church's founding is now the time and place for a discussion of the community's history. (See figures 5-3 and 5-4.)

Although I was unable to attend the AME Church's celebration, Doña Willmore (SOH) informed me that they use this service to tell the children of the founding of the church; to expose the younger generations to the food stuffs, songs, and games of their ancestors; and they try to use as much English as they can, especially in the music (though most children only know Spanish). I did attend the anniversary celebration at St. Peter's in 2010 and was surprised to see choirs from each of the satellite chapels singing the old English anthems (see Davis 1980a, 1980b, 1981a, 1981b). The service itself was performed in Spanish and many of the choir members did not speak any English. It was also interesting that they were celebrating their 186th anniversary, which means that they date the founding of St. Peter's to 1824, the year the immigrants arrived in Samaná. Technically speaking, the church is now under the leadership of the Dominican Evangelical Church and has been since 1931 (Hoetink 1962); the Wesleyans did not come in to Samaná until after Rev. Miller passed away, years after settlement; and the church's physical structure was not completed until 1901. Yet this important date seems to have been transferred from the origins of the immigrants to that of the church. Here is another instance of the conflation of the church and community's origins. Nonetheless, these celebrations do serve to institutionalize and celebrate the distinctness of this community in Samaná, even if the narrative has changed over time.



Figure 5-3. Sign in front of the AME Church announcing their 111th anniversary celebration (photograph by C. Fellows).

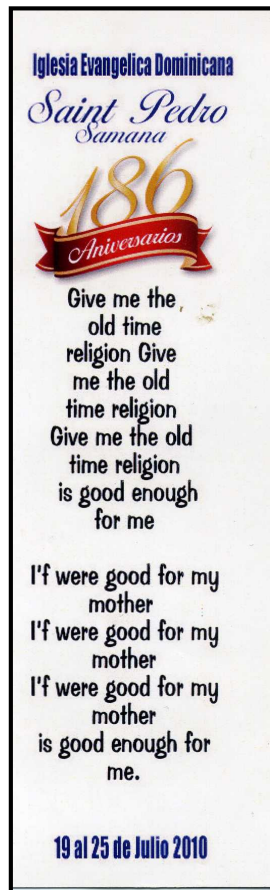
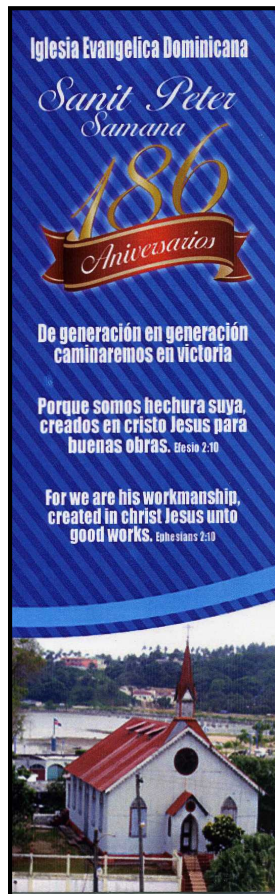


Figure 5-4. The front and back of a bookmark distributed at the 186th anniversary celebration of St. Peter's Dominican Evangelical Church.

The schools were not the only way that the churches helped to establish English as the official language of the immigrant community in Samaná. The ministers of the AME Church and St. Peter's continued to preach in English well into the 20th century (SE/10, 19; SOH/MWJ). Because the services were given in a language largely unintelligible to the Dominican and Haitian populations, they were effective barriers against the intrusion of outsiders into the group. The churches themselves became physical spaces which acted as social boundaries (see Chapter 4). Additionally, a few of the informants involved in the linguistic research reported that there were still, as of 1982, agricultural hamlets made up of mostly English speakers who did not speak much Spanish (SE/1, 7, 21). Another participant explained that after St. Peter's converted to the Evangelical church they began to receive pastors from Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic. It was at this point in time that the church made the decision to reach out to the Spanish-speaking population in Samaná and made the transition away from English services (SE/19). The AME Church also made the choice to switch to Spanish services in an effort to extend their mission to everyone living in the area (SOH/MWJ). It seems likely that the institutional linguistic shift has only helped to speed along the language death within the American descendants and thus the loss of a cohesive sense of communal identity. And yet, one of the remaining English language practices is still centered in both churches – the anthems. Martha Ellen Davis (1980a, 1980b, 1981a, 1981b) has written at length about this topic, but it is still important to mention. Over the course of my oral history interviews a number of informants spontaneously sang some of the anthems that continue to be sung in church. Poplack and Sankoff (1987) experienced

similar moments in their interviews (SE/2, 15). These songs are an immediate and experiential connection to the past for members of this community. They also continue to link living members of the community to one another. As mentioned previously, many of the church members who sing these songs do not know any other English. These powerful songs continue to remind members of the Protestant churches of the community's shared history. Although Spanish is now the language of the two congregations, these institutions have been essential to a communal identity and to the shared remembrances of the past.

The U.S. Marines, Trujillo, and Balaguer

The Dominican Republic, and Samaná specifically, saw its fair share of national and international conflict over time. In 1916 the United States Marines began an occupation of the country that lasted until 1924. Despite the remote location of Samaná, inhabitants felt the political upheaval on a local level. What's more, some members of the descendant community participated in the various conflicts. Overtime, the impact felt from the U.S. Marines gave way to a national power, a man known as "El Jefe." It is generally acknowledged that Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, dictator of the Dominican Republic from 1930 to 1961, had a tremendous impact on the inhabitants of the entire island of Hispaniola. Yet the oral histories collected in Samaná allow for a case study of how his policies played out at the local level, as well as documenting the implications of those policies for what had been a relatively isolated enclave community. Trujillo's nationalistic approach, which was often intertwined with an oppositional, racialized

notion of Haiti, drastically changed the small American community in Samaná; some might be willing say that Trujillo's rule meant the beginning of the end for the Samaná Americans as a community. Following the assassination of Trujillo and the subsequent period of turmoil, Joaquín Balaguer was re-elected and took over the office of the presidency (Metz 2001).⁵⁷ Looking to take advantage of the natural splendors of the Samaná Peninsula, Balaguer's government began a mission to revitalize Santa Barbará de Samaná and help along the development of the tourism industry in the area. Not only did Balaguer leave this project unfinished, but he also dramatically changed the town's architectural style and population size and makeup. In some ways, he put the final nail in the coffin of the American descendant community. The following section will look at what the oral histories have exposed about the U.S. occupation, the Trujillo regime, and the destructive policies of Balaguer.

Early 20th Century Revolutions and the U.S. Marines in Samaná

Unfortunately, the oral histories of the 1980s are the only sources I have accessed that offer firsthand accounts of the revolutions of the early 20th century and the subsequent 1916 United States occupation of the Dominican Republic. Even then, only a few individuals were old enough to recall what Samaná was like during this time. A few people remembered their fathers or husbands fighting in the revolutions (SE/1, 2, 13, 16, 18). One informant told the story of her father being wounded by a bullet passing through his heel, but fortunately, the only lasting impairment was a slight limp (SE/18). Another

⁵⁷ Balaguer had previously served as a puppet-president during Trujillo's reign. He was exiled following the assassination, but returned to be elected in the 1966 elections (Metz 2001).

woman explained that whenever soldiers would try to harass her, she would expose a breast to show that she was breastfeeding and that was enough for them to leave her alone (SE/13). A final story involved a woman hiding in the woods and nearly being hit in the head with a coconut that had been purposefully shot down (SE/2). It is obvious that Samaná was neither the safest nor most peaceful of places during these revolutions.

The American occupation was not discussed in the same way the revolutions were; however, there are a few interesting memories of the American soldiers. A couple of people in the interviews offered a visual memory of the Marines raising the American flag on the top of every hill in Samaná (SE/13, 16). This must have been a striking visual representation and constant reminder of the Marines' presence in the area. One informant remembered the Americans causing problems around town, but she did not recall them actually harming anyone (SE/13). Another person had memories of hearing shots being fired in the town, though he also said that the Americans only targeted people fighting against them (SE/1). As was discussed earlier, the revolutions which precipitated the occupation, as well as the occupation itself, disrupted the schools and the students' ability to attend regularly. This may be the single-largest effect of the military action taking place in the area. Given the importance of the English-language schools, it is likely that these disruptions in educating the younger generations was significant for the continuation and coherence of the communal identity of the descendants. Regardless, it is undeniable that Samaná has felt the impact of national and international upheavals.

General Impressions of Trujillo

It is important to note that in the 1980s interviews, approximately half of the participants discussed Trujillo's impact on the community. In March 2010, two of the twenty-four participants mentioned Trujillo. In the later, more formal interviews of June and July, three out of the five interviewees talked about Trujillo. The numbers alone inform us that Trujillo was a bigger presence in the lives of the descendants who were closer to adulthood at the beginning of his rule. Of course, they were more likely to speak English not only as their first, but also their primary language. Also, these individuals were more likely to have been entertaining educational opportunities while his government was in power. It is interesting to note that not everyone in Samaná experienced negative feelings about Trujillo's reign. While some acknowledged that he was a "strict" president (SE/2, 17), many also explained that things were cheaper, easier, and more abundant during his regime (SE/2, 13, 14, 18). Interestingly, more than a few informants used the example of how a bull used to cost around eight or nine dollars, but now it would cost hundreds to buy one (SE/13, 18, 19, 21; Willmore 1976). Overall, it seems that people used to have a greater sense of financial security, one that some attribute to the strict governance of Trujillo. On the other hand, many people who mentioned that things used to be cheaper, also expressed their strong dislike for Trujillo and spoke of the fear that surrounded his rule (SE/2, 4, 13, 17, 18, 21). A couple of people talked of the difficulty and expense associated with "travelling papers;" apparently Trujillo's government closely regulated people's movement, even in more

rural areas (SE/2, 17). And as we will come to see, Trujillo's soldiers often intimidated people who appeared to be foreign.

Trujillo's Anti-English Language Policies

I have previously discussed the transition from English schools run by the churches to Spanish schools run by the government. One very important factor in this transition was Trujillo's role in the change. In some ways the Trujillo government did many things to improve upon the infrastructure in the Dominican Republic; it was in this era that the Samaná Peninsula became more physically accessible. And yet, a number of informants have explained that despite the churches' role in establishing the first schools in the greater Samaná area, including raising the necessary funds for the initial costs as well as helping to supplement teacher incomes, the government had no qualms about appropriating these schools (SE/6, 11, 12, 16; SOH/MWJ). As mentioned previously, the Trujillo government made it a policy to phase out English from the local education system. One person tried to explain the political machinations behind Trujillo's anti-English policies; he told the researchers that Trujillo had had a falling-out with the American government and so he wanted to distance himself and the nation from the bigger, more powerful neighbor (SE/6). Another informant told a different, though not contradictory, story of how the decision to remove English from the schools originally came about when one of Trujillo's officials came to visit Samaná and decided that the population there did not speak proper English or Spanish. So, this employee reported to Trujillo that Samaná needed to become a Spanish town, and the English schools needed

to be removed (SE/19). This second anecdote speaks to the very Hispanic version of nationalism that Trujillo helped to establish and institutionalize in the Dominican Republic. Trujillo's brand of nationalism was, in fact, very much tied to a notion of Spanish heritage, Catholicism, and a whiteness that many Dominicans cannot fully claim (see Chapter 3). The removal of English education from the descendant community was a direct result of the dictator's xenophobic and nationalistic policies. One informant summed it up nicely: After explaining that Trujillo had taken away English from the schools and that was why they no longer spoke "proper" English, she went on to say that because of Trujillo the community was not Spanish, nor English; they were neither (SE/14). As should be apparent, based on the previous discussion of the schools, the loss of formal instruction in English had a huge impact on the retention of English within the community, and had a tremendous impact on the community's transition into a "Spanish" town.

Trujillo's anti-English language policies did not end with the schools. The position his government took in regard to foreigners, or people who appeared to be foreign, was actually frightening at times based on the following anecdotes. One informant from the 1980s interviews told the story of walking down a road outside of Samaná with a group of his friends speaking English. A group of soldiers came upon them and asked for their immigration papers. The young men had to explain that they had all been born in Samaná, but then added that they would be happy to be sent "back" to the United States. Eventually, they were able to convince the soldiers that they were Dominican citizens. While the informant chuckled as he told this story, fear of Trujillo's

soldiers seemed to be a very real thing during this era (SE/6). Another man explained that under Trujillo's regime, if you were seen walking about town without shoes on, you would be thrown in the prison (SE/21). Of course this did not apply to only members of the descendant community, but it offers a sense of the harshness of Trujillo's policies. One of the oldest participants from the 2010 interviews described how after Trujillo came into power, it essentially became mandatory that people did *not* speak English in the streets of town. And so, many descendants avoided speaking English publicly. She went on to explain that this was the reason that she no longer felt comfortable with her English language abilities (SOH/VLJ). Doña Willmore (SOH) confirmed the fear of speaking English publicly during Trujillo's regime when she reported, "because [Trujillo] sent inspectors to hurt... the people who speaking English." A few other informants explained that speaking "Patois" (Haitian Creole) was also strongly discouraged under Trujillo (SE/6, 8, 11); at least one person thought that it was even more forbidden than speaking English (SE/8). This latter notion seems reasonable given the anti-Haitian sentiments promoted (and acted upon) by the Trujillo government. Trujillo's soldiers and local officials seem to have been effective in establishing the public policy of a monolingual, Spanish-speaking society in Samaná. This was unfortunate for the English and Patois speaking communities; their languages were often used publicly as markers of their identities which were so reliant on their foreignness and ancestors from "back yonder." Yet, this linguistic policy seems to have been effective in transforming Samaná into a "Spanish" town.

Balaguer “Mashed Down” the Town

For the informants participating in the linguistics interviews of the early 1980s, Balaguer’s decision to completely revamp the town was fresh in their minds. While for some, it might have been called a fresh wound, others thought that Balaguer had done a good job of bringing in new businesses to the area (SE/1, 11). Tellingly, those who supported Balaguer did not say much of substance to back up his actions. One man who thought it had been good for Samaná, also complained of the lack of compensation he had received when materials had been stripped from his house in town for building purposes. He had filled out the proper paperwork to be paid for the materials, and years later had still not heard anything from the government (SE/11). It should be noted that this individual had the capital to buy a new place outside of town before the government moved him, which does not seem to have been a common situation. The way that many people have described this episode of destruction and rebuilding offers some insight into how they felt about this time period; they used phrases like “mashed up the town,” “mashed down the town,” “flung down the town,” “throw down the town,” and “broke down the town” (e.g., SE/3, 7, 11, 17, 19). Out of the seven people who talked about the “mashing down,” at least four had been forcibly removed from their homes in town (it was unclear if a fifth person had chosen or been forced to move). These folks had been given new houses in the small hamlets surrounding Samaná, such as Honduras, but it seems that the new houses were nothing like their old ones. One woman complained of the leaks in her new abode (SE/7). Another informant talked of how hard it was to get into town from her new location (SE/3). Two women mentioned that they no longer had

their yard spaces, which are still a source of foodstuffs and medicinal herbs for people in the area (SE/3, 7). The loss of their yards was not just about the space for planting, but also about the years these women had spent cultivating their yards for the production of particular items.⁵⁸ The need to buy certain things that they had been able to harvest from their yards added to daily expenses. The relocation had completely uprooted these individuals' lives. It also dramatically changed the town. Sadly, one of the oldest informants remembered that the town had been so much prettier before Balaguer's plan was put into action (SE/13).

By 2010 only a handful of the oldest members of the descendant community remembered Santa Barbará de Samaná as it had once been. As previously noted, Isabel Green de Phipps and Martha Willmore recalled Barrio Willmore as being populated entirely by English speakers and that it was not densely populated. Today, Barrio Willmore is packed full of buildings and people. The lucky residents in the neighborhood have managed to hold on to small yard spaces that are often concealed behind concrete or metal fences. Almost all of the construction is done in concrete with rebar sticking out of the roofs in anticipation of a floor yet to be built; this building technique appears to be common on the Caribbean islands. After seeing the house built by Martha Willmore's father almost one hundred years ago, you can imagine just how different the town used to be. Doña Willmore (SOH) took me to this house (see Figure 5-5) during our first

⁵⁸ See footnote 16 in Chapter 4 for examples of archaeological research on yard spaces in African diasporic communities.

interview. This structure, according to Martha, was the last one of its kind in Samaná and the sort of house that many of the immigrants had built.



Figure 5-5. The house that Doña Willmore's father built in the early 20th century (photograph by author).

In a later interview, Doña Willmore (SOH) explained that some of the houses used to be built off the ground on piers and that even within Samaná this was a distinctive style. Furthermore, the layout of the town had changed. At one point in time many of these houses, which more closely resembled structures from the U.S. South, were situated directly on the beach. One informant backs up this memory, explaining that as a boy they

had lived down by the water (SE/1). In fact, the original cemetery was not even safe from Balaguer's destructive force. A high school now stands on the spot and no effort was made to relocate the people who had been buried there (SOH/MWJ, JC, IGB, GPW). The oldest members of the descendant community now only have childhood memories of how the town was prior to Trujillo and Balaguer. And the younger members of the community do not know anything different than what currently exists, which is predominantly Dominican in style and population.

A couple of final notes on Balaguer's restructuring of Samaná. Some individuals in the 1980s were under the impression that certain members of the community had been moved out of town due to the color of their skin. At least one person believed that Balaguer's intention was that Samaná was no longer going to be a town for "black people" (SE/6). A second informant put it more gently when he said that country people who had moved in to town were now expected to move back out to the country (SE/11). It may be relevant that both of these men were heavily involved in the AME Church and they both also talked of Africa. So, for these men, blackness was still an important part of their identity, but also that of the descendant community. Another important point concerning Balaguer's actions in town is that the two Protestant churches were originally marked for destruction. According to Nehemiah Willmore (1976), these structures were only saved because government officials at the national level advocated for their protection on a historical basis. If Balaguer had had his way, the institutional foundations of what remained of the descendant community would have been stripped from the town. While it is likely that the congregations would have rebuilt, the destruction of these

buildings would have been a tremendous, symbolic blow to the community. Combined with the destruction of the American-style houses, it would have removed all physical reminders of the American community in Samaná.

Discussion

The oral history collections from the descendant community in Santa Barbará de Samaná have offered a wealth of insight into how this American enclave has changed through time and been affected by both local and global processes. There are a number of conclusions that can be drawn from the narratives. First, it should be apparent that there have been a handful of characteristics which have served to identify individuals as belonging to the American community in Samaná; these markers of membership have also been used to reinforce social boundaries within the broader Samanese community. Second, the institutionalization of a communal identity has been a significant factor in the maintenance of this community over the course of its almost 200 years of existence. Third, the role of the nation within this community has been substantial. Real and desired connections to the United States as well as the rise of a Hispanic Dominican nationality have been influential in the history of this group. Finally, we can begin to understand the processes behind the loss of a cohesive American identity within the descendant community in Samaná. While there are plenty of other topics and ideas that could be taken from the oral histories, these are the most relevant for this dissertation.

Overall, the analogy of the Anglo surname being a flag for the immigrants and their descendants is immensely appropriate. These “foreign,” “American” last names

serve as an external and official signifier of a familial history that many, within the group, assume to be superior to that of the average Dominican. Among the participants in both sets of interviews, the prevalence of individuals who still have two Anglo surnames (one from their father and the other from their mother) represents the emphasis on intermarriage within the community, and thus the importance of maintaining the integrity of the group's identity. The desire to hold on to Anglo last names, as well as the justifications presented for the presence of non-Anglo surnames within the community demonstrates the crucial part familial names have played as markers of social boundaries within the town. But the Anglo names are not the only markers of the American community in Samaná. Fluency in the English language provided an easy way to distinguish between those who belonged to the immigrant/descendant community, and those who did not. When combined with physical clustering of homesteads in certain neighborhoods and villages, English became an effective exclusionary boundary. Ensuring that children grew up among English-speakers meant that they would obtain the language skills and cultural knowledge that set the community apart from the local Dominicans and Haitians. English, as a marker of the community, also buttressed the Protestantism that further differentiated the immigrants and their ancestors. Being the official language of the Wesleyan Methodist Church and the African Methodist Episcopal Church meant that the local congregations were easily identifiable even when not attending religious services. Furthermore, merely being a Protestant marked individuals as part of the American community in Samaná. To this day the official religion of both the Dominican Republic and Haiti is Catholicism, even if Protestant denominations are

on the rise in both places. It is evident that the public identity markers of an Anglo surname, English fluency, and Protestant faith not only helped the immigrants establish a communal identity, but also allowed their ancestors to continue the process of differentiating themselves from the rest of the inhabitants in Samaná.

Needless to say, the Protestant Churches have served as the institutional backbone of the American community in Samaná. The weekly church meetings presented a space for the transmission of communal cultural practices and beliefs. The anthems still sung by the church choirs today come directly from American slavery. The harvest festivals and anniversary celebrations serve as officially sanctioned venues for telling the narratives of the community and presenting the foodstuffs, games, and songs of the immigrants. The church-organized remembrances of the group's origins and history have been essential for the maintenance of this community. And, of course the schools and church services reinforced the centrality of English. They also helped to transmit the 19th century American English of the community in official settings. As previously noted, the youngest generation may be learning English in school, at the local English "institute," or even at the university in Santo Domingo, but no matter their level of proficiency with the language, this generation will not be speaking the English of their ancestors. The education system developed by the Protestant churches was an important organizing force in Samaná. Finally, the Protestant Churches provided the immigrants with an institutional connection to their homeland, the United States. For the modern AME congregation, the church serves as an official link to their families' past. Although I am not the first to highlight the centrality of the churches for the immigrants and their

descendants, the oral histories have reinforced this conclusion and offered some insight into the mechanisms through which the churches have served the community.

Although the original immigrants made the decision to physically disassociate themselves from a nation that refused them rights based on the color of their skin and in which racial tensions were escalating, they long held on to a notion of being "American." Concepts of national identities have figured prominently in Samanés society. The use of "English," "Spaniard," "French," and occasionally "American" by the older generations interviewed, illustrates the intersection of the nation, communal identity, and social boundaries within the town. While everyone fully understood that they were officially citizens of the Dominican Republic, these labels harkened back to the individual's (and the community's) heritage. Even many generations removed from the immigration event, people are still linking their sense of self with a nationality that is beyond their legal reach. The Anglo surnames provide a personal connection to the powerful and wealthy United States and allows for it to be imagined as a homeland in which an inheritance is waiting to be claimed or even famous family members are waiting for the descendants to "return home." The better life associated with the U.S. (i.e., the American Dream) is represented by the Anglo surnames and the American cultural practices of the community. We have also seen the influence of the Dominican nationality on the town and its inhabitants. Trujillo's campaign to ensure that Samaná was a "Spanish" town represents the official version of *Dominicanidad* implemented by his regime - a Dominican nationality that is directly descended from Spain and is both Catholic and white. His removal of English from the schools, as well as the intimidation tactics used to

eliminate both English and Patois from Samaná were effective tools in implementing his policies. Balaguer's literal restructuring of the town furthered this project by eliminating the American architecture and relocating many of the descendants to hamlets beyond the town limits. By removing the majority of physical reminders of the enclave community, Samaná seemingly became a normal, Dominican, Spanish town.

Finally, the oral histories have demonstrated a number of factors that have contributed to the dissolution of the descendant community in Samaná. The loss of formal English education, combined with Trujillo's anti-English policies, were a tremendous blow to the cohesion of the community. The dramatic increase in the local Dominican population has reduced the isolation and prevalence of the American community within the town. The younger generations are being socialized into the dominant Dominican culture through the various institutions and are not experiencing the predominantly English-speaking, American neighborhoods that their grandparents grew up in. Additionally, the transition to Spanish-language services in the Protestant churches, and the shift in denomination for St. Peter's have only contributed to both the language death and the loss of American cultural practices. The conflation of the origins of the immigrants and the Wesleyan Church is indicative of the decline of the descendants' communal identity. The loss of basic knowledge in the shared memory is, in some respects, striking. Within the next few decades it is likely that the individuals with a more complete knowledge of the group's history will be gone and the history of the church will be the narrative that remains. Despite Balaguer's efforts to tear down the Protestant churches, these institutions do provide the last embers of a fading communal memory.

Through the anthems and the celebrations of the churches' foundings, perhaps it would be more appropriate to say that the descendants' group identity is not being lost, but rather being transformed into a more inclusive, congregation-based identity. All of this speaks to the processual nature of identity at the communal level.

Chapter VI: The Samaná Cemetery Survey

Historical archaeologists have long utilized cemetery studies in their research. Scholars not only have repeatedly shown that spatial divisions within cemeteries reflect social divisions among the living, but that cemeteries also allow for an examination of change through time within a community. Additionally, studies of grave markers can allow for insights into communal identity, status differentiation, familial roles and relationships, and religion and ideologies of death (e.g., Deetz 1996; Deetz and Dethlefsen 1971; Dethlefsen 1981; Veit 2009; see Chapter 3). One of the more remarkable components of this type of research is the time depth which this form of material record offers. Cemeteries can often provide a glimpse into shifts in social realities over the course of decades and even centuries. In the summer of 2010 I spent approximately a month and a half doing an aboveground survey of the public cemetery in Samaná, Dominican Republic. With the aid of multiple volunteers, I made sketch maps, recorded spatial data, took photographs of and recorded dimensions of every tomb and cross, and conducted aerial photography of the site. Additionally, ethnographic observations were made and the cemetery was, to a small extent, a topic in oral history interviews. The primary goal of this work was to catalogue each marker and to create a site map that would allow for analyses of the cemetery. The intention of the Samaná Cemetery Survey was to explore the place of the American immigrants within the broader Samanese community through time.

Examination of basic issues of town demography through time, hopefully as mirrored through the cemetery, was an initial objective. However, the main question was

whether or not there was spatial patterning in the cemetery which reflected the Americans' social relationships with other components of the Samaná population. Although the population density for the region was relatively low until the era of Trujillo, the Americans and their descendants were still a minority, albeit a large one, in the area. Based on numerous sources already presented (see Chapters 4 and 5), the immigrants seemed to have actively separated themselves from other local communities. Thus, it was necessary to investigate the cemetery in order to determine if these social divisions were present in the material record. How such social boundaries changed or if they were maintained through time was the next logical question to be asked. As will become apparent, questions regarding the cemetery changed slightly over the course of my fieldwork. Informed by oral history interviews being conducted concurrently with the study of the cemetery, one very particular spatial pattern was examined. Also, during the processes of mapping and cataloging, differences in stylistic elements and construction techniques led to an exploration of distinct phases of site utilization. As any archaeologist can attest to, experiences in the field greatly inform and impact the evolution of the questions posed at the beginning of a project.

This chapter will situate the cemetery in the town of Samaná and provide an overview of the site. It will then describe the progression of methodologies used to record information on-site as well as back in the United States following fieldwork. Findings from the cemetery analyses will then be presented and followed by a discussion concerned with the implications of these findings.

The Cemetery

A fairly major road branching off from Carretera 5 leads directly up to the neighborhood of Villa Salma and the public cemetery in Samaná. Set a few meters back from the road, and with a covered bus stop in front of it, the cemetery cannot be missed. It is approximately two acres in size and roughly rectangular in shape. Discernable from the air (see Figure 6-1), the cemetery is a highly visible and significant landmark in Samaná. What is hard to appreciate from an overhead view of the cemetery is the tremendous slope upon which it was built. The western edge of the site lies at a much higher elevation than the eastern edge which runs roughly parallel to the road (seen at the very bottom of the image). A fence of varying material and degree of repair encircles the cemetery and defines the potential limits of this public space; the front fence and gate are both more secure and decorative, while the chain-link of the sides and back has literally fallen over in places. The front gate is located at approximately the central point of the cemetery. Leading from this entry way is a cement path that runs almost to the very back of the site and which essentially divides the two acres in half. This path includes multiple series of steps and bridges to accommodate the elevation change and runs on a roughly East-West transect. Its end point intersects with a second concrete path that is perpendicular to the central walkway and runs the length of the western edge of the cemetery. This second, North-South path is roughly 20 feet from the fence at the back of the site. Figure 6-2 provides a general outline of the cemetery and illustrates these key features.



Figure 6-1. Aerial photograph of Samaná Cemetery (photograph by author).



Figure 6-2. Map of Samaná Cemetery 2010 (created by author).

The cemetery is composed of a variety of interments. In-ground burials marked by crosses made of metal, wood, and concrete, as well as aboveground tombs have and continue to be used. The tombs range in size from a single-interment to large, 24-vault structures; one of the most common size is a single level that is two compartments wide (see Figures 6-3 and 6-4). Many of the smaller to medium sized tombs belong to a single family; in a sense they correspond to the concept of family plots. However, the largest tombs do not seem to be associated with single families and can, it is assumed, be used by the general public; the variety of surnames present on the largest tombs supports this assertion. There is at least one larger structure affiliated with a social organization, La Sociedad Buen Samaritano de La Iglesia Evangelica Dominicana (SCS CAT 1548), which would, I would presume, be responsible for its erection and maintenance. Generally speaking, the tombs are built using cinder blocks and concrete. A more detailed discussion of building techniques will be offered later in the chapter, as they are relevant for establishing a typology of the burials. During the survey 1,656 tombs and crosses were recorded which represent 2,421 of burials (See Appendix B); this latter number does not include already constructed, yet empty vaults.

are those which are no longer either erect and/or clearly associated with a burial. Many of these markers can be seen leaning on tombs and fences, or lying askew on the ground. Additionally, one has to contend with the presence of discarded coffins and even the occasional presence of skeletal remains around the site. The implications of such features of the cemetery will be discussed at length below.

In Samaná, a “secretario” is employed to oversee the running of the public cemetery. He is present at the site almost daily and is responsible for opening and closing the gates each day. Additionally, he oversees a crew of day laborers who are hired on an irregular basis to maintain the site, build new tombs, and dig fresh graves. Some families seemingly hire their own crews for these jobs. Regardless, everyone confers with the secretario of the cemetery prior to the interment of a loved one. Based on the number of burials which took place during my fieldwork, and the construction of multiple new tombs and additions to tombs, this cemetery is still actively being used and serves as the primary site for burials in Samaná.

Finally, it must be noted that the site under study was not the only cemetery in town. While working in the cemetery one day, a local informant, in fact a member of the American descendant community, came out to the site to visit and show me her mother’s tomb. After explaining what I had been doing in the cemetery and visiting her mother’s grave site, she then offered to take me to what she referred to as the “original cemetery.” Not being aware of another cemetery in town and being rather excited about the prospect of an older site, I immediately agreed to the trip. Approximately five minutes later, as we approached a local high school that was in close proximity to the Catholic Church as well

as La Chorchá (the Dominican Evangelical Church, formerly the Wesleyan Methodist Church), she explained that during Balaguer's presidency the government had torn down the older cemetery and built the high school on top of it. From this discussion and other oral history interviews, it seems that the two cemeteries overlapped in time, although the now demolished site had been more prominently used prior to its destruction. It also came out that the interments had not been relocated unless an individual family had the knowledge and resources to allow for such activities. How useful this site would have been for my research is unknown, although I suspect that it would have offered some unique insights unseen in the current cemetery.

Methodology

The mapping and cataloging of the Samaná Cemetery Survey was accomplished over the course of two months in the summer of 2010.⁵⁹ A decidedly low-tech approach to the survey was taken due to monetary and security concerns; a laser transit, or Total Station, was not used in the mapping of the cemetery, and unfortunately satellite coverage was poor and unreliable causing my handheld GPS unit to be far from accurate. With the aid of a fellow graduate student from the United States, I began to map the cemetery using a compass and rolling tape, which involved recording the dimensions for each tomb and burial, and measuring the angle and distance between standard points for each interment (the NE corner for tombs and the center of the base for crosses). This

⁵⁹ It should be noted that the first month of fieldwork was an exceptionally rainy period in Samaná. This contributed to the time constraints.

proved to be a tedious and sometimes unreliable prospect, as the needle of the compass would sometimes move in an erratic manner. This was later explained by the discovery that many of the tombs are lined with corrugated tin roofing, which worked, in conjunction with the rebar that extends beyond the roof of many of the tombs, to negatively affect the compass readings. In addition to the issues with the compass, the time-consuming nature of this process (which included time for drawing the map each night and making corrections in the mornings) led me to the decision to abandon this method of mapping.

After hiring a local pilot, I was able to obtain aerial photographs of the cemetery. I hoped to use these images, along with the tomb dimensions as a means to correct for the oblique angle of the photographs in the production of a site map. With the help of a second volunteer from the U.S. and a local volunteer from the descendant community, I recorded the dimensions of each tomb and relational spatial information for those tombs covered by vegetation as viewed from above. Although these resources are still a viable option for future work, once back in the United States I decided to produce a map of the site using an even lower-tech and less involved method.

Based on the detailed sketch maps of the site, the tombs' dimensions, and the photographs of each marker and the cemetery in general, I was able to draw a master sketch map of the Samaná Cemetery. This map was then digitized using Adobe Photoshop. While it is not as accurate as historical archaeologists have become accustomed to and the scale can only be approximate, I argue that it is a reasonable representation of the site given my research goals. I did not excavate in the cemetery, and

have no plans to return to the site to do so. As the spatial analysis is entirely relational, the lack of precise locations of the tombs and crosses should not negatively impact my interpretations. Furthermore, given the construction techniques involved in building the tombs, the dimensions for these structures are relatively standard. Despite the lack of precision, this low-tech mapping methodology has proved valid and time effective for my analyses of the Samaná Cemetery.

Time constraints were also a major concern in the cataloging of each grave marker. Recall that while there were 1,656 of crosses and tombs assigned catalogue numbers, this actually represented 2,421 of interments to record. Each tomb and cross, not each interment, was assigned a catalog number beginning with SCS CAT 1. Each interment was a separate entry in the database, but the shared catalogue numbers reflect the physical association of multiple interments in the form of a single tomb present in the cemetery. A systematic approach was taken as the volunteers and I moved through the cemetery in East-West transects making detailed sketch maps, assigning catalog numbers, and taking notes along the way. The slope and irregularly placed tombs made it nearly impossible to maintain a standard width for the transects. Additionally, due to the active nature of the cemetery (i.e., it is still in use), once a transect was completed we would not make revisions based on the presence of newly built tombs or of new in-ground burials. The cemetery was too large, and burials were too frequent to be able to account for every new addition. It should also be noted that displaced crosses, or those no longer erect and/or associated with a burial, were not recorded unless they contained information in the form of names, dates, or stylistically significant features, although this was an

infrequent occurrence. Because the cemetery is still in use, the map and catalog from the Samaná Cemetery Survey provides a snap-shot of the site from the summer of 2010.

The process of cataloging the interments involved recording pertinent information from the grave marker, such as the type of burial; descriptions of construction techniques; written information such as birth and death dates, names, and other inscriptions; iconography present; and offerings left at the gravesite (flowers, pottery, and other grave goods). After the first 165 markers were cataloged and photographed, I made the decision to continue only with the photography of each marker due to time concerns. Following the established transects, we systematically photographed each tomb and cross, recording the activity in a photo log based on catalog numbers. Cataloging took place after I returned from the Dominican Republic, based on these images which had been labeled with the corresponding catalogue numbers prior to leaving the country. Furthermore, I methodically evaluated the photographs each night in order to determine which markers needed to be cataloged on site due to visibility issues; some inscriptions were so obscured by time, lighting, and organic materials that they would never be visible on film. Since returning from fieldwork, I have created a database of the catalogued markers in Excel. As stated earlier, all of the grave markers have been put into the database as a single entry, with the SCS CAT numbers representing the physical association between many of the interments. This approach to cataloging the 2,421 interments proved to be effective and much more expedient.

Findings

What's In A Name?

In previous chapters the validity of using surnames as markers of group membership has been made clear (see Chapters 4 and 5). Analyses performed on the cemetery data has also relied on the use of Anglo, Spanish, and French surnames. As membership in the local American, Dominican, and French communities also entails associated religions, the surnames in the cemetery are also used as markers of religious affiliation; Anglo surnames have been relied upon as connoting Protestantism and Spanish and French surnames have been equated with Catholicism. Of course this is somewhat problematic. As you will recall from Chapter 5, early intermarriage with individuals with French and Spanish surnames has led to members of the descendant community who are considered fully "American" and yet have non-Anglo last names. However, the archival research (Chapter 4), as well as Smith's 1986 study have shown that endogamy among the Americans was, by far, the norm. Despite these complications, the reliance on the different surname types is necessary.⁶⁰

As was explained previously, naming practices in the Dominican Republic are slightly different than those in the United States. Individuals take on the paternal surnames from both parents upon birth, with their father's surname serving as the primary of the two. Upon marriage, Dominican women drop their mother's surname, but retain that of their father, which is then followed with "de" and the paternal surname of their

⁶⁰ As will be discussed later, the iconography present on the site is relatively generically Christian, and does not seem to be used in a consistent manner.

new husband. For instance, when Isabel Green Bank married Lincoln Phipps William, she became Isabel Green de Phipps (SOH/IGB). "Green" came from her father, while "Bank" was her mother's surname. Lincoln and Isabel's son is known as Benjamin Phipps Green. For the analyses of the cemetery it is also important to note that once a woman becomes a widow the "de" becomes "viuda" or "vda" on grave markers ("viuda" means "widow"); so, should Isabel survive Lincoln, upon her death the marker will read "Isabel Green Vda. Phipps." Due to these naming practices, there were a number of markers that had mixed names, meaning some variation with one Anglo, one Spanish, and/or one French surname. This, of course, is direct evidence of intermarriage between the various populations in the larger Samanese society, but it also adds another element to the mix when analyzing the cemetery based on surnames. Into which category should individuals with mixed surnames be placed?

There were a total of 1,482 markers that contained known surnames, i.e., those identifiable as Anglo, Spanish, or French, or a combination of known surnames. A large number of names were illegible due to various factors such as time and weather, some were generally unidentifiable, others were unidentifiable based on spelling,⁶¹ and many of the markers had no names at all. Table 6-1 shows the number of markers belonging to each surname category for the entire site; the mixed surnames have been given their own categories. Please note that not all of these markers provided death dates, which will be relevant shortly.

⁶¹ Some of the lettering was clearly a name, but did not belong to any of the three identified types (e.g., Italian); while for other markers, the spelling was so off that it was impossible to determine to which category it belonged.

Table 6-1. The number of markers belonging to each surname category within the Samaná Cemetery.

Type of Surname	Total # of Markers	% of Markers with Surnames
Anglo	452	30.5%
Spanish	728	49.1%
French	80	5.4%
Anglo/Spanish	158	10.7%
Spanish/French	36	2.4%
French/Anglo	28	1.9%
Total	1,482	100%

It is evident from viewing the table above that the majority of interments in the Samaná cemetery have been performed for the local Dominican population, though the American descendant population makes up a significant number of burials at the site. A much smaller percentage of burials signify the French/Haitian community, but all segments of the local population are represented in the cemetery. There are also a small, but significant number of interments representing the practice of intermarriage between the groups.

Table 6-2. Mixed Surnames by Decade.

Decade	Anglo/Spanish	Spanish/French	French/Anglo	Total Mixed Surnames
1890s	~	~	~	~
1900s	~	~	~	~
1910s	~	~	~	~
1920s	~	~	~	~
1930s	~	~	~	~
1940s	1	1	~	2
1950s	~	~	1	1
1960s	2	~	~	2
1970s	5	1	2	8
1980s	20	4	2	26
1990s	30	9	2	41
2000s*	81	18	12	111
Total	139	33	19	191

* includes 2010.

Interestingly, the mixed surnames do not appear in the cemetery until the 1940s, and even then, they do not appear in significant numbers until the 1980s. Obviously, this indicates that intermarriage between the various populations was taking place prior to the 1940s, although it perhaps became more common later in time. Furthermore, the reuse of space and materials in the cemetery suggest that the material record from the earlier decades of the site's use are incomplete. However, as Table 6-2 illustrates, there does seem to be a dramatic increase in the number of intermarriages occurring in the mid- to late-20th century, based on the increased presence of mixed surnames in the last three decades. Note that this table does not include mixed names where one or more of the surnames were unidentifiable or unknown. Due to the small number of these names, they were given their own surname category and were not added to the Anglo, Spanish, or

French numbers. The table also only includes those markers with both death dates and mixed surnames. Over the course of twelve decades, a mere 191 markers included death dates and represented individuals buried in the cemetery who had some sort of affiliation with multiple populations within Samaná. It must be noted that not every individual participating in, or a child of, intermarriage would necessarily have both surnames on their grave markers. Furthermore, a married woman born to a Dominican father and an American mother would not have her mother's Anglo surname represented on the marker. Obviously, this data set can be viewed as incomplete and problematic. Yet, both Tables 6-1 and 6-2 show that the most commonplace intermarriage was occurring between members of the Dominican and American populations; this is not surprising, considering the fact that these were the two most prominent segments of the Samanese society. If anything, the surprise is the relatively low numbers of mixed surnames present in the cemetery.

The tables above illustrate the diversity that has been present in Samaná through time. A handful of names were not included in the analyses because they represented places of origin that were different from the three primary categories, but did not occur in numbers that were statistically significant. For instance, surnames like Rovetokin and Sangiovanni may point to the fact that Samaná has, at times, been an active port of call that was the scene of vibrant mercantile trade. Unfortunately, due to the low sample size from the earliest time periods (see Table 6-3), it is difficult to access changes in demographics within the town over time. But it is clear that the American and Dominican populations have been the most prominent segments of the local society and that there

has been a relatively small, yet still noteworthy, French/Haitian population in the area. The low numbers from earlier decades, as well as the dramatic jump in the interments in the last three decades, may also be indicative of patterns of reuse and recycling within the site.

Marker Type

There are a total of 1,491 markers with death dates present. Out of these markers, 199 are free-standing crosses marking in-ground burials and the remaining 1,292 are some form of tomb-like structure. The tomb-like structures include single-vaulted and multi-vaulted tombs, as well as low-lying concrete slabs that likely cover and seal in-ground burials. Some of these slabs may have originally risen higher above the ground surface, but there has been some erosion on the site leading to increased sedimentation around the bases of tombs, crosses, and these concrete slabs. Regardless, the slabs have been included in the "tomb" category based on the more permanent nature of this style of interment and the increased effort required to reuse the in-ground space (unlike the crosses). The slabs did not occur in numbers significant enough to warrant their own category. Please note that these numbers represent individual grave markers; a tomb may contain multiple markers with dates from a range of decades, but each marker on a tomb represents a discrete entry in the database. Table 6-3 shows the breakdown of crosses and tombs by decade, including the percentage of each style of interment for the given decade.

Table 6-3. The use of crosses versus tombs by decade in the Samaná Cemetery.

Decade	Total # of Markers with death dates	# of Crosses	% of Crosses	# of Tombs	% of Tombs
1890s	3	2	66.7%	1	33.3%
1900s	9	3	33.3%	6	66.7%
1910s	20	10	50%	10	50%
1920s	15	8	53.3%	7	46.7%
1930s	11	5	45.5%	6	54.5%
1940s	13	1	7.7%	12	92.3%
1950s	25	6	24%	19	76%
1960s	42	6	14.3%	36	85.7%
1970s	84	8	9.5%	76	90.5%
1980s	227	15	6.6%	212	93.4%
1990s	318	27	8.5%	291	91.5%
2000s*	724	108	14.9%	616	85.1%
Total	1491	199	13.3%	1292	86.7%

* includes 2010.

Given the small sample size for the first seven decades of the cemetery's use, it is difficult to draw conclusions about which type of marker was most commonly used. By the 1960s it is evident that aboveground burials in tombs were more common than in-ground burials, which were marked solely with crosses. Of course this analysis is complicated by the fact that reuse of materials and space is a common occurrence in the cemetery. And so, there may have been more in-ground burials in the earlier decades which have since been built over or discarded entirely. While the reuse taking place in the cemetery prevents conclusions being drawn about how the frequencies of the different styles of interment have changed through time, there is a large enough discrepancy in the last three decades to ascertain that crosses, and thus in-ground burials, are not the primary style of interment used by the contemporary Samanese society.

Spatial Analysis

The spatial analyses of the cemetery involved an investigation into the general use of the site as well as an evaluation of spatial patterning based on social relationships. 1,656 tombs or crosses were assigned catalog numbers during the survey of the Samaná cemetery, which represent 2,421 interments. In order to conduct spatial analyses within the cemetery, I relied on the 1,033 markers that had both death dates and known Anglo, Spanish, or French surnames. This number does not include those burials with two surnames of different origins (e.g., Jones Nunes, Shepard Metivier, and Suarez Joubert) or interments with death dates but no surname. Based on these 1,033 interments, a map was created for each decade of the cemetery's existence, highlighting the interments from the particular decade and color-coding them based on surname origin: Anglo in red, Spanish in blue, and French in green. Using Adobe Photoshop, twelve maps were created, beginning with the decade 1890-1899 and ending with the 2000s. It is important to note that 2010 was included in this final decade.⁶² Additionally, the maps were combined in ten-year increments in order to see the progression of burials within the cemetery through time; the final map represents all twelve decades. See Appendix C for the 24 maps created. All 24 maps were visually analyzed for evidence of patterns within the mortuary practices; however, based on the examination of these maps, it appears that there is relatively little support for the existence of spatial patterning based on social

⁶² There were a total of 28 interments as of July 2010. These burials should not significantly alter the numbers from the 2000s, especially when we consider the sample size from this decade.

divisions, or even an organized approach to the placement of interments within the cemetery.

Ostensibly, the very front of the cemetery appears to be laid out in semi-regular rows, though the further one moves toward the back of the site, the more disorganized the placement of the interments appears. Furthermore, it is obvious that some tombs and burials were inserted into the more planned rows subsequent to the initial burials. Generally speaking, the northern half of the cemetery appears to be more densely packed than the southern half; however, there are only approximately 200 more interments in the northern half of the site. Based on the spatial analysis of the progression of burials, it is not apparent that the cemetery was ever truly organized in the planning of where tombs and in-ground burials would be placed. What has become apparent from the spatial analysis is that the site has roughly been filled in with interments from the front of the cemetery, or the eastern edge where the gate is situated, moving toward the back, or western edge, through time; however, burials did occur, though infrequently, toward the back of the site prior to more recent times. When considering the terrain of the cemetery, this pattern of land use is unsurprising; given the steep slope rising toward the back, the flatter ground at the front of the site would have been easier to use for both in-ground burials as well as the construction of tombs. It also would have been easier to establish the appearance of regular rows in the flatter terrain, which may have also had the fence serving as a guide for construction, though the role of the fence is purely conjecture as its construction date is unknown. The most significant feature of the general spatial analysis

is the fact that the earlier interments usually occurred in the front of the cemetery and, at least initially, an attempt at creating linear rows appears to have been made.

While there appears to be clustering of families within the cemetery based on the presence of family tombs, there is no evidence for the clustering of burials based on group affiliation (Dominican, American, Haitian/French) within the site. The maps show no significant groupings based on surname categories at any point during the twelve decades of the site's use. The fact that the largest tombs seem to be available for public use, which is supported by the presence of all surname categories on these structures, also indicates that segregation based on group affiliation within the cemetery is not a common practice.

However, oral history accounts have suggested that at one point in time, there had been a Protestant-Catholic divide within the cemetery. In these accounts, the central cement pathway was indicated as having served as the boundary line. And so, using last names as indicators of religious affiliation,⁶³ Anglo surnames indicating Protestants and Spanish and French surnames indicating Catholics, the maps were examined with this in mind. Additionally, as a supplement to the visual analyses, simple statistics were used to identify percentages of Anglo, Spanish, and Haitian/French burials in each half of the cemetery (North and South). Using the central pathway as the boundary, the northern half of the site includes SCS CATs 1-887 and the southern half includes SCS CATs 888-1656. The following tables show the breakdown by surname type, and the final table

⁶³ The relative lack of iconography present in the cemetery will be discussed later. This, however, is one reason why surname categories were relied upon for religious affiliation.

represents the progression of all the interments with known surnames and death dates in the two halves.

Table 6-4. Markers with death dates and Spanish surnames by decade and North/South half of cemetery.

Decade	Total # of Markers with Spanish Surnames	# of Spanish Markers in North	% in North	# of Spanish Markers in South	% in South
1890s	2	2	100%	~	~
1900s	3	3	100%	~	~
1910s	10	9	90%	1	10%
1920s	4	4	100%	~	~
1930s	4	3	75%	1	25%
1940s	3	2	66.7%	1	33.3%
1950s	7	5	71.4%	2	28.6%
1960s	17	13	76.5%	4	23.5%
1970s	35	23	65.7%	12	34.3%
1980s	81	44	54.3%	37	45.7%
1990s	137	78	56.9%	59	43.1%
2000s*	283	175	61.8%	108	38.2%

* includes 2010.

Table 6-5. Markers with death dates and Anglo surnames by decade and North/South half of cemetery.

Decade	Total Anglo Surnames	# of Anglo Markers in North	% in North	# of Anglo Markers in South	% in South
1890s	~	~	~	~	~
1900s	2	2	100%	~	~
1910s	1	1	100%	~	~
1920s	4	~	~	4	100%
1930s	2	1	50%	1	50%
1940s	2	2	100%	~	~
1950s	9	6	66.7%	3	33.3%
1960s	11	5	45.5%	6	54.5%
1970s	23	8	34.8%	15	65.2%
1980s	68	22	32.4%	46	67.6%
1990s	76	24	31.6%	52	68.4%
2000s*	178	86	48.3%	92	51.7%

* includes 2010.

Table 6-6. Markers with death dates and French surnames by decade and North/South half of cemetery.

Decade	Total French Surnames	# of French Markers in North	% in North	# of French Markers in South	% in South
1890s	1	~	~	1	100%
1900s	1	1	100%	~	~
1910s	3	2	66.7%	1	33.3%
1920s	2	2	100%	~	~
1930s	2	2	100%	~	~
1940s	1	1	100%	~	~
1950s	3	3	100%	~	~
1960s	2	1	50%	1	50%
1970s	9	7	77.8%	2	22.2%
1980s	15	9	60%	6	40%
1990s	12	7	58.3%	5	41.7%
2000s*	20	13	65%	7	35%

* includes 2010.

Table 6-7. All markers with death dates by decade and North/South half of cemetery.

Decade	Total # of Markers with death dates*	# of Markers in North	% in North	# of Markers in South	% in South
1890s	3	2	66.7%	1	33.3%
1900s	9	8	88.9%	1	11.1%
1910s	20	15	75%	5	25%
1920s	15	11	73.3%	4	26.7%
1930s	11	8	72.7%	3	27.3%
1940s	13	12	92.3%	1	7.7%
1950s	25	17	68%	8	32%
1960s	42	27	64.3%	15	35.7%
1970s	84	48	57.1%	36	42.9%
1980s	227	103	45.4%	124	54.6%
1990s	318	160	50.3%	158	49.7%
2000s**	724	391	54%	333	46%

* this includes markers with unknown or unidentifiable surnames.

** includes 2010.

Although the total number of markers is extremely low in the first few decades of the cemetery's use, it appears that the majority of interments were taking place in the northern half of the site. Subsequent to the increase in use, around the 1970s, both halves of the cemetery were being used in relatively equal amounts. Those markers with Spanish surnames are more likely to be found in the northern half of the site; however, there are a significant number, not quite half, of Spanish names found in the southern half, especially in the 1980s and 1990s. On the other hand, there is a slightly higher percentage of the Anglo markers found in the southern half of the cemetery during the 1970s, 80s, and 90s; these three decades respectively show 65.2%, 67.6%, and 68.4% of all Anglo markers as being located in the southern half of the site. Yet, by the 2000s the numbers seem to have evened out for the Anglo markers. The lower numbers of the French burials make the

percentages a little less meaningful, though it appears that French surnames have, and continue to be, more likely found in the northern half of the site. Overall, there was more activity in the southern half of the cemetery in the 1980s and 1990s, which may simply be a symptom of the general expansion to unused portions of the site as well as a general increase in activity at this cemetery due to the destruction of the other burial site. Given the lack of truly significant differences in the number of Protestant and Catholic interments in the two halves of the cemetery, as well as the lack of patterning present in the maps, it seems unlikely that there was ever a highly organized division within the site.

A Comparison of Two Phases of Use

One of the more telling features of the analyses of the Samaná Cemetery has been the identification of two distinct phases of use, indicating different approaches to commemoration. The first phase spans from 1890 to 1939 and has a relatively limited representation on the site. The second phase begins in 1940 and goes through the present day (or for the purposes of this study, through 2010). Construction techniques and stylistic and iconographic elements characterizing the first phase of the cemetery point to a more permanent, eternal approach to commemoration. On the other hand, a shift in construction techniques and stylistic/iconographic elements may signify a more recent expectation of the reuse of materials and space which characterizes the second phase. A closer examination of the building techniques and iconography present in the cemetery will help to expose the differences between the two periods of use within the site. The

table below shows the numbers of interments with dates by decade, demonstrating how many burials are included in each phase; however, as will soon become clear, there were a handful of tombs and crosses without dates that were confidently identified as belonging to the first phase.

Table 6-8. Number of Interments with Death Dates in the Samaná Cemetery by Decade

Decade	Number of Interments	Percentage
1890 - 1899	3	0.2%
1900 - 1909	9	0.6%
1910 - 1919	20	1.3%
1920 - 1929	15	1.1%
1930 - 1939	11	0.7%
1940 - 1949	13	0.9%
1950 - 1959	25	1.7%
1960 - 1969	42	2.8%
1970 - 1979	84	5.6%
1980 - 1989	227	15.2%
1990 - 1999	318	21.3%
2000 - 2009	696	46.7%
2010 (through July)	28	1.9%
Total	1,491	100%

The First Phase (1890-1939) – Crosses and Tombs

After working in the cemetery for close to two months, and spending additional months cataloging each grave marker, I began to hypothesize that there were two distinct phases of use in the site. As a first step toward exploring this possibility, I visually identified tombs and crosses that appeared to be “older” based on a number of stylistic features: older looking cement (this had a different granularity than that which was obviously newer and currently being used); motifs and decorative patterns that seemed to

correspond to tombs and crosses with earlier dates; and construction techniques that were obviously different from current methods (this included a handful of tombs that had bricks peeking out through outer layers of concrete). I intentionally ignored dates while identifying these “older” markers. After using the stylistic elements to identify 151 markers, I compared catalog numbers from this list with those of the larger database after sorting for death dates. Markers identified as "stylistically old" corresponded exceptionally well with the oldest markers with known dates (prior to 1940) from the master database. 54 “older” markers had dates, which included all but four of those markers dating from 1890 to 1939. One cross that was not visually identified as belonging to the first phase has a single unlabeled date of 1899; this could very well be a birth date as the hand-inscribed lettering was difficult to decipher, meaning this marker could have been created later than 1940. The other three markers not identified as belonging to the first phase had dates prior to 1940, but were obviously produced in a later era. For example, one plaque on SCS CAT 887 dated to 1936. This tomb had a second plaque which dated to 1950, but which matched the first plaque in style and condition. Given the shared surnames of the two plaques, and the similarities in appearance, it appears that the 1936 plaque was created circa 1950 or later, along with the second plaque. Therefore, this plaque was not of the same time period as the "older" markers, even if the interment occurred in the 1930s. And so, the visual identification of the "older" markers seems to correspond well with known dates that are, in fact, the oldest represented in the cemetery. Furthermore, the stylistic elements of the “older” interments did not correspond with a single date later than 1940. Thus, the 97 markers

with unknown dates, but matching the stylistic types listed above, have been identified correctly as belonging to the earliest known use of the cemetery.

All of the grave markers with dates from 1890 to 1939 are characterized by a set of construction techniques, decorative motifs, and/or iconography that are not present in later time periods. The vast majority of these early crosses were made of concrete, using a relatively standardized form. Averaging roughly 75cm by 140cm, these large forms often had a series of raised dots outlining the front of both the horizontal and vertical arms. Names were done in raised-relief set within a void centered on the horizontal bar. Dates were expressed primarily in a year-only format and were also raised within a smaller rectangular void on either the upper or lower section of the vertical bar; many only offered death dates. Additionally, a good number of crosses had another smaller, rectangular void somewhere on the vertical arm that was filled by the letters “DEP;” much like “RIP” in American cemeteries, these letters stand for “Descanse en Paz.” The most common iconographic element was the skull and crossbones, which were also raised, but were not set into a void. Wreaths with a cross in the center were also present on a handful of crosses, and one even had the Masonic compass in raised-relief. One of the most unifying elements was a distinctive swirl decorative motif which appeared on the back of almost all of these crosses. A handful of crosses that date to this time period came in the form of a sunburst cross, and four additional crosses had a square-like, squat form. Interestingly, all but two of these unusual older crosses also had the swirl motif on the back and two of the squat crosses had epitaphs written entirely in English. Figure 6-5 provides examples of these various elements. Despite the fact that many of these crosses

would later be recycled for more modern burials, a good number of them were obviously in their original position.



Figure 6-5. Examples of the "older" crosses from the Samaná Cemetery. Top Row: SCS CAT 563 (front and back with swirl motif) and SCS CAT 879. Bottom Row: SCS CAT 595 (front and skull and cross-bone detail) and SCS CAT 1485. (Photographs by author.)

The tombs dating to this early phase of the cemetery often included one of the crosses just described centered at the head of the tomb; these crosses often provided the death date for the tomb. Based on the deteriorating nature of many of these tombs, it was possible to determine the brick and mortar construction techniques that were once used in the cemetery. At least one, now empty, tomb showed a vaulted interior made of brick in which the deceased would have been placed. This same tomb also demonstrates that an outer layer of mortar or cement would have covered all of the brick work, creating a fully encased, permanent structure (see Figure 6-6). While the vast majority of iconographic elements were found on the crosses, 17 tombs, slabs covering in-ground burials, or monumental bases for crosses did have the same decorative swirl motif found on the back of the crosses, or a variation thereof (see Figure 6-7). Often pressed into all five exposed sides of the tombs (the four walls and the top), the decorative swirl motif points to the permanent intentions behind these structures. This feature also represents the time and resources devoted to the construction of these commemorative monuments.



Figure 6-6. View of the vaulted interior and brick and mortar construction of the older tombs in the Samaná Cemetery (SCS CAT 1466; photographs by author).



Figure 6-7. SCS CAT 835 displays the decorative swirl motif seen on both crosses and the walls of the older tombs (photograph by author).

As mentioned previously, based on these telling stylistic elements and construction techniques, which are not incorporated into any of the modern, post-1940 interments (except when older crosses and tombs are obviously being reused) it was possible to include a number of markers without dates into this first phase of the cemetery's use. Additionally, there were tombs with early dates that did not contain these stylistic elements and were more unusual in composition. They were both included in this phase and distinctive from the modern tombs. Some of these tombs involved a stepped-slab construction that would have sealed an in-ground burial, while another made use of what appears to be a piece of marble. Regardless of the variations, all of these grave

markers are characterized by time and resource-intensive construction and decoration techniques.

The Second Phase (1940-2010) – Crosses and Tombs

As was previously noted, aboveground interments in tombs have become the most common form of burial, though in-ground burials are also still performed in the cemetery. These are generally marked by crosses smaller and simpler in form than the crosses of the first phase. Both arms of the modern crosses are narrower and tend to be shorter than those of the first phase. These crosses are completely smooth concrete, with no raised lettering, dates, or iconographic features. Names, dates, and iconography are either painted or scratched (a less common technique) directly onto the plain, concrete surface. Most crosses do not contain iconographic elements, probably because the space on these markers is limited.

The more modern tombs are constructed using cinder blocks, rebar, and concrete. The standard size of the cinder blocks has led to roughly standardized block-shaped vaults which are created in tombs that can be as small as a single interment or as large as 24 compartments. Furthermore, many of these structures have exposed rebar sticking up through the roof in order to allow for vertical expansion in the future.⁶⁴ Structural integrity comes from the rebar that runs through the cinder blocks; multiple lengths of the rebar overlap throughout the various levels, which is why it is necessary to leave rods

⁶⁴ Similar expectations of future construction is seen in buildings through the town and the Caribbean in general.

exposed on the surface, given an expectation of future construction (see Figure 6-8). Upon interment, a small cement slab is created to cover the open end of the vault and to seal in the coffin.⁶⁵ Cement covers the seams between the slab and the tomb and seemingly outlines the slab. While most of these slabs are smooth cement, a significant number seem to have rebar handles protruding from them (see Figures 6-9 and 6-10). After the vault has been sealed with one of these slabs, the family of the deceased either paints it with the relevant information, or they have a plaque made which would adhere to the front or side of the tomb. Some interments are never marked beyond the fully sealed, plain slab, though some of these blank markers do have dates scratched into the wet cement. With the exception of a small cross present on many plaques, there is a relative lack of iconography present on the more modern grave markers; however, some markers do display general Christian iconography such as a dove or a bible. A few tombs also display Catholic elements such as a crucifix or the Virgin Mother, though these images do not occur with the frequency one might expect given the prevalence of Catholicism in the town. Most of these symbols are hand painted on the tomb or the slab sealing the vault. Given the climate of the area, both the painted crosses and slabs must be repeatedly repainted or they will quickly fade and peel. None of the tombs or crosses from the second phase display construction techniques of the first phase, or the swirl motif. Also noteworthy is the fact that many of the modern interments include “EPD” (rather than

⁶⁵ Please keep in mind that these slabs are different from, and significantly smaller than, the previous concrete slabs discussed. The first and larger slabs were used to seal in-ground burials, rather than the open end of an aboveground vault.

“DEP”), which stands for “En Paz Descanse,” the proper Spanish version of “Rest in Peace.”



Figure 6-8. On the left is SCS CAT 32, which displays a second level that is currently under construction. Note the cinderblock structure. SCS CAT 25, on the right, demonstrates the rebar protruding out of the tomb, which will later be used in the addition of a second level. Note that the rebar has been folded over (photographs by author).



Figure 6-9. Cement slabs used to seal tombs are being constructed on the top of SCS CAT 774 (photograph by C. Fellows).



Figure 6-10. The front of the tomb on the left demonstrates how the cement slabs are sealed onto the tomb. Both show a rebar "handle" protruding from the front (SCS CAT 441 on the left and 401 on the right; photograph by author).

Evidence for Reuse and Recycling in the Cemetery

The Samaná Cemetery is characterized by the reuse of space and the recycling of materials throughout the site and through time, as noted earlier. Evidence such as the displaced crosses and coffins found throughout the site, as well as the presence of crosses on newer tombs that have obviously been recycled, all point to this type of activity. As my primary focus in the cemetery was the recording of existing tombs and erect crosses, the study of reuse in the site has not been as systematic and relies more on anecdotal evidence. And yet, as will be discussed shortly, this feature of the cemetery is important for understanding the changes that have taken place in the local approach to mortuary practices through time.

The reuse and discarding of crosses is indicative of both the reuse of space and the recycling of materials within the cemetery. The removal of an erect cross points to the need for land for a new in-ground burial or for the construction of a new tomb. My own

experience in the cemetery shows that space is actively being turned over. While attempting to catalogue a particular in situ, erect cross on-site due to its distinctive features (which were not clearly visible in the photographs), I discovered that it had been displaced in the short time since I had originally mapped and photographed it. I located the cross a short distance from its original position, lying askew on the ground. A fresh burial now occupied its original placement.⁶⁶ Furthermore, crosses that would have been classified as “older” due to the form and stylistic elements discussed previously, can be seen on newer tombs, as well as marking newer burials.



Figure 6-11. SCS CAT 404 illustrates the reuse of an "older" cross; notice the new name painted on and the paint can base that indicates it has been relocated from its original position in the cemetery (photograph by author).

⁶⁶ Interestingly, no other elements of the previous burial were obvious on the ground surface.

As Figure 6-11 shows, older crosses are, indeed, appropriated for newer burials; one indication of this are the attempts at painting over and thus obscuring the original names and dates. The cement base created from a paint can is obviously also a new addition to this cross. One older cross was reused in a manner that did not entail painting it, as it was placed face down on a modern tomb exposing only the original swirl motif on the back (see Figure 6-12).



Figure 6-12. SCS CAT 880 demonstrates the reuse of an older cross with the decorative swirl motif of the back being the focus (photographs by author).

In this second case, the older cross is being used purely for decorative/symbolic purposes. Newer crosses would, one would assume, be more easily recycled due to the more ephemeral nature of painted rather than carved inscriptions. Many of the newer style

crosses are fading and peeling, or display a red wash from the erosion of the iron-rich clay present on the site (see Figure 6-13). Of course it is harder to actually demonstrate that a newer cross has been reused, though the presence of discarded newer crosses leaning on tombs is telling.



Figure 6-13. This newer cross (SCS CAT 10), erected no earlier than 2006, shows how the newer crosses are fading, peeling, and being stained by the surrounding red clay (photograph by author).

Tombs are also being reused in the Samaná cemetery. Figure 6-14 illustrates how an older tomb (notice the swirl motif on the bottom level) has not only been used for new interments, but has also taken on modern additions in order to create a multi-storied

structure. At some point in time the western wall of the original tomb had been opened and then re-sealed after two new interments. Evidence of the reuse of modern tombs is also present in the cemetery. In one sense, it is easier to notice the reuse of the older tomb of Figure 6-14, as it appears that the newer tombs may be designed with reuse in mind.



Figure 6-14. The bottom level of SCS CAT 835 displays the swirl motif of the first phase of the cemetery as well as evidence of the back wall being altered to allow for new interments. Based on materials and construction techniques, two additional levels were added to the original tomb well after the earliest phase of use of the Samaná Cemetery (photographs by author).

As previously observed, the small slabs sealing in the aboveground vaults are outlined with the cement that is used to join the seams of the slab and the structure. The middle vault of the tomb in Figure 6-15 potentially illustrates how easy it would be to chip-away

at the joining cement in order to remove the slab and reopen the vault. Notice the jagged edges of this middle vault. This same image also illustrates the rebar handle that protrudes from some of these slabs.



Figure 6-15. SCS CAT 224 demonstrates the cement outlining of the cement slab, potential removal of a slab from the middle vault, and the rebar "handle" (photograph by author).

Is this feature designed to aid in the application and eventual removal of the slab? If not, what purpose does it serve? Fallen or removed slabs are also occasionally seen throughout the site (Figure 6-8, shown above, provides an example). Another, larger tomb seems to have a number of prematurely sealed vaults (Figure 6-16). The open space at the top of these slabs (see especially the top row), in conjunction with the presence of fully sealed vaults, is indicative of the fact that these compartments are not yet occupied

by the deceased. While it seems obvious that someone is trying to prevent nonfamily members from using these vaults, it also points to the relative ease involved in reopening a vault in the future.



Figure 6-16. The vaults on the right side of this tomb have slabs sealing them, yet there is visible space above the slabs. At least four vaults on the left side of the photograph are fully sealed and marked with the names of the deceased (SCS CAT 1258; photograph by author).

Finally, the presence of multiple discarded coffins strewn about the cemetery demonstrate that vaults are, in fact, reopened and reused over the course of time. While much of the evidence for reuse is anecdotal, it seems obvious that an expectation of eventual reuse and recycling of space and materials characterizes the modern mortuary and commemoration practices within Samaná.

Discussion

Earlier in this chapter, it was discussed that the cemetery under study was not the only or original cemetery in the town of Samaná. Sometime in the early 1970s, Dominican President Joaquin Balaguer “restructured” the town for purposes of developing the tourism industry in the area (Chapter 5). During this process the original cemetery, which did overlap with the current cemetery in time, was replaced with a high school; the interments from this site were not relocated prior to construction of the school. This information is critical to understanding the patterns and developments taking place within the cemetery under study. Another key component to the analyses of the Samaná cemetery is the fact that space and materials are reused and recycled in the creation of new interments. While the evidence for this approach to mortuary practices is rather anecdotal in nature, it is conclusive. These two features of the Samaná cemetery must be considered when discussing the findings from the study of the site.

Based on the 1,482 interments with known surnames, it has become clear that there is, in fact, a Dominican majority in the town. However, the American descendant community still represents a significant minority population and the French/Haitian descendant community, though even smaller, is still notable. There were also 191 interments representing individuals with associations with two different communities within the town, as represented by their mixed surnames. Interestingly, none of the mixed surnames appear prior to the 1940s. There was also a dramatic increase in the mixed names in the last three decades, which included an even more dramatic jump in these numbers occurring between the 1990s and the 2000s. This illustrates how the rates of

intermarriage between members of the American, Dominican, and French/Haitian communities really saw an upsurge in the mid-20th century. Furthermore, we see the highest rates of intermarriage occurring between Americans and Dominicans, which is not necessarily surprising given the fact that these were the two largest segments of the population in Samaná. Of course, it is difficult to assess the changes in demographics within the town through time solely through a study of the cemetery, considering the secondary nature of this site in the earliest stages of its use, as well as the likelihood that evidence from the earliest interments have been disturbed or obfuscated through more modern practices of reuse. Oral history accounts, for instance, report the influx of Spanish-speaking Dominicans into the area after Trujillo's rise to power, and continuing into Balaguer's regime. This may mean that locally, the Americans would have been an even larger minority in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, the cemetery data alone cannot be relied upon for such insights.

From the 1,491 grave markers showing death dates, it has become clear that the majority of interments come in the form of aboveground burials in tombs of varying sizes. In-ground burials marked by crosses do still take place, though they are not nearly as prevalent as the interments in tombs. Again, it is difficult to assess changes in these practices through time, though with the jump in the number of interments beginning in the 1970s, we do see a dramatic difference between the types of interments being used. This remarkably larger number of interments, plus the reliance on the space-saving feature of the multi-storied aboveground tomb in the last three decades, is likely a result of the destruction of the original cemetery, and perhaps, of the general increase in the

Samaná population mentioned in oral history interviews. And, obviously, the lower number of interments from the early phase of the site may be, in part, a result of the reuse of space and materials by later generations.

One of the largest goals of this study was to determine if spatial patterning in the cemetery represented social boundaries in the population in Samaná, and how such boundaries, both social and spatial, may have changed through time. Using the 1,033 markers that had both surnames and death dates present, I mapped the progression of burials through time, color-coding markers based on group affiliation. Ultimately, the visual and statistical analyses showed little evidence for spatial patterning within the site. A very general progression of interments moving from the front to the back of the cemetery can be seen, but this is likely explained by the terrain. The more level ground near the front of the site would have been significantly easier to build on and dig in, as opposed to the increasingly steep slope of the back two-thirds of the cemetery. There was also a general expansion into the southern half of the site beginning roughly in the 1970s. This spreading out into unused territory demonstrates the increased need for burial space and corresponds in time with the destruction of the earlier cemetery. Although the visual analysis did not seem to support the oral history accounts of a Protestant/Catholic division corresponding to the North and South halves of the cemetery, there was a spike in the percentage of Anglo/Protestant burials in the southern half during the three most recent decades. This may indicate that there was a perceived division by some members of the Protestant community. It could, perhaps, have been one of the two Protestant congregations making efforts to inter their dead relatively close to one another.

Unfortunately, no other record indicates if this was the case, and the material remains present in the cemetery are inconclusive. The spatial analyses of the cemetery proved to be rather disappointing and did not provide any truly definitive information about the Samanés community or the role of the Americans in Samaná.

One of the most interesting aspects of the cemetery study that has come to light is the identification of the two discrete phases of use, the first encompassing the decades from 1890 to 1939 and the second extending from 1940 to 2010. Although the first phase is represented by only 3.9% of the interments with death dates, the stylistic/iconographic elements and construction techniques of these burials are so distinctive that it is obvious that they represent a different approach to mortuary and commemoration practices than those of the second phase. The large, concrete crosses of the earliest phase display elements with a more permanent nature. Names and dates come in the form of raised letters and numbers that are incorporated directly into the body of the cross. More recent reuse has demonstrated how enduring some of these crosses are, as some of the original names cannot be fully obscured by fresh paint (see Figure 6-11). The swirl motif pressed into the backs of these crosses signifies extra time and resources spent on decorative elements that could be interpreted as superfluous. Having notable features on both sides of the crosses suggests that surviving family members were more invested in multi-dimensional commemorative monuments to their deceased loved ones. In fact, the monumental bases associated with some of the older crosses point to an effort beyond merely marking a grave. The tombs of the first phase also illustrate a desire for a more permanent marker of the deceased. The fact that the same swirl motif often appeared on

all four walls, and on the top, of these tombs, indicates that there was no intention to reuse these structures for future interments, as the pattern would be permanently disturbed by such activities. In fact, Figure 6-14 illustrates how obvious reuse can be when new vaults are created in these older tombs. The vaulted brick interior seen in Figure 6-6 also demonstrates the amount of effort and skill that went into the construction of such tombs.

The intentions of the commemoration practices of this first phase were clear: these tombs and crosses were to be eternal reminders of the deceased. Families worked to forever mark the location and protect the physical remains of their loved ones. This form of mortuary and commemoration practice is very much aligned with American and Western European graveyard practices of the early 20th century.⁶⁷ Interestingly, even the Spanish abbreviations used on the earlier crosses may point to an American influence. The “DEP” used on these older crosses stands for “Descanse en Paz,” which is a verbatim translation of the “Rest in Peace” still seen in American cemeteries; however, the proper Spanish translation would actually be “En Paz Descanse,” or “EPD.” This second form is uniformly used in the second phase of burials, but is not on a single burial in the first phase. This, perhaps, is yet another indication of early American influence, via the English language, apparent in cross and tomb inscriptions of the cemetery’s early phase.

In contrast to the first phase of the Samaná cemetery, the second phase, which encompasses interments from 1940 to 2010, is characterized by the reuse of space and

⁶⁷ See Mytum 2004 and Tzortzopoulou-Gregory 2010 for discussions on this topic; see Veit 2009 for an example.

materials as well as by tombs deliberately designed for future reuse. The crosses of this phase are immediately recognized by a completely smooth surface on which the deceased's information is painted, and then subsequently repainted when the need arises. None of these crosses seem to have bases that are as substantial in structure and nature as those present in the first phase. The modern tombs also demonstrate an approach that accounts for future reuse. The small concrete slabs that are used to seal the aboveground vaults are attached in a manner that would allow for ease in their eventual removal; some even seem to have rebar handles for this very purpose. These slabs are also marked with the more ephemeral paint, or an inscribed plaque is attached to the slab, but not incorporated into the structure of the tomb. Furthermore, we see more direct evidence of actual reuse in the form of discarded crosses and coffins present throughout the site. The presence of multiple human mandibles scattered about, presumably from disinterred remains, also speaks to the recycling of materials and space in the cemetery. This second phase of the cemetery is characterized by an approach to mortuary practices that assumes a more transitory state of tombs and in-ground burials. This is in stark contrast to how such spaces are viewed in the United States. If visitors to a cemetery in the U.S. encountered exposed coffins, discarded crosses, and human remains strewn about the ground, it is likely that nefarious activities would be suspected and the police would be notified; however, cultural expectations toward mortuary and commemoration practices differ throughout the world.

Through the comparison of the first and second phases identified in the Samaná cemetery, it has become clear that a shift in approaches to burial practices has taken place

within the local society. The approach has evolved from a desire to commemorate the deceased with monuments of a more permanent nature, to that of an expectation of reuse and eventual turn-over of materials and spaces. Potential explanations for this transition could include one or more of the following possibilities: a general change in practices over time; the destruction of the second cemetery which, combined with a rise in population, led to the very real need to reuse space; the worsening of economic conditions in the area that led to the need to recycle materials; and finally, a shift in the cultural influences within Samaná. Older interments reflect an American and Western European influence on the local mortuary practices, while the second phase shows a shift to more modern Dominican approaches to burial.

Although not visible in the material record, oral history accounts of shifts in the town's demographics and of the repressive policies of the Trujillo regime have illustrated two significant contributions to the loss in prominence and eventual dissolution of the Samaná Americans. It seems more than coincidental that the clear shift in local cemetery practices corresponds so well in time to the decline of the American community within the town, and indeed reflects a significant change to more Dominican influence in the larger Samanese community.

Chapter VII: Conclusions

This dissertation project sought to understand the processes behind the formation, maintenance, and dissolution of the American enclave in Samaná, Dominican Republic. Examining the national and international context of this community was also crucial for gaining insight into how conceptions of race and nation have intersected in their communal identity, as well as how that identity has shifted through time. The geopolitical isolation of the Samaná Peninsula, in addition to the immigrants' status as a large minority within a small but diverse population, allowed for the relatively unhindered formation of the American community. The immigrants and their descendants defined themselves in relation to the broader Samanese population through their use of English, emphasis on a formal, English-language education for their children, their honesty and Protestant work ethic, and their devotion to God and their Methodist churches. Yet the 1930s, which saw the rise and adverse impact of the Trujillo regime, brought a series of changes to the town which led to the Americans' diminished social status and eventual loss of community cohesion. This final chapter will provide a discussion on these various issues which have so greatly affected the immigrants and their descendants. It will then examine how the various racialized national projects with which this community has contended has impacted their group's trajectory. The Americans in Samaná will then be looked at as a case study in processes of transnationalism and globalization. And finally, a few brief words on potential for future research will be offered.

Formation and Maintenance of a Communal Identity

As the American community in Samaná is dwindling, it is important to appreciate that this enclave remained a cohesive group for well over 100 years. The introduction of a xenophobic nationalist project by a dictatorial regime was the impetus for the dissolution of the community. But when we compare what happened to the immigrants in Samaná to those who settled elsewhere on the island, for instance Santo Domingo, the confluence of an intentionality behind the sentiments of community and the unique social and geophysical context of Samaná becomes evident. This section looks to the processes that contributed to the formation and maintenance of the American enclave. Of course, it is nearly impossible to point to a specific moment in time when the group became a cohesive unit, but it is assumed that the processes behind the continuation of the group are the same as those which allowed it to form in the first place.

The Importance of the English Language

It should be more than evident that the English language was central to community formation and maintenance, as English was a unique distinguishing characteristic of this particular subset of the Samanese society. In fact, even in the 1980s, some participants in the linguistic interviews conducted by Drs. Poplack and Sankoff (1987) were denying any knowledge of Spanish, despite their witnessed ability to speak the language. English was so central to the communal identity, that these descendants wanted the visiting scholars to appreciate that it was, in fact, their primary language. Of course, the English of the Americans in Samaná was derived from the 19th century

English of the United States. Even in 2010, vestiges of this dialect remained in the speech patterns of the eldest members of the community. One of the most memorable sayings that I heard throughout the interviews came when people would explain that their ancestors were from “back yonder” (i.e., the United States).⁶⁸ Furthermore, participants in both the linguistic and oral history interviews recognized that their English was different from that of the researchers; many individuals commented on the fact that their English was not “fine” or “good” like that of the person performing the interview.

Both the documents and oral histories (Chapters 4 and 5) have shown that English language acquisition began at home for the Americans in Samaná. Parents speaking English in the home meant that it was the first language for numerous generations of descendants. Recall that even in Santo Domingo, the second generation had to speak English with their parents, despite the children’s greater comfort with Spanish. Clustering in hamlets and neighborhoods would have also helped with the process of early English acquisition. Living in neighborhoods dominated by other Americans meant that children’s linguistic skills would be reinforced by adult neighbors and their local playmates. Before ever attending a school, descendants of the original American settlers would already be speaking English fluently. Indeed, one of the older members of the community in 2010 explained that by the time she started school, members of her cohort did not know any language other than English (the schools were taught entirely in Spanish by that point in time).

⁶⁸ As an interesting side note, this phrase came up during my initial trip to Samaná in March 2010 when I was accompanied by Virginia Ramírez. As a non-native English speaker, she could not confidently discern what “back yonder” meant. As a U.S. southerner, this saying seems all too familiar to me.

The English language also went hand-in-hand with the American institutions established in Samaná by the immigrants. The schools, which were the only places offering formal education to children in the town, were founded and run by the Methodist Church or by individual Americans. One ethnohistorical account explained that the American parents, though multilingual themselves, wanted their children taught in English in the schools (GPO 1871). Until the appropriation of the local schools by the Trujillo government, all in the area were taught in English. The Sunday schools offered in the churches also reinforced the English-language education of the children in this enclave. Moreover, it is apparent that English was the official language of the Methodist churches in Samaná until the mid-1930s. Both the schools and the churches helped to standardize the English spoken by the American community. Linguistic research from the 1980s has shown that although the English spoken by this group was affected, to a very small degree, by the British missionaries, Turks Islanders, and Spanish speakers whom members had regular contact with, their English was still obviously descended from 19th century American English (Poplack and Sankoff 1987). The churches also offered public spaces removed from the homes and neighborhoods where English-speakers could congregate. The services, music, and celebrations centered at the churches served to exclude other segments of the Samanese population through the linguistic practices. Both the schools and churches created social boundaries based on language abilities, which served to buttress the same linguistic boundaries outside of these institutions. Within Samaná, the language a person spoke quickly placed them into a specific community; English indexed membership in the American enclave.

One final note about the importance of language in Samaná: Although there was not a great deal of evidence pointing to community formation and maintenance stemming from the survey of the cemetery, it is important to recall that most of the English epitaphs dated to the first phase of the site, when the Americans experienced a greater deal of influence in the town. Further evidence of their position of greater significance during this era (1890-1939) came in the seemingly verbatim English translation of “Rest in Peace,” “Descanse en Paz” or “DEP,” which was only used on grave markers of this era. The second phase of the cemetery made use of the grammatically correct “En Paz Descanse,” or “EPD.” In this instance, knowledge of the centrality of certain linguistic practices gained through the oral histories and documentary record are informing interpretations of the material record. Of course, the data recovered from the material record is also supporting the interpretations of the other lines of evidence.

Institutional Support

The discussion of the historical context of this research (Chapter 2) clarifies the centrality of the churches for the free black community in Philadelphia. The link between the Mother Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia and the American community in Samaná is direct, but the emphasis placed on institutional support within the community after migration also stems directly from the original immigrants and their lives in the United States. Having migrated to a predominately Catholic nation, the Methodism of the immigrants was, and to a degree still is, unique. The low number of Protestants on the island meant that an even greater emphasis was placed on the

community's religion, and thus on their churches as organizing institutions. Furthermore, ethnohistorical accounts have confirmed the self-ascribed God-fearing nature and Protestant work ethic of the American community, which set them apart from the "natives."

The oral histories illuminate the difficulty the original immigrants experienced in establishing their Methodist church in Samaná. After Reverend Isaac Miller passed away, the settlers wrote to the AME Church in Philadelphia looking for help and a new leader, but eventually had to turn to the Wesleyan Missionaries already at work in Puerto Plata and on Turks Island. The Wesleyan Methodist Church served as the sole Protestant church in the area for quite some time, though the British minister often had to divide his time between Puerto Plata and Samaná, until the AME Church was reestablished in the town at the turn of the 20th century. In spite of the numerous obstacles set in front of them, the persistence of the immigrants in their endeavors to establish and maintain Methodist places of worship is proudly reported; the story is also told as an example of how central the concept of faith is to this community. For many, the morality, work ethic, and faithfulness that are associated with Protestantism has defined the American community in Samaná and has separated it from other local groups.

The institutional backbone of the American community in Samaná was made up of the Methodist churches and their associated schools. The role of these organizations in processes of linguistic transmission and standardization has already been discussed, but they also provided a centralized leadership and a sense of stability for the community. Throughout the documents and the oral histories, a number of prominent men, leading

figures of the group, have been identified and have spoken on behalf of the community. Almost all of these individuals served, at the very least, as local, lay ministers for the churches (Chapters 4 and 5). We have also seen how the church has been a stabilizing force in the lives of its congregants during times of crises. During the Cibeño rebellion described by Reverend Van Putton (The Wesleyan Missionary Notices 1858), church services had been suspended, but when conditions worsened to the point that people fled to the town for safety, the services began again. Later, during the Spanish annexation of the Dominican Republic, the church was officially closed as it was not Catholic; however, the local leadership not only continued to hold services in the countryside, but they also obtained written permission to do so by the Governor of Samaná. The satellite churches established in the hamlets surrounding the town have also allowed parishioners to move within the Peninsula without the fear of losing access to their church and community. In recent years there has been some migration to the Catholic Church, and some people have moved between the Protestant churches, but for many members of the American community, their entire lives have been spent in the Wesleyan or AME Church.

The Protestant churches in Samaná provided the American community with more than just a place to worship; they also served as places of cultural transmission and communal memory-making. The harvest and anniversary services offered programs beyond religion-based activities. Origin stories were passed on to younger generations, games from the homeland were played, American food was served, and African American anthems were sung. These formal, institutionalized moments of remembrance

and building of communal identity and memory ensured that multiple generations would feel a connection to a distant homeland that they had never visited. Even to this day, the congregations of the smaller satellite churches come to town to participate in these celebratory services. As of 2010, the numerous choirs from the smaller churches were still singing the English-language anthems, despite the fact that most choral members only speak Spanish (see also Davis 1980a, 1980b, 1981a, 1981b). The churches helped to buttress the communal identity for the Americans, and also served as a centralizing force for this group. Moreover, they offered the weight of respected religious institutions to the authenticity and validity of the American immigrants and their descendants.

The Othering of the “Natives”

The various data sets used in this research have provided a significant amount of evidence illustrating that the American community in Samaná actively worked to distinguish and separate themselves from the local Dominicans and Haitians. We have seen how language and religion both played a role in establishing strong social divides within the larger Samanese population. Speaking English in public, as well as speaking Spanish with an American accent (which would be mocked in later generations) marked individuals as belonging to this specific community. Despite the fact that many individuals spoke all three languages used in the town, and the fact that the immigrants had settled in a place that would quickly become an officially Spanish-speaking nation, the Americans continued to insist that their children be educated in the language of their homeland. The Americans’ public attendance at services in the Protestant churches also

furthered their efforts of creating social boundaries between themselves and other segments of society. The cultural, linguistic, and religious practices separating the Americans from other local inhabitants were embodied in these Methodist institutions. As we saw through the interviews in the 1871 U.S. Commission Report, the Americans believed, in large part due to their religious devotion, that members of the community were more likely to be hard-working and honest than the “natives.” The linguistic and religious divides that the immigrants and their descendants worked to preserve helped to create and maintain the separation between their American enclave and the rest of the Samanese society.

The churches and schools established and run by the American immigrants also helped to define physical spaces of belonging. These places allowed the community to congregate en masse, especially on special occasions. However, there were other physical boundaries drawn around the American community in Samaná. One of the more interesting components to come out of the archival research (Chapter 4) was the knowledge that the immigrants and their descendants had clustered into four primary neighborhoods in and around the town – Clara, Honduras, North West, and Samaná. While there were most definitely Catholics (either Dominicans or Haitians) living in these neighborhoods, the density of English-speaking Americans would have determined the American nature of the hamlet. Oral history interviews (Chapter 5) confirmed what the documents exposed about these self-segregating practices and at least one informant also mentioned that members of the Haitian community had a similar neighborhood elsewhere in the area (SE/18 mentioned the "patois" speakers in Teson). Although the

cemetery was a problematic site in which to explore spatial patterning (due to issues of reuse of space and materials and the fact that it was not the first cemetery), the oral histories show that members of the descendant community did have a sense of former spatial divides within the site. Whether or not the patterning in the cemetery ever existed, the notion that it had at some point been present reinforces the importance of the physical, and thus social, boundaries that have existed in the town through time. Like the disappearance of the American neighborhoods, foodways, and the English language, the lack of segregation in the cemetery was lamented by the oldest generations of the community (Chapter 5). The physical boundaries drawn by the American institutions and neighborhoods were most definitely permeable, and yet they still helped to define the social boundaries existing in the town and were recognized by Samaná inhabitants and outsiders alike.

Clearly, the Americans in Samaná were successful in distinguishing themselves from the local Dominicans and Haitians for over 100 years. Based on comparisons to the American settlements in Santo Domingo and Puerto Plata, it appears that the communal cohesion in Samaná was possible only through the combined effects of the linguistic, religious, cultural, and segregating practices stressed by the settlers. The enclave in Santo Domingo attempted to maintain their Methodist faith, but the transition to Spanish came within the first and second generations. Being a small minority in the capital city of a Spanish-speaking country likely had everything to do with the language death which quickly occurred for these settlers. The church alone was not enough to sustain the American enclave in Santo Domingo. Had the Americans in Samaná lacked any one of

their distinguishing characteristics, they may not have retained their distinctive communal identity for so long. Using English in the churches meant that Spanish-speakers who may have been interested in joining the Protestant religious community were unable to do so. Clustering in American neighborhoods allowed the enclave to socialize their children into their own community while physically separating themselves from the “lazy” and “dishonest” “natives.” The Methodist churches and use of English provided publicly performed markers of who belonged and who did not. All of these factors were intentionally emphasized by the Americans in order to establish their communal identity in relation to all others in Samaná.

The Local Situation in Samaná

Along with their cohesive communal identity, the geography and social climate in Samaná also played roles in the enclave’s ability to maintain their community. The relative isolation of the peninsula and the Americans’ status as a significant minority in the town contributed to their longevity. Unlike the larger cities of Santo Domingo and Puerto Plata, the Americans featured more prominently on the social landscape. The low population density, as well as the multilingual, multiethnic, multicultural nature of the town allowed for an atmosphere within Samaná which was not especially hostile to foreigners. Acting as an active port of call for trade with multiple national entities would have also influenced the degree of tolerance experienced by the American immigrants upon arrival. Although Santo Domingo and Puerto Plata were both involved in international trade, the larger populations, including the dominance of Dominicans within

those populations, led to different outcomes for those American settlers. The documentary record as well as the archives have shown that the Americans did not face any real opposition to their religious practices or the establishment of their English-language schools, which both became long-standing features of the town.

Santa Barbara de Samaná already had social divisions based on linguistic practices prior to the settlement of the American immigrants, specifically between the Haitians who spoke the French based Creole and the Spanish-speaking Dominicans. Divisions between the Haitians and Dominicans would only grow following Dominican Independence in 1844. Furthermore, both groups were also already defined by their Catholic faith. Consequently, the Americans' efforts to distance themselves from other communities in the town were aided by the divisions already in existence. The fact that their distinguishing characteristics came primarily in the form of linguistic and religious practices meant that these lines of divide were easily inserted into the existing social structure. These distinguishing features, language and religion, would have been buttressed by their other American cultural practices. As much as the enclave worked to separate themselves from the "natives," the physical and social situation of the peninsula played an important role. The diversity present in the rather small population in Samaná allowed for the American enclave to actively pursue their program of identifying their community in relation to all others in the area, and the isolation of the town protected its inhabitants from significant interference from the various national governments, at least until the 1930s.

The Dissolution of the Americans in Samaná

If the Americans in Samaná were able to maintain their sense of community for so long, why is there no longer a cohesive descendant group in the town? Beginning in the 1930s a number of changes took place within the Dominican Republic, the Samaná Peninsula, and the town itself which contributed to the dissolution of the American community. The most notable factor was the rise of the dictator Rafael Trujillo, or *El Jefe*. But changes within the community and its institutions also contributed to the gradual disintegration of this unique group.

Language Death

Unlike the Americans in Santo Domingo and Puerto Plata, it took over a century for what linguists refer to as “language death” to occur in the American enclave of Samaná (Poplack and Sankoff 1987). One of the biggest blows to the presence of the English language in the town came with the Dominican government’s acquisition of the local schools during the Trujillo era. Oral history accounts have explained that once the schools transitioned to government, rather than church, oversight, Spanish was phased into the curriculum and English was eventually phased out. The Sunday schools were left as the only form of English-language education that children of the American community received (Chapter 5). Yet, even these classes would ultimately be taught in Spanish. Of course, these schools began serving a larger, Spanish-speaking population as more Dominicans moved into the area. Within a short period of time, American children were beginning their formal education without any real Spanish-language skills and their

accented Spanish led to taunts of “guidí guidí” (see also Ramírez Zabala 2005; Smith 1986). The demographic shift and change in the school system discouraged this generation from teaching their children English at home; they did not want their children facing similar ridicule in the Dominican school system.

As was made evident through the oral histories, we now know that Trujillo’s impact on the use of English in Samaná was not affected through the schools alone. Accounts of this time period included stories of members of the American community being harassed and intimidated due to their use of the foreign language, exemplified by the recollection of a group of young men who were asked for immigration papers after Trujillo’s soldiers overheard them speaking English. Another informant, who was younger during this era, explained that speaking English in the streets was forbidden, which had frightened her; while English was her first language, she became more comfortable speaking Spanish as she grew up. Another person interviewed pointed out that the situation was even worse for Haitian Creole speakers (Chapter 5). As Trujillo worked to establish a Dominican nationality that was Hispanic, Catholic, and white, he was also working to eradicate any vestiges of foreign influence. Recall the account of Trujillo’s man visiting Samaná and determining that it was neither a Spanish nor an English town and thus was in need of restructuring. As one informant put it, Trujillo’s government wanted to remake Samaná into a “Spanish town.” The Dominicanization of Samaná came through the appropriation and transformation of the local schools, the development of better infrastructure which allowed Dominicans to move in to the Peninsula and the town in greater numbers, and the removal of English and Haitian

Creole from public spaces. The *Dominicanidad* of Trujillo's government did not leave room for a small community who still identified with their homeland, the United States.

Institutional Changes

The appropriation of the English language schools was not the only institutional change taking place in Samaná in the 1930s. The transition of the Wesleyan Methodist Church to the Dominican Evangelical Church had lasting repercussions for the Americans. With time, the language of the services would change to Spanish. Most members of the American community were multilingual, so this did not mean that individuals were effectively pushed out of their religious community; however, the linguistic transition did open a pathway for other, non-English speaking locals to enter the congregation. The church was no longer the religious organization of the American immigrants run by British missionaries, but a local Protestant church being run with Dominican oversight. Both the physical and social boundaries embodied by St. Peter's were being erased. We know from the documentary evidence that the transition to the Puerto Rican and then Dominican ministers, as well as to the Spanish language, did not happen overnight (Chapter 4). We also know that this transition was marked by frequent personnel changes, which must not have been conducive for the stability and cohesion of the congregation.

As has been discussed, the churches provided an organizational center for the Americans. Beyond the religious mission of these institutions, they helped celebrate and pass on the heritage of the descendant community. The harvest festivals and anniversary

celebrations, which serve as formalized and public moments of the transmission of communal memory and cultural practices, have continued. The Dominican Evangelical Church, to this day, celebrates the original founding of St. Peter's and not the transition to the new denomination and national affiliation. Bethel AME Church also includes remembrances of the congregation's American roots during their anniversary celebration (see Figures 5-3 and 5-4 in Chapter 5). And yet, what will happen when the oldest members of the community, those who still speak English and feel a more solid connection to the group's past, are no longer around to share their memories of the American community and their ancestors? Doña Willmore, one of the last keepers of this knowledge, laments the fact that the younger generations do not want to listen to her stories, but would rather she just write the group's history down (SOH/MWJ). Despite the continuation of these celebrations, evidence of the loss of communal memory has already become apparent in younger generations' confusion of the origin of the church with that of their ancestors. This research has shown that emphasis has been placed on the British origin of the physical structure of St. Peter's chapel; when combined with the transition to Spanish and the longstanding tradition of referring to English-speakers as "English" or "Ingleses," it seems logical that descendants attending St. Peter's have conflated the source of the chapel with the homeland of their ancestors. This confusion was not seen to the same extent from members of the AME Church; of course, the AME Church has reestablished ties to their counterparts in the United States.

The Elimination of Spatial Boundaries

The geophysical obstacles which had separated the Samaná Peninsula from the rest of the nation, the Gran Estero and the mountainous terrain, were overcome by the development of better maintained roadways under the Trujillo and Balaguer regimes. Recall that Balaguer was Trujillo's last puppet president, who then assumed his own control of the country (after some civil turmoil) following his predecessor's assassination (Chapter 2). With the goal of developing the tourism industry in the peninsula, Balaguer made efforts to restructure the town of Santa Barbara de Samaná. His project to revamp the town led to the destruction of the wooden houses built by the Americans; this architectural style was different from local construction techniques and was uniquely American (see Figure 5-5 in Chapter 5; this is the last of these houses in the town). Balaguer also intended to tear down both of the Protestant churches in Samaná; however, due to local and national opposition, this particular part of the plan was not carried out. Nevertheless, many members of the American community were relocated to hamlets outside of the town by Balaguer's men. Although they received land and houses in exchange for that which they were surrendering, it appears that the vast majority of people were not fairly compensated and were unhappy with the forced move.

The legacy of the American community was further diminished through the restructuring of the town and the relocation of people. The physical boundaries established by the American-dominant neighborhoods and hamlets were eliminated through the destruction of their houses and the removal of the individuals who had resided in these houses. The newer, better roadways into Samaná also allowed for an

influx of Dominicans into the area. With the population on the rise, the neighborhoods in the town became more densely populated. Some informants mentioned how they were saddened by the fact that they no longer heard English in the streets of their neighborhood, Barrio Willmore, which was located in the heart of town. The houses that had once been built right up to the beach (SOH/MWJ) had been replaced by the malecon (the road and associated pedestrian walkway running parallel to the shoreline). Some informants who had been relocated to areas outside of the town were no longer physically able and/or could no longer afford the transportation to attend services at the churches in town. The rise in Dominican population, the restructuring of the town, and the relocation of members of the American community fully expunged the physical and social boundaries that the immigrants had worked so hard to form and maintain.

Balaguer's overhaul of the town also led to the destruction of the original cemetery, which has since been replaced by a high school. There was overlap in usage with the current public cemetery, but, according to local informants, the first cemetery was a major burial site. An evaluation of the current cemetery has illustrated the transition taking place in Samaná beginning in the 1930s. By the beginning of the 1940s, a new style of tombs and crosses and a new approach to commemoration practices were being implemented in the interments. It is at this point in time that we see a shift within the cemetery away from North American and European notions of permanent, eternal memorialization to expectations of reuse of space and materials. Potential explanations for this transition could include one or more of the following possibilities: general change in practices over time, a rise in population, coupled with the destruction of the first

cemetery that led to the very real need to reuse space, the worsening of economic conditions in the area that led to the need to recycle materials, and finally, a shift in the cultural influences within Samaná. Shifts in the town's demographics, in addition to the repressive policies of the Trujillo regime, have contributed to the loss in prominence and eventual dissolution of the American community. The shift to a more Dominican approach to mortuary practices within the cemetery illustrates this change in the larger Samanese society. It seems more than coincidental that the shift in the cemetery corresponds so well to a change in situations for the American community within the town; if anything, it all but confirms the loss of status and eventual demise of the enclave.

Race, Nation, and a Diasporic Community: A Case Study

Unlike modern diasporic communities (for instance Dominicans migrating to New York City), the original immigrants to Samaná did not face integration into a society that had a long established, and in some ways very foreign, racial system. If anything, the divisions within the peninsula's population were based more on proto-national, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds. Although race was not absent from the social terrain, it was not as dominant a feature of the social landscape as is experienced in the United States or in the Dominican Republic of today. Research centered on the American enclave in Samaná provides a case study of how local communities have been impacted by racialized national projects. Interestingly, this particular group left a rising power defined by its whiteness for a newly formed black republic of ex-slaves; it would later go on to be

absorbed by the Dominican Republic, a country with a national identity based on an oppositional relationship to Haiti and which has long been demarcated as the white (or non-black) side of the island.

As mentioned previously, early 19th century Philadelphia was quickly developing a racialized and class-based social hierarchy. The impetus for the migration was, in large part, negative experiences within a dichotomously racialized nation-state. The prejudice, threat of violence, and sub-citizen status experienced by the free blacks in the United States, a slave-holding nation, was far from an ideal situation. American nationality was increasingly becoming intertwined with whiteness and the American Colonization Society's attempts to deal with the "negro problem" were but one clear indication of this. This is not to say that the national project put forth by Haiti was not racialized; however, full citizenship in a *black* republic was an obviously appealing notion for the African Americans (see Chapter 2). If anything, following settlement in Samaná, race seems to have been more central to the American enclave than their Dominican and Haitian neighbors. The experiences of both enslavement and prejudice at "home" in the U.S. appears to have stuck with the immigrants. We have learned that the Americans had been concerned with the slave-holding status of and the bigotry practiced by the Spanish during their occupation of the Dominican Republic. Moreover, this community had also carefully followed what Reverend James referred to as the "rebellion," but which we know as the Civil War, in the United States (Chapter 5). Even Reverend James's choice of words is telling. But, for the enclave in Samaná, the end of slavery in the U.S. perhaps meant that their American identity would no longer be in direct conflict with their

blackness. And while annexation by Spain brought with it the fear of slavery and unjust treatment based on race, annexation by the United States could now be celebrated.

The immigrants and their descendants have never been distinguished from the larger Dominican population through phenotypic differences; although some accounts have said that the population in Samaná is darker than the rest of the nation (Chapters 4 and 5), members of the American community fall within the color spectrum that occurs throughout the Dominican Republic. Race in the Dominican Republic is not as simple as skin color or hair type (see Chapter 3), but the underlying phenotypic basis of categorization does not differentiate between the descendants of the American immigrants and the vast majority of the population. Unlike most Dominicans migrating to the United States, who are immediately racialized as black regardless of how they were classified at home (Duany 1998; Simmons 2008), the characteristics distinguishing the Americans in Samaná (language, religion, etc.) are largely cultural features which could easily be transformed within a generation or two. In fact, the American settlements elsewhere on the island illustrate this point. Racial distinctions in the U.S. are not as nuanced and are much more heavily based on phenotypic differences. While third generation Dominicans in the United States may learn English as a first language and have native fluency of the dominant American culture, many of them will be unable to escape the effects of an imposed “black” identity. In this respect, the experiences of the American community in Samaná have been quite unique in regards to other diasporic communities and are entirely a result of where they settled.

For a long time, the American identity of the enclave allowed members to claim their African roots without being directly linked to Haiti, which was and still is an undesirable position to inhabit in the Dominican Republic. African ancestry and a history of slavery have long been denied by Dominicans and instead, ascribed by them solely to Haitians (Chapter 3). As has become apparent, the Americans worked for a long time to distance themselves from both Haitians and Dominicans living in the area. The enclave's distinctive communal identity allowed them to retain their sense of blackness without being inserted into the racialized Dominican-Haitian dichotomy. In fact, the oral histories (Chapter 5) have shown that the older generations interviewed in the 1980s were still largely identifying as being of African American descent. Interestingly, most individuals who identified as such were associated with the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which to this day celebrates Bishop Allen, the church's founder and an ex-slave, as well as the blackness of its congregation. The Pan-African and African descendant community the AME Church originally served in Philadelphia is still honored in the very name of the institution.

With the loss of the use of English, Methodism as a distinguishing indicator of group membership, other American cultural practices, and their cohesive sense of community, the Anglo surnames inherited from the enclave's ancestors seem to be the remaining link to their American heritage. These names are also the remaining indicators of an ancestral legacy that is not directly tied to Haiti. Recall the young man interviewed who was relieved to learn that his surname, Dishmeyer, was not originally from Haiti; his reaction was, at least in part, influenced by his dark complexion and associated

accusations of being Haitian (Chapter 5). Recent generations are much less likely to discuss race, or their family's African origins or history with North American slavery. After growing up in Dominican schools, they are more completely integrated into Dominican society. *Dominicanidad*, the racialized nationality implemented and institutionalized by the Dominican dictator Trujillo, hugely impacted the Americans in Samaná. While this national identity was largely defined in opposition to Haiti, it was accompanied by xenophobic policies and worked to create a homogenous, unified nationality based on the Hispanic, Catholic, and white (or non-black) characteristics of the general population. Furthermore, it solidified a national identity that did not leave room for a foreign, non-Haitian blackness (or any blackness for that matter).

The American enclave in Samaná serves as a case study of the intersections of race and nation in the formation, maintenance, and dissolution of a communal identity. It also helps to illustrate how global racial hierarchies and racialized national projects have lasting effects on local communities. Additionally, this case study serves as a reminder that race needs to be sociohistorically contextualized and approached as a process, rather than as a static identity.

An Historical Case Study in Transnationalism and the Effects of Globalization

Earlier in this dissertation I provided the following definition of transnationalism: “the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Basch et al. 1994:7). If immigrants

must sustain networks within both their nation of origin and the one in which they settle, does the American enclave in Samaná provide a case study in transnational communities?

Despite the lack of modern technology which facilitates the continuation of international social networks, the original immigrants and a few generations of descendants did make concerted efforts to maintain contact with their homeland in the United States; they also forged new relationships with other international entities. For instance, we know that the Reverend Isaac Miller returned to the United States in order to be ordained so that he could serve the Methodist community in Samaná (Payne 1891). Oral history accounts talk of trade with the United States and children being sent to America for purposes of education (Chapter 5). General Theophilus James, who was interviewed in 1871, was actually educated in England, then served in the Haitian army, and later married a woman from Turks Island (GPO 1871). And his nephew, Reverend Jacob Paul James (son of Rev. Jacob James who has been so frequently cited), obtained a theology degree in the United States and was later ordained by the AME Church there at the very beginning of the 20th century (Chapter 5). The early American community also built social networks with Turks Island, then a British colony.

Additionally, the American community displayed many practices commonly witnessed within modern enclaves. The clustering into American neighborhoods, revealed by the documentary record, is one such practice which mimics those seen in modern transnational communities (e.g., Washington Heights in New York City). The establishment of American, English-speaking institutions, the churches and schools which served to support the community and reinforce their foreign identity, is also

commonly practiced by such immigrant groups. Finally, the intentional continuation of their American sensibilities and identity, as well as their interaction with American merchants and entrepreneurs who often settled in the town, would have furthered their sense of connection to their country of origin. It seems safe to say that although the interconnection moved at a slower pace, the first couple of generations in Samaná could be considered a (proto-) transnational community who maintained social networks and continued to identify with the homeland.

Since the first few generations of the American community in Samaná, the links to the United States have become less direct and personal, and much more tenuous. While a number of the later, English-speaking generations were able to visit the U.S., most went for work or vacation purposes. Another reason for these visits has also been participation in AME Church conferences (SOH/GPW, IGB, JC, MWJ). But no one has returned to reconnect with family who remained in the United States at the time of the emigration. It appears that time, combined with the lack of modern technology and the effects of repressive, xenophobic policies by the national government, led to a decline in the strength of ties between this immigrant community and their homeland. However, in order to fully appreciate the networks extending across international lines, we must consider the effects of a heightened, more modern, and more rapidly-paced form of globalization, as well as the rise of the United States to a position of dominance within the Caribbean, on the later generations of the Americans in Samaná.

Beginning with the end of the Spanish-American War (1898), the power of the United States within the region began to grow tremendously. The hegemonic presence of

the United States in the Caribbean (and globally, for that matter), have allowed/encouraged later generations of American descendants to maintain a loose and generalized sense of connection to the U.S. Through the military occupations (especially 1916-1924), discussions of annexation (1871), business ventures (mercantile and individual entrepreneurial activities), the American media and popular culture (the immigrants followed the U.S. Civil War through the newspapers; informants in 2010 mentioned their children being excited when they heard their surnames in American movies; one woman's grandson was playing major league baseball in the U.S.; and one family was still holding out hope that they were related to Michael Jackson), and individual migration to and from the United States, the feeling of connection to their "homeland" has been reinforced despite the lack of real, familial networks extending across the borders. The mutual language also played a role for multiple generations, especially since the members of the community knew that their dialect derived directly from American English. The same can be said about religion for members of the AME Church. Furthermore, in some instances we see a reversal of the formation of transnational communities as descendants have returned to their family's homeland as part of the larger trend of labor-based migration of Dominicans; for some, linguistic skills and Anglo surnames may have played a role in their transnational experiences. One family told the story of a relative who had moved to Virginia and then relied upon his Anglo surname to distance himself from other Dominicans living in the area. His extended family was not supportive of these actions (SOH/BJ, VLJ), but it is a notable

story as most Dominicans do not have the option to so fully integrate into the dominant culture in the United States before the second or third generations.

Processes of globalization have largely impacted the Dominican Republic in terms of tourism, which has replaced sugar as the nation's largest industry. We also see local effects of this transition in Samaná. The most dramatic came with Balaguer's restructuring of the town in order to encourage the development of the tourism industry on the peninsula. Today an all-inclusive hotel is perched atop a hill looking down over Samaná and cruise ships use the town as a port of call with some frequency. The development of a brightly-painted, "Caribbean" strip mall along the malecon (the road running parallel to the shoreline) allows visitors to shop for souvenirs without having to really explore the town or area. But the tourism trade has also had real and specific implications for the American community. La Chorchá (St. Peter's) is now frequently visited by tourists who have read a brief description of the American community and the English church in their guide books. Recall that one of the women with whom I conducted an oral history interview served as an officially sanctioned tour guide at the church, making use of her English-language skills. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the younger generations of descendants are now becoming more and more interested in learning English. While this is in part related to a general interest in their family's history, it is also largely tied to the occupational opportunities which come with fluency in English. Interestingly, participants in the linguistic interviews of the 1980s foresaw the coming tidal wave of tourism and used it as a reason why their children would regret not learning English.

The stability, wealth, and ubiquitous nature of American pop culture has led to a general desire among Dominicans to move to, or somehow be connected with the United States; the tourism industry provides one local manner of doing so. For the descendants in Samaná who no longer speak English, their surnames provide a marker of a familial history which allow them to claim a more direct link to their powerful northern neighbors, which is why we see such importance placed on these Anglo surnames in Samaná today (see Chapters 4 and 5). Of course this link is far removed, impersonal, and very tenuous at best, and yet it is more real than most Dominicans, especially in the more rural areas, can claim. This community provides an historical example of transnational processes taking place and transforming based on the local and global conditions impacting the ability of individuals to maintain networks across boundaries.

A final observation on transnationalism involves the unique direction of movement for this particular group; unlike the majority of the immigrants making modern migrations, these early African American émigrés left what would become a dominant world power for what would become a developing nation in the Global South. Although this is a case study of an historical migration and settlement, it also helps to demonstrate what would seem to be evident motivations behind current migratory flows – political and economic stability – motivations worthy of mention as interesting points of comparison. The documents and oral histories revealed that in 1871, members of the Samaná community, as well as Dominicans in general, favored annexation not only by the United States, but by any powerful nation which would help to stabilize the country (Chapters 4 and 5). After years of wars and rebellions, people wanted to be able to hold

on to what little wealth they were able to accrue. We also see that while people were not supporters of the Trujillo regime, they did recognize that everything was more affordable and life seemed to be better generally under his rule. These sentiments were even shared by individuals who made the connection between the dictator and the loss of the community (Chapter 5). Finally, we see that even the descendants in Samaná are now participating in the modern migrations *to* the U.S. and in the growing tourism industry as they search for a more economically stable life. Historical reactions to the possibility of U.S. annexation, modern observations made about the Trujillo regime, and contemporary responses to the heightened state of globalization (and especially the rise of the tourism industry) all illustrate reasons for the modern economic and political migratory goals of not only the people of Samaná, but also for many other local communities in the Third World. Of course, the irony is that when those early African Americans immigrants left the United States for new homes in Samaná, they too were looking for more stable, safe, and successful lives.

Future Research

This dissertation examined the processes of community formation, maintenance, and dissolution of the American immigrants and their descendants in Samaná. It also looked at the intersection of race and nation in these social processes, while contextualizing the community within national and international developments. Finally, it considered this community as a historical case study in processes of transnationalism and

globalization. Of course, there is always more work that could be done, and multiple avenues of potential research have been exposed through this study.

Unfortunately, there are very limited prospects of performing excavation-based archaeological studies in the town of Santa Barbara de Samaná. Because of Balaguer's destructive actions, which greatly altered the town, all but one of the original American house-sites have been demolished and rebuilt in concrete. With that said, scouting for potential sites should be performed in the three primary clusters identified in the documents outside of the town: Clara, Honduras, and North West.

Other archaeological work that should be undertaken comes in the form of additional aboveground surveys of cemeteries throughout the Dominican Republic. Sites in Puerto Plata and Santo Domingo, where American enclaves were originally located, should be particularly targeted. Smaller towns located on the Samaná Peninsula are also places on which to focus a cemetery survey project. Expanding the cemetery research in the Dominican Republic would bolster the findings from this research and would further the comparison between American/Western European and Dominican approaches to mortuary and commemoration practices.

Finally, there appear to be multiple sites in which potentially interesting ethnographic work could be conducted. How the family's heritage has impacted the Spanish-speaking, younger generations of the descendant community may be an interesting line of inquiry. Additionally, it may be fruitful to compare the experiences of descendants from Samaná who have moved to the United States to those of Dominicans in the U.S. who do not share this heritage. Like most research, this study of the American

community in Samaná has perhaps raised as many questions as the number of answers it has provided.

APPENDIX A

Below are the excel databases created from the archives held by St. Peter's Dominican Evangelical Church in Samaná, Dominican Republic. The first database contains information from the baptism registers. The spreadsheets have too many columns and rows to fit on a single page. And so, they have been separated into multiple pages for readability. Each page will contain the image number and the baptism year in the first two columns. The title on each page will be followed by a letter that will indicate companion pages.

**St. Peter's Documents - Baptisms:
Parentage - A**

Image #	Language	Total Entries	Complete Entries	Partial Entries	Baptism Year	Total Legit	Total Illegit	Legitimacy Unknown	Categories based on Surnames of Parents					
									Anglo Legit	Anglo Illegit	Anglo Unknown	Spanish Legit	Spanish Illegit	Spanish Unknown
3286	Eng	16	15	1	1910	8	7		7	1		1	1	
3287	Eng	13	13		1910	11	2		7			4		
3347	Eng	15	15		1910	9	6		8	1				
3282	Eng	10	10		1911	5	5		4	1				
3283	Eng	12	12		1911	11	1		10			1		
3285	Eng	8	8		1911	7	1		5			1		
3288	Eng	12	12		1911	8	4		7	1		1		
3289	Eng	11	11		1911	10	1		10					
3284	Eng	10	10		1912	6	4		5			1		
3290	Eng	6	6		1912	4	2		4					
3291	Eng	13	13		1912	11	2		11					
3292	Eng	13	13		1912	9	4		8	1		1		
3280	Eng	13	13		1913	9	4		6			1		
3281	Eng	15	15		1913	10	5		5			4		
3294	Eng	5	5		1913	4	1		1	1		2		
3299	Eng	13	13		1913	10	3		9			1		
3300	Eng	11	11		1913	10	1		9			1		
3293	Eng	3	3		1914	3			2			1		
3294	Eng	9	9		1914	9			8			1		
3295	Eng	2	2		1914	2			2					
3296	Eng	5	5		1914	4	1		4				1	
3293	Eng	14	14		1915	12	2		11					
3294	Eng	2	2		1915	1	1		1					
3295	Eng	16	16		1915	14	2		11			1		
3296	Eng	10	10		1915	9	1		6			1		
3298	Eng	4	4		1915	4			2			2		
3278	Eng	13	9	4	1916	6	3		5			1		
3279	Eng	11	9	2	1916	7	2		6			1		
3297	Eng	15	15		1916	12	3		8	2		2		
3298	Eng	11	11		1916	6	5		5	1				
3302	Eng	3	3		1916	2	1		2					
3303	Eng/Spa	3	3		1916	2	1		2					
3302	Eng	10	10		1917	9	1		8			1		
3303	Eng/Spa	12	11	1	1917	10	1		8			1		
3348	Eng	9	5	4	1917	4	1		4					
3349	Eng	6	3	3	1917	2	1		2					

**St. Peter's Documents - Baptisms:
Parentage - A**

Image #	Baptism Year	Categories based on Surnames of Parents										
		Ang + Sp legit	Ang + Sp Illegit	Ang + Sp Unknown	Other Combo	Other Combo Unknown	Anglo Single Mom	Anglo Single Mom Unknown	Spanish Single Mom	Spanish Single Mom Unknown	Other Single Parent	O.S.P. Unknown
3286	1910		2				2		1			
3287	1910		1						1			
3347	1910		2		1		3					
3282	1911				1		2		1		1	
3283	1911						1					
3285	1911				1		1					
3288	1911						1		2			
3289	1911						1					
3284	1912						4					
3290	1912						2					
3291	1912		1				1					
3292	1912		1				2					
3280	1913				2		3		1			
3281	1913				1		3		2			
3294	1913				1							
3299	1913						1				2	
3300	1913								1			
3293	1914											
3294	1914											
3295	1914											
3296	1914											
3293	1915				1				2			
3294	1915										1	
3295	1915				2		2					
3296	1915				2				1			
3298	1915											
3278	1916		1				1		1			
3279	1916						2					
3297	1916				2		1					
3298	1916				2		2		1			
3302	1916						1					
3303	1916		1									
3302	1917								1			
3303	1917								1		1	
3348	1917								1			
3349	1917								1			

**St. Peter's Documents - Baptisms:
Parentage - B**

Image #	Language	Total Entries	Complete Entries	Partial Entries	Baptism Year	Total Legit	Total Illegit	Legitimacy Unknown	Categories based on Surnames of Parents					
									Anglo Legit	Anglo Illegit	Anglo Unknown	Spanish Legit	Spanish Illegit	Spanish Unknown
3266	Eng	15	13	2	1918	9	4		7	2		1		
3267	Eng	15	12	3	1918	9	3		7			1	1	
3271	Eng/Spa	9	8	1	1918	6	2		5					
3349	Eng	5	5		1918	2	3		2	1				
3270	Eng	12	12		1919	9	3		8			1		
3276	Eng	17	17		1919	14	3		13	1				
3277	Eng	16	16		1919	9	7		8	2			2	
3317	Eng	4	4		1919	3	1		3	1				
3272	Eng	9	8	1	1920	6	2		4			1		
3317	Eng	11	11		1920	8	3		6			2		
3318	Eng	19	19		1920	10	9		8	1		1		
3272	Eng	4	4		1921	4			4					
3273	Eng	13	12	1	1921	10	2		9			1		
3311	Eng	16	12	4	1921	11	1		8			1		
3313	Eng	2	2		1921		2							
3315	Eng	18	16	2	1921	13	3		8			2	1	
3316	Eng	16	15	1	1921	10	5		9			1		
3312	Eng	16	14	2	1922	9	5		7					
3313	Eng	7	6	1	1922	4	2		3			1		
3274	Eng	13	13		1923	10	3		10	1				
3275	Eng	12	12		1923	9	3		7			1		
3306	Eng	12	11	1	1923	9	2		7			2		
3307	Eng	15	14	1	1923	8	5	1	7	1				
3313	Eng	6	6		1923	2	4		1			1		
3314	Eng	14	13	1	1923	11	2		7			1		
3275	Eng	2	2		1924		2			1				
3304	Eng	7	7		1924	6	1		3			2		
3305	Eng	13	12	1	1924	7	5		4	1		2		
3308	Eng	12	12		1924	8	4		5			2	1	
3309	Eng	15	15		1924	14	1		11			2		
3304	Eng	4	4		1925	2	2		1	1		1		
3351	Eng	12	11	1	1925	7	4		5			2	1	
3265 / 3258	Eng	33	29	4	1925	14	15		10	1		2		
3350 / 3264	Eng	35	33	2	1925	15	18		10	2		5	1	

**St. Peter's Documents - Baptisms:
Parentage - B**

Image #	Baptism Year	Categories based on Surnames of Parents										
		Ang + Sp legit	Ang + Sp Illegit	Ang + Sp Unknown	Other Combo	Other Combo Unknown	Anglo Single Mom	Anglo Single Mom Unknown	Spanish Single Mom	Spanish Single Mom Unknown	Other Single Parent	O.S.P. Unknown
3266	1918	1	1		1							
3267	1918	1										
3271	1918		1		1		1					
3349	1918						1				1	
3270	1919						3					
3276	1919				1		1		1			
3277	1919		1		1		2					
3317	1919											
3272	1920				1				2			
3317	1920		1				1		1			
3318	1920		1		4		1		3			
3272	1921											
3273	1921		1				1					
3311	1921		1		2							
3313	1921						1				1	
3315	1921		1		3		1					
3316	1921						1		3		1	
3312	1922				3		2				2	
3313	1922		1				1					
3274	1923		1				1					
3275	1923						1		2		1	
3306	1923		1						1			
3307	1923		3		2		1					
3313	1923		1				2		1			
3314	1923				3				2			
3275	1924						1					
3304	1924				1		1					
3305	1924				1		1		3			
3308	1924		1		1		1				1	
3309	1924				1		1					
3304	1925		1									
3351	1925		1				2					
3265 / 3258	1925		3		6		1		5		1	
3350 / 3264	1925		4		3		2		4		2	

**St. Peter's Documents - Baptisms:
Parentage – C**

Image #	Language	Total Entries	Complete Entries	Partial Entries	Baptism Year	Total Legit	Total Illegit	Legitimacy Unknown	Categories based on Surnames of Parents					
									Anglo Legit	Anglo Illegit	Anglo Unknown	Spanish Legit	Spanish Illegit	Spanish Unknown
3259 / 3103	Eng	16	16		1925	4	12		4	3			1	
3259 / 3103	Eng	13	12	1	1926	3	2	7	1		1			2
3104 / 3257	Eng	35	34	1	1926	22	8	4	14					
3256 / 3262	Eng	7	7		1926	1	2	4			3			
3256 / 3262	Eng	24	24		1927	16	2	6	11			1		1
3263 / 3321	Eng	33	33		1927	13		20	8		6			2
3322 / 3075	Eng	22	22		1927	5	17		2	5		2	4	
3322 / 3075	Eng	8	8		1928	4	4		4					
3076 / 3077	Eng	33	33		1928	20	13		17	2		3	2	
3078 / 3105	Eng	24	23	1	1928	13	10		9	1		4		
3106 / 3261	Eng	34	33	1	1929	2	31		2	10			1	
3260 / 3080	Eng	34	33	1	1929	9	24		5	5		2		
3081 / 3325	Eng	23	23		1931	18	5		9			4		
3081 / 3325	Eng	9	9		1932	8	1		4			1		
3326 / 3324	Eng/Spa	26	26		1932	16	10		8	2		4		
3323 / 3346	Eng/Spa	30	30		1933	15	15		7			5	1	
3345 / 3332	Eng	30	29	1	1934	19	10		11			1	2	
3331 / 3319	Eng/Spa	34	33	1	1935	22	11		11	2		8		

**St. Peter's Documents - Baptisms:
Parentage - C**

Image #	Baptism Year	Categories based on Surnames of Parents										
		Ang + Sp legit	Ang + Sp Illegit	Ang + Sp Unknown	Other Combo	Other Combo Unknown	Anglo Single Mom	Anglo Single Mom Unknown	Spanish Single Mom	Spanish Single Mom Unknown	Other Single Parent	O.S.P. Unknown
3259 / 3103	1925		3		2				3			
3259 / 3103	1926			1	2	2		1	2			
3104 / 3257	1926	7		2	1	2	2		6			
3256 / 3262	1926	1		1			1		1			
3256 / 3262	1927	3		1	1	2	2	1		1		
3263 / 3321	1927	3		2	2	1		2		5		2
3322 / 3075	1927		2		5				2			
3322 / 3075	1928		1				2		1			
3076 / 3077	1928		1				2		3		3	
3078 / 3105	1928		3				1		2		3	
3106 / 3261	1929		8				4		4		4	
3260 / 3080	1929		5		3		6		4		3	
3081 / 3325	1931	4			1		3		2			
3081 / 3325	1932	3	1									
3326 / 3324	1932	3			2		3		4			
3323 / 3346	1933	3	1				4		9			
3345 / 3332	1934	3	0		4		2		5		1	
3331 / 3319	1935	2	3		2		3		1		1	

**St. Peter's Documents - Baptisms:
Parentage – D**

Image #	Language	Total Entries	Complete Entries	Partial Entries	Baptism Year	Total Legit	Total Illegit	Legitimacy Unknown	Categories based on Surnames of Parents					
									Anglo Legit	Anglo Illegit	Anglo Unknown	Spanish Legit	Spanish Illegit	Spanish Unknown
3330 / 3344	Eng/Spa	5	4	1	1935	1	3					1		
3328 / 3343	Eng/Spa	6	5	1	1935	5			4			1		
3330 / 3344	Eng/Spa	28	27	1	1936	20	7		13			6		
3328 / 3343	Eng/Spa	29	29		1936	16	13		6			4		

**St. Peter's Documents - Baptisms:
Parentage – D**

Image #	Baptism Year	Categories based on Surnames of Parents										
		Ang + Sp legit	Ang + Sp Illegit	Ang + Sp Unknown	Other Combo	Other Combo Unknown	Anglo Single Mom	Anglo Single Mom Unknown	Spanish Single Mom	Spanish Single Mom Unknown	Other Single Parent	O.S.P. Unknown
3330 / 3344	1935						1		2			
3328 / 3343	1935											
3330 / 3344	1936				1		4		1		2	
3328 / 3343	1936	4			2		7		6			

St. Peter's Documents - Baptisms: Place of Residence – E

Image #	Baptism Year	Complete Entries	Algarrobos	Anadel	Arenas	Arenoso	Arroyo Barril	Boba	Los Cacaos	Las Canitas	Carenero	Ciudad	Clara	Los Cocos	Curet	Dosu	Las Fechas
3286	1910	15											2				
3287	1910	13											8				
3347	1910	15											5				
3282	1911	10											3				
3283	1911	12											3				
3285	1911	8				1							1			1	
3288	1911	12											1				
3289	1911	11											4				
3284	1912	10								1				1			
3290	1912	6											4				
3291	1912	13												1			
3292	1912	13											3				
3280	1913	13											2				1
3281	1913	15											2				
3294	1913	5											1				
3299	1913	13											3				
3300	1913	11											2				
3293	1914	3											2				
3294	1914	9											1				
3295	1914	2											1				
3296	1914	5											1				
3293	1915	14											4				
3294	1915	2											1				
3295	1915	16											9				
3296	1915	10											2				
3298	1915	4											1				
3278	1916	9											1				
3279	1916	9											4				
3297	1916	15											4				
3298	1916	11											2				
3302	1916	3											1				
3303	1916	3															
3302	1917	10											3				
3303	1917	11											6		1		
3348	1917	5															
3349	1917	3											1				
3266	1918	13				1				1			3				

St. Peter's Documents - Baptisms: Place of Residence - E

Image #	Baptism Year	Grenos	Honduras	J_ajagual	Jovero	Juana Nunez	Juana Vicente	Limon	Majaguay	Matanzas	Mon Rouge	N. West	Noroeste	Palmarito	Pascuala	Puerta	Punta Balandra
3286	1910		7									1					
3287	1910		3									1					
3347	1910		1									6					
3282	1911		2									4					
3283	1911		1						1			3					
3285	1911											3					
3288	1911		2									4				1	
3289	1911		2									3					
3284	1912		1									4					
3290	1912		1														
3291	1912		2						1			4					
3292	1912		3									3					
3280	1913			1								7					
3281	1913		5									3					
3294	1913											1					
3299	1913		3					1				3					
3300	1913		2														
3293	1914											1					
3294	1914		2									5			1		
3295	1914											1					
3296	1914											3					
3293	1915		7									3					
3294	1915		1														
3295	1915		1									4					
3296	1915		4									2					
3298	1915		1									1					
3278	1916		2														
3279	1916	1	1									2					
3297	1916		2									5			1		
3298	1916		1									5					
3302	1916		1														
3303	1916		1		1							1					
3302	1917		2									2		1			
3303	1917											3					
3348	1917											2					
3349	1917																
3266	1918		1									6					

St. Peter's Documents - Baptisms: Place of Residence - F

Image #	Baptism Year	Complete Entries	Algarrobos	Anadel	Arenas	Arenoso	Arroyo Barril	Boba	Los Cacaos	Las Canitas	Carenero	Ciudad	Clara	Los Cocos	Curet	Dosu	Las Fechas
3267	1918	12											4				
3271	1918	8											3				
3349	1918	5											2	1			
3270	1919	12											5				
3276	1919	17											7	1		1	
3277	1919	16											1			1	
3317	1919	4				1							1				
3272	1920	8											3				
3317	1920	11											4				
3318	1920	19		2									3				1
3272	1921	4											2				
3273	1921	12	3										4				
3311	1921	13	2			1							3				
3313	1921	2									1						
3315	1921	16	2			1							2				
3316	1921	15	1										5				
3312	1922	14	1										2				
3313	1922	6											2				
3274	1923	13	3								1		2				
3275	1923	12	2			1							1				
3306	1923	11				2					2		3				
3307	1923	14						2	1				3				
3313	1923	6											3				
3314	1923	13	1										1				
3275	1924	2															
3304	1924	7	1										3				
3305	1924	12	2		1	1							4				
3308	1924	12						2									
3309	1924	15	1										5				
3304	1925	4											3				
3351	1925	11											1				
3265 / 3258	1925	29	2			1							5				
3350 / 3264	1925	33									2		8				
3259 / 3103	1925	16	2										3				

St. Peter's Documents - Baptisms: Place of Residence - F

Image #	Baptism Year	Grenos	Honduras	J_ajagual	Jovero	Juana Nunez	Juana Vicente	Limon	Majaguay	Matanzas	Mon Rouge	N. West	Noroeste	Palmarito	Pascuala	Puerta	Punta Balandra
3267	1918											4					
3271	1918											2					
3349	1918		1									1					
3270	1919		3									4					
3276	1919		3										3				
3277	1919		2									3					
3317	1919																
3272	1920		2									2					
3317	1920											4			1		
3318	1920		3										3				
3272	1921											1					
3273	1921		1									3					
3311	1921		1									4					
3313	1921		1														
3315	1921		1									6					
3316	1921		1			1	1					2					
3312	1922						2			1		1					
3313	1922		1				1					1			1		
3274	1923											5					
3275	1923		1									2					
3306	1923						1					1					
3307	1923						1					4					
3313	1923																
3314	1923		1									5					1
3275	1924		1														
3304	1924						1					1					
3305	1924		4														
3308	1924		1									2			1		
3309	1924		5									3					
3304	1925						1										
3351	1925		1				6					1			1		
3265 / 3258	1925		5				3					6			1		
3350 / 3264	1925		7				3					3					
3259 / 3103	1925		1				3					3					

St. Peter's Documents - Baptisms: Place of Residence - F

Image #	Baptism Year	Rio Limon	River St. John	Rio San Juan	Romana	Sabana de la Mar	Samana	Sanchez	San Juan	Spinana	Las Terrenas	Thesson	UID	El Valle	Yagrumos	Los Yaguano
3267	1918			1			2					1				
3271	1918		1				2									
3349	1918															
3270	1919															
3276	1919		1								1					
3277	1919	1					5		1		1	1				
3317	1919						1	1								
3272	1920						1									
3317	1920						1				1					
3318	1920		1				5					1				
3272	1921						1									
3273	1921			1												
3311	1921		1									1				
3313	1921															
3315	1921									1		2	1			
3316	1921						1	3								
3312	1922		1				5	1								
3313	1922															
3274	1923						1				1					
3275	1923		1				2					2				
3306	1923		1								1					
3307	1923						1							2		
3313	1923			1			2									
3314	1923						4									
3275	1924						1									
3304	1924		1													
3305	1924															
3308	1924		1			1	2				1	1				
3309	1924											1				
3304	1925															
3351	1925							1								
3265 / 3258	1925		1				3					1	1			
3350 / 3264	1925						4				3		1			2
3259 / 3103	1925		1				2						1			

St. Peter's Documents - Baptisms: Place of Residence - G

Image #	Baptism Year	Grenos	Honduras	J_ajagal	Jovero	Juana Nunez	Juana Vicente	Limon	Majaguay	Matanzas	Mon Rouge	N. West	Noroeste	Palmarito	Pascuala	Puerta	Punta Balandra
3259 / 3103	1926		1									1					
3104 / 3257	1926		3				3					4			1		
3256 / 3262	1926						2					2					
3256 / 3262	1927		5									2			1		
3263 / 3321	1927		7				5					6					
3322 / 3075	1927		1														
3322 / 3075	1928											1					
3076 / 3077	1928		1				2					5					
3078 / 3105	1928		4				3					4			1		
3106 / 3261	1929		8				3				1	8					
3260 / 3080	1929		4				2	1				6					
3081 / 3325	1931		5										1				
3081 / 3325	1932		1														
3326 / 3324	1932		3										4				
3323 / 3346	1933		2										2				9
3345 / 3332	1934						1					2	3		1		
3331 / 3319	1935		2									1	4				
3330 / 3344	1935						3						1				

St. Peter's Documents - Baptisms: Place of Residence - H

Image #	Baptism Year	Complete Entries	Algarrobos	Anadel	Arenas	Arenoso	Arroyo Barril	Boba	Los Cacaos	Las Canitas	Carenero	Ciudad	Clara	Los Cocos	Curet	Dosu	Las Fechas
3328 / 3343	1935	5	1										1				
3320 / 3327	1935	33	2			1						4	8				
3330 / 3344	1936	27	6				1					2	6				
3328 / 3343	1936	29	3										6				

St. Peter's Documents - Baptisms: Place of Residence - H

Image #	Baptism Year	Grenos	Honduras	J_ajagual	Jovero	Juana Nunez	Juana Vicente	Limon	Majaguay	Matanzas	Mon Rouge	N. West	Noroeste	Palmarito	Pascuala	Puerta	Punta Balandra
3328 / 3343	1935		1										1		1		
3320 / 3327	1935		2										3				
3330 / 3344	1936		2				1						6				
3328 / 3343	1936		3				8						2				

St. Peter's Documents - Baptisms: Place of Residence – H

Image #	Baptism Year	Rio Limon	River St. John	Rio San Juan	Romana	Sabana de la Mar	Samana	Sanchez	San Juan	Spinana	Las Terrenas	Thesson	UID	El Valle	Yagrumos	Los Yaguano
3328 / 3343	1935															
3320 / 3327	1935										13					
3330 / 3344	1936			1			1							1		
3328 / 3343	1936			1	1		4					1				

St. Peter's Documents: Marriage Licenses – I

Image #	Language	Year	Goom's Name	Bride's Name	G. Father's Name	B. Father's Name	Minister
3093	English	1911	Joshua Thomas Dishmey	Anasaria Druillard	Abraham Dishmey	Carlos Drullard	A. E. Adams
3094	English	1911	Isaac Vander Horst	Judith Silverberg	Peter R. Vander Horst	Aaron Silverberg	Alfred E. Adams
3068	English	1912	William Manah James	Leticia Johnson	Richard James	John Johnson	J. P. James
3069	English	1912	John Redman	He[rn]egilda "Isabella" Banks	----- Redman	----- Banks	J. P. James
3070	English	1912	Emanuel Anderson	Antonia Teodora Jones	Alexander Anderson	----- Jones	J. P. James
3071	English	1912	Peter Simons	Maria Ines Gregoria Lake	Peter Simons	John Wesley Lake	Alfred E. Adams
3072	English	1912	John Henry Adams	Tomasa Clorinda Jesurum	James Adams	Pedro Jesurum	Alfred E. Adams
3073	English	1912	Rosendo Anderson	Sarah Elizabeth Dishmey	Felix Anderson	John Dishmey	A. E. Adams
3074	English	1912	John Dickenson	Beatrice Olivia Williams	John Dickenson	John Williams	A. E. Adams
3085	English	1912	Ellis Stubbs	Elizabeth Vander Horst Eve	Hampden Stubbs	Nathaniel Eve	A. E. Adams
3086	English	1912	Manuel Johnson	Hannah Kelly	mother: Araminta Johnson	Esau Kelly	A. E. Adams
3089	English	1912	Timothy Copelain	Regina King	David Copelain	Jacob King	A. E. Adams
3090	English	1912	Moses Anderson	Constantia Copelain	Alexander Anderson	Amos Hilton	A. E. Adams
3057	English	1913	William Shepherd	Sarah Redman	Charles Redding	Elijah Shepheard	A. E. Adams
3058	English	1913	Caesar Anderson	Margaret Elizabeth Vander Horst	Elijah Anderson	Peter R. Vander Horst	A. E. Adams
3059	English	1913	Joshua Green	Mary Ann Newton	Peter Green	Thomas Newton	A. E. Adams

St. Peter's Documents: **Marriage Licenses – I**

Image #	G. Condition	B. Condition	G. Calling	B. Calling	G. Residence	B. Residence	G. Age	B. Age
3093	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Samana	Los Cocos	30	26
3094	Widower	Spinster	Assistant Station Master	Dress-maker	Sanchez	Samana	42	23
3068	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Honduras	Honduras	29	36
3069	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Hundura	Hondura	21	19
3070	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Samana	Northwest	27	19
3071	Bachelor	Spinster	Carpenter	-	Samana	Samana	25	25
3072	Bachelor	Spinster	Carpinter	School - mistress	Samana	Samana	29	29
3073	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Theson	Clara	30	20
3074	Bachelor	Spinster	Carpenter	-	Samana	Samana	30	x
3085	Bachelor	Spinster	Barber	-	Samana	x	35	28
3086	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Clara	Clara	23	20
3089	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Los Cocos	North West	39	24
3090	Bachelor	Widow	Farmer	-	Samana	North West	42	43
3057	Widower	Spinster	Farmer	-	N. West	N. West	x	21
3058	x	X	Farmer	Seam-stress	Samana	Samana	44	35
3059	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Honduras	Honduras	19	19

St. Peter's Documents: **Marriage Licenses – J**

Image #	Language	Year	Goom's Name	Bride's Name	G. Father's Name	B. Father's Name	Minister
3060	English	1913	Paulus Buck Jr	Amanda Carey	Paulus Buck Sr	Alfred Carey	A. E. Adams
3061	English	1913	Robert Leopold Galiber	Trinidad Antonio	Felix A. Galiber	Alfonso Anthonio	Alfred E. Adams
3062	English	1913	Placido Capua	Laura Petrona Mitchel	Joaquin Oranjo	Joseph Mitchel	A. E. Adams
3063	English	1913	Alexander Crime	Julia Henrietta Maria Newman	Matthew Crime	Victor Newman	A. E. Adams
3064	English	1913	Jose Julio Barrett	Mary Jane King	Joseph Barrett	James King	A. E. Adams
3065	English	1913	Clandino Jerome Adams	Caridad Di Luccas	Angel Di Luccas	James Adams	A. E. Adams
3066	English	1913	Jeremiah Henderson	Polonia [no surname given]	John Henderson	Mother: Francisca Siriano	A. E. Adams
3067	English	1913	Simeon Paul	Loranciana Gerracio	Louis J. Paul	Leon Gerracio	J. P. James
3054	English	1914	Daniel Miller	Leonora Hilton	Daniel Miller	Gonzalez Hilton	J. P. James
3055	English	1914	Jesse Miller	Ricarda Heronimo	Daniel Miller	_____ Heronimo	J. P. James
3051	English	1915	Amos Hilton	Aurelia Hilton	Amos Hilton	Carthio Hilton	J. P. James
3052	English	1915	Charles Johnson Redding	Isabella Metivier	Charles Redding	Abraham Metivier	J. P. James
3053	English	1915	Charles Rogers	Dora Jane Williams	Charles Rogers Sr	John Williams	J. P. James
3056	English	1915	John L. Jones	Lucie Tucker	John L. Jones	James Gracequi	W. Emerson Mears
3044	English	1916	Isau Kelly	Diana Carey	Isau Kelly	Jane Carey	J. P. James
3045	English	1916	Peter Richardson Hamilton	Nicolasa Tolentino de Jesus	Chas Hamilton	Eulogio de Jesus	W. E. Mears
3046	English	1916	Isaac Anderson	Teresa Green	Martin Trinidad	Peter Green	W. E. Mears

St. Peter's Documents: **Marriage Licenses - J**

Image #	G. Condition	B. Condition	G. Calling	B. Calling	G. Residence	B. Residence	G. Age	B. Age
3060	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	X	Samana	Samana	28	20
3061	Bachelor	Spinster	Painter	-	Samana	Samana	21	17
3062	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Honduras	Honduras	32	22
3063	Bachelor	Spinster	Retired Merchant	Seamstress	Samana	Samana	x	x
3064	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	River St. John	N. West	29	26
3065	Bachelor	Spinster	Tailor	-	Samana	Samana	19	19
3066	Bachelor	Spinster	Labourer	-	Sanchez	Sanchez	30	22
3067	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Las Pascuala	Hondura	24	20
3054	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	N. West	N. West	19	17
3055	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	N. West	N. West	-	-
3051	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Seamstress	N. West	N. West	42	21
3052	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	N. West	N. West	26	19
3053	Bachelor	Spinster	Seaman	Seamstress	N. West	N. West	31	22
3056	Bachelor	Spinster	Tailor	-	Sanchez	Samana	28	30
3044	Single	Single	Farmer	Seamstress	Clara	Honduras	26	16
3045	Single	Single	Sailor	Seamstress	Samana	Samana	33	32
3046	Single	Widow	Agri	Agri	Honduras	Honduras	37	30

St. Peter's Documents: Marriage Licenses - K

Image #	Language	Year	Goom's Name	Bride's Name	G. Father's Name	B. Father's Name	Minister
3047	English	1916	Andrew Anderson	Laura Adams	Elijah Anderson	James Adams	W. Emerson Mears
3048	English	1916	Joseph Kelly	Estefania Dominguez	[I]sau Kelly	Agapita Domingues	J. P. James
3049	English	1916	Cartio Gacia	Florencia Heronima	Feronima Garcia	Elias Medina	J. P. James
3050	English	1916	Francisco Anderson	Elomena Dishmey	John Dishmey, Carolina Dishmey	Felex Anderson (dead	J. P. James
3037	English	1917	Miguel Guerrero	Margaret Rollins	missing	missing	W. Emerson Mears
3038	English	1917	Isaac Coats	Mary Jane Willmore	Daniel Coats	Wesley Willmore	W. E. Mears
3039	English	1917	Napoleon Anderson	Juanita Kelly	Elijah Anderson	Eugenia de Pena Viuda Kelly	J. P. James
3040	English	1917	Daniel Kelley	Justina Dishmey	Jacob Kelley	Josiah Dishmey	Wm Emerson Mears
3041	English	1917	Peter Anderson	Angelina Rondon	Elijah Anderson	Pedro M. Rondon	J. P. James
3042	English	1917	Timoteo Diviueaux	Urmena Johnson	Pedro Diviueaul	John Johnson	J. P. James
3043	English	1917	Jesse Jones	[E]stebania [Guedangeaudo]	Abraham Jones	-	J. P. James
3033	English	1918	Anjel de Jesus	Hannah Anderson	missing	missing	missing
3034	English	1918	Ambrocio de Pena	Ellen Green	Alfonsonia de Pena	Ellen Green	J. P. James
3035	English	1918	Jacob Green	Harriet Anderson	missing	missing	missing
3036	English	1918	John Barrett	Ines Darmut	missing	missing	missing
3014	English	1919	Wesley Barrett	Ellen King	John Barrett	Nelson King	W. E. Mears
3015	English	1919	Oliverio Livi Hilton	Carolina Isabella Metivier	John Hilton	Bruno Metivier	J. P. James

St. Peter's Documents: **Marriage Licenses - K**

Image #	G. Condition	B. Condition	G. Calling	B. Calling	G. Residence	B. Residence	G. Age	B. Age
3047	Widower	Single	Civil Service	Civil Service	Samana	Samana	43	[3]5
3048	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Seamstress	Clara	Honduras	27	19
3049	Bachelor	-	Farmer	Seamstress	N. West	N. West	50	53
3050	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Seamstress	Clara	Clara	26	22
3037	Bachelor	Spinster	missing	missing	missing	missing	24	23
3038	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Norwest	Norwest	35	26
3039	Widower	Single	Farmer	-	River St. John	Clara	53	30
3040	Single	Single	Farmer	Farmer	Clara	Clara	22	19
3041	Single	Single	Farmer	Seamstress	Las Teranas	Las Teranas	41	26
3042	Single	Single	Tailor	Seamstress	Samana	Samana	37	31
3043	Single	Single	Farmer	Seamstress	N. West	River St. John	29	20
3033	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing
3034	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Clara	N. West	29	20
3035	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing
3036	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing	missing
3014	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Farmer	Tesson	Noroeste	24	19
3015	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	N. West	N. West	28	18

St. Peter's Documents: **Marriage Licenses - L**

Image #	Language	Year	Goom's Name	Bride's Name	G. Father's Name	B. Father's Name	Minister
3016	English	1919	George Kelly	Emily Johnson	Esua Kelly	Samuel Johnson	J. P. James
3017	English	1919	Samuel Smith	Maria Moses	Robert Smith	John Moses	J. P. James
3018	English	1919	Emelio de Pena	Letitia Kelly	Alfonsina de Pena	Jacob Kelly	J. P. James
3019	English	1919	Ezekiel Jackson	Florencia de Pena	[Eutagaio] Jackson	Patricio de Pena	J. P. James
3020	English	1919	Frederick Banks	Dominga G. Alcala	Frances W. Banks	Valerio Alcala	J. P. James
3021	English	1919	Jeremiah Newton	Epegenia Capua	-	-	J. P. James
3022	English	1919	Hezekiah Johnson	Lorenza Salomon	Alexander Johnson (deceased)	Emilio Figaro	Wm Emerson Mears
3023	English	1919	Albert Anderson	Elizabeth Shepherd	Elijah Anderson (deceased)	Manuel Shepherd	Wm Emerson Mears
3024	English	1919	Caesar Anderson	Andrea Drulliard	Caesar Anderson, deceased	Primo Feliciano Grulla	W. Emerson Mears
3025	English	1919	Roman Virgilio Green	Odelia Paul	Charles Green	Harriet Paul	J. P. James
3026	English	1919	Isaac Green	Sarah Paul	Jacob Green	Harriet Paul	J. P. James
3027	English	1919	Ferdinand C. Oneale	Eva Medora Vander Horst	Jacob M. Oneale	Isaac S. Vander Horst	J. P. James
3028	English	1919	Bautista Martinez	Ellen Anderson	[E]leonesa Martinez	Cesar Anderson	J. P. James
3029	English	1919	John Copelin	Louisa Dishmay	Peter Copelin	Lewis Dishmay	x
3030	English	1919	Nathaniel King	Harriet Johnson	Jacob King	Alexander Johnson	J. P. James
3031	English	1919	John Caesar Redman	Antonia Hilton	John Hilton	Charles Redman	J. P. James
3013	English	1919/1920	John Jones	Harriet Hilton	Abraham Jones	John Hilton	J. P. James
3008	English	1920	Aristarchus Jackson	Francisca Mercedes	-	-	Wm Solomon

St. Peter's Documents: **Marriage Licenses - L**

Image #	G. Condition	B. Condition	G. Calling	B. Calling	G. Residence	B. Residence	G. Age	B. Age
3016	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	Clara	Clara	24	22
3017	Bachelor	Single	Mason	Domestic	Samana	Samana	62	50
3018	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	Clara	Clara	27	22
3019	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	Clara	Clara	32	24
3020	Widower	Spinster	Farmer	Seamstress	Honduras	Samana	42	32
3021	Single	Single	Farmer	Seamstress	Norwest	Samana	32	29
3022	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Farmer	Honduras	Honduras	25	25
3023	Single	Single	Farmer	Farmer	St. John	Noroeste	26	23
3024	Bachelor	Widow	agricultor	agricultor	Las Terrenas	Las Terrenas	21	28
3025	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	Honduras	Honduras	25	21
3026	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	N. West	Honduras	20	19
3027	Bachelor	Spinster	x	Seamstress	[Virgin Gorda]	Samana	33	24
3028	Bachelor	Single	Farmer	House Keeper	Las Terrenas	Las Terrenas	42	23
3029	Bachelor	Single	Farmer	-	Clara	Clara	27	18
3030	Bachelor	Single	Farmer	Seamstress	N. West	Honduras	-	-
3031	Bachelor	Single	Farmer	x	N. West	Samana	-	21
3013	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	N. West	N. West	30	24
3008	Widower	Spinster	Farmer	-	Thesson	Thesson	41	35

St. Peter's Documents: **Marriage Licenses - M**

Image #	Language	Year	Goom's Name	Bride's Name	G. Father's Name	B. Father's Name	Minister
3009	English	1920	Thomas Hor	Louisa Janvier	Willie Hor (deceased)	Esau Janvier	Wm Solomon
3010	English	1920	Daniel Kelly	Carolina Jones	Jeremiah Kelly	Wishinga[ui] Jones	J. P. James
3011	English	1920	Vilman Mindro[ce]	Victoria Dishmay	Chappisette Mindroce	John Dishmay	J. P. James
3012	English	1920	Joseph Johnson	Carolina Kelley	Samuel Johnson	Esau Kelley	J. P. James
2998	English	1921	Timothy Manuel Metivier	Catherine Isabella Buck	Hilario Metivier	Paul Buck	Wm Solomon
2999	English	1921	Palm Anderson	Margarita Kelly	Moses Alexander Anderson (deceased)	Rachel Derrickson	Wm Solomon
3000	English	1921	Samuel Coleridge Walters	Ada Theodora Flax	Samuel Ezekiel Walters	Samuel Flax	Wm Solomon
3001	English	1921	Ramon Antonio Rosario	Leonora Stubbs	Juliano Rosario	Hampton Stubbs	x
3002	English	1921	Joseph Buntin	Irene Janvier	Joseph Henry Buntin	Isaiah Janvier	Wm Solomon
3003	English	1921	Andrew Johnson	Mary Anderson	Samuel Johnson	x	Wm Solomon
3004	English	1921	Amelius King	Elena Rodney	X	x	Wm Solomon
3005	English	1921	George Lemuel Haven	Mary Jane Derricks	X	John Derricks (deceased)	Wm Solomon
3006	English	1921	Abraham Carey	Petronila Hernandez	Alfred Carey	Maria C. Hernandez	x
3007	English	1921	Concu	Francisca de Jesus	X	x	Wm Solomon
2985	English	1922	Elamuel King	Priscilla Shepherd	Joshua King	Elijah Shepherd	Wm Solomon
2991	English	1922	Tenelao Alcala	Matilda Robinson	Matthew Johnson	Manuel Robinson	Wm Solomon
2992	English	1922	Jose Medina	Elmina Johnson	Jose Medina	Alexander Johnson	Wm Solomon

St. Peter's Documents: **Marriage Licenses - M**

Image #	G. Condition	B. Condition	G. Calling	B. Calling	G. Residence	B. Residence	G. Age	B. Age
3009	Bachelor	Spinster	Ship's mate	-	Samana	Samana	36	35
3010	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Seamstress	N. West	N. West	23	22
3011	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Seamstress	Clara	Clara	35	24
3012	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Seamstress	Clara	Theson	26	22
2998	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Samana	Samana	32	32
2999	Bachelor	Spinster	Pilot	-	Samana	Samana	57	28
3000	Bachelor	Spinster	Mechanic	Dress Maker	Samana	Samana	32	26
3001	Bachelor	Spinster	Telephone Clerk	Seamstress	Samana	Samana	29	23
3002	Bachelor	Widow	Sailor	-	San Pedro de Marcoris	Samana	56	36
3003	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Clara	Clara	X	x
3004	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Northwest	Clara	X	x
3005	Widower	Spinster	Bank Clerk	-	Barahona	Samana	39	35
3006	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	x	Las Terrenas	Las Terrenas	31	28
3007	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Northwest	North West	25	21
2985	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Samana	Samana	20	28
2991	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Honduras	Honduras	24	20
2992	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Las Terrenas	Honduras	24	21

St. Peter's Documents: **Marriage Licenses - N**

Image #	Language	Year	Goom's Name	Bride's Name	G. Father's Name	B. Father's Name	Minister
2993	English	1922	Henry Mulvin Thomas	Eliza Ray	Francis Thomas	Charles Ray (deceased)	Wm Solomon
2994	English	1922	Moses Vanderhorst	Elmina Anderson	Moses Vanderhorst (deceased)	Caesar Anderson (deceased)	Wm Solomon
2995	English	1922	Charles Tregarten Rymer	Susan Letitia James	Francis Rymer	Noah James (deceased)	Wm Solomon
2997	English	1922	Olegario Medina	Juliana Vegen Padilla	Jose Medina	Juan Padilla	x
2967	English	1923	Webster Wilmore	Celestina Anderson	Elijah Wilmore	Jeremiah Anderson (deceased)	William Solomon
2968	English	1923	Arthur O'Neale	Aurelia Williams	Alexander O'Neale (deceased), Catherine Elizabeth O'Neale	Jacob Carey	Wm Solomon
2970	English	1923	Celestino Mario	Juana Martinez	Natividad Mario (deceased)	Manuel Martinez	Wm Solomon
2971	English	1923	Joseph Eugenio Jones	Isabel Nunez	Joseph Eugenio Jones	Benito Nunez	Wm Solomon
2973	English	1923	Juan Pomacen	Mary Metivier	Jose Fluencia, Maria Louteria Garcia	Abraham Metivier, Isabella	Wm Solomon
2974	English	1923	Peter David Ray	Angela Maria	Charles Ray (deceased)	x	Wm Solomon
2975	English	1923	Samuel Thomas	Ellender Banks	John Thomas, Dally Thomas	Sarah Banks	Wm Solomon
2976	English	1923	Andrew King	Catherine Jackson	Jacob King	Geronimo Jackson	Wm Solomon
2977	English	1923	Vicini Daniel Boyer	Regina Shepherd	Isaac Boyer	Manuel Shepherd	Wm Solomon

St. Peter's Documents: **Marriage Licenses - N**

Image #	G. Condition	B. Condition	G. Calling	B. Calling	G. Residence	B. Residence	G. Age	B. Age
2993	Widower	Spinster	Mechanic	-	Sanchez	Samana	47	33
2994	Bachelor	Spinster	Engineer	-	Samana	Samana	24	22
2995	Bachelor	Spinster	x	School Teacher	Sanchez	Samana	36	32
2997	Bachelor	Spinster	Carpenter	-	Las Terrenas	Las Terrenas	33	20
2967	Widower	Spinster	Farmer	-	Honduras	Honduras	24	18
2968	Widower	Widow	Sailor	X	Samana	Samana	55	47
2970	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	X	Las Terrenas	Las Terrenas	26	17
2971	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Honduras	North West	24	19
2973	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Juana Vicenta	Juana Vicenta	x	x
2974	Bachelor	Spinster	x	X	Samana	Samana	28	28
2975	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Honduras	Honduras	64	40
2976	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Northwest	Northwest	28	20
2977	Widower	Spinster	Farmer	X	North West	North West	36	18

St. Peter's Documents: Marriage Licenses - O

Image #	Language	Year	Goom's Name	Bride's Name	G. Father's Name	B. Father's Name	Minister
2978	English	1923	Mateo Santo	Natividad Canario	x	x	Wm Solomon
2979	English	1923	Antonio Santo	Elenilada Ubana	Mateo Santo	x	Wm Solomon
2980	English	1923	Ricardo Garcia	Altagracia Garcia	x	x	Wm Solomon
2981	English	1923	Rosendo de lo Santo	Ambrosia Garcia	x	x	Wm Solomon
2982	English	1923	Dionysio Garcia	Maria Natividad Depiton	x	x	Wm Solomon
2983	English	1923	Jesse Miller	Elzira Anderson	Daniel Miller	Caesar Anderson (deceased)	Wm Solomon
2984	English	1923	Nathaniel Miller	Victoria Anderson	Daniel Miller	Napoleon Anderson	Wm Solomon
2986	English	1923	Esau Green	Esther King	Peter Green	x	Wm Solomon
2987	English	1923	Pedro Felix Barret	Isabella Johnson	John Barrett	James Johnson	Wm Solomon
2988	English	1923	Figaro	Daniela Louis	Pedro Figaro	Timothy Anderson	Wm Solomon
2989	English	1923	Alonso Johnson	Florencia Barrett	James Johnson	John Barrett	Wm Solomon
2990	English	1923	Emilio Johnson	Nancy Green	Jeremiah Johnson	Jacob Green	Wm Solomon
2958	English	1923	Elijah Anderson	Amanda Antonia Hilton	Caesar Anderson, Harriet Copelain	Nathaniel Hilton, Antonia Johnson	Wm Solomon
2959	English	1924	Pedro Jose Benoit	Harriet Vanderhorst	Pedro Benoit	Moses Vanderhorst (deceased)	Wm Solomon
2960	English	1924	Daniel Dishmey	Cecilia Luis	John Dishmey, Carolina Coplin	Tomoteo Luis, Raynita [UID]	Frederick Faide
2961	English	1924	Israel Boyer	Harriet Barrett	Samuel Boyer, Elizabeth Dismey de Boyer	Enos Barrett, Annie Barrett	Wm Solomon

St. Peter's Documents: **Marriage Licenses - O**

Image #	G. Condition	B. Condition	G. Calling	B. Calling	G. Residence	B. Residence	G. Age	B. Age
2978	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Bobo	Bobo	60	30
2979	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Bobo	Bobo	30	30
2980	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Bobo	Bobo	32	30
2981	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Bobo	Bobo	24	20
2982	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Bobo	Bobo	32	28
2983	Widower	Spinster	Farmer	-	North West, Samana	Samana	28	20
2984	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	X	North West	North West	26	24
2986	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Bobo	Bobo	37	31
2987	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	x	x	25	20
2988	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Clara	Clara	28	19
2989	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Clara	Clara	25	29
2990	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Los Algarrobos	Los Algarrobos	36	21
2958	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Las Terrenas	North West	30	22
2959	Widower	Spinster	Painter	-	x	x	44	30
2960	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Clara	Anadel	26	22
2961	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Clara	Clara	26	22

St. Peter's Documents: Marriage Licenses – P

Image #	Language	Year	Goom's Name	Bride's Name	G. Father's Name	B. Father's Name	Minister
2962	English	1924	James Johnson	Josephine Acosta	James Johnson, Cerelia Anderson	Valdomero Wright, Maria Acosta	Wm Solomon
2963	English	1924	Jose Rostan	Hipolita Pierrot	Simeon Rostan	Sucundino Pierrot	Wm Solomon
2964	English	1924	John Boyer	Aquilina Berry	x	x	Wm Solomon
2965	English	1924	John Barrett	Hannah Dishmey	Mias Barrett	Joseph Dishmey	Wm Solomon
2966	English	1924	William Samuel Stewart	Petronila Green	Daniel Abraham Stewart	Francisco Green, Caroline Green	Wm Solomon
2886	English	1925	Caesario Barrett	Rosita de Pena	Olivario Barrett	Amanda de Pena	Wm Solomon
2887	English	1925	Jose Humberto Diaz	Ada King	Rodolfo Diaz, Antonia Medora de Diaz	William Bond	Wm Solomon
2888	English	1925	Charles Vanderhorst	Severa Miguel	Peter Vanderhorst (deceased)	Isidoro Miguel	Wm Solomon
2889	English	1925	John Wesley Barrett	Maria Isabel Jones	John Wesley Barrett, Esther Barrett	Jose Eugenio Jones, Salara Jones	Wm Solomon
2890	English	1925	Louis Wade	Maria Rosario	x	x	x
2891	English	1925	Abraham Lewis	Esther King	James Lake	James King	Wm Solomon
2892	English	1925	Thomas Coats	Sarah Jane Wilmore	Joseph Jones, Mary Coats	Elijah Wilmore	Wm Solomon
2893	English	1925	Ezekiel Buck	[Dearia] Cary	Augustus Buck, Juana Buck	Mathew Carey, Letitia Carey	Fred F[r]acide
2894	English	1925	Cesareo Jacinto	Santa del Bois	Carlo Jacinto, Lovinia Barrett	Carlos del Bois, Carlola del Pena	Eustace Mc[Neil]
2895	English	1925	James Mull__	Fecunda Fermin	Zacharia Mullex, Georgiana [Crus]	Andres Fermin, Manuela Fermin	Eustace McNeil

St. Peter's Documents: **Marriage Licenses - P**

Image #	G. Condition	B. Condition	G. Calling	B. Calling	G. Residence	B. Residence	G. Age	B. Age
2962	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Clara	Clara	x	X
2963	Widower	Spinster	Farmer	X	Samana	Las Pascualas	33	27
2964	Bachelor	Spinster	Mariner	-	Clara	Clara	31	19
2965	Widower	Spinster	Farmer	-	Thesson	Clara	29	19
2966	Bachelor	Spinster	Seaman	-	Samana	Samana	52	31
2886	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Thesson	Thesson	24	27
2887	Bachelor	Spinster	Writer for Govt Secretary	-	Samana	Samana	26	24
2888	Widower	Spinster	Farmer	X	Las Pascualas	Las Pascualas	51	35
2889	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	North West	North West	38	23
2890	x	x	X	X	x	x	x	x
2891	Widower	Spinster	Farmer	X	Honduras	North West	53	34
2892	Widower	Spinster	Mariner	-	Samana	Samana	44	29
2893	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	X	Honduras	Honduras	25	21
2894	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Farmer	Clara	Thesson	25	22
2895	Bachelor	Spinster	[culliriol n]?	X	Arroyo Barril	Arroyo Barril	50	49

St. Peter's Documents: **Marriage Licenses – Q**

Image #	Language	Year	Goom's Name	Bride's Name	G. Father's Name	B. Father's Name	Minister
2896	English	1925	Nathan Samuel	Ana Mercedes	x	x	Eustace McNeil
2900	English	1926	Andrew Kelly	Deonicea Solomon	Jeremiah Kelly, Catherine Kelly	Alexander Solomon, Anna Green Solomon	Eustace McNeil
2901	English	1926	John Fichue	Charlotte Nunez	Peder Fichue	x	Eustace McNeil
2902	English	1926	James King	Juliana Metavier	Jacob King, Leanna King	Hilario Metavier	Eustace McNeil
2903	English	1927	Hezekiah Shepherd	Catherine Miller	Emmanuel Shepherd	William Miller	Eustace McNeil
2904	English	1927	Samuel Mair James	Cecilia Luisa Ray	Simon Noah James	Carlos Martinez Ray	Eustace McNeil
2905	English	1927	Daniel Fichue	Ella Paul	Samuel Fichue	Alexander Johnson Sr	Eustace McNeil
2907	English	1927	Nathaniel Nunez	Hannah Elizabeth King	x	James King	P. Van Pulten
3107	English	1927	Martin de Pena	Caroline Jackson	Rose de Pena	Zacheaus Jackson, Leanna Jackson	Eustace McNeil
3108	English	1927	Marcelino Figaro	Sofia Balbuena	Domin__ Figaro	x	Eustace McNeil
3109	English	1927	Jose Ramirez	Catherine Redman	x	Charles Redman	Eustace McNeil
3111	English	1927	Jose Dolores Valdes	Jovina Paula Martinez	Jose C. Valdes	Manuel M. Martinez	Eustace McNeil
3087	English	1928	Samuel Paul	Evangelista Acala	Luis Paul	Pedro Acala	Eustace McNeil
3088	English	1928	Epifanin Ciriaco Stubbs	Maria Cisnero Severz	Eliseo Stubbs	Donato Severz	Eustace McNeil
3097	English	1928	Geronimo Medina	Elena Paul	Cerilio Medina	Clementine Paul	Eustace McNeil
3097	English	1928	Walter Williams	Adelina Serante	Benjamin Williams	(UID) Serante	x
3098	English	1928	Candelario Ventura	Maria Mercedes	x	Dionica Mercedes	Eustace McNeil

St. Peter's Documents: Marriage Licenses - Q

Image #	G. Condition	B. Condition	G. Calling	B. Calling	G. Residence	B. Residence	G. Age	B. Age
2896	Widower	Spinster	Tailor _____	-	Sanchez	Sanchez	55	45
2900	x	x	[culbrator]	X	Sabana la Mar	Honduras	33	18
2901	Widower	Spinster	agricultur e__	-	Juana Vicente	Juana Vicente	35	18
2902	Bachelor	Spinster	[culturator]	-	North West	North West	29	36
2903	Bachelor	Spinster	x	X	North West	Sanchez	24	22
2904	Bachelor	Spinster	merchant	house wife	Samana	Samana	31	27
2905	Bachelor	Spinster	Sergeant in P.N.	X	x	x	28	20
2907	Bachelor	Spinster	-	-	Samana	Samana	27	29
3107	Bachelor	Spinster	cultivator	-	Thesson	Thesson	23	21
3108	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Clara	Clara	24	23
3109	Bachelor	Spinster	cultivator	-	Juana Vicente	North West	40	37
3111	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Juana Vicente	Juana Vicente	40	40
3087	Bachelor	Spinster	cultivator	-	Honduras	Honduras	21	22
3088	Bachelor	Spinster	x	X	Samana	Samana	23	17
3097	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	house wife	Honduras	Honduras	34	20
3097	see notes	see notes	Farmer	-	Samana	Samana	38	38
3098	Bachelor	Spinster	cultivator	cultivator	Samana	Samana	34	33

St. Peter's Documents: Marriage Licenses – R

Image #	Language	Year	Goom's Name	Bride's Name	G. Father's Name	B. Father's Name	Minister
3098	English	1928	Gabriel Green	Analacia Leoncia Maldonado	Gabriel Green	x	x
3099	English	1928	Amalio Dishmey	Maria Barrett	Joseph Dishmey	Eli Barrett	Eustace McNeil
3099	English	1928	Jeremiah Jackson	Miriam Figaro	Zacheaus Jackson	Daniel Figaro	Eustace McNeil
3100	English	1928	Elijah Miller	Teofila Lopez	Daniel Miller	Lorenzo Lopez	Eustace McNeil
3100	English	1928	Frederick Green	Belen Simmons	Gabriel Green	William Simmons	Eustace McNeil
3101	English	1928	Edward L. Barrett	Dionisca Furchue	Emmanuel Barrett	Daniel Fichue	Eustace McNeil
3101	English	1928	Jacob Jones	Serafina [Rlau]	John Jones	Juan Acosta	Eustace McNeil
3102	English	1928	Levi Smith	Inez Miller	Benjamin Smith	William Miller	Eustace McNeil
3102	English	1928	Joseph Ladoo	Mary Ann Johnson	George Ladoo	James Johnson	x
3112	English	1928	Pedro Gabino Azol	Maria Olinda Figaro	x	Rodendo Figaro	Eustace McNeil
3117	English	1928	Isaac Dishmey	Isabella Kelly	Rosina Dishmey	Jacob Kelly	Eustace McNeil
3117	English	1928	Jeremiah Kelly	Frederica Vanderhorst	Jeremiah Kelly	William H. Vanderhorst	Eustace McNeil
3118	English	1928	Jacob Carey	Carolina Janvier (de Carey)	Jacob Carey	Isaac Janvier	Eustace McNeil
3118	English	1928	Napoleon Anderson	Juana Jose	Napoleon Anderson	Ana Rita Jose	Eustace McNeil
2951	English	1929	Andres Kelly	Altagracia Pena	Geremi__ Kelly	Alejandro Pena	x
2951	English	1929	Ruperto Figaro	Ali___ Dishmay	x	x	P. Van Putten
2952	English	1929	Hadaiah Medina	Victoria Hylton	Jeremiah Medina	Nathaniel Hylton	Eustace McNeil
2952	English	1929	William Rodney	Evangelista de Pena	x	x	Eustace McNeil
2953	English	1929	Archibald Miller	Ophelia Nunez	Daniel Miller	x	Eustace McNeil

St. Peter's Documents: **Marriage Licenses - R**

Image #	G. Condition	B. Condition	G. Calling	B. Calling	G. Residence	B. Residence	G. Age	B. Age
3098	Bachelor	Spinster	cultivator	x	Juana Vicente	Juana Vicente	37	24
3099	Bachelor	Spinster	cultivator	Dress Maker	Clara	Clara	28	25
3099	Bachelor	Spinster	cultivator	-	Clara	Clara	21	18
3100	Bachelor	Spinster	tailor	x	North West	North West	24	21
3100	Bachelor	Spinster	UID	x	Juana Vicente	Juana Vicente	32	21
3101	Bachelor	Spinster	x	x	River St. John	N. West	20	20
3101	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	x	Juana Vicente	Juana Vicente	23	22
3102	Bachelor	Spinster	cultivator	x	North West	North West	x	x
3102	Bachelor	Spinster	Joiner	-	S.P. de Marcoris	Samana	28	24
3112	Bachelor	Spinster	-	-	Thesson	Clara	x	17
3117	Bachelor	Spinster	cultivator	-	Samana	x	27	26
3117	Bachelor	Spinster	cultivator	-	Sabana de la Mar	Samana	21	20
3118	see notes	see notes	Farmer	x	Samana	Samana	44	38
3118	Bachelor	Spinster	cultivator	-	R. St. John	North West	27	22
2951	Bachelor	Spinster	UID	UID	Sain Peter	Sain Peter	17	25
2951	Soltero	Soltera	Agricultor	house wife	Clara	Clara	29	25
2952	Bachelor	Spinster	cultivator	-	North West	North West	22	20
2952	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
2953	Bachelor	-	cultivator	X	North West	North West	31	19

St. Peter's Documents: Marriage Licenses - S

Image #	Language	Year	Goom's Name	Bride's Name	G. Father's Name	B. Father's Name	Minister
2953	English	1929	Gosuly Figaro	Rebecca Kelly	Figaro	Esau Kelly	Eustace McNeil
3114	English	1929	Jeremiah Medina Jones	Hannah King	Wm Medina	Elijah King	Eustace McNeil
3114	English	1929	Luis Selver	Julia Cambero	Luis Selver	Cirilio Cambero	Eustace McNeil
3116	English	1929	John Wesley Barrett	Mary Metavier	Andrew Barrett	Metavier	Eustace McNeil
3116	English	1929	Daniel Kelly	Damiana Miguel	Daniel Kelly	UID	Eustace McNeil
2897	English	[1925]	Bertram Barrett	Isadora Jeronimo	Timothy Barrett	Arilo M. Jeronimo	Eustace McNeil
2898	English	[1925 /1926]	John Jones	Dominga Gusman Banks	Abraham Jones, Sussanah Jones	Balerio Alcalá, Lydia Alcalá	Eustace McNeil
2899	English	[1925 /1926]	Alexander Johnson	Lovina King	Elia Johnson	Helena King	Eustace McNeil
2949	English	1931	Julian W. Shepherd	Isabel Hilton	Jeny Shepherd	Nathaniel Hilton	P. Van Putten
2950	English	1931	Pedro Kelly	Eugenia Benjamin	Daniel Kelly	Santana Benjamin	Frederick Faide
2950	English	1931	Alejandro Anderson	Ines Green	Cesar Anderson	Cesar Green	Philip Van Putten
2949	English	1932	Lewis Dishmay	Eulogia Miguel	Lewis Dishmey	Pascual Miguel	P. Van Putten
2948	English	1932	Felix Figaroa	Susanna Kelly	Pedro Figaroa	Esau Kelly	P. Van Putten
2948	English	1932	John Dishmay	Isabella Copelin	Josiah Dismay	William Copelin	P. Van Putten
2954	English	1933	Oliver Vanderhorst	Francisca Johnson	William Vanderhorst	Samuel Johnson	A__orater Sancheaz
2956	E + S	1933	Peter Barrett	Paulina de Pena	Rosendo Figaro, Lo[urina] Barrett	Carlos Delboy, Carlota de Pena	Enrique Rivera
2956	English	1933	Luis Aquiles Troncoso	Elena Hamilon	Joaquin Maria Troncoso	Carlos Hamilton	Enrique Rivera

St. Peter's Documents: **Marriage Licenses - S**

Image #	G. Condition	B. Condition	G. Calling	B. Calling	G. Residence	B. Residence	G. Age	B. Age
2953	Bachelor	Spinster	cultivator	-	Clara	Mon Rouge	29	24
3114	Widower	Widow	cultivator	-	North West	North West	55	44
3114	Bachelor	Spinster	clerk	-	Samana	Castillo	25	28
3116	Bachelor	Spinster	shop keeper	Dress Maker	Samana	Samana	37	x
3116	Single	Single	agricultor	-	Clara	Thesson	25	19
2897	Bachelor	Spinster	-	-	Honduras	Honduras	24	19
2898	Widower	Widow	cultivator	-	Samana	Samana	36	39
2899	Bachelor	Spinster	cultivator	-	North West	North West	22	22
2949	Bachelor	Spinster	shoe maker	x	Sanchez	Samana	27	20
2950	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Clara	Anadel	29	19
2950	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	teacher	Las Terrenas	Honduras	25	22
2949	Bachelor	Spinster	agricultor	x	Clara	Thesson	30	23
2948	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	-	Clara	Clara	28	19
2948	x	x	Sailor	house wife	Clara	Los Algarrobos	28	26
2954	Bachelor	-	Farmer	-	Clara	Clara	30	27
2956	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	x	Clara	Clara	26	23
2956	see notes	see notes	Tailor	x	Samana	Samana	49	45

St. Peter's Documents: Marriage Licenses - T

Image #	Language	Year	Goom's Name	Bride's Name	G. Father's Name	B. Father's Name	Minister
2957	English	1933	Luis _____ Garcia	Tebatha Emily Adams	Esperanza Garcia	Emilio Adams	P. Van Putten
2957	English	1933	Marcos Alcala	Catalina Miller	Valerio Alcala	Daniel Miller	P. Van Putten
2885	English	1934	James A. Fibbs	Maria Eugene Barrett	Adolphus F_____	Andrew Bar_____	D. S. Willia__
2941	English	1934	Edwardo (Green) Karey	Elcilia Green	Cary	Green	D. S. Williams
2943	English	1934	Jeremiah Johnson	Caroline Isabel Bock	Peter Johnson	Paul S. Bock	D. Marrero
2945	English	1934	Genaro Figaro	Catalina Barrett	Domingo Figaro	I__aias Barrett	Enrique Rivera
2955	English	1934	George Coplin	Ellen Hilton	x	Nathaniel Hilton	D. S. Williams
2884	English	1935	[Gris] A. Water	Maria A. King	Teofilo Water	Federico King	D. S. Williams
2931	English	1935	Modesto Miguel	Maria Jones	[Anicasio] Miguel	Enrique de Pena, Hermina Jones	Domingo Marrero
2932	English	1935	Daniel Kelly	Mary Anderson	Jeremiah Kelly	Jeremiah Anderson	Domingo Marrero
2933	English	1935	Daniel Jackson	Ana Johnson	Zacheaus Jackson	Emmanuel Johnson	Domingo Marrero
2934	English	1935	Ignacio Hilton	Genara Jeronimo	Nath. Hilton	Exequiel Jeronimo	D. Marrero
2935	English	1935	Federico Furchue	Valentina Arias	Daniel Furchue	Gumersendo Arias	Domingo Marrero
2942	English	1935	Anastasio King	Letitia (Ficha) Kelly	King	Obadiah Kelly	Domingo Marrero
2946	English	1935	Juan Bock	Lovina Figaro	Edward Bock	Carlos Figaro	Domingo Marrero
2947	English	1935	Francisco Jackson	Nova Dishmy	J. Jackson	-	Domingo Marrero
3123	English	1935	Daniel Furchue	Leonara Medina	Simeon Furchue	Jeremias Medina	Domingo Marrero
3124	English	1935	Luis Emilio Ray	Rebecca Hilton	George Emilio Ray	Atanacio Hilton	Domingo Marrero

St. Peter's Documents: **Marriage Licenses - T**

Image #	G. Condition	B. Condition	G. Calling	B. Calling	G. Residence	B. Residence	G. Age	B. Age
2957	Bachelor	Spinster	x	x	Sto Domingo	Samana	31	26
2957	Bachelor	Spinster	Carpenter	-	Samana	Samana	47	40
2885	Bachelor	Spinster	Carpenter	Domestic	Samana	Samana	23	22
2941	Bachelor	Spinster	Labourer	-	Samana	Samana	x	x
2943	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	Bethesda	Bethesda	22	20
2945	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	Clara	Clara	28	22
2955	Bachelor	Spinster	Carpenter	-	Samana	Samana	x	x
2884	single	Spinster	Merchant (clerk)	Domestic	Samana	North West	27	18
2931	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	Thesson	Clara	27	24
2932	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	North West	North West	24	20
2933	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	Clara	Clara	20	21
2934	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	North West	North West	28	23
2935	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	Algarrobo	Algarrobo	24	23
2942	Widower	Spinster	Sawyer	Domestic	North West	North West	42	24
2946	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	Clara	Clara	20	22
2947	Soltero	x	Fisherman	Domestic	Clara	Clara	23	21
3123	Soltero	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	Bethesda	Bethesda	25	24
3124	Single	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	North West	North West	24	19

St. Peter's Documents: **Marriage Licenses - U**

Image #	Language	Year	Goom's Name	Bride's Name	G. Father's Name	B. Father's Name	Minister
2920	English	1936	Jose Simon	Henrietta Willmore	Tomas Simon	Jacob	D. Marrero
2921	English	1936	Nelson King Jr.	Maria Vicenta Medina	Nelson King	Jose Encarnacion, Maria Medina	Domingo Marrero
2922	English	1936	Diego King	Rebecca (Becky) Kelly	Elijah King	Isaiah Kelly	Domingo Marrero
2936	English	1936	Isaac Dishmey	Victoria Shepherd	Chichi-Jose Miller, Rosaria Dishmey	Jacob Shepherd, Rebecca Paul Shepherd	Domingo Marrero
2937	English	1936	Prudencio Alcala	Elena Paul	Lorenzo Rostand, Santita Alcala	Samuel Paul	Domingo Marrero
2938	English	1936	[Columbus] Shepherd	Mary James Shepherd	Benjamin Shepherd	Emmanuel Shepherd	D. Marrero
2939	English	1936	Julian Salomon Shepherd	Hannah Green	Emmanuel Shepherd	Francisco Green	Domingo Marrero
2940	English	1936	Abraham Jackson	Isabela Johnson	Zacheaus Jackson	Emmanuel Johnson	Domingo Marrero
2923	English	1937	George Kelly	Felipa Santiago Medina	Diego Kelly	Pedro Medina	Domingo Marrero
2927	English	1937	Manuel Green	Lorena Green	Manuel Green, Felicia Green	Francisco Green, Lorena Green	Domingo A. Velez
2928	English	1937	Daniel Miller (nephew)	Maria Kelly	William Miller	John Kelly	Domingo A. Velez
2929	English	1937	Alejandro Anderson	Maria (Tomas) King	Jeremiah Anderson	Elijah King	Domingo Marrero
2925	Eng + Spa	1938	Agustino Severino	Isabel Jackson	Antonio Severino	Zaques Jackson	Domingo A. Velez
2912	Eng + Spa	1939	Joshua Shepherd	Felicia Hilton	Immanuel Shepherd	Isaias Hilton	Domingo A. Velez
2913	Eng + Spa	1939	Daniel Kelly	Martina Boyer	Obediah Kelly	Eliseo Boyer	Domingo A. Velez

St. Peter's Documents: **Marriage Licenses - U**

Image #	G. Condition	B. Condition	G. Calling	B. Calling	G. Residence	B. Residence	G. Age	B. Age
2920	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	Villa	Noroeste	27	20
2921	Bachelor	Single	Farmer	Domestic	North West	North West	40	33
2922	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	North West	Mount Rouge	26	19
2936	Widower	Spinster	Merchant	Domestic	Algarrobo	x	35	18
2937	Bachelor	-	Farmer	Domestic	Honduras	Honduras	27	21
2938	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	North West	North West	29	18
2939	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	Noroeste	Honduras	28	27
2940	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	Mount Rouge	Clara	25	23
2923	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	Samana	Samana	23	19
2927	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	Honduras	Honduras	28	23
2928	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	North West	North West	22	19
2929	Bachelor	Spinster	Farmer	Domestic	North West	North West	25	22
2925	Soltero	Soltera	capataz carretera	domestica	Honduras	Clara	36	34
2912	Soltero	Soltera	Farmer	spinster	North West	North West	25	23
2913	Soltero	Soltera	Agricultor	domestica	Noroeste	Honduras	21	19

St. Peter's Documents: **Marriage Licenses - V**

Image #	Language	Year	Goom's Name	Bride's Name	G. Father's Name	B. Father's Name	Minister
2914	Eng + Spa	1939	Pedro Figaro	Harrietta Kelley	Carlos Figaro	Isaias Kelley	Domingo A. Velez
2915	English	1939	Ernesto Barrett	Rebeca Johnson	Eli Barrett	Ommanuel Johnson	Domingo A. Velez
2916	Eng + Spa	1939	Olegario Medina	Estebana Alcala	Jose Medina	Manuel Alcala	Domingo A. Velez
2917	Eng + Spa	1939	Jeremias Buck	Mariana Shepherd	Palo Buck	Ommanuel Shepherd	Domingo A. Velez
2924	Eng + Spa	1939	Pedro Shepherd	Billina Willmore	Ommanuel Shepherd	Jacob Willmore	Domingo A. Velez
2926	English	1939	Anazeer Remon	Maria Emilia de Pena	Hipolito Remon	Sof__s Paul (Josefa de Pena)	Domingo A. Velez

St. Peter's Documents: **Marriage Licenses - V**

Image #	G. Condition	B. Condition	G. Calling	B. Calling	G. Residence	B. Residence	G. Age	B. Age
2914	Soltero	Soltera	Farmer	Domes-tica	Claral	Claral	38	17
2915	Single	Single	Farmer	Domes-tic	Claral	Claral	28	21
2916	Viudo	Soltera	Agricultor	Domes-tica	Las Terrenas	Las Terrenas	48	24
2917	Soltero	Soltera	Agricultor	Domes-tica	Noroeste	Algarrobos	21	18
2924	Soltero	Soltera	Agricultor	Domes-tica	Algarrobos	Noroeste	22	19
2926	Bachelor	Spinster	empleado central agri___	Domes-tica	central consuelo	Honduras	40	31

APPENDIX B

The table below is an abbreviated version of the database created for the Samaná Cemetery Survey. All 2,421 interments were record, though some did not contain any information in the form of dates, names, or other significant features. Tombs with death dates were given priority.

Samaná Cemtery Survey - Abbreviated Catalog

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1	Bautista	30/6/1930	26/11/2005		tomb	Spanish	
2	Smith	~	28/8/2009		tomb	~	
3	Castillo	~	28/08/2009		cross	~	
4	Del Boy	22/8/9	11/8/_5			Spanish	originally del Bois - French
5	~	~	~			~	depression w/ no marker
6	~	~	~			~	depression w/ no marker
7	Rodriguez	~	13/12/200_			Spanish	
8	Ramirez de Pena	1/9/[1]6	1/2/2006		cross	Spanish	
9	~	~	~			~	
9	Kelly	1987	14/3/2006		tomb	Spanish	
9	~	25/9/72	17/3/06		tomb	Spanish	
9	~		17/3/06			Spanish	
10	M[alrys	17/1/1986	14/4/2006		tomb	Spanish	
11	~	~	~			~	
12	~	~	~			~	
13	~	~	16/4/2001		tomb	~	
14	~	~	~			~	
15	~	~	~			~	
15	~	~	7/3/2004		tomb	Spanish	
15	~	~	29/8/2009		tomb	~	
15	~	~	~			~	
16	~	~	~			~	
17	Pena V. Miguel	15/1/1926	30/11/2008		cross	Spanish	
18	~	~	~			~	
19	~	~	~			~	
20	de Pena	~	1999		cross	Spanish	
21	~	~	[9]/[12]/2001		tomb	Spanish	
22	Capois Rodriguez	27/12/1989	12/5/2002		tomb	Spanish	
23	~	~	~			~	
24	Sanche	~	18/4/2000		tomb	~	
25	Espinal Perez	9/9/1939	3/6/1995		tomb	Spanish	
25	Trinidad de Espinal	28/5/1939	24/4/2004		tomb	Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
26	~	~	2008		tomb	Spanish	
27	~	~	16/8/2008		tomb	~	
28	~	~	~	dots	cross/ tomb	~	
29	~	~	~			~	
30	~	~	~			Spanish	
31	~	~	~			~	
32	P[er]leyra	9/5/1978	15/10/2007			Spanish	
33	~	~	~		tomb	~	
34	Rodriguez	~	8/11/1909	swirl	cross	Spanish	older (?) cross with swirls; one date - assuming death date
35	~	~	~			~	
36	Jose	~	03/10/1997		tomb	Spanish	
36	Jose Pena	~	10/11/93		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
36	~	~	~		tomb	~	
37	Garcia de Leon	12/8/1931	11/9/2002		tomb	~	
37	Mendoza	~	~		tomb	Spanish	"Familia Mendoza"
37	Lantigua Rodriges	~	17/1/2003		tomb	~	
38	Nunez de Jesus	06/02/1976	13/02/2010		tomb	Spanish	cross
38	Patria de Jesus de Nunez	11/9/1948	3/11/2008		tomb	Spanish	cross
38	~	~	~		tomb	Spanish	
39	~	~	~			Spanish	
40	Amparo de _____	~	4/3/1998		cross	Spanish	
41	~	~	~			~	
42	Devers	15/1/1908	10/12/1980		tomb	Spanish	"Devers" - what type of name is this; cross
42	Suarez J.	17/6/1920	27/8/1996		tomb	Spanish	cross

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
42	Benjamin I de Boyer	12/2/1946	2/3/2005		tomb	Spanish	cross; Anglo/Dominican/French surname?
42	Boyer B.	13/12/1967	2/2/1998		tomb	Spanish	cross
42	Devers Ferrand	20/10/1883	3/10/1975		tomb	Spanish	cross
42	Suarez Joubert	23/1/1918	9/2/1977		tomb	Spanish	cross
42	Devers F.	~	1976		tomb	Spanish	cross; unlabeled date
43	Suarez Gil	~	~			Spanish	cross
44	Joubert Vda Suarez	~	~			Spanish	cross
45	~	~	~			~	
46	Dishmey Miller	12/8/1953	4/8/2004		tomb	Spanish	cross
47	~	~	~			~	
48	~	~	~			~	
49	~	~	~			~	
50	~	~	~			~	
51	~	~	~			~	
52	Rosario	24/2/1940	22/3/2007		cross	Spanish	
53	~	~	~			~	
54	~	~	~			~	
55	~	~	~			Spanish	
56	Figueroa	~	~			Spanish	surname may originally be Italian?
57	de Los Santos Green	2/5/1944	25/1/2007		tomb	Spanish	cross
58	Guerero	~	7/4/2007		cross	Spanish	
59	~	~	~			~	
60	~	~	~			~	
61	Turbid___	~	~			Spanish	
62	Sosa	~	30/3/1976		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
63	~	~	~			~	
64	~	~	~			~	
65	Jimene	~	25/10/2002		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
66	~	~	~	swirl	tomb	~	scroll decorative motif
67	Figaro	~	~			~	surname may originally be Italian?
68	~	~	~			~	
69	Sosa	~	22/5/2008		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
69	~	~	25/4/1999		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
70	Perez de Garcia	14/6/1913	7/6/1996		tomb	Spanish	cross
70	Garcia	~	7/8/1992		tomb	~	
71	~	~	~			~	
72	~	~	~			~	cross
73	~	~	~			~	
74	~	~	~			~	
75	~	~	~			~	
76	Shephard	25/2/1960	27/12/2002		tomb	Spanish	
77	Jimenez	~	3/17/1966		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
78	Alcalla	~	25/5/1995		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
78	Matos Jazmin	13/6/1995	4/3/2010		tomb	Spanish	cross
79	Llefrejan	~	22/6/2008		cross	Spanish	
80	~	~	~			~	
81	Gero[nim]o de Medina	1/[9]/1922	12/10/____			~	
82	Galay	~	11/11/1969		cross	~	unlabeled single date
83	~	~	25/12/198[4]		cross	~	unlabeled single date
84	~	~	~			~	
85	Johns[on]	23/1/1971	[89] 20			~	
86	~	~	~	swirl	cross/ tomb	~	swirl design
87	Mota C.	25/7/1962	20/12/2002		tomb	Spanish	
87	Shephard	~	6/1/2000		tomb	Spanish	
87	~	~	~		tomb	~	
87	Ke____	~	~		tomb	~	Kelly?

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
87	Capois	~	12/3/2010		tomb	Spanish	cross
88	~	~	~			~	
89	Betermi	~	~			Spanish	
90	~	~	~			~	
91	~	~	~			~	
92	~	~	~			~	
93	Miguel de Pena	~	28/11/98		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
94	Figoro	~	~		tomb	~	
94	Figaro	~	~		tomb	~	
94	Figaro	~	___/10/1997		tomb	~	
95	~	~	~		tomb	~	
96	Smaels[ear]	~	~		tomb	~	
96	~	17/6/1981	26/2000		tomb	Spanish	
96	Majia	15/4/1932	15/4/2002		tomb	Spanish	associated w/ Cat 103?
97	Betermi	~	~	dots	cross/ tomb	~	
98	Perreaux Molina de B. Na.	~	24/5/2007		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
99	~	~	~			~	
100	~	~	~			~	
101	Javier	~	7/10/1999		cross	Spanish	
102	~	~	~			~	
103	Mejia	~	~			Spanish	may be associated w/ Cat 96
104	Azor__	~	30/5/1992		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
105	~	~	~			~	
106	Ray	10/10/1919	9/2/2000		tomb	Spanish	cross
107	Geronimo de la Cruz	20/5/1968	13/11/2007		tomb	Spanish	
108	Benjamin	~	24/1/9[9]		tomb	~	unlabeled single date; Dominican surname?
109	Baez de Ray	3/11/1925	6/6/1995		tomb	Spanish	cross
110	Figaro	~	~			~	
111	Barett Mejia	15/1/1995	30/12/2008		tomb	~	
112	~	~	~			~	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
113	Trinidad Santana	1892	1964		tomb	Spanish	cross
113	Moya	1890	1965		tomb	Spanish	cross
114	H[er]nandez	~	_/6/2003		tomb	~	
114	Moya	~	20/2/1978		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
114	Moya	~	17/6/2005		tomb	~	
114	Severino	~	1966		tomb	~	
115	~	~	~			~	
116	~	~	~			~	
117	Carrasco	~	15/9/1983			Spanish	unlabeled single date
118	~	~	~			~	
119	~	~	~			~	
120	~	~	~			~	
121	[G]reen	~	_/5/1990		tomb	~	ironwork cross on top of tomb
122	~	~	~			~	
123	Siret	10/8/1945	20/_/2000		tomb	Spanish	
123	~	~	6/_/1932		tomb	Spanish	
124	Johnson	~	15/5/1993		tomb	Spanish	
125	Sanchez	1939	1967		tomb	Spanish	cross w/ wreath
126	Saldival	~	~			Spanish	
127	~	~	~			~	
128	~	~	~			~	
129	Figaro	~	~		cross	~	
130	Green	~	2_/6/200[6]		cross	Spanish	
131	Figaro	~	14/9/1919	swirl	cross	Spanish	
132	~	~	~			~	
133	Jo[h]_____	1945	1957		cross	Eng/Spa	RIP and Nco./Mur.
134	Mejia	1925	2005		tomb	Spanish	three crosses
134	de Los Santos	1933	2004		tomb	Spanish	three crosses
135	Fontana Azor	10/7/1971	15/11/1972		tomb	Spanish	Fontana = Anglo??
136	~	~	~			~	
137	de Pena	~	~			Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
138	de Leon Javier	10/8/1918	29/12/2006		tomb	Spanish	cross; paintings of Mary, a priest, Jesus as shepherd
139	~	~	~	dots	cross	~	
140	Almonte Y.	20/12/1947	15/5/1996		tomb	Spanish	crucifix directly above plaque; Virgin Mary on Tomb
140	Cisnero Stubbs	28/11/1943	11/3/2002		tomb	Spanish	crucifix directly above plaque; Virgin Mary on tomb; Stubbs = Anglo?
140	Pina	2/12/1938	9/2/1999		tomb	Spanish	cross; Virgin Mary on tomb
140	Betances	~	20/3/1999		tomb	Spanish	Virgin Mary on tomb
141	~	~	~			~	
142	~	~	~			Spanish	
143	~	~	~			~	
144	~	~	~			~	
145	Vanderhorst de Sosa	13/3/1936	8/2/1988		tomb	Spanish	cross
145	~	~	~			~	
145	~	~	~			~	
145	~	~	~			~	
145	~	~	~			~	
145	Drull___	~	~			~	
146	Balbuena	~	28/4/1971		tomb	~	ironwork gate and cross w/ lettering
147	~	~	~			~	
148	~	~	~			~	
149	~	~	~			~	
150	~	~	~			~	
151	~	~	~			~	
152	Catro MJ.	~	29/3/2008		tomb	Spanish	
153	Mori[c] de _____	~	~		tomb	Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
153	~	~	4/5/1990		tomb	~	
154	Acosta	~	18/4/1976		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
154	Turbides	[1914]	11/[9]/1975		tomb	~	
155	~	~	~			~	
156	Javier	~	14/5/1989		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
157	Dickson	~	4/[7]/1974		cross	Spanish	
158	Miguel	1883	1924	swirl	cross	~	
159	~	~	~			~	
160	~	~	~			~	
161	~	~	~			~	
162	Garcia Gara[ld]ino	~	29/10/1985		tomb	Spanish	"New York, U.S.A."
163	~	~	~		cross/ tomb	~	
164	Drullar[d]	~	~			~	
165	Perez Tobal	~	14/1/2010		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
166	Perreux	~	~		tomb	Spanish	"Familia Perreux" - this is originally a french name, now dominican
166	~	~	24/12/1961		tomb	Spanish	
166	Perroux	6/5/1920	15/9/1975		tomb	Spanish	cross
166	Serra P.	[14]/3/19[39]	_____		tomb	Spanish	
167	Clark	~	~		tomb	Spanish	"Familia Clark"
167	Clark	1858	1939		tomb	~	
167	Clark V. de Silva	1909	1944		tomb	Spanish	
168	Fermin Vda Mullix	1875	196_		tomb	Spanish	
168	Neumann Perez	23/4/1935	21/9/1998		tomb	Spanish	cross
169	~	~	~			~	
170	Castillo	30/6/1936	2/5/1997		tomb	Spanish	
170	Ramos	14/2/85	2/3/75		tomb	Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
171	Light Bourne Vda. Hicha[b]orsh	11/10/1880	26/[VI]/1947		tomb	Spanish	
172	Figaro Kelly	~	9/10/2009		cross	~	"Palin"
173	Ramire Delboy	~	26/4/[2]005		tomb	Spanish	
174	~	~	~			~	
175	~	~	~			~	
176	~	~	~			~	
177	~	~	~			~	
178	Clark	29/1/1927	4/4/1995		tomb	Spanish	cross
178	Clark de Serra	~	28/10/72		tomb	Spanish	cross
179	Figaro	~	21/03/2004		tomb	Spanish	
179	Jazmin	~	25/7/200_		tomb	Spanish	
179	Balbuena Jazmin Balon	~	14/6/2003		tomb	Spanish	
179	Acost[a] Jazmin	~	21/3/2002		tomb	Spanish	
179	de Pena	~	4/2/2002		tomb	Spanish	
179	Az[or] Jazmin	~	3/6/1990		tomb	Spanish	
179	Jazmin	~	20/8/1995		tomb	Spanish	
179	Acosta	~	18/____		tomb	Spanish	
180	Nunez	9/3/1940	15/2/2006		tomb	Spanish	"Paztor Paulo"
181	Perez	~	1/6/1954		cross/ tomb	~	cross w/ wreath
182	Javier de Rodriguez	1875	19/7/1971		tomb	Spanish	cross
182	Rodriguez J.	1903	13/2/1964		tomb	Spanish	cross
183	Espinal	3/1/1919	18/8/2001		tomb	Spanish	
184	Montero	~	29/9/2006		tomb	Spanish	
185	~	~	~			~	
186	~	~	~			~	
187	[G]ar[cia] _____	~	~			~	
188	Henrigues	~	18/10/2009		cross	Spanish	
189	Beevers de Baez	28/10/1944	19/10/1999		tomb	Spanish	
189	Diaz	~	26/9/1993		tomb	Spanish	
189	Diaz	5/4/1940	19/7/1968		tomb	Spanish	
190	C[ar]_ _ Vda Ma_te	29/11/1916	1/8/2007		tomb	Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
191	Leon Mejia	15/2/1952	12/10/1992		tomb	Spanish	
191	Carela	~	27/9/1982		tomb	Spanish	
191	Carela	~	~		tomb	~	
192	Schutz	9/3/1925	6/3/1997		tomb	Spanish	cross; Schutz = German??
192	King de Johnson	~	8/12/1908		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; cross
192	Johnson	04/02/1904	28/07/1979		tomb	Spanish	cross
192	Johnson	21/1/1984	17/6/1997		tomb	Spanish	cross
192	Johnson	30/11/1933	3/6/2006		tomb	Spanish	cross
192	Hernandez	17/11/1952	30/11/1983		tomb	Spanish	cross
193	~	~	~			~	"Bob" - empty tomb
194	~	~	~			~	
195	~	~	~			~	
196	~	~	21/10/04		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
197	Molla	~	29/5/[2006]		tomb	Spanish	
198	de Pena ____	~	~			~	
199	Pena	~	1983		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
200	Perreau	~	[8/8/1985]		tomb	Spanish	
200	~	~	___/7/1996		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
201	~	~	~			~	
202	Monegro	~	~			English	"RIP"
203	Mercedes Jazmin	17/9/1973	31/5/2008		tomb	Spanish	cross
204	Stubbs	1914	1969		tomb	Spanish	
204	Cisneros	~	~		tomb	Spanish	
205	Francisco	12/7/1937	7/1/2001		tomb	Spanish	crucifix on top of tomb
205	~	~	~			Spanish	crucifix on top of tomb
206	Anderson Willmore	~	29/8/20[0]8		tomb	Spanish	"La Familia Anderson Willmore"
207	Cabrera	13/6/1965	28/2/1990		tomb	Spanish	cross
208	Coats de Pena	17/11/1919	12/11/2009		tomb	Spanish	
209	Azor	3/5/1899	8/2/1988		tomb	Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
209	Medina de Azor	~	~		tomb	Spanish	
209	Azor	16/10/1964	16/8/1982		tomb	Spanish	cross
209	Azor M.	10/10/1930	22/4/2000		tomb	Spanish	
210	~	~	~			~	
211	~	~	~			~	
212	~	~	~			~	
213	~	~	~			~	
213	~	~	~			~	
213	Capoi_____	~	~			~	
214	~	~	~			~	
215	Jimenez	9/4/1912	18/7/2002		tomb	Spanish	cross
215	Alcala	9/4/1924	18/6/2002		tomb	Spanish	cross
216	Candido Cuta	~	1966		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
217	Metivi	~	2/8/1955		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
218	D'Leon G.	29/4/1946	28/9/2008		tomb	~	
218	Diaz D'Leon	25/6/1970	8/3/2000		tomb	~	
219	~	~	~	dots	cross	~	
220	King	~	12/4/2003		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
220	King	~	30/3/2001		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
221	~	~	~			~	
222	Kin	~	~			Spanish	
223	~	~	~			~	
224	Silven de Medina	~	~			Spanish	
225	~	~	~			~	
226	~	~	~			~	
227	~	~	~			~	
228	De Geronimo	~	17/8/2000		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
228	Geronimo	~	5/2/1978		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
229	~	~	~			~	
230	Calvo J.	18/5/1941	31/3/1990		tomb	Spanish	cross
231	~	~	~			~	metal cross, with plaque missing

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
232	Thomas Vda. Rojas	~	11/6/1989		tomb	Spanish	cross; unlabeled single date
232	Thomas B.	9/3/1906	20/5/1987		tomb	Spanish	cross
233	~	~	~			~	
234	~	~	~			~	
235	F[r]a[ncisco]	~	~			Spanish	
236	~	~	~			~	
237	Gonzalez D.	24/1/1910	10/1/1984		tomb	Spanish	cross; "Selene" painted on side of tomb
238	~	~	~			~	
239	Nunez	19/8/1963	28/8/2007		tomb	Spanish	cross
239	Penzo Devers	30/4/1924	9/11/2003		tomb	Spanish	cross
239	Green	15/7/1962	15/10/2008		tomb	Spanish	
240	~	~	~			~	
241	~	~	~			Spanish	
242	~	~	7/4/2006		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
243	Fontana	~	~		cross/ tomb	Spanish	"FLIA. FONTANA"; Fontana = Anglo name?
244	Barett Defelmin	~	18/11/2006		cross	Spanish	
245	Marty	7/13/1949	4/11/2006		tomb	Spanish	cross
245	Marty	19/9/1917	22/11/1999		tomb	Spanish	cross
245	Marty Trinidad	10/4/1915	28/3/2004		tomb	Spanish	cross
246	~	~	9/2/1966		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
247	~	~	~			~	
248	Boyer	1969	1/1/1998		tomb	Spanish	cross
249	Medina	10/1/1915	19/5/2000		tomb	Spanish	cross on plaque; crucifix next to plaque
249	Neuman Acosta	24/12/1932	15/12/2001		tomb	Spanish	cross
250	~	~	~			~	"Felto" ??
251	Severino de Pena	3/3/1933	28/6/2002		tomb	Spanish	cross

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
251	Severino	~	11/2/1935		tomb	Spanish	cross
251	~	~	26/11/2007		tomb	~	
252	Trinidad	28/6/1911	24/11/1979		tomb	Spanish	cross
253	Trinidad	2/2/1948	2/4/1967		tomb	Spanish	cross
254	Guillandeaux Vda. Perroux	9/7/1878	28/10/1974		tomb	Spanish	cross
255	Severino	~	~			Spanish	
256	~	~	~			~	
257	Sal[om]on	~	17/9/1988		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
257	De Rodriguez	~	___/9/1988		tomb	~	
257	King Johnson	22/1/1922	23/8/1988		tomb	Spanish	
257	Sedallo	~	24/9/2005		tomb	Spanish	
257	Forchu	~	20/8/___		tomb	Spanish	cross
257	Metivie de Balbuena	~	23/7/1988		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
257	Utakio	~	15/10/1995		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
257	Martines	~	23/11/2002		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; cross
258	~	~	~			~	
259	Jazmin	15/4/1931	25/5/2008		tomb	~	
260	~	~	~			~	
261	M___[s] Jose	~	~			Spanish	
262	Arra	1930	2007		cross	Spanish	
263	~	~	~			~	
264	Balbuena	1934	2007		cross	~	
265	~	~	~			~	
266	Green	9/16/1911	1/3/2002		tomb	Spanish	
267	~	~	20/6/2005		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
268	~	~	~			Spanish	
269	Moris L.	5/1/1934	15/5/2005		cross	Spanish	
270	~	~	~			~	
271	de Ramires	~	9/5/2005		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
272	~	~	~			~	
273	~	~	~			~	
274	~	~	~			~	
275	King	~	~			Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
276	~	~	~			~	
277	~	~	~			~	
278	~	~	~			~	
279	~	~	~			~	
280	~	~	27/4/2005		cross	~	unlabeled single date
281	~	~	~			~	
282	[Roustand]	[1911]	13/6/2001		tomb	Spanish	
282	Roustand	~	25/11/2000		tomb	Spanish	
283	Acosta	11/27/1917	92/11/1995		tomb	Spanish	dates recorded as they appear
283	Acosta	[1901]	4/16/2002		tomb	Spanish	
284	Salomon	27/10/1943	26/7/2009		tomb	Spanish	
285	Melsede de Pena	~	14/6/2005		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
286	~	~	~			~	
287	Rovetokin	16/8/197_	10/11/2008		cross	~	
288	Millord de Forchue	7/11/1925	10/10/2001		tomb	Spanish	cross
289	Altagracia	22/8/1929	2/4/2002		tomb	Spanish	
289	Javier Ramo	10/8/1977	30/2005		tomb	Spanish	
290	~	~	~			~	
291	Nunez Guerrero	2/10/1972	28/5/2____			Spanish	
292	Abreu	5/5/1945	25/4/1998		tomb	Spanish	
293	~	~	~			Spanish	
294	~	~	~			Spanish	
295	Gian [de] ____	~	1962		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
296	Asol Jeronimo	~	6/10/2006		tomb	Spanish	
296	Altagracia	~	20/5/2006		tomb	Spanish	
296	Dishmey Nunez	~	16/11/2004		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
296	Pelegrin Ceballos	23/4/1970	1/4/2005		tomb	Spanish	
296	Kancux	~	3/9/1998		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
296	Madonado	~	22/8/1988		tomb	Spanish	
296	Barett	2/11/1944	6/4/2008		tomb	Spanish	
296	Capoi	30/9/1967	2/15/2005		tomb	~	
296	Maldonado	1949	29/2/2008		tomb	Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
297	~	~	~			~	
298	~	~	6/4/19[32]		cross	Spanish	
299	Trinidad	~	26/3/2010		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
300	Rodrigues	~	24/12/1989		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
300	Pena	~	26/2/2		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
300	De Los Santos Mejia	14/7/1972	30/3/1997		tomb	Spanish	Virgin Mary on tomb
300	King Willmore	~	28/7/2004		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
300	Rodriguez	6/9/1923	12/9/2006		tomb	Spanish	
300	De Clark	30/3/1930	11/7/2009		tomb	Spanish	
300	Perreaux	11/12/1924	20/11/2004		tomb	Spanish	cross
300	Drullard	~	28/11/2004		tomb	Spanish	
300	Castillo	30/5/1930	18/8/2006		tomb	Spanish	
300	Miller	27/1/1961	30/11/2003		tomb	Spanish	
300	Alcala	30/12/1925	30/12/2003		tomb	Spanish	
300	Lewis	~	5/12/2003		tomb	Spanish	
300	Popa de la Rosa	23/6/1963	10/4/2004		tomb	Spanish	cross
300	Deber Gimlne	15/5/1939	7/2/2008		tomb	Spanish	
300	Molla de Pena	~	17/12/2008		tomb	Spanish	
300	Alcala	~	14/1/2004		tomb	Spanish	
300	Abreu de Ramirez	21/1/1952	19/2/2004		tomb	Spanish	
300	Rodney	24/5/1932	28/1/2004		tomb	Spanish	
301	Moya	~	30/3/1945		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
302	Moya	21/2/1919	1/9/2009		tomb	Spanish	cross
303	~	~	~			~	
304	Green	~	25/11/1997		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
304	~	~	~		tomb	~	
305	~	25/5/1956	3/1/2002		tomb	Spanish	
306	Er[m]andez	~	~			Spanish	
307	Alcantara	14/11/1898	30/6/1990		tomb	Spanish	
308	~	~	~			~	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
309	~	~	~		cross/ tomb	~	
310	~	~	~	dots	cross	~	
311	Padilla C.	30/10/1972	26/3/2005		tomb	~	
312	Benjamin	1924	2001		tomb	Spanish	
312	Kelly	1947	1999		tomb	~	
312	Benjamin V.	19/1/1919	8/11/1996		tomb	Spanish	
313	~	~	~			~	
314	~	~	~			~	
315	Balbuena	~	1928	dots	cross	~	unlabeled single date
316	Bautista	~	[20/6/1986]		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
317	~	~	~		cross/ tomb	~	
318	Jhonson	~	1/2/1977		tomb	Spanish	spelling of surname is what appears on tomb
318	Johnson Kelly	~	28/9/2002		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
319	~	~	~			~	
320	~	~	~			~	
321	~	~	~			~	
322	Gonzale[z]	~	~		tomb	~	
323	Azor	~	~			~	
324	Barett	~	~			~	
325	Medina	1835	1915	skull and bones	cross	Spanish	skull and cross-bones on old cross
326	~	~	~			~	
327	Azor	~	~			~	
328	Javier	~	11/7/1994		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
328	[Balbuena]	~	~		tomb	Spanish	
329	Bau__	~	8/[1975]	swirl	cross/ tomb	Spanish	
330	Alcla	~	18/5/1984		tomb	Spanish	Alcala??
331	~	~	~			~	
332	~	~	~			Spanish	
333	Gonzales	25/11/1930	2/7/2005		tomb	Spanish	cross
333	Martinez	11/7/1907	11/6/1993		tomb	Spanish	cross

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
333	Gonzalez M.	24/6/1928	8/7/2002		tomb	~	
333	Gonzalez	21/5/1925	17/6/2005		tomb	Spanish	painted on E and W wall of tomb
333	Reyes R.	23/6/1977	16/3/1991		tomb	Spanish	cross
334	~	~	~			~	
335	~	~	~			~	
336	~	~	~			~	
337	Guillandean	~	1919	swirl	cross/ tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
338	Medina	5/7/1927	7/4/2001		tomb	Spanish	
338	Alcala Medina	~	27/7/1987		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
338	King	~	27/6/1986		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
338	Kelly M___	21/11/1987	15/7/2000		tomb	Spanish	
338	Jackson	9/12/1923	~		tomb	Spanish	
338	~	~	26/9/1989		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
338	Kin	~	10/12/1982		tomb	Spanish	"Kin" not "King" - dropped "g"??
338	Gree[m]	27/2/1970	18/9/2005		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of "Green"?
338	Green	13/8/1972	18/5/2007		tomb	Spanish	
338	Johso[n]	~	~		tomb	~	misspelling of "Johnson"?
338	Geronimo	~	___/3/___		tomb	Spanish	
338	Shephard Molla	~	15/6/2009		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of "Moya"?
338	King Nunez	~	24/6/1997		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
338	Mercede[s]	~	18/9/1979		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
338	King	~	5/10/1978		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
339	Diaz Javier	12/12/2003	2/11/2009		tomb	Spanish	dove
339	Alonzo	29/5/1934	4/10/1998		tomb	Spanish	dove
340	~	~	~			~	
341	~	~	~			~	
342	~	~	~			~	
343	~	~	~			Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
344	Demorizi	25/8/1920	16/3/2009		tomb	Spanish	cross
344	Demorizi P.	12/8/1922	28/12/2008		tomb	Spanish	cross
344	P. Demorizi	~	~			Spanish	
345	~	~	~		tomb	~	
346	Demoriz[i]	1923	1932		tomb	Spanish	cross
347	~	~	~		cross/ tomb	~	older construction
348	~	~	~	swirl	cross/ tomb	~	older construction
349	~	~	~		cross/ tomb	~	older construction
350	Rodirouesel __Fro	~	1922	swirl	cross/ tomb	Spanish	unlaebeled single date
351	Alemanya	~	29/12/1922	swirl	cross/ tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; German? (first name - Juan)
352	Figaro	~	18/8/1972			Spanish	
353	~	~	~			~	
354	V. Vda. Benoit	~	5/1/1987		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
354	Beoit	~	21/12/1981		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
354	Benoit De La Cruz	~	25/2/1949		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
354	Vanderhorst Melo	12/11/1925	19/4/2010		tomb	Spanish	
354	Benoit V.	14/4/1911	20/4/1981		tomb	Spanish	cross; V. = Vanderhorst?
354	Benoit	~	13/6/1976		tomb	~	
354	Benoit	~	~		tomb	Spanish	"Familia Benoit"
355	King	~	9/11/1996		tomb	Spanish	
355	Capois King	~	15/8/1995		tomb	Spanish	
355	Cap__	~	~		tomb	~	
356	Benoit	~	1909	skull and bones	cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date; skull and cross-bones; physically touching CAT 354 - "Familia Benoit"

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
357	Mejia	~	~			Spanish	
358	Fontana de Aybar	~	9/2/1985		tomb	Spanish	cross; unlabeled single date
358	Aybar	~	27/3/1962		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
358	Troncoso de Fontana	~	22/10/1972		tomb	Spanish	cross; unlabeled single date
358	Fontana	~	6/3/1954		tomb	Spanish	cross; unlabeled single date
359	Hilton de Redman	27/2/1927	21/11/1975		tomb	Spanish	
360	Messina	~	~		cross/ tomb	~	
360	Nunez	~	8/8/1994		cross/ tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
360	Kouss	~	~		cross/ tomb	Spanish	
361	Castillo Turbides	16/9/1970	30/8/2004		tomb	Spanish	
361	~	~	[2]0/9/19[72]		tomb	Spanish	
362	Esquea de Martinez	5/10/1934	13/6/2000		tomb	Spanish	cross
362	Isaac	~	6/12/1951		tomb	Spanish	
363	Puras	~	[189_]	swirl	cross	~	unlabeled single date
364	Herrand	~	1904	swirl	cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
365	G. de Adams	~	4/4/1949		tomb	Spanish	cross
365	Adams	~	4/4/1949		tomb	Spanish	mother and child died in childbirth?
366	D.F. De La Rosa	20/12/1948	4/9/2007		tomb	Spanish	cross
367	Adams Jesurum	4/7/1913	5/7/2007		tomb	Spanish	cross
368	~	~	~			~	
369	De Jesus Jimenes	1851	1912	skull and bones	cross	~	skull and cross-bones on old cross
370	de Pena	~	2006			Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
371	~	~	~			~	
372	Coradin	~	~		cross/ tomb	~	
372	Coradin	~	~		cross/ tomb	~	
373	Car[ot]_	~	1922		cross/ tomb	~	wreath; unlabeled single date
374	Miese	~	30/6/1991		cross/ tomb	~	unlabeled single date
374	Altag[r]_____	~	15/5/1988		cross/ tomb	~	unlabeled single date
375	~	~	24/12/2009		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
376	Hems	26/9/1977	7/2/2000		tomb	Spanish	
376	W. M.	~	11/6/____		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
377	Ciprian Ceverino	28/7/1927	30/6/2002		tomb	Spanish	cross
378	De Leon	21/5/1935	29/5/2007		tomb	Spanish	
378	Eusebio Trujillo	~	9/8/1992		tomb	Spanish	
378	De La Cruz Eusebio	4/6/1937	19/1/2001		tomb	Spanish	
379	~	~	~			~	
380	~	~	~			~	
381	Mejia	~	13/5/1987		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
382	Nzueta De Med[ni]a	~	~		cross/ tomb	~	
383	~	~	~			~	"La Basura"
384	~	~	~			Spanish	
385	De Jose	~	10/12/1908	swirl	cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
386	~	~	~		tomb	~	older construction
387	~	~	~	swirl	cross/ tomb	~	older construction
388	~	~	~		tomb	~	older construction

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
389	Ramon Bari	~	28/8/1982		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; pattern made out of shells on grave
390	~	~	~			Spanish	
390	~	~	~			~	
391	Penzo Devers	25/5/1922	26/7/2000		tomb	Spanish	cross
391	Barba Horton	10/5/1910	1/8/1980		tomb	Spanish	cross
391	Demorizl Peynado	_____	17/7/1998		tomb	~	cross
392	Cap____	~	____/1996		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
393	R.	~	12/3/1982		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
394	~	~	~			~	
395	De Pena	~	28/12/1977		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
396	Cabrera	28/__/1990	2003		cross	~	crucifix
397	~	~	~			~	
398	Luna Vda. Mercedes	4/10/1897	15/1/1985		tomb	Spanish	cross
399	~	~	17/__/1963		cross	Spanish	
400	Abreu Sirett	17/3/1922	26/12/1982		tomb	Spanish	cross
400	Sirett V.	18/6/1914	30/5/1992		tomb	Spanish	cross
401	Diaz Beaz	~	~			Spanish	"Flia Diaz Beaz"
402	Rijo	~	8/4/1996	dots	cross/ tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
402	Sirett	10/8/09	21/2/9_	dots	cross/ tomb	Spanish	cross
402	[G]iret	~	1940	dots	cross/ tomb	~	unlabeled single date; wreath
403	~	~	~			~	
404	Balbuena	~	11/9/1960	wreath	cross/ tomb	Spanish	wreath w/ cross; unlabeled single date
405	Geronimo Vda Metivier	~	3/11/1991		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
406	~	~	~			~	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
407	~	~	~			~	
408	~	~	~		cross	~	
409	Henriguez	~	3/8/1982		tomb	Spanish	
410	Clark	~	5/11/1995		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
411	Arias	~	25/2/2001		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
412	Bratini	~	19/2/1987		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
413	Consesion	~	3/2005		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
414	Bratini	~	17/11/2004		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
415	Anderson H.	~	11/4/2002		tomb	Spanish	cross; unlabeled single date
415	Anderson	~	23/9/1988		tomb	Spanish	cross; unlabeled single date
415	Floian	8/4/1941	20/7/2007		tomb	Spanish	cross
415	A. De Anderson	~	9/5/1986		tomb	Spanish	cross; unlabeled single date
416	Horton Boyer	1919	2005		tomb	~	picture
416	Horton Pach_	15/3/1963	18/2/1996		tomb	Spanish	
416	Horton	~	16/4/2002		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
417	~	~	~			~	
418	~	~	~		cross/ tomb	~	
419	Horton D.	1889	15/9/1972		tomb	Spanish	cross
420	~	28/7/1917	12/8/2000		tomb	Spanish	
420	Rijo Diaz	__/6/1915	25/10/2006		tomb	Spanish	
421	Ramo	~	~			Spanish	
422	~	~	~			~	
423	P[e]na	~	25/5/2004		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
423	~	~	9/4/1996		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
424	Silvio Dickson	1/11/1947	30/12/2005		tomb	Spanish	cross
424	Willmore	29/4/1927	10/7/2008		tomb	Spanish	cross

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
424	Dickson	8/12/1925	16/8/2000		tomb	Spanish	cross
425	~	~	~			~	
426	~	~	~			~	
427	~	~	~			~	
428	Medina Castillo	24/6/2006	19/6/2008		tomb	Spanish	
429	~	~	~			~	
430	Gar[mam]_____	~	1946	dots	cross/ tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
431	E. H.	~	23/2/1983		cross	~	unlabeled single date
432	~	~	~			~	
433	~	~	~			~	
434	~	~	~			~	
435	~	~	~			~	
436	Mejia	~	3/8/2009		cross	Spanish	
437	~	~	~			Spanish	
438	Henriquez P.	1971	2008		tomb	Spanish	
438	Henriquez P.	1982	1995		tomb	Spanish	
439	Lantigua	20/10/1945	3/7/2004		tomb	Spanish	
439	Hdez. Figaro	4/2/1984	8/8/2003		tomb	Spanish	"Hdez." = Hernandez?
439	Figaro Paredes	13/1/1972	12/6/2002		tomb	Spanish	cross
440	Tanoen Carnacion	~	~			Spanish	
441	Sosa	~	~		tomb	Spanish	
441	Nunez	~	3/6/2006		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
441	King	1949	2006		tomb	Spanish	
441	Wilmore	~	22/5/2007		tomb	Spanish	cross
441	Shephard Kelly	~	4/2/2005		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
441	Rodriguez	18/7/1948	27/11/199_		tomb	Spanish	
441	De Jesus Jhones	~	10/3/2005		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
441	Sito	~	10/2/2006		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
441	Miguel	~	7/2/2006		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
441	Jackson Y Jhonson	~	~		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Johnson

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
441	Rodriguez	12/7/1952	_____/2007		tomb	Spanish	
441	Metiviel G[r]en	~	17/6/2005		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Metevier/Green??
441	Aliae [G]ren	~	~		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Green?
441	Kerry	18/1/1909	2/12/1999		tomb	Spanish	
441	~	~	~		tomb	~	
441	Mejia de _____	~	~		tomb	Spanish	
441	Phipps de Johnson	~	~		tomb	Spanish	
442	~	~	~			~	
443	~	~	~			~	
444	~	~	~			~	
445	Fermin M.	~	9/2/1986		tomb	Spanish	
446	~	~	~			~	
447	Silvestre M.	31/12/1977	11/5/2005		tomb	Spanish	cross
447	Silvestre Balvuela	26/9/1976	30/12/2006		tomb	Spanish	cross
448	Geronimo	~	24/6/1993		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
449	Ramon	~	~			Spanish	
450	~	~	10/5/1998		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
451	~	~	~			~	
452	Sala H	~	22/11/2006		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
453	~	~	18/3/2010		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
454	~	~	~			~	
455	~	~	~			~	
456	Dishmey	7/1/1949	9/6/2005		tomb	Spanish	cross
457	Wilmor	~	~			Spanish	
458	Kelly	1952	2/1/2005		cross	Spanish	
459	~	~	~			~	
460	Dominguez	~	~			Spanish	
461	Del Boy	~	19/1/200_		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
462	Altagracia de Jesus	~	2006		cross	Spanish	
463	Barett	~	2/4/2008		tomb	Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
463	Azor	~	29/5/2006		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
464	Barett	~	21/3/2009		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
465	~	~	~			~	
466	Mullix Fermin	1/1/1907	13/7/2008		tomb	Spanish	cross; flowers; "Prof."
467	~	~	~			~	
468	~	~	~			~	possible Shephard?
468	Abreu	3/12/1938	3/8/2008		tomb	Spanish	
469	Kelly	~	~			~	
470	De Salas	~	~			~	
471	~	~	~			~	
472	Saunn	~	~			~	
473	[Es]pinal	~	23/1/1997		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
474	Almonte M_____	~	26/6/2009		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
475	Francisco del Bois	~	26/2/1998		tomb	Spanish	
476	~	~	~			~	
477	De [P]ena Severkno	~	16/6/2004		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
477	Farina	22/12/19[5]9	7/7/2001		tomb	Spanish	
478	Medina	18/8/1937	17/2/2009		tomb	Spanish	
479	~	~	~			~	
480	Jones	~	22/6/2008		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
481	Castillo	~	~			Spanish	
482	~	~	~			~	
483	Mercedes	~	27/2/1998		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
484	Moya del Bois	20/1/1912	18/8/2007		tomb	Spanish	
485	~	~	~			~	
486	Dishmey Miller	14/1/1963	1/6/2008		tomb	Spanish	cross
486	Dishmey Miller	7/7/1965	15/7/2004		tomb	Spanish	cross
487	~	~	~			~	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
488	Kelly F.	~	28/5/2006		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
489	Acosta	~	3/7/1998		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
490	~	~	~			~	
491	Pina H.	6/6/1997	17/12/2000		tomb	??	cross; "E.G.E."; "Junior Santiago"
492	Rodriguez de Kelly	5/5/1946	16/6/2005		tomb	Spanish	open bible
492	Medidina	~	[25]/4/2005		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Medina
492	J. de Joubert	_/10/1934	8/6/2007		tomb	Spanish	
492	Smith de C.	~	20/6/2005		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
492	Francisco	~	8/1/2006		tomb	Spanish	"F.CO." = Francisco
492	Shepard Metivier	25/5/1972	7/1/2005		tomb	Spanish	no 2nd "h" in Shephard
492	Green Shephard	12/11/1968	31/5/2005		tomb	Spanish	
492	Bratini	~	16/2/2001		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
492	Balbuena	~	14/11/2005		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
492	Metivier de Azor	22/12/1976	2006		tomb	~	
492	Dias Felnan de Sivau	~	13/4/2005		tomb	Spanish	
493	Metivie	~	~			~	no "r" at the end of name
494	Metivier de Megia	~	22/10/2004		tomb	Spanish	
495	Castillo	~	1899		cross	~	unlabeled single date
496	Castro Buruca	~	17/6/1991		tomb	Spanish	
497	~	~	~			~	
498	~	~	~			~	cross
499	Laureano	~	~			Spanish	

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500	Castro	~	6/10/2008		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
501	~	~	1996		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
502	Severino	~	10/2/1958		cross	Spanish	
503	~	~	~			~	
504	Diaz	~	30/12/1980		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
505	~	~	~			~	
506	Acosta	~	2/3/_____			Spanish	unlabeled single date
507	Gren M.	~	8/3/2004		tomb	~	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Green?
508	~	~	~			~	
509	~	~	~			~	
510	Linares vu Fontana	~	25/9/1960		cross	Spanish	
511	Fransi	~	~			~	
512	Hernandez de Severino	~	23/2/1992		tomb	~	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Hernandez
512	Severino	9/3/1969	12/5/2002		tomb	Spanish	
512	Hernandez	~	22/8/1992		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
512	____[r]ino	~	___/8/199[2]		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
512	~	~	___/1/2001		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
513	Nune	~	4/10/1994		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Nunez?
513	Nunes	29/1/1954	27/6/1990		tomb	Spanish	
514	~	~	~			~	
515	Rodriguez	~	29/11/1983		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
516	~	~	~			~	
517	~	~	~			~	
518	Acosta de Capois	11/4/1919	8/6/1996		tomb	~	
518	Capois	18/4/1910	8/11/1998		tomb	~	

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518	Coplin Shepard de Capois	10/10/1938	4/11/2002		tomb	~	no 2nd "h" in Shephard
518	Luis Capois Acosta	23/2/1945	21/4/2007		tomb	~	
519	De Pena	~	24/3/1996		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
520	Barett	~	23/3/____			Spanish	unlabeled single date
521	~	~	~			~	
522	~	~	~			~	
523	Luis M	25/12/1990	22/10/1993		tomb	Spanish	
523	Luis Barett	~	~		tomb	Spanish	
524	~	~	~		tomb	~	old construction w/ mini-steeple
525	Drullard P.	~	17/6/2005			Spanish	unlabeled single date
526	Montero P.	~	~			~	
527	Henr____	~	23/1992		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
528	Balbuena	~	18/2/____			Spanish	unlabeled single date
529	Rodriguez Dishmey	~	17/[5]/2009		tomb	Spanish	
530	Coplin Gonzalez	~	4/8/[1988]		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
530	Liberato Almonte	~	11/8/1988		tomb	~	cross; unlabeled single date
531	~	~	~			~	
532	Hernandez	~	~			Spanish	
533	Ventura	1/10/1938	1/9/2008		tomb	Spanish	cross
534	Barbaro King	~	25/9/2001		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
534	Ribota	~	30/11/2001		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
534	Ribota	~	22/7/1994		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
534	Ribota	~	~		tomb	~	

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535	Altagracia Gelo	~	16/6/1956		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
536	~	~	~			~	statuette of Jesus
537	~	~	~			~	
538	~	~	~			~	
539	Alcala Robinson	~	19/10/2003		tomb	Spanish	
539	Alcala [Servino]	10/5/1948	24/6/[2001]		tomb	Spanish	
539	Robinson	~	~		tomb	~	cross
539	Alcala	~	~		tomb	~	
539	Alcala Robinson	~	~		tomb	Spanish	"Familia Alcala Robinson"
540	~	~	~			~	
541	Capois	~	~			Spanish	
542	Kin Bokg	~	11/7/2009		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of "King"
542	Bosch	~	18/5/1987		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
543	Acosta Forchue	23/9/1971	22/2/2001		tomb	Spanish	cross
544	Azor	~	~			~	
545	Tineo Hems	26/9/1977	7/2/2000		tomb	Spanish	
546	De La Rosa	~	8/2/[1991]		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
547	Solomon	~	___/6/200[1]		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
547	~	~	~			~	
547	[Medina]	~	~			~	
547	[Anderson]	~	~			~	
548	~	~	~			~	
549	Diaz	1910	1941		cross/ tomb	Spanish	cross
550	~	~	~			~	crucifix
551	Fermin Reyes	23/4/1965	28/6/1990		tomb	Spanish	cross
551	Fermin de Fermin	8/10/1917	10/6/1979		tomb	English	cross; "RIP" and "Oct 8 1917 Jun 10 1979"

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552	Israel Anderson	23/7/1934	20/8/2007		tomb	Spanish	cross
552	Pena	20/3/1954	18/1/2002		tomb	Spanish	cross
552	De Leon	28/12/1940	15/7/2007		tomb	Spanish	cross
553	Lairac	25/7/1915	7/6/1997	dots	cross/ tomb	Spanish	cross
554	Messina De Dipp	11/10/2008	22/4/2001		tomb	Spanish	cross
554	Dipp W.	19/3/1910	14/12/2000		tomb	Spanish	cross
554	Dipp Messina	12/3/1944	21/1/1999		tomb	Spanish	cross
554	Dipp Messina	~	~		tomb	Spanish	"Flia Dipp Messina"
555	Almeyda de Vanderhorst	14/3/1947	10/1/2007		tomb	Spanish	
555	Acosta Macha	~	22/6/2005		tomb	Spanish	cross
555	Mota Diaz	25/8/1957	14/6/2008		tomb	Spanish	
555	Diaz	29/9/1955	27/8/2003		tomb	Spanish	
555	Hernandez	4/9/1931	16/7/2006		tomb	Spanish	
555	~	~	~		tomb	~	
555	De Pena	25/9/1974	8/10/2003		tomb	Spanish	
555	Grin	~	9/6/2000		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Green?
555	~	15/35	29/202		tomb	Spanish	
555	Moya	~	11/10/2008		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
555	Diaz de Leon	13/8/1976	7/11/2005		tomb	Spanish	cross
555	Jazmin Hernandez	30/7/1968	15/8/2005		tomb	Spanish	open bible
555	Alcala	28/5/1978	4/5/2007		tomb	Spanish	
555	Rosario	13/1/1974	19/5/2005		tomb	Spanish	cross
555	Shephard	~	8/8/1962		tomb	Spanish	cross
555	Geronimo	~	23/3/2009		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
555	Rosario	25/8/1955	17/4/1999		tomb	Spanish	
555	Castill[o]	~	[2007]		tomb	Spanish	cross
555	C.	~	18/4/2010		tomb	Spanish	
555	De Leon	~	7/1/2007		tomb	Spanish	cross
555	Miller	~	1/1/2006		tomb	Spanish	

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555	Benjamin Coats	16/8/1961	30/7/2006		tomb	Spanish	cross
556	Pujals Morey	1902	1969		cross/ tomb	Spanish	cross
556	Pujals Polanco	19/12/1935	19/5/2002		cross/ tomb	Spanish	cross
557	Capois	~	~		tomb	~	
557	Capois	~	11/9/2007		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
558	~	~	~			~	
559	Acosta	~	1978	swirl	cross/ tomb	Spanish	
560	Javiel De Baret	~	14/__/1988		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Javier
560	Coplin Gonzalez	~	8/1/1983		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
561	Baldrich Martorell	18/3/1917	29/8/2003	skull and bones	cross/ tomb	Spanish	cross
561	Baldrich E.	~	~	skull and bones	cross/ tomb	~	skull and cross-bones on old cross
562	Papisien	1838	1909		cross/ tomb	~	skull and cross-bones on old cross
562	Castillo Marcano	6/4/1902	2/4/1991		cross/ tomb	Spanish	cross
562	Marcelino de Castillo	21/6/1913	20/7/2006		cross/ tomb	Spanish	cross; star
562	Castillo Marcelino	7/2/1943	14/2/1999		cross/ tomb	Spanish	cross
563	Coradin	~	1912	swirl	cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date; old cross
564	Simo	1901	1911	dots	cross	Spanish	skull and cross-bones on old cross
564	Joupert	~	~	swirl	cross/ tomb	~	old cross
565	Coplin [Gonzalez]	~	~			Spanish	

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566	Cacca	~	3/8/1991		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
566	Caccavelli G.	1/10/1903	4/3/1992		tomb	Spanish	cross
567	S. De Perez	~	1907	swirl	cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date; skull and cross-bones on old cross
568	~	~	~			~	
569	~	~	~			~	
570	Jose Vda Hued	28/4/1907	28/4/1991		tomb	Spanish	cross; misspelling of "Wade"?
571	~	~	~	keys	cross	~	crossed keys imprinted twice at the top and once at the bottom of the cross
572	Johnson	15/8/1958	7/8/2002		tomb	Spanish	
572	Kelly	~	3/3/1998		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
572	Dishmey	~	20/6/1984		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
572	Kelly	~	18/6/1991		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
573	James	14/11/1895	7/10/1981		tomb	Spanish	Spanish language, but dates written in "Nov. 14, 1895" format
574	~	~	~	swirl	cross/ tomb	~	older construction w/ older cross on top of tomb
575	~	~	~			~	
576	Pou	~	~	swirl	cross/ tomb	~	"Dr Leopoldo [B] Pou"; Mason's symbol; old cross w/ swirl design; cross is more elaborate w/ rays coming out of it

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577	~	~	~			~	
578	Lalane	~	8/10/1951		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; cross
578	Lalane	~	14/9/1970		tomb	~	
579	~	~	~			~	
580	Ferrand J.	6/11/1888	10/4/1951		tomb	Spanish	dates are written "Nov 6 1888" format
580	Lalane de Ferrand	1904	1989		tomb	Spanish	cross
580	Ferrand L.	1949	1997		tomb	Spanish	cross
581	Jimenez	~	18/1/1994		cross/ tomb	~	unlabeled single date; scroll imagery; painted over older construction tomb
582	~	~	~		tomb	~	older construction
583	Lavandier	1848	1915	swirl; skull and bones	cross	Spanish	old cross; skull and cross-bones; on top of older construction tomb
583	Peguero	~	191[8]	skull and bones	cross	Spanish	old cross; skull and cross-bones; on top of older construction tomb
584	~	~	~			~	recently whitewashed over multiple markers (larger tomb); all illegible
585	Bernarda Vda Rijo	18/8/1934	16/12/1990		cross	Spanish	
586	~	~	~			~	
587	Bello Vda Hernandez	~	5/6/1984		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
588	~	~	~			~	

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589	Johnson Quiroz	~	6/_/1999		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
589	Johnson	~	26/4/1999		tomb	Spanish	
590	~	1876	1947		tomb	Spanish	
591	Figaro	~	7/3/2010		cross	Spanish	
592	Baez Peguero	1/6/1908	28/9/1984		tomb	Spanish	cross
592	Baez Peguero	19/11/1904	7/10/1988		tomb	Spanish	cross
592	Marted Baez	25/1/1910	11/7/1998		tomb	Spanish	cross
593	~	~	~			~	substantial tomb, w/ gate and small room
594	~	~	~			~	
595	Herrand	~	1916	skull and bones	cross/ tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; skull and cross-bones on old cross
596	Miller De Sioney	7/1/1910	16/5/2003		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of "Sidney"?
596	Dishmey Nunez	24/10/1964	14/6/2003		tomb	~	
596	Acosta Vda Rijo	18/8/19_2	1980		tomb	Spanish	
596	Kelly Shephar	~	27/8/2007		tomb	Spanish	crucifix; misspelling of Shephard
596	Quezada Maldonado	9/1/1939	26/2/2008		tomb	Spanish	
596	Kelly Jazmin	27/6/1984	24/6/2004		tomb	Spanish	cross
597	Rivera Vda Castro	~	23/9/1993		tomb	Spanish	cross
598	Sevez	1885	1950		tomb	Spanish	cross
598	De Sevez	1888	1952		tomb	Spanish	cross
599	~	~	~			~	
600	~	~	~			~	
601	~	~	26/8/200_		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
602	Sevez	~	9/6/1971		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; "Dr."; cross; four lamp-posts

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
602	G. Vda Sevez	~	12/9/1987		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; cross; four lamp-posts
603	~	~	~	skull and bones	cross	~	skull and cross-bones on old cross
604	~	~	~			~	
605	~	~	~			~	
606	Geronimo	~	1/6/2003		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
607	Cabral	8/11/1973	1/_____			Spanish	
608	~	~	~			~	
609	Abreu Sirett	31/8/1924	16/2/2007		tomb	Spanish	cross
609	Acosta de Abreu	17/6/1925	16/9/2001		tomb	Spanish	cross
610	Baez Hernandez	1897	1980		tomb	Spanish	cross
610	L. De Baez	~	25/5/1975		tomb	Spanish	cross; unlabeled single date
610	Baez Vda Batista	1923	1986		tomb	Spanish	cross
611	~	~	~			~	conch shell cemented on top of tomb
612	~	~	~			~	
613	~	~	[1999]		tomb	Spanish	mostly illegible date; unlabeled single date
614	~	~	~			~	"[D]AA" with two doves and stars painted
615	Luis	~	~			Spanish	
616	Vicent	5/6/19__	7/5/2007		tomb	Spanish	cross; misspelling of Vincent?
617	~	~	~			~	
618	Mo[r]is	~	~		cross	~	old cross
619	[Balbuena]	~	~			Spanish	
620	Balbuena Hernandez	20/6/1913	12/10/1998		tomb	Spanish	cross
621	~	~	~			~	
622	~	~	~		cross	~	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
623	~	~	~			~	
624	~	~	~			~	"AL EUSTAQUIO" scratched into top of tomb
625	~	~	~			~	
626	Acosta Fontana	1911	1990		tomb	Spanish	cross; "(Blanco)"
626	Linares Vda Acosta	1912	1997		tomb	Spanish	cross
627	~	~	~			~	illegible paint
628	~	~	~			~	
629	Alcala Acosta	4/5/1921	3/9/1983		tomb	Spanish	cross
630	Reyes R.	23/6/1977	16/3/1991		tomb	~	Virgin Mary figurine
631	[Yakson] Kelly	~	1991		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Jackson?; unlabeled single date
632	~	~	~			~	
633	Luis	~	~			~	
634	Figaro	~	5/5/198[7]		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
635	Po_____	12/1/1907	16/4/1985		tomb	Spanish	cross; scratched into tomb upside-down
636	Johnson de Pena	~	~			~	
637	De Moya Devers	1900	1975		tomb	Spanish	
638	Sirett	5/19/1918	5/12/1993		tomb	Spanish	
638	Sirett	8/5/1939	2/3/1995		tomb	Spanish	
639	~	~	~			~	
640	Henrigues Miguel	~	7/8/2009		cross	Spanish	
641	Spet[t] [Fig]aro	2/6/193[0]	22/8/1995		tomb	Spanish	
642	~	~	~			~	
642	~	~	~			~	
642	Lewis	~	~			Spanish	"7881" painted on tomb

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643	Bock Figaro	~	31/5/2008		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
643	Johnson Kelly	~	1/3/2007		tomb	English	unlabeled single date; "W[e L]ove"; the date may be in mm/dd/year format?
643	Alcala	5/9/1981	29/10/2004		tomb	Spanish	
643	Medina	~	5/7/2004		tomb	Spanish	
643	Peguero Balbuena	7/11/1996	27/5/2009		tomb	Spanish	two stick figures holding hands painted on
643	Torres	8/1/1936	12/3/2004		tomb	Spanish	crucifix
643	Betetmis De Los Santo	~	31/8/2004		tomb	Spanish	
643	Capois	~	18/8/2004		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
643	~	~	~		tomb	~	
643	Peguero Balbuena	~	2/1/2005		tomb	Spanish	
643	Pelreaul	1933	2004		tomb	Spanish	
643	De Pena	8/8/1960	24/7/2005		tomb	Spanish	cross
643	Pena Kelly	~	~		tomb	Spanish	
643	Capois	~	11/4/2007		tomb	Spanish	
643	Reye	27/3/_____	2/2/2008		tomb	Spanish	
643	Johnson King	~	27/2/1957		tomb	~	cross w/ doves and ribbons; unlabeled single date
643	_____ Molla	~	~		tomb	~	misspelling of Moya?
644	[Martinez]	~	~			Spanish	
645	~	~	~			~	
646	Acosta	~	9/5/1996		tomb	Spanish	
646	Acosta	~	20/3/1998		tomb	Spanish	
646	King Metibies	~	~		tomb	~	scratched into tomb
647	Jones	~	1998		tomb	~	unlabeled single date

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
648	Acosta	~	10/5/1931	dots	cross	Spanish	she died at the age of 82 yrs (written in Spanish on the cross)
649	De Jesus De Millord	1942	22/7/1992		tomb	Spanish	cross
650	~	~	~			~	crosses etched into cement cross; writing illegible
651	~	~	~			~	
652	~	~	~			Spanish	
653	Ventura	~	~			Spanish	"Familia Ventura"; tomb is actually empty
654	Alcala G.	~	26/1/1__			~	unlabeled single date
655	~	~	~		cross	~	
656	Williams	~	5/1/___			Spanish	unlabeled single date
657	de Pena	~	~	swirl	cross	Spanish	old cross w/ swirl design on back
658	Jackson	~	~			Spanish	
659	Johnson	~	17/3/2000		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
660	Ventur	~	6/7/2006		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Ventura
660	Altagracia Gimenez	~	17/12/1997		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
661	DL Ogracia Blnjamin	~	20/2/2008		tomb	Spanish	misspelling all over the place here; unlabeled single date
661	Mejia	~	26/6/2000		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
662	De Pena	~	~			Spanish	open bible
662	De Pena	~	__/12/1980		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
663	~	~	~			~	
664	Corporan Ozuna	24/10/1967	15/10/2007		tomb	Spanish	
664	King Metibies	~	~		tomb	~	
664	Jonis	~	26/11/2006		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Jones
664	Hernandez	28/5/1954	6/11/2009		tomb	Spanish	cross
664	Edinson Pena Rondon	~	13/9/2005		tomb	Spanish	
664	Klry Severino	~	3/6/2004		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Kerry?; unlabeled single date
664	Nunes	~	26/12/____		tomb	Spanish	
664	Ramirez Vander Horst	21/6/1916	9/1/1997		tomb	Spanish	cross
664	Ramirez	2/12/1969	15/4/2004		tomb	Spanish	cross
664	Altagracia	13/11/1960	10/8/2005		tomb	Spanish	cross
664	King	~	5/7/2004		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
664	Moya	~	18/12/2009		tomb	Spanish	
664	Kelly	22/8/1982	25/11/2005		tomb	Spanish	
664	King	~	8/5/2004		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
664	Anderson	30/9/1936	7/___/[2005]		tomb	Spanish	
664	De La Cruz	~	23/5/2005		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; cross
664	Ramirez Nunez	27/12/1976	25/4/1996		tomb	Spanish	
665	~	~	~			~	
666	Berroa	~	191_	skull and bones	cross	Spanish	skull and cross-bones on old cross; unlabeled single date
667	~	~	~			~	
668	De La Cruz	~	23/5/2006		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
669	~	~	~			~	
670	~	~	~			~	
671	~	~	~			~	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
672	Jose	~	~			Spanish	"Black Jose" and "EPD" painted on cross
673	~	~	~			~	
674	Balbuena	~	~			Spanish	
675	Medina De Brito	21/1/1938	25/10/2006		tomb	Spanish	cross
676	~	~	~			~	
677	De Pe_[a]	~	~			~	
678	Jones	~	7/9/2006		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
679	~	~	~			~	four pillars at the corners of the tomb
680	De Pena	~	10/8/25		tomb	Spanish	is the date short hand for 2005? The pain look relatively new
681	Gutina Heriguez	26/2/1974	18/11/2008		tomb	Spanish	cross and dove
682	De Pena	~	12/1/1994		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
682	Green	~	19/1/2004		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
683	~	~	~			~	
684	Balbuena	~	2/8/2002		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; top interment of tomb that has been re-used?
684	Barbuena	~	20/7/2001		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; bottom of tomb that has been re-used?

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
684	Mercedes	1884	1914		cross/ tomb	~	Skull and cross-bones on an old cross on top of tomb
685	Silven G.	17/12/1979	10/10/2007		tomb	Spanish	
685	Figaro K.	15/2/1973	24/9/2005		tomb	~	
685	Kelly	~	13/9/1986		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
686	~	~	~			~	
687	~	~	~		cross	~	
688	Ag[u]l[p]ac____	22/5/19[61]	__/_/1991		tomb	Spanish	
689	De Guillandeaux	~	10/2/1938		cross	Spanish	age [84] yrs old (written in spanish); old cross
690	Baez Green	15/3/1950	30/5/2006		tomb	Spanish	
690	Almonte	28/4/1940	19/9/1996		tomb	Spanish	
690	Hidalgo	1987	1998		tomb	~	
691	Fuentes M.	24/9/1930	7/7/1999		tomb	Spanish	cross
691	Pereaux Acosta	1/9/1965	16/3/2006		tomb	Spanish	no second R in Perreaux; cross
692	Gervacio	28/7/1911	16/11/2004		tomb	Spanish	
693	Kelly Azor	29/5/1975	15/7/2009		tomb	Spanish	cross
694	~	~	~			~	
695	Tores	~	12/1/1992		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
695	~	~	~		tomb	~	
696	~	~	~			~	
697	~	~	~			Spanish	
698	~	~	~			~	
699	Azor	~	21/5/1972		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
700	~	~	~			~	
701	H. De Canals	10/3/1920	19/5/1994		tomb	Spanish	cross
702	~	~	~			Spanish	
703	Shephar Coplin	3/11/1912	16/12/2005		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Shephard
703	Jone Coplin	14/2/1966	17/11/2008		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Jones

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
704	~	~	~			~	
705	Jimenez	~	~			~	
705	Green	~	~			~	
706	~	~	~			~	
707	Hernandez	~	~			Spanish	
708	Mendoza	~	20/7/1970		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
709	~	~	7/8/1997		cross	~	unlabeled single date
710	Willmore	~	14/4/2006		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
710	Monigro Wil	1905	2007		tomb	Spanish	cross
711	Bautista De H.	3/5/1916	17/5/2004		tomb	~	cross; dates on either side of open bible
712	B. B.	4/6/1979	21/7/___			Spanish	
713	Boik	~	20/10/2006		tomb	Spanish	
714	Trinidad De Rodriguez	10/1/1926	23/9/2007		tomb	Spanish	cross
715	Flores Acosta	28/3/1985	17/1/2004		tomb	Spanish	cross
716	~	~	~			~	
717	~	~	~			~	
718	~	~	2003		cross	~	unlabeled single date
719	Ramirez	~	~			~	
720	Anderson King	~	1/9/2004		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
721	Ramirez	~	2/7/2004		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
722	~	~	~			~	
723	~	~	~			~	
724	Farington Kelly	9/4/1971	20/4/2007		tomb	Spanish	
725	Pena	~	_____/2007		cross	~	unlabeled single date
726	Kelly	~	23/1/2004		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
727	Bratini	~	30/12/2002		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
728	Coat De La Rosa	~	2/7/2009		cross	Spanish	misspelling of Coats

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
729	Figaro	~	26/9/2009		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
730	Ba_____	_____/36	3/5/2006		tomb	Spanish	
730	Balbuena	9/11/1934	9/11/2003		tomb	Spanish	
731	Martinez De Pereyra	16/12/1938	4/4/2009		tomb	Spanish	cross
732	~	~	~			~	
733	~	~	~			~	
734	Kelly	4/7/1945	13/5/2006		tomb	Spanish	
735	~	~	~			~	
736	Green G.	17/9/1972	31/5/2006		tomb	Spanish	
737	Klly	~	30/5/2003		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Kelly
738	Felix Chaman	6/1/1936	5/2/2008		tomb	Spanish	
739	~	~	~			Spanish	
740	~	~	~			~	
741	Luna	~	3/10/1997		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
742	Jhonson	8/12/1942	8/6/2009		cross	Spanish	misspelling of Johnson
743	~	~	~			~	
744	~	~	~			~	
745	~	~	29/1990		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
746	De Jesus Azor	3/9/19[64]	~			Spanish	
747	~	~	~			~	
748	Kin Firiut	~	1/3/2009		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of King
749	Green	26/8/1965	16/4/2009		tomb	Spanish	cross; is this a duplicate/someone who was moved?
749	Green C.	12/2/1920	20/2/2004		tomb	Spanish	cross
749	Cancu G.	20/5/1954	28/4/1997		tomb	Spanish	cross
750	~	~	~			~	
751	~	~	~			~	
752	~	~	29/6/2007		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
753	Green	~	7/2/1997		tomb	Spanish	

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753	De Ogracia Edward	~	27/11/2004		tomb	Spanish	
753	Licogre	~	~		tomb	~	
753	Medina	~	~		tomb	Spanish	
754	~	~	~			~	
755	Mateo	~	23_____			Spanish	unlabeled single date
756	~	~	22_____			Spanish	unlabeled single date
757	~	~	5/6/2009		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
758	De Pena	~	23/[10]/2000		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
759	~	~	~			~	
760	Lindevall El Sueco	1941	6/5/2007		tomb	Spanish	cross
760	Nunez	26/6/1920	8/2/2007		tomb	Spanish	
760	Armanda	~	25/3/2006		tomb	Spanish	
760	Azol	27/2/1927	21/11/2007		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Azor
761	~	~	~			~	
762	~	~	~			~	
763	Shephard Miller	14/3/1923	4/9/2006		tomb	Spanish	cross
763	Sh[e]hard	~	14/2/1998		tomb	~	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Shephard
763	Shepa	~	9/4/2008		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Shephard
764	~	~	~	swirl	cross	~	skull and cross-bones on old cross
765	Almeida	~	18/1/1983		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
766	Lebeau Baez	1992	1998		tomb	Spanish	cross
767	Jones Amparo	4/7/1980	9/1/2001		tomb	Spanish	
768	Cruz K.	~	_____/1999		tomb	Spanish	
769	Custodio De Noyola	24/9/1911	2/10/2004		tomb	Spanish	cross; "Dona Blanca"
769	Lizardo Agueda	29/12/1968	8/2/2003		tomb	Spanish	

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770	[C]anc[u]	~	~			~	
771	~	~	~			~	
772	~	~	~			~	
773	King	~	29/9/1958		cross	Spanish	
774	Statosky	27/2/1918	21/1/2009		tomb	Spanish	cross
775	Eusebio	~	3/12/2007		tomb	Spanish	cross
775	Eusebio	16/7/1902	27/12/1988		tomb	Spanish	cross
775	Eusebio L.	21/1/1930	10/1/1999		tomb	Spanish	cross
776	Acosta	~	17/5/1991		tomb	Spanish	
777	~	~	~			~	
778	~	~	~			~	
779	Morris De Pena	17/2/1918	14/1/1998		tomb	Spanish	cross
780	Balbuena	1872	1914	dots	cross	Spanish	old cross
781	Cisnero R.	21/3/1990	14/12/1996		tomb	Spanish	
781	Anderson	~	17/12/1981		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
781	Wilmore King	~	27/11/88		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Willmore
781	Acosta De Devers	~	~		tomb	~	
781	Medina	24/12/1933	26/2/2001		tomb	Spanish	
781	Fontana	~	1985		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
781	Bodden	~	1992		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
782	~	~	~			~	
783	Melse De Jabiel	~	15/11/2005		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
784	~	~	~			~	
785	~	~	~	swirl	cross	~	old cross w/ swirl design on back
786	~	~	~			~	
787	~	1922	1996		tomb	Spanish	
788	Simons	29/7/1921	15/8/2004		tomb	Spanish	cross
788	Simons	~	~		tomb	Spanish	cross
788	Simons	~	~		tomb	Spanish	cross
788	Lake	~	~		tomb	Spanish	cross
788	Simons	~	~		tomb	Spanish	cross

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
789	Roustan[d]	~	1[2]/5/199[5]		cross	Spanish	
790	King Betermi	26/11/1965	21/4/1998		tomb	Spanish	cross
791	Rousto	12/5/1906	1/11/2007		tomb	Spanish	cross
792	~	~	~			~	
793	~	~	~			~	
794	Baez Peguero	23/12/1993	9/1/2007		tomb	Spanish	cross; dates are listed in reversed order (death date first) - based on dates
794	Ventura Vda Baez	22/2/1921	14/11/2006		tomb	Spanish	cross
795	Mercedes	30/9/1947	12/11/2005		tomb	Spanish	
796	~	~	~			~	
797	Acosta	~	~			~	
798	Betermi	~	2/_/1982		tomb	~	cross; unlabeled single date
799	De Pena	1890	1918	skull and bones	cross	~	skull and cross-bones on old cross
800	~	~	~			~	
801	~	~	~			~	
802	~	~	~			~	
803	De Pena Balbuena	~	21/11/1995		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
803	Rodriguez De Geronimo	~	~		tomb	~	
804	~	~	~			~	
805	Acosta Liriano	10/9/1953	9/5/1984		tomb	Spanish	cross
805	Liriano Halminton	2/7/1927	1/10/2000		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Hamilton?
806	~	~	~			~	
807	Dicent	~	23/8/1992		tomb	Spanish	cross; unlabeled single date; misspelling of Vincent?
808	~	~	~			~	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
809	Borge	~	1910		cross	~	old cross; unlabeled single date
810	Silven	~	12/4/1928	swirl	cross	Spanish	old cross; unlabeled single date
811	~	~	~			Spanish	
812	~	~	~			~	conch shells
813	Serra	~	8/7/1979		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
813	Serra	~	11/4/1984		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
813	Serra	~	27/6/1983		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
814	Enrigue	~	4/10/2009		cross	Spanish	
815	~	~	~			~	
816	~	~	~	swirl	cross/ tomb	~	old construction tomb and cross w/ swirls
817	Bon[d] King	~	7/3/1988		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
817	Hernand__	~	____3/85		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
818	~	~	~			~	
819	~	~	~			~	
820	Dishm__	~	7/7/1[9]91		cross	Spanish	cross; unlabeled single date
821	~	~	~			~	
822	~	~	~			~	
823	~	~	~			~	
824	Woss	9/18/1905	2/24/1984		tomb	Spanish	cross; marker is in Spanish but date appear to be in MM/DD/YEAR format
824	Woss	19/10/1948	7/12/1980		tomb	Spanish	cross; dates are in Dominican format
825	G. Fontana	20/10/44	11/4/2004		tomb	Spanish	cross
825	Fontana De Bodden	30/7/1942	28/8/2006		tomb	Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
826	~	~	~			~	
827	Boyer King	16/6/1936	2/9/1996		tomb	Spanish	cross
828	~	~	~	wreath	cross	~	old cross w/ cross and wreath
829	~	~	~			~	
830	Pereaux de C[u]el[i]	~	24/1/1969		cross	~	unlabeled single date
831	Almeida	~	~			~	
832	La_an__le R.	~	1928	dots	cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
833	~	~	~			~	
834	~	~	~			~	
835	Demorizi Joubert	29/9/1932	9/5/2005	swirl	tomb	Spanish	cross; tomb built atop old tomb w/ swirls
835	Espinola De Morizi	1949	1967	swirl	tomb	Spanish	cross; me thinks it should not be De M., but Demorizi; plaque on the side of bottom old tomb w/ swirls
835	Demorizi	28/8/1898	8/8/1972	swirl	tomb	Spanish	cross; plaque on middle portion of multi-story tomb; bottom tomb old construction w/ swirls
836	~	~	~			~	
837	~	~	~			~	
838	Metiver	~	28/8/2002		tomb	~	misspelling of Metevier?; unlabeled single date
839	Shephard	~	17/11/1983		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
840	Lavandier Vda De De La Cruz	10/4/1902	~		tomb	Spanish	cross; death date may be buried

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
840	Moya Del Boiy	10/8/1919	27/3/2006		tomb	Spanish	cross
841	Diaz Baez	~	12/1/1978		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
841	Baez Peguero	~	29/10/1986		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
841	Green Vda Baez	~	24/3/1987		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
842	Gomez Figueroa	~	11/4/1970		tomb	Spanish	cross; "Dr."; died at 26 yrs old
842	Gomez Neumann	19/11/1953	1/5/1980		tomb	Spanish	cross; "Dr."
842	Neumann Horton	25/8/1912	18/7/1990		tomb	Spanish	cross; "Tia Linda"
843	Vda Neumann	15/10/1893	6/4/1960		tomb	Spanish	cross
843	Horton	~	16/2/1955		tomb	Spanish	cross; unlabeled single date
844	Faulkner	8/7/1940	25/6/1990		tomb	Spanish	cross
844	Trinidad De [Q]uilez	4/2/1922	28/10/1995		tomb	Spanish	cross; very large structure
844	Quilez Royo	1914	1984		tomb	Spanish	cross; very large structure
845	~	~	~			~	
846	Pa[rr]al Coplin	1905	20/4/1996		tomb	Spanish	
846	Parra Moya	~	~		tomb	~	
847	Neumann T.	8/4/1950	5/5/2008		tomb	Spanish	cross w/ two doves
847	Trinidad E.	15/4/1978	7/2/2008		tomb	Spanish	
847	Adams N.	8/9/1964	5/4/1988		tomb	Spanish	cross
848	G. Vda Fondeur	1842	1927	dots	cross	Spanish	old cross
849	~	~	~			~	four pillars at the corners of the tomb
850	~	~	~			~	
851	~	~	~		tomb	~	old construction tomb
852	~	8/11/___	3/_/___			Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
853	~	~	~			~	tiled tomb w/ cross w/in tile pattern
854	~	~	~			~	
855	Lalane Demorizi	~	28/2/1991		cross/ tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
855	Duluc de Lalane	~	3/9/2005		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
855	Demorizi Vda L_____	~	6/3/_____		tomb	Spanish	cross
855	B. Lalane	7/12/1958	21/2/2010		tomb	Spanish	cross
855	Lalane D.	28/6/1902	21/7/1977		tomb	Spanish	cross
855	Lalane D.	26/5/1920	14/5/1999		tomb	Spa/Eng	cross; "Mister Boch" (but everything else is in Spanish); he died in Santo Domingo
855	Lalane Demorizi	19/6/1907	25/12/1981		tomb	Spanish	cross; "Dr."; died in Samana
855	Lalane D.	10/6/1914	31/7/1977		tomb	Spanish	cross
856	Devers Vda Joubert	5/11/1870	21/7/1956		tomb	Spanish	cross
856	Joubert	1923	1938	swirl	cross/ tomb	~	old construction tomb w/ swirls on it and old cross atop it
857	Lalane D.	13/4/1918	31/3/1943		tomb	Spanish	cross
858	Lalane Fe_rand	~	22/10/1966		tomb	Spanish	cross
859	~	~	~	swirl	cross/ tomb	~	old style tomb w/ swirl design
860	Rubio	15/4/1928	11/1/1983		tomb	Spanish	cross
860	Capois	~	7/1/1986		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
860	Jones De _oplin	~	1982		tomb	Spanish	cross
860	Coplin	~	16/7/2000		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
860	Coplin Perreaux	~	14/7/1979		tomb	Spanish	cross

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860	J. Vda Forchue	22/5/1891	2/8/1981		tomb	Eng/Spa	cross; "RIP" and "Born/Died", but also "Vda" and "Dona Elena"
861	Joubert	~	21/3/1982		tomb	Spanish	
861	Peynado	~	6/3/1974		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
862	~	~	~	swirl	cross/ tomb	~	old construction tomb w/ elaborate swirl design
863	Barett De Jesus	~	26/7/1986		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Jesus
863	James	~	27/11/1991		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
863	Jackson	~	28/6/1986		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
863	Lalane Vda. R.	~	1/5/198_		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
863	Tda. De B.	~	4/5/1986		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Vda?
863	Caccauelli Clara	26/2/1904	16/4/1986		tomb	Spanish	
863	L. De Caccauelli	3/_/1905	4/10/1996		tomb	Spanish	
863	Lalane D.	2/5/1912	15/7/1985		tomb	Spanish	cross; "Samana, R. D."
864	~	~	~			~	
865	Baez Peguero	21/12/1915	17/8/2006		tomb	Spanish	cross
865	Baez Peguero	1/7/1910	20/4/1992		tomb	Spanish	cross
866	Ramos Vda Pe___	~	~		tomb	Spanish	
866	Ramos Vda Boisrond	~	21/_/1981		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
867	~	~	~	swirl	tomb	~	old construction tomb w/ swirl design
868	~	~	~	dots	cross/ tomb	~	tomb w/ old cross atop it
869	R. de Ramirez	~	~		cross/ tomb	~	old cross w/ rays coming from cross point
870	Lalane F.	16/11/1916	18/12/1975		tomb	Spanish	cross
871	De Windt	1870	1947		tomb	Spanish	cross; plaque made out of marble?
872	Pou	~	1918	skull and bones	cross	Spanish	skull and cross-bones on old cross; unlabeled single date
873	A. Vda Pou	1837	1921		cross	Spanish	skull and cross-bones on old cross
874	~	~	~			~	
875	Moya Vda Shephard	~	2/1/2000		tomb	Spanish	cross
875	R. Vda Shephard	~	19/11/1968		tomb	Spanish	cross
875	Shephard	~	16/10/1989		tomb	Spanish	cross
876	C. Pou	~	1924	swirl	cross	~	old cross w/ swirl design on back; unlabeled single date
877	Benjamin M.	13/4/1993	28/10/2007		tomb	~	elaborate structure w/ gated room; cross and saints? (or virgin marys?) on plaque
878	~	~	~			~	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
880	~	~	~	swirl	cross/ tomb	~	newer tomb w/ older cross (swirl design up) pedestaled on top - may be reuse of old cross?
881	~	~	~			~	
882	Bodden Vda. Jesurum	10/10/1891	13/5/1987		tomb	Spanish	cross
882	Jesurum Bodden Vda. Lalane	23/5/1918	19/6/1998		tomb	Spanish	cross
883	Jose Messina	10/11/1916	18/25/2000		cross/ tomb	Spanish	cross
883	Jose Abraham	1900	1985		cross/ tomb	Spanish	cross
883	Jose Messina	10/12/1908	27/5/1976		cross/ tomb	Spanish	cross
883	Lalane Vda Jose	25/2/1906	13/3/1988		cross/ tomb	Spanish	cross
883	Messina Vda Jose	1873	1964		cross/ tomb	Spanish	cross
883	Jose	~	~		cross/ tomb	Spanish	cross atop of tomb - "Familia de Jose"
884	Jose	~	~		cross/ tomb	Spanish	cross atop single tomb - "< Familia Jose >"; old construction
885	Dipp	~	~		cross/ tomb	Spanish	cross atop tomb - "Familia Dipp"
885	Dipp Athie	17/8/1877	19/12/1950		cross/ tomb	Eng/Spa	cross; "RIP" and "Agosto 17 1877" and "Diciembre 19 1950"; dates are written in Anglo format, but months spelled out in spanish

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
885	R. Mo_____	~	~		cross/ tomb	~	cross
886	Dipp De Caccavelli	21/8/1905	19/2/1975		tomb	Spanish	cross; "Nacio en Siria el 21..."
886	Dipp Weller	5/2/1920	21/1/2009		tomb	Spanish	cross
886	Dipp W.	25/5/1914	3/9/1989		tomb	Spanish	cross
886	Gonzalez Dipp	9/11/1940	6/1/1997		tomb	Spanish	cross
887	Vda Huot	~	3/3/1950		tomb	Eng/Spa	cross; unlabeled single date; "RIP" and "13 Marzo 1950"
887	Huot	~	5/8/1936		tomb	Eng/Spa	cross; unlabeled single date; "RIP" and "5 Agosto 1936"
888	~	~	~			~	
889	~	~	~			~	
890	~	~	~			~	
891	~	~	22/7/2003		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
892	Mejia	1923	1999		tomb	Spanish	cross
892	Mejia	15/5/1952	27/10/2009		tomb	Spanish	cross
892	Paredes de Anderson	22/1/1956	13/4/2008		tomb	Spanish	sunflowers painted on tomb
893	Luis Pool	3/4/1929	5/4/2007		tomb	Spanish	
894	Luis Jones	~	22/6/2009		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
895	Green	8/1995	21/10/2002		cross	Spanish	
896	Miguel Salomon	~	13/10/2008		cross	Spanish	
897	~	~	29/11/2002		cross	~	unlabeled single date
898	De Pena Jose	~	14/11/2002		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
899	Del Bois	~	16/5/2008		tomb	~	unlabeled single date

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
900	Antoro Acota	~	9/4/2____			Spanish	misspelling of Acosta; unlabeled single date
901	~	~	~			~	
902	~	~	~			~	
903	A. R.	~	27/2/____			Spanish	
904	Moya	~	17/12/2____			Spanish	unlabeled single date
905	Azor	~	10/2/2003		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
906	Jose Miguel	~	~			Spanish	
907	De Pena	[1936]	11/12/2002		tomb	~	
908	~	~	~			Spanish	
909	Acosta Ventura	~	8/12/2008		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
910	King B.	~	22/11/2002		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
911	Acosta Ramirez	~	10/11/2008		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
912	del Bois	~	23/1/2010		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
913	Acosta G. de Bratini	~	11/6/2009		tomb	Spanish	
914	Amparo	~	19/10/20__			Spanish	
915	~	~	~			~	
916	Azor Salomon	28/12/1918	20/7/2008		tomb	Spanish	
917	~	~	~			~	
918	Silven de Johnson	9/1/1922	17/1/2006		tomb	Spanish	
919	~	~	~			~	
920	~	~	~			~	
921	Ramon	~	19/5/2008		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
921	__lly Ramirez	1960	2007		tomb	Spanish	broken plaque; __lly = Kelly?
921	Phipps Williams	9/8/1926	11/8/2004		tomb	Spanish	open bible; cross
922	Yohnson	4/3/1923	29/7/2001		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Johnson
922	Coplin King	21/7/1958	__/11/2007		tomb	Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
922	Medina	~	26/9/2002		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
922	King de Redman	7/3/1933	16/12/2002		tomb	Spanish	cross
922	Redma_	22/4/1925	30/7/2008		tomb	Spanish	
922	Jhonson P. de Shephard	8/5/1944	8/10/2003		tomb	Spanish	cross; misspelling of Johnson
922	[Ke]lly	24/6/1924	20/1/2004		tomb	Spanish	
922	~	~	10/8/2004		tomb	~	crucifix; unlabeled single date
922	Kelly	1919	4/11/2002		tomb	Spanish	
922	Kelly	~	1/9/2004		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
923	Hamilton	12/12	13/8/2001		tomb	Spanish	
923	Moya	23/10/1937	20/4/2003		tomb	Spanish	
923	Francisco Dishmey	~	20/3/2010		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
923	Jeronimo de Rodney	1/9/1953	5/2/2010		tomb	Spanish	
923	Rustand Garcia	13/8/1982	4/2/2009		tomb	Spanish	
923	Amparo	~	2001		tomb	Spanish	panel for a tomb that has been taken down and is leaning against CAT 923 - evidence of tomb reuse
923	Baez Salomon	~	23/12/2001		tomb	Spanish	panel for a tomb that has been taken down and is leaning against CAT 923 - evidence of tomb reuse
923	~	~	27/4/2009		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
923	~	~	18/3/2009		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
923	Metivier	1915	18/7/2009		tomb	Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
923	De Castro	29/9/1947	14/2/2003		tomb	Spanish	cross
923	Figueroa D Jimenes	~	19/4/2003		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
924	Anderson Vda Thomas	9/2/1910	6/9/2001		tomb	Spanish	cross
925	Forchue Aclaep	~	23/12/1997		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
926	De Pena Ram[on]	~	31/8/2001		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
927	Green	~	22/12/2009		cross	Spanish	
928	Ramon	1/9/1915	20/11/1998		tomb	Spanish	cross
929	~	~	~			~	
930	~	~	~			~	
931	Jimenez Trinidad	22/9/1928	17/8/2009		cross	Spanish	
932	~	~	~			Spanish	
933	Paredes	23/8/____	15/5/2010		tomb	Spanish	
934	~	~	~			~	
935	Grin Carcano	16/7/____	21/1/2010		cross	Spanish	misspelling of Green?
936	Mese de Enandez	~	~			~	misspelling?
937	Garcia Franklin	25/6/1966	6/6/1993		tomb	Spanish	
938	~	~	~			~	
939	~	~	~			~	
940	De Pena	~	30/7/00_			~	unlabeled single date
940	Mercedes	~	19/2/9_			~	unlabeled single date
941	[Azor]	~	~			~	
942	Francisco	~	28/2/___			Spanish	rest of date is burried
943	Cancu	~	25/12/2009		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date; cross
944	~	~	19/1/1950		cross	~	unlabeled single date
945	Barett	~	2/6/2005		tomb	Spanish	
946	_____ Salomon	~	~			~	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
947	Balbuena	~	3/8/1993		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
948	Kelly de la Cruz	~	27/5/2005		tomb	~	unlabeled single date; "Kelly" on cross, but "Keli" on tomb
949	Caisiprelles _ohnson	19[17]	26/10/2007		tomb	Spanish	
950	De Pena	~	25/[5]/____			Spanish	unlabeled single date
951	~	~	~			~	
952	~	~	~			~	
953	~	~	~			~	
954	Aguillan de _____	~	13/7/2007		cross	Spanish	last name is buried
955	Jaime	~	5/11/2001		tomb	Spanish	
956	Miguel	~	~			~	
957	Green Anderson	~	~		tomb	Spanish	"Familia Green Anderson"; large structure, with a single plaque; gated altar area w/ cloth flowers in vases, candle, and porcelain angel
957	Anderson de Green	22/10/1932	25/3/2006		tomb	English	cross; "R.I.P."
958	~	~	19/[12]/1974		cross	Spanish	
959	Fria	15/3/1923	18/3/2008		tomb	Spanish	dove
959	Santana	~	~		tomb	~	
960	~	~	~			~	
961	Mejia	4/__/1904	15/10/2005		tomb	Spanish	cross
961	Barett de Mejia	16/7/1932	31/1/2005		tomb	Spanish	cross
962	Forchue Shephard	1/5/1957	29/9/2008		tomb	Spanish	open bible; scroll

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
963	~	~	~			~	
964	Ventura	~	6/8/1990		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
964	Castro de Ventura	14/1/1911	6/12/2001		tomb	Spanish	
965	Francisco	~	13/7/1985		cross	~	unlabeled single date
966	De Pena Guillandaux	13/6/1974	22/4/2009		tomb	Spanish	cross
966	De Pena Alejia	~	21/8/1996		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
966	De Pena Bautista	~	11/7/2001		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
967	~	~	20/9/2009		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
968	~	~	~			~	
969	Medina Vda. De Kelly	1/5/1916	5/3/2008		tomb	Spanish	cross
970	Joni	~	~			~	
971	~	~	~			~	
972	Geronimo	~	~			~	
973	~	~	~			~	
974	Mej[ia] Bueno	~	2/5/2006		cross	Spanish	date labeled w/ "M.D.D." - ?? Not included in labeled single date counts
975	~	~	~			~	
976	Bratini	~	~			~	
977	Thent	~	28/12/2001		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
978	~	~	~			~	
979	De Pena	~	25/3/2009		cross	Spanish	
980	Jones	~	~			Spanish	open bible
981	Diaz	4/1/1924	6/9/2007		tomb	Spanish	cross
982	Mi__e_de [Kelly]	4/12/1968	21/8/20__			Spanish	
983	Mejya	~	~			~	misspelling of Mejia

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
984	Kelly King	30/1/1949	3/_/2006		tomb	Spanish	candle on the tomb; "Familia [Buena] Kelly" also painted - below death date
985	Gen__aic[n]	~	27/2/1996		cross	Spanish	
986	Zorres Balbuena	13/1/19__	17/3/1909			Spanish	
987	Pena	14/8/5	10/8/1998		tomb	Spanish	birth date is not complete - just a 5 for the year
987	Pena	~	18/4/1965		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
987	Miguel	~	~		cross/ tomb	~	"Pascual Miguel" on cross atop tomb; painted over
988	Mercedes	~	10/10/1931		cross	Spanish	older cross
989	Barett	~	28/4/1981		cross	Spanish	
990	Smith Geronimo	24/12/1920	5/3/2004		tomb	Spanish	cross; open bible
991	Benjamin Cancu de Silven	21/1/1928	2/6/1998		tomb	Spanish	open bible
991	Cancu de Jh.	~	19/5/1995		tomb	Spanish	cross; unlabeled single date
992	~	~	~			~	
993	~	~	~			~	
994	~	~	~			~	
995	Benoit Vda Caplin	31/3/1928	2/9/2008		tomb	Spanish	cross
995	Coplin Coplin	20/12/1930	3/11/2006		tomb	Spanish	cross; both last names are Coplin
995	Ciprian de Coplin	~	23/8/1994		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
995	Ventura	~	20/7/1986		tomb	Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
995	Coplin Benoit	~	~		tomb	Spanish	"Flia Coplin Benoit"
996	Ventura Acosta	~	14/7/2004		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
996	Barett Figaro	~	29/7/2007		tomb	Spanish	
996	Mercedes	~	~		tomb	Spanish	
996	Ventura	~	19/6/1986		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
997	~	~	~			~	
998	~	~	22/2/198_		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
999	~	~	~			~	
1000	Thireault	~	29/5/2000		tomb	Spanish	cross; unlabeled single date
1000	Kelly De Pena	~	5/2/1988		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1000	Kelly	~	18/2/1982		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1001	~	~	~			Spanish	
1002	~	~	~			Spanish	
1003	~	~	~			Spanish	
1004	~	~	~			~	
1005	Zrinidao	~	14/1/1992		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1006	Castillo	~	1995		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1007	~	~	~			~	
1008	Devers Baez	9/5/1964	12/2/1992		tomb	Spanish	
1009	Rodriguez	~	~			~	cross
1010	Fi_aro	~	18/_/[1994]		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1011	~	~	~			~	
1012	Cancu	~	9/8/1974		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1013	~	~	~			~	
1014	~	~	10/6/2009		tomb	~	
1015	~	~	~			~	
1016	~	~	~			~	
1017	Mercedes	~	25/6/1995		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1018	~	~	~			~	
1019	Keri	1913	18/11/1989		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Kerry?
1020	~	~	~			~	
1021	Nunes	~	1/5/2009		tomb	Spanish	
1021	Nunes	13/12/1944	3/1/2009		tomb	Spanish	cross
1021	Nunes	~	___/12/1993		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1022	Bodden Fontana	6/9/1970	13/9/199[7]		tomb	Spanish	
1022	~	~	~		tomb	Spanish	
1022	Castillo Vda Booden	24/3/1901	22/4/1985		tomb	Spanish	cross; misspelling of Bodden
1022	Bouden Viloría	24/6/1901	15/4/1965		tomb	Spanish	cross; misspelling of Bodden; born in Sanchez; died in Samana
1023	Torres Polanco	17/7/1960	11/10/1999		tomb	Spanish	cross
1023	Llaugak	2/12/1982	5/2/1990		tomb	Spanish	
1024	Figaro Oliver	22/2/1986	15/11/2001		tomb	Spanish	cross; first name "Jessica"
1024	Wellmore De Figaro	12/6/1937	17/7/1997		tomb	Spanish	cross; misspelling of Willmore
1024	Figaro W.	~	30/6/1991		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; W. for Willmore?
1024	Willmore	~	21/6/1978		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1024	Willmore	~	4/4/1984		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1025	Jones Asol	~	7/12/1986		tomb	Spanish	
1026	Rodriguez de Calcano	4/10/1952	12/7/2003		tomb	Spanish	cross
1026	Calcano R.	25/9/1971	23/1/2003		tomb	Spanish	cross
1026	Lopez	3/1/1924	24/7/2005		tomb	Spanish	cross
1027	Francisco	~	1/3/1991		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1028	~	~	~			Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1029	~	~	~			~	
1030	Francisco Castro	~	~			Spanish	
1031	Murez	~	~		tomb	~	
1031	~	~	10/_/1984		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1031	Devers B.	~	22/6/1983		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1031	Bautista	~	6/5/2004		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1031	Rubio Roustand	~	~		tomb	Spanish	
1032	Moris De La Cruz	~	6/10/2007		cross	Spanish	
1033	[Beasimon]	~	9/[5]/1958		tomb	Spanish	
1034	Albares	~	8/7/1987		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Alveres?
1035	~	~	~			~	
1036	~	~	~			~	
1037	Fondeur	1876	1918	swirl	cross	~	skull and cross-bones on old cross w/ sun design on the back of the cross
1038	King Azol	~	8/2/2008		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1039	~	~	~			~	
1040	~	~	~			~	
1041	Pou	~	27/5/1911		tomb	Spanish	cross
1042	Anderson de Hernandez	23/8/1917	18/9/1997		tomb	Spanish	cross
1042	Hernandez	19/3/1913	18/1/1987		tomb	Spanish	cross
1043	King Nunez	13/6/1922	19/9/2009		tomb	Spanish	cross
1043	Nunez K.	~	12/5/1988		tomb	Spanish	K. = King?
1043	King De Pena	~	24/2/1993		tomb	Spanish	
1043	De P.	~	1/6/1983		tomb	Spanish	P. = Pena?
1043	King	~	21/4/1983		tomb	Spanish	
1044	Cavi[e]l	~	25/2/1980		cross	~	unlabeled single date
1045	Del Bois De Guevara	30/3/1897	11/12/1993		tomb	Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1046	~	~	~			~	
1047	Jazmin	~	29/1/[1993]		cross	Spanish	cross; unlabeled single date
1048	Mercedes Jazmin	17/2/1971	18/12/2008		tomb	Spanish	cross
1049	Lopez	~	~			Spanish	
1050	Lopez	~	~			Spanish	
1051	~	~	~			~	
1052	~	~	~			~	
1053	~	~	~			~	
1054	Figaro	~	20/___/[1974]		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1055	~	~	~			~	
1056	Ciprian	1/1/1932	14/4/2002		tomb	Spanish	
1056	Hilton de Nunez	3/2/1933	10/9/2001		tomb	Spanish	cross
1056	Vanderhorst M.	23/9/1927	11/22/1993		tomb	Spanish	
1056	Nunez de V.	10/10/1932	9/2/2005		tomb	Spanish	V. = Vanderhorst
1056	Nunez Sio___	6/11/1924	1/12/1986		tomb	Spanish	
1057	Bautista Vda De Pena	26/3/1906	24/9/1995		tomb	Spanish	cross
1057	De Pena De Mercado	4/10/1929	28/5/2006		tomb	Spanish	cross
1057	De Pena C.	24/6/1898	2/12/1986		tomb	Spanish	cross
1058	Johnson Isles	15/9/1929	30/8/2007		tomb	Spanish	cross
1059	~	~	~	swirl	cross/ tomb	~	old construction tomb w/ old cross; both cross and tomb have swirl design
1060	Acosta	16/9/1933	10/4/1997		tomb	Spanish	
1060	Acosta	12/1/1912	3/12/1989		tomb	Spanish	
1061	Languasco	~	~	swirl	cross/ tomb	Spanish	old const. tomb, vaulted top of tomb; old cross - "Familia Languasco"

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1062	Salomon de De Los Santos	~	~		tomb	~	
1062	Gem	~	~		tomb	~	
1062	De Los Santos Vda. Gem	~	21/11/2008		tomb	Spanish	
1062	Gem De Los Santos	12/6/1962	26/5/2006		tomb	Spanish	cross
1063	~	~	~			~	
1064	~	~	~			~	
1065	~	~	~			~	
1066	Jimenez	13/1/1931	5/1/1993		tomb	Spanish	cross
1067	George	~	__/__/1925	dots	cross	Spanish	old cross
1068	~	~	~			~	
1069	Anderson Grandel	11/1/1950	12/12/2008		tomb	Spanish	cross
1069	Anderson Jones	16/12/1916	18/2/1995		tomb	Spanish	cross
1070	Shephard	14/2/1963	24/7/2007		tomb	~	
1070	Shephard De Perreux	12/9/1926	3/9/2003		tomb	Spanish	cross
1071	De Pena Ramirez	7/5/1982	3/3/2004		tomb	Spanish	
1071	Dishmey	~	24/12/1959		tomb	Spanish	
1071	De Pena	~	14/2/1998		tomb	Spanish	
1072	Geronimo	~	2/3/2002		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1073	Severino Willmore	14/6/1981	26/3/2010		tomb	Spanish	cross
1073	Wimore Jones	~	9/4/2009		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Willmore
1073	Wilmore	12/2/1969	15/11/2009		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Willmore
1073	W. Jones	1/7/1966	4/10/2007		tomb	Spanish	W = Willmore?
1074	~	~	~			~	
1075	~	~	~			~	
1076	Neumann	~	1932	swirl	cross	~	old cross w/ swirl design on the back; unlabeled single date

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1077	Molla Coplin	~	~		tomb	~	
1077	Cooplin	~	11/11/1977		tomb	~	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Coplin
1077	Pool	~	29/11/1976		tomb	~	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Paul?
1077	Acosta	~	30/12/1976		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1077	Pierrot Jimenes	17/7/1935	21/7/2008		tomb	Spanish	
1077	Shephard	~	[14]/__/1991		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1078	~	~	~			~	
1079	~	~	~		cross/ tomb	~	old construction tomb
1080	Ramon Capois	31/8/1926	31/3/1996		tomb	Spanish	
1081	Rodriguez Vda. Rymer	18/9/1886	6/9/1986		tomb	Spanish	born in La Vega; died in Santo Domingo just shy of 100th birthday; "Dona Blanca"
1081	Turbides	14/11/1907	16/1/2005		tomb	~	born in Samana and died in Santo Domingo
1081	Rymer de Turbides	21/9/1914	10/6/2004		tomb	Spanish	born in Sanchez and died in Santo Domingo
1082	Custodio Trinidad	30/6/1910	23/3/2002		tomb	Spanish	cross
1082	Altagracia Beevers	15/1/1915	25/9/2004		tomb	Spanish	cross; misspelling of Devers?
1083	Javierre	~	14/2/1949		tomb	Spanish	cross

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1083	Cobeno Javierre	~	4/12/1965		tomb	Spanish	cross; unlabeled single date
1084	Robinson	~	15/[3]/1920	swirl	cross/ tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; older construction w/ swirl design on tomb and cross
1085	~	~	3/10/1980		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1085	Azol	~	29/6/1980		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1085	Rio Acos[t]a	~	~		tomb	Spanish	
1086	~	~	~			~	
1087	~	~	~			~	
1088	F_ _ [d]e Lalane	~	4/11/1894		cross/ tomb	Spanish	marble marker w/ fancy script lettering; fancy metal cross
1089	~	~	~			~	
1090	~	~	~			~	
1091	Dipp Vda Barba	19/6/1908	16/2/2000		tomb	Spanish	cross; first name "America"
1091	Barba Horton	17/3/1908	16/11/1994		tomb	English	cross; "R.I.P." but dates are in Dominican format
1091	Lopez Alvarez	14/3/1933	10/7/2009		tomb	Spanish	cross
1092	~	~	~		cross/ tomb	~	older construction tomb w/ new addition
1093	~	~	~			~	
1094	Alonzo Jones	7/6/1970	11/1/1999		tomb	Spanish	cross
1095	Stubbs	1892	1956		tomb	Spanish	cross
1096	Rodney	~	3/11/1989		tomb	~	unlabeled single date

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1097	Jazmin D. Statoski	15/4/1950	27/8/1992		tomb	Spanish	
1097	Lalane Pou	29/10/1901	30/4/1983		tomb	Spanish	cross
1098	~	~	~			~	
1099	~	~	~		tomb	~	older construction tomb; small tomb
1100	Perez Vda Neumann	~	~	swirl	cross/tomb	Spanish	cross
1100	Sangiova_____	~	~			~	old cross atop tomb w/ swirl design on the back
1101	Neumann	1/8/1904	7/12/1976		tomb	Spanish	cross
1102	Sangiovanni	1885	1936		tomb	Spa/Eng	cross; "R.I.P." but also "Recuerdo de su hijo Pablito"; older construction tomb w/ a small vaulted top
1103	~	~	~			~	small outline - burial of a child?
1104	Massanet	1917	1919	swirl	cross/tomb	~	swirl design along the concrete outline of the burial
1105	Geronim[o] Medina	~	17/5/1984		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1106	~	~	~		tomb	~	older construction tomb; layer of brick visible beneath concrete; slightly vaulted top; mini-steeple at one end
1107	~	~	~		tomb	~	older construction tomb; slightly vaulted top; mini-steeple at one end
1108	~	~	~		tomb	~	older construction tomb; mini-steeple at one end; has been whitewashed
1109	Bezi J.	12/9/1926	7/9/1981		tomb	Spanish	cross
1109	Bezi Jose	3/9/1921	7/10/2008		tomb	Spanish	cross; born in Samana and died in Santo Domingo
1109	Jose Vda. Bezi	28/5/1900	5/5/1978		tomb	Spanish	cross
1109	Bezi Jose	14/9/1921	3/4/1987		tomb	Spanish	cross
1109	Bezi Jose	9/11/1922	5/12/1988		tomb	Spanish	cross
1110	Du[q]ulla	~	~	swirl	cross/ tomb	Spanish	"Familia Du[q]ulla"; "E.G.E."; [q] because it looks like a backwards "p" on the cross; older construction tomb and cross, both w/ swirl design; wreath on cross
1111	~	~	~			~	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1112	Duquela	1857	1900		cross/ tomb	Spanish	old cross atop tomb
1113	Capurro Calvini	~	~		cross/ tomb	Spanish	cross; "Flia. Capurro Calvini"
1114	~	~	~			~	
1115	Coats	10/24/1[8]9[1]	10/24/1999		tomb	~	
1116	~	~	~			~	
1117	Cancu Saudo	12/10/1956	18/6/2007		tomb	Spanish	
1117	Pool Bebe	14/5/1903	9/5/1985		tomb	Spanish	cross; misspelling of Paul?
1117	Metivier	~	21/2/1987		tomb	Spanish	cross; unlabeled single date
1117	Capois King	~	~		tomb	~	
1118	R[ay] W.	~	~			~	
1118	Alt. King	1913	2007		tomb	~	Alt = Altagracia?
1118	Vda. Ray de Thomas	25/9/1888	5/12/1953		tomb	Spa/Eng	cross; "R.I.P." but "Nacio/Murio"; is "Ray" Dominican?
1119	Ray	7/5/1911	29/1/1988		tomb	Spanish	cross; older construction tomb
1120	~	~	~			~	cross
1121	Barett	1906	8/3/1976		tomb	Spanish	cross
1122	~	~	~			~	
1123	Wandervort	~	22/9/[1979]		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Vanderhorst? ; "S.W.P." written on tomb?
1124	Vanderhorst Kin	6/3/1988	24/7/2006		tomb	Spanish	cross; misspelling of King
1124	Johnson de Vanderhorst	~	6/6/1986		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1124	Vanderhorst	4/5/1904	11/3/1992		tomb	Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1125	~	~	~			~	
1126	Drullard Calcano	~	~			~	
1126	Pool de Drullard	~	~			~	misspelling of Paul
1127	Palewo[ns]	11/2/1914	13/5/1914	six pointed star	tomb	English	six point star; entirely in English (the dates recorded in spreadsheet in Dominican format); "Born" "Died" "Not Forgotten"; firstname = Ethel
1128	~	~	~		tomb	~	older construction; small concrete tomb - burial of a child?
1129	Mercedes	~	1/9/199_		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1130	~	~	~			~	
1131	~	~	~			~	
1132	Peguero Benoit	2/9/1953	22/7/2006		tomb	Spanish	cross
1133	~	~	~			~	
1134	Trinidad Cordero	2/6/1942	17/[9]/2008		tomb	Spanish	
1135	~	~	~			~	
1136	Rodne_	~	~			Spanish	
1137	Shephard	9/4/1985	30/8/2007		tomb	~	
1137	Nunez	~	~		tomb	~	
1137	Johnson	26/4/1991	25/6/2005		tomb	Spanish	cross
1137	Jones	~	16/3/2004		tomb	Spanish	
1138	Titre	11/22/1879	6/29/1962		tomb	Spanish	"Nacio" and "Fallecio" but dates written in Anglo format
1139	De Pena	~	19/2/1987		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1140	~	~	~		cross/ tomb	~	old cross
1141	Jazmin	~	~			~	
1142	Dickson	~	23/2/1/1988		tomb	Spanish	"Charles"; not sure what the extra numbers in the date means? "23-2-1-1988"
1142	Dickson Shevara	~	6/11/2005		tomb	~	unlabeled single date; Shevara = misspelling of Shephard or Guevara??
1142	~	~	2003		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1142	Guevara Gonzalez	3/11/1891	15/10/1974		tomb	Spanish	cross; "Donado por Florida"
1143	~	~	~			~	
1144	Grre[n] Kelli	~	20/4/2003		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Green and Kelly
1144	~	~	10/3/2008		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1145	De Pena	1933	3/4/2006		tomb	Spanish	cross
1146	Green	~	14/10/2007		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1146	~	~	4/8/2003		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1146	Green	~	29/8/1994		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1146	~	~	8/3/2006		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1146	~	~	21/3/2006		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1146	Acosta	19/7/1974	15/10/2004		tomb	Spanish	cross; crucifix
1147	Cilven	~	~			Spanish	
1147	Ramon	~	~			Spanish	
1148	~	~	1_/2004		cross	Spanish	
1149	Capellan Rodriguez	~	~			Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1150	~	~	~			~	
1151	~	~	~			~	
1152	~	~	~			~	
1153	~	~	~			~	
1154	Ramon Francisco	~	19/6/2010		cross	Spanish	
1155	~	~	28/[10]/1994		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1156	A[c]ota	~	24/6/1995		tomb	~	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Acosta?
1157	Rodriguez F.	~	21/12/1979		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1157	Vanderhorst d. B.	~	29/1/1989		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1157	Fermin	~	9/11/1979		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1157	Medina F.	~	1/7/1979		tomb	~	cross; unlabeled single date
1157	Yonshon	~	~		tomb	~	misspelling of Johnson
1157	Bodden	~	14/6/1979		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1158	De La Rosa	22/12/[1960]	28/2/1994		tomb	Spanish	
1159	De Jesus De Hidalgo	~	18/11/1990		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1159	King	~	16/8/2005		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1159	King	~	21/9/2002		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1160	Lopes	~	~			~	
1161	Klly Ramon	~	~			Spanish	misspelling of Kelly
1162	~	~	~			~	
1163	Redman	~	~			Spanish	
1164	Jones Nunes	~	~			~	
1165	Barett De Pena	~	27/7/2003		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1166	Lope Amparo	10/_/1997	15/2/2007		tomb	~	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1167	~	~	~			~	
1168	Shephard	~	22/3/198_		tomb	~	
1168	Grin Metivier	_/5/1929	10/____5		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Green
1168	Capoi Shpar	~	3/27/1981		tomb	~	misspelling of Capois and Shephard; unlabeled single date
1168	Sheph__	~	29/7/1992		tomb	Spanish	
1168	Sehpar	~	11/10/2002		tomb	~	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Shephard
1168	Bodden Vda Oliver	~	9/4/1980		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1168	Oliver	17/1/1951	18/8/1998		tomb	Spanish	
1168	Fontana	~	14/2/1980		tomb	Spanish	cross; open bible; unlabeled single date
1168	Richardso_	5/1/1976	3/5/1992		tomb	Spanish	
1169	Willmore E. r.	21/7/____	3/8/1999		tomb	Spanish	first name = Nancy Esther; cross
1169	Willmore J.	4/22/1933	10/11/1968		tomb	Spanish	cross
1170	King	~	8/____			Spanish	
1171	Smit Ger[o]__	~	11/7/1997		tomb	~	cross; misspelling of Smith?; unlabeled single date
1171	Smit Gem	~	3/7/1989		tomb	~	cross; unlabeled single date; misspelling of Smith?
1171	De Jesus	~	11/1/1982		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1171	De Jesus ____	~	2/12/1998		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1172	Ripp	~	9/10/1985		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Dipp?
1172	Willmore	~	7/8/1980		tomb	Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1173	Echabaria	1903	1993		tomb	Spanish	
1174	~	~	~			~	
1175	~	~	5/12/1962		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1175	Green Vda. Johnson	~	29/4/1984		tomb	Spanish	
1176	~	~	~			~	
1177	Anparo Severino	~	29/[9]/2008		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1178	~	~	~			~	
1179	Benjamin	~	20/8/2007		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1179	Alcala	~	11/5/1986		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1180	~	~	~			~	
1181	Emmanuel de Crooke	12/4/1900	11/5/1987		tomb	Spanish	cross
1182	~	~	~			~	
1183	Kelly	~	12/5/2003		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1184	[Ramon] Mejia	~	~			Spanish	
1185	~	~	1950		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1186	~	~	~			~	
1187	~	30/3/1946	19/8/1999		tomb	Spanish	plaque in processes of being inscribed
1187	Tomas D' Hilton	9/3/1919	11/12/1995		tomb	Spanish	cross
1187	~	~	1/1981		tomb	Spanish	
1187	Thomas	~	20/10/1994		tomb	Spanish	
1187	Hilton	1914	200[2]		tomb	Spanish	
1188	Luis Jimenez	19/1/1985	15/1/2008		tomb	Spanish	
1188	Molina W.	17/2/1980	11/4/2006		tomb	Spanish	"Alexi Junior Molina W."
1188	Gomez Pena	29/12/1954	18/10/2007		tomb	Spanish	
1188	Radhames W.	30/10/1960	25/6/2002		tomb	Spanish	
1188	Jones de Willmore	~	4/8/1977		tomb	~	unlabeled single date

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1188	~	~	24/12/1977		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1189	Barett de Book	15/5/1936	13/10/2002		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Bock/Buck?
1190	Miller	~	22/1/2007		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1190	Pierrot	~	19/_/1987		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Perreaux?
1191	King	~	26/1/2008		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1191	Jhoson	~	~		tomb	~	misspelling of Johnson
1192	~	~	~			~	
1193	Shepard	~	24/10/1980		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Shephard
1194	King	~	15/4/2004		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1194	~	1977	28/6/[1985]		tomb	Spanish	
1194	Nunes	~	17/1/2003		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1194	Nunez	~	5/4/1994		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1194	Nunes	~	~		tomb	~	
1195	Anderson	23/11/19[7]3	4/_/1999		tomb	Spanish	
1196	~	~	~			~	
1197	Henriquez	~	~			Spanish	
1198	L[au]reano	~	1/1/1982		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1199	Miguel	~	31/8/2008		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1200	~	~	~			~	
1201	~	~	~			~	
1202	Henrique	~	[1982]		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1203	Cl_iami[un/w]	~	~			Spanish	
1204	Green	24/6/1923	8/4/2004		tomb	Spanish	
1204	Green	~	19/9/1995		tomb	Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1205	Coats Vda. Benjamin	11/4/1916	27/1/1995 [1995]		tomb	Spanish	the death date is probably supposed to be 1995
1206	~	~	~			~	
1207	Shephard	~	20/9/2000		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1207	~	~	~		tomb	~	
1208	Moris	~	23/7/1986		tomb	~	unlabeled single date; cross
1209	~	~	~			~	
1210	Guillandeaux	~	20/3/1998		tomb	~	cross; unlabeled single date
1210	Acosta	18/12/1928	25/3/1995		tomb	Spanish	inscribed lettering on a metal plaque
1210	Balbuena	6/1904	2/1990		tomb	Spanish	cross
1211	~	~	~			~	childs tomb; crucifix on cross
1212	Merced__	~	21/1/1995		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1213	Javier	~	~			Spanish	
1214	~	~	~			Spanish	
1215	Johoson King	26/5/1912	26/10/2005		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Johnson
1215	Hiton Vda. Coplin	~	24/9/1989		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Hilton
1216	Rivera P.	20/__/1924	_____/2005		tomb	Spanish	
1217	Escarre	5/9/1919	12/10/1994		tomb	Spanish	
1218	Berroa E.	11/3/1964	6/10/2007		cross	Spanish	"Lic. Eladia" - college education
1219	~	~	~	keys	cross	Spanish	imprint of keys in this cross; later would be displaced for a new burial

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1220	Anderson King	27/12/1930	16/7/2006		tomb	Spanish	
1220	Shephard	12/__/1910	_____/1981		tomb	~	
1221	De Pena	~	6/12/2009		tomb	Spanish	
1221	De Pena Del Boy	~	12/11/2005		tomb	Spanish	
1221	De Pena Del Boy	~	20/11/1983		tomb	Spanish	
1222	Mo[y]a	~	5/4/1982		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1223	~	~	~			~	
1224	Dih[sm]__	~	~			Spanish	
1225	Jeronimo Johni	~	29/4/2008		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Johnson?
1226	Azor de P.	~	27/9/2005		cross	~	unlabeled single date
1227	~	~	~			~	
1228	Hilton Jhonson	20/6/1916	4/2/2002		tomb	Spanish	cross; misspelling of Johnson
1228	Sidney Millerd	29/6/1938	25/11/2008		tomb	Spanish	
1229	Shephard Smith	20/3/1967	16/11/2007		tomb	Spanish	
1230	Javier	6/10/1922	13/10/2003		tomb	Spanish	cross
1231	Fe_e	~	7/12/2006		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1231	Charles De la Rosa	9/8/1974	23/5/2007		tomb	Spanish	
1231	Dominguez J.	12/10/1927	22/1/1997		tomb	Spanish	
1231	Dominguez H.	7/10/1967	8/11/2005		tomb	Spanish	
1231	Figaro Johnson	13/11/1980	30/10/2006		tomb	Spanish	
1231	Figaro	~	20/10/2003		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1231	Capoi Kin	~	29/9/2006		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Capois and King
1231	Medina Garabito	~	~		tomb	~	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1231	King Boyer	~	[3]0/10/2006		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1231	Moya Azor	10/11/19[97]	29/1/2007		tomb	Spanish	cross
1231	King de W.	31/12/1933	23/2/2007		tomb	Spanish	
1231	Rye-Der	~	14/11/___2		tomb	Spanish	
1231	Shephard	~	24/10/2003		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1231	Pena Beroa	~	18/9/2017		tomb	Spanish	should the date have been 2007?!
1231	Capoi Alia	~	2006		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1231	Molla de Pena	~	16/___/2008		tomb	Spanish	
1231	Jackson Acosta	8/7/1962	6/2/2004		tomb	Spanish	
1231	[D]itelio Serra	9/4/1949	[13]/11/2003		tomb	Spanish	
1231	Coats	~	11/4/2006		tomb	Spanish	
1232	Bentura	~	~			~	
1232	Benjami_	~	~			~	
1233	~	~	~			~	
1234	~	~	12/2/_____			Spanish	unlabeled single date
1235	Gre[n] Ca_ois	2005	2006		cross	Spanish	
1236	Barett	~	~			Spanish	
1237	Gomez	~	26/1/1999		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1238	~	~	~		cross	~	old, squat cross
1239	~	~	~			~	
1240	~	~	~			~	
1241	~	~	~			~	letters scratched into the cross, they are covered over with cement (which is flaking off, exposing some letters)

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1242	Deogracia	~	13/10/1991		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1242	~	~	1996		tomb	~	unlabeled single date; scratched letters beneath painted name of the 1242 above
1242	~	~	2/1997		tomb	~	
1242	Rodney	~	10/6/1960		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1243	~	~	~			~	
1244	Coats	1890	1/3/1964		tomb	Spanish	cross
1244	A. Vda. Salomon	20/2/1912	22/1/1999		tomb	Spanish	cross
1245	~	~	~			~	
1246	~	~	~			~	
1247	Nicola	~	28/8/1997		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1248	Mejia	~	19/10/1993		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1249	Mejia	~	15/12/1990		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; lots of shells on grave
1250	Eusebio Pegero	~	~			Spanish	crucifix
1251	Balbuena	~	30/5/1995		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1252	Castro	~	~			Spanish	
1253	Balbuena	1946	13/2/2010		tomb	Spanish	cross
1254	Pena [Reye]	~	24/10/1998		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1255	De Pena	~	18/7/1965		cross	Spanish	
1256	Nieve de Amparo	~	21/7/1979		cross	~	unlabeled single date
1257	Jose Equ__	~	12/9/1994		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1258	De Pena Vda. Francisco	21/6/1916	31/10/2004		tomb	Spanish	cross; very large structure

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1258	Frias	~	19/10/1995		tomb	Spanish	very large structure
1258	Mejia F.	[18]/11/[1975]	10/_/_/[1981]		tomb	Spanish	very large structure
1259	~	~	~			~	
1260	Jose	[1959]	26/2/2001		cross	Spanish	
1261	~	~	~			~	
1262	Kelly	~	15/1/2009		cross	Spanish	
1263	Bautista Mercedes	4/1/1972	13/5/1999		tomb	Spanish	crucifix; open bible; larger structure
1264	~	~	~			~	
1265	Ramirez	~	~			Spanish	
1266	Figaro	~	29/8/2005		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1267	Radney Benjamin	~	27/4/2010		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1268	Gree__	~	1995		cross	~	unlabeled single date
1269	~	~	~			~	
1270	~	~	~			~	
1271	~	~	~			~	
1272	Trinidad	~	10/5/1982		cross	~	unlabeled single date
1273	~	~	~			~	
1274	~	~	~			~	
1275	Medina	~	19/1/2004		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1276	~	~	~			~	
1277	~	~	~			~	
1278	Andelson Kapoi	~	2/6/2003		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Anderson and Capois
1279	Del Boi_____	~	24/12/1999		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1280	Campeon	~	20/3/2010		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1281	~	~	~			Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1282	~	~	6/4/2009		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1282	Acosta Figaro	~	1/5/2002		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1282	Figaro Acosta	~	5/9/2007		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1283	Barett De Pena	~	12/5/2010		cross	Spanish	
1284	~	~	~			~	
1285	Azor V Benjamin	~	11/12/1999		cross	Spanish	V = Vda?
1286	~	~	15/5/____			~	unlabeled single date
1287	Medi____	~	8/11/1999		cross	~	unlabeled single date; Medina?
1288	Guerrero	~	3/2/____			Spanish	
1289	E. B.	~	15/3/2____			~	unlabeled single date
1290	M_____	~	~			Spanish	
1291	~	~	~			~	
1292	Nunes de R.	1950	5/5/2008		tomb	Spanish	
1293	Kelly	~	~			Spanish	
1294	Calderon _____	~	~			Spanish	
1295	Llon De Miel	~	2006		tomb	~	"FAMiEiA LLON DEMIEL 2006" painted on tomb; unlabeled single date
1296	~	~	29/8/200_		cross	~	unlabeled single date
1297	Mejia	~	10/9/2006		tomb	Spanish	
1297	Barett	~	25/5/2007		tomb	Spanish	
1297	~	~	16/[11]/2005		tomb	Spanish	
1298	Green	17/3/1951	18/10/2000		cross	~	
1299	Reyes	~	1977		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1300	~	~	~			~	
1301	~	~	~			~	
1302	Figaro	15/6/1941	2[2]/[4]/2002		tomb	Spanish	cross

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1303	~	~	~			~	cross
1304	Redman	~	4/_/2002		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1305	~	~	7/3/2002		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1306	Benjamin De Pena	~	1/2/200_		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1307	~	~	~			~	
1308	~	~	~			~	
1309	De Pena Grrem	~	15/9/2002		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Green?
1310	~	~	~			~	
1311	Aponte	[19]/6/1930	13/6/2009		tomb	Spanish	
1312	~	~	~			~	
1313	Kin	~	~			~	misspelling of King; firstname = "Charli"
1314	Jimene	~	21/5/2008		cross	Spanish	misspelling of Jiminez
1315	Evangelista Montesino	~	24/9/2008		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1316	~	~	~			~	
1317	~	~	~			~	
1318	Benyamin	~	30/5/2002		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Benjamin
1319	~	~	~			~	
1320	Ramon Marrero	~	16/9/2002		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1321	Chaurria	~	3/4/2002		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1322	Benjamin Kin	~	~			Spanish	misspelling of King
1323	Balbuena	~	27/2/2008		cross	Spanish	
1324	Santana Sepulveda	~	~			Spanish	"Familia Santana Sepulveda"

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1325	Luis	~	2/18/200_		cross	~	unlabeled single date; crucifix
1326	~	~	~			~	
1327	Bra[m]__	~	11/1/2001		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1328	~	~	~			~	
1329	A. P.	~	~			Spanish	
1330	Moris	~	17/2/200[2]		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1331	De Leon Kelly	14/4/1942	8/11/2008		tomb	Spanish	cross; "Negro"
1332	Carlos	24/6/1928	6/12/2001		tomb	Spanish	cross
1333	Bratini Sala	~	15/3/2009		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1334	Thomas	~	16/11/2008		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1335	~	~	~			~	
1336	~	~	~			~	
1337	Guerrero	~	21/1/2002		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1338	~	~	~			Spanish	
1339	~	~	~			~	
1340	Gildo Balbuena	~	12/6/2008		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1341	Jines	~	4/11/2001		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1342	Gree_King	~	~			Spanish	
1343	Nunez Green Gerardo	~	~			Spanish	"Familia Nunez Green Gerardo..."
1344	Her[nan]dez	~	1/11/2001		cross	~	unlabeled single date; "P.G.R." - ??
1345	Salomon Dishmey	14/5/1986	19/4/2005		tomb	Spanish	cross
1346	~	~	~			~	
1347	Jimene	~	4/9/2001		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Jimenez
1348	Espinal	9/9/1942	6/8/2001		tomb	Spanish	cross

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1349	Hernandez	~	27/4/2000		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1350	~	~	~			~	
1351	Hernande_	6/8/[1966]	[1997]		tomb	~	
1352	Yachson	~	28/_/2008		cross	Spanish	misspelling of Jackson
1353	Mejia	~	59/7/_			Spanish	unlabeled single date
1354	~	~	~			~	
1355	Barett	~	13/10/1995		cross	Spanish	
1356	~	~	~			~	
1357	~	~	~			Spanish	
1358	~	~	~			~	wooden cross
1359	_etivier	~	~			~	
1359	Metivier	~	21/12/2000		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1360	Arias P.	2/12/1989	13/8/2007		tomb	Spanish	
1361	~	~	~			~	
1362	~	~	~			~	
1363	Jhonson	~	[2005]		tomb	~	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Johnson
1364	~	~	~			~	
1365	~	~	~			~	
1366	~	~	~			~	
1367	Benjamin Pena	~	28/10/1981		cross	~	unlabeled single date
1368	Benjamin De Pena	~	18/9/2006		cross	Spanish	
1369	K[i]ng	~	3/6/_			Spanish	unlabeled single date
1370	Cancu	~	9/12/1996			~	unlabeled single date
1371	~	~	~			~	
1372	Figaro	1910	22/9/_			Spanish	
1373	Jackson Kin	~	29/1/2008		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of King
1374	Altagracia	~	~			~	
1375	Bentura	~	15/4/2005		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1375	Ramon	~	~		tomb	Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1376	Barett	~	2/4/2010		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1377	Alcala	~	~			Spanish	
1378	Kelly Jhonson	11/3/1918	13/6/2007		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Johnson
1378	King Kelly	18/7/1970	11/11/2003		tomb	Spanish	
1379	Mercedes	~	7/4/2009		cross	Spanish	
1380	Acosta	~	~			Spanish	
1381	Enriquez de Paredes	~	11/4/1970		cross	~	unlabeled single date
1382	Medina De Lois	~	22/3/1995		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1383	Barett	1929	17/4/2006		tomb	Spanish	cross
1383	Barett	16/1/1962	4/11/2005		tomb	Spanish	cross
1384	Mejia B.	10/7/1963	5/4/2000		tomb	~	
1385	M. Guillandaux	5/9/1973	11/11/2003		tomb	~	
1386	~	~	2/4/2010		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1387	~	~	~			~	
1388	J. Salomon	18/1/1922	2/3/2009		cross	~	
1389	Jackson	~	~			~	
1390	Willians	~	3/17/1978		tomb	Spanish	metal cross w/ plaque; misspelling of Williams
1391	Boyer [K]erry	~	26/_____			Spanish	unlabeled single date
1392	Coplin Keru	~	20/95			~	the date = 1920-1995??. misspelling of Kerry?
1393	~	~	~			~	
1394	~	~	~			~	
1395	~	~	~			~	
1396	~	~	~			~	
1397	~	~	~			~	
1398	Miguel	~	23/11/2008		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1399	Yhonson Pool	8/3/1914	22/10/2003		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Johnson and Paul

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1399	F.	~	3/6/1992		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1399	De P.	28/1/193_	18/9/1989		tomb	Spanish	
1400	~	~	~			~	
1401	Melo	~	22/9/1997		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1402	Jhonson	1987	20/12/2007		cross	Spanish	misspelling of Johnson
1403	~	~	~			~	
1404	King	~	~			Spanish	
1405	Metivier	~	14/7/1974		cross	Spanish	
1406	~	~	~			~	
1407	Pena Jeros	~	7/1/2007		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1408	Acosta	8/12/1937	11/12/2006		tomb	Spanish	cross
1408	Modesto	~	17/5/1996		tomb	Spanish	
1408	Modesto	~	~		tomb	Spanish	"Familia Modesto" written on cross atop tomb
1409	~	~	~			Spanish	
1410	[Deve]rd	~	13/11/1987		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1411	Ramirez	~	2/8/1996		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1411	Loyer	~	14/3/199_		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Boyer
1412	~	~	~			~	
1413	~	~	~			~	metal cross atop tomb with "FCA" written in it
1414	~	~	~			~	
1415	~	~	~			~	
1416	~	~	~			~	
1417	Avelino	~	~			Spanish	
1418	~	~	~			~	
1419	King	1942	28/1/____			Spanish	
1420	Silven	~	16/11/1999		tomb	~	unlabeled single date

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1421	~	~	~			~	
1422	Asor	23/4/1913	3/5/2004		tomb	Spanish	
1422	Mejia	~	2/17/2002		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1423	~	~	~		tomb	~	older construction half burried under newer tomb
1424	~	~	~			~	
1425	~	~	~		headstone/tomb	English	"[B]lessed are the dead that die in the l____" and "In Sacred Memory of" but no name, concrete
1426	~	~	~		tomb	~	older construction tomb w/ mini steeple
1427	~	~	~			~	
1428	Hidalgo	1946	2007		cross	~	
1429	Catillor Reyes	~	11/3/2004		tomb	Spanish	
1429	~	~	12/3/2004		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1430	[Rib]ol[a]	~	21/8/1987		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1431	~	~	~			~	
1432	Lora	~	10/8/2008		cross	Spanish	
1433	~	~	~			~	
1434	De Pena Baret	7/1/1991	21/12/2008		cross	Spanish	
1435	B. Figeroa	~	1953		cross	Spanish	
1436	Nunez	~	30/___/___			Spanish	
1437	~	~	~			~	
1438	King	22/4/1936	5/1/1997		tomb	Spanish	
1438	King	~	28/3/1994		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1438	King Mejia	20/1/19__	2/6/1994		tomb	Spanish	
1438	Metiber	~	2/9/1991		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Metivier?
1439	~	~	~			~	
1440	Met_____ de Baret	~	~			~	misspelling of Baret
1441	Jackson de Mercedes	~	7/5/1992		tomb	Spanish	
1442	~	~	~			~	
1443	Mejia	~	~			~	cross
1444	Marrero	~	24/11/1993		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1445	Rodriguez Dominguez	24/12/1915	13/5/1982		tomb	Eng/Spa	cross; "RIP" and "DIC 24 1915 MAYO 13 1980"
1446	Acosta Perreaux	10/15/1903	25/12/1996		tomb	Spanish	
1447	Jose Benjamin	~	~			Spanish	
1448	Ribota	~	~			~	"F_lia Ribota"
1449	Coats	~	~			Spanish	
1450	Jose De Cruz Kelly	1880	18/1/1986		tomb	Spanish	cross
1451	De Cruz Kelly	1974	2005		tomb	~	
1452	Barett de Luis	5/2/1927	26/9/2007		tomb	Spanish	cross
1452	Luis Medina	~	25/3/1987		tomb	Spanish	
1453	Hilton Severino	~	4/12/2007		tomb	Spanish	
1453	Altagracia	~	27/9/2003		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1454	~	~	~			~	
1455	Kelly A.	~	~			~	
1455	Moya	~	~			~	
1456	Rymer de Coats	20/12/1931	28/10/2004		tomb	Spanish	cross; "Dorothy"
1456	_____ de Coats	~	8/_/[1991]		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1456	~	17/7/____	10/8/198_		tomb	Spanish	
1457	~	~	~			~	
1458	Anderson	1903	1984		tomb	Spanish	rose

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1458	Miller	19/1/1960	6/11/1990		tomb	English	cross; "Sr. Genero Miller" but "Jan. 19, 1960 Nov. 6, 1990" and "In God's Care"
1459	Willmore	~	~			~	
1460	Ysles Deke	~	3/_/1998		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1460	Isles De [Gr]_____	15/11/1925	23/12/2000		tomb	Spanish	
1460	Jazmin Aco_____	~	~		tomb	Spanish	
1461	~	~	~			~	
1462	Green	~	1/4/2003		tomb	Spanish	dove; unlabeled single date
1463	~	~	~			~	
1464	Moris	~	2/4/1963		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1464	~	~	1/_/1967		tomb	Spanish	cross
1465	Stubbs D.	1/2/1993	7/4/2010		tomb	Spanish	doves and cross
1465	Jimenez	15/3/1939	18/12/1993		tomb	Spanish	cross and a ladies hat
1466	~	~	~		tomb	~	older construction single tomb; inside vaulted brick exposed - see photos
1467	~	~	~			~	house-like structure - storage for the keeper of the cemetery
1468	D Pena	21/1/1930	28/2/2002		tomb	Spanish	two doves
1469	Aquiles Guevara Lora	~	1/5/1981		tomb	Spanish	cross
1470	~	~	~			~	
1471	~	~	~			~	
1472	~	~	~			~	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1473	~	~	~			~	
1474	~	~	~			~	
1475	Jazmin D. Statoki	15/4/1950	27/8/1992		tomb	Spanish	
1476	~	~	25/9/2008		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1476	Figaro	21/3/1985	16/9/2004		tomb	Spanish	
1477	Adams J.	10/10/1925	16/6/1987		tomb	Spanish	cross; "Dr. Lumen..."
1477	Anderson Adams	29/9/1922	15/11/1982		tomb	Spanish	cross
1478	Hassell	18/5/1883	24/6/1965		tomb	Spanish	
1478	Hassel_	~	1[2]/12/1986		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1478	Roustand	~	17/4/1989		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1479	~	~	~			~	
1480	Smihs	~	~			Spanish	misspelling of Smith?
1480	Acosta de S[e]mi#	~	15/2/___			Spanish	misspelling of Smith?
1481	Jones Forchue	~	15/5/1992		tomb	Spanish	open bible
1481	King de Jones	~	~		tomb	~	
1482	~	~	_____/2004		cross	~	unlabeled single date
1483	Kery	11/4/1934	7/2/1999		tomb	Spanish	
1484	De Baret	~	26/_/1970		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1485	Miller	~	~	swirl	cross	Eng/Spa	older squat cross, w/ swirl design on the back; "God moves in a myeteriouz way" "Familia de D. Miller" and "192"
1486	Adolfo Phipps	21/1/1925	28/12/1996		tomb	Spanish	cross
1487	~	~	~			~	
1488	Soanne	4/11/1998	7/11/1998		tomb	Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1488	Anderson Mercedes	28/12/1985	24/10/1998		tomb	Spanish	
1489	Kelly Poll	~	5/2/____			Spanish	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Paul?
1490	~	~	~		tomb	~	older construction single tomb; mini steeple; cross-hatch pattern on lower portion of steeple; interior brick exposed
1491	Fermin Esquea	24/4/1950	15/2/2000		tomb	Spanish	cross
1492	~	~	28/1/2010		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1492	Willmore	~	18/3/1994		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; "O NEAL"
1493	Anderson	1906	1990		tomb	~	
1493	Tatis	1902	1979		tomb	~	
1493	Anderson	1901	1985		tomb	~	
1493	Grandel Reyes	1922	1988		tomb	~	
1493	Tatis Anderson	1927	2004		tomb	~	
1494	Esquea Reyes	21/5/1930	17/6/2005		tomb	Spanish	cross
1494	Acosta	2/9/1899	15/6/1987		tomb	Spanish	
1494	Acosta Neumam	28/12/1906	14/6/1985		tomb	Spanish	cross; misspelling of Neumann
1495	Miller	~	~		tomb	Spanish	older construction multi-story tomb; "Familia Miller"
1496	Bentura	~	~			~	
1496	_entura	~	~			~	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1497	Torres	~	12/12/[1981]		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1498	Cancu	~	6/7/1994		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1498	Hilton de _____	~	9/3/1978		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1499	Anderson de Jilton	25/1954	2/4/2006		tomb	Spanish	cross; misspelling of Hilton; birth date should be 2/5/1954?
1499	De Jesus Jilton	4/4/1990	9/11/2006		tomb	Spanish	cross; misspelling of Hilton
1500	~	~	~		tomb	~	
1500	~	~	~		tomb	~	
1500	_arrasco	~	~		tomb	~	
1500	Benjamin S. Moreno	4/4/1979	11/7/2009		tomb	Spanish	cross
1500	Hidalgo De Los Santos	22/2/1922	28/7/1989		tomb	Spanish	cross
1501	Silva	27/4/1903	17/7/1976		tomb	Spanish	cross
1501	Silva C.	24/3/1931	24/10/1959		tomb	Eng/Spa	"R I P" but dates are written in Spanish; C = Clark?
1501	Clark de Silva	4/2/1893	23/2/1988		tomb	Spanish	cross
1502	Pierrot	~	21/1/1963		tomb	Spanish	cross; misspelling of Perreaux?
1502	Pierrot	~	25/4/1972		tomb	Spanish	cross; misspelling of Perreaux?; first name = Napoleon
1502	Pierrot	~	27/3/1982		tomb	Spanish	cross; misspelling of Perreaux?
1503	~	~	27/12/2009		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1503	Jones Shephard	~	~		tomb	~	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1504	~	~	~		tomb	~	older construction tomb; with pointed roof at one end
1505	Diaz	21/1/1907	21/2/1971		tomb	~	
1505	Vda McKenzie	19/10/1882	10/3/1988		tomb	Spanish	cross
1506	Diaz M.	2/1/1952	21/8/2008	swirl	tomb	Spanish	open bible; "Jose Hedley Diaz M."; older construction tomb w/ mini pyramids at the four corners
1506	Derricks	24/1/1883	22/3/1928	swirl	tomb	English	"Harriet"; entirely in English
1506	Derricks	~	~	swirl	tomb	English	"John F."; same plaque as Harriet, but dates have been burried
1507	Trigarton Rymer	8/6/1886	17/8/1975		tomb	Spanish	cross

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1507	James	~	3/12/1970		tomb	Spanish	cross; "Harieta"; nickname "Miss Buddy"; her children are all listed on the plaque: "[Al]berto L. Rymer" "Leticia Susana Rymer de Coats" "Mabel Gertrudis Rymer de Barret" "Dorothy Julieta Rymer de Coats" "Beatriz Virginia Rymer de Wrygth"
1508	Green	27/2/1822	16/10/1921	swirl	cross	English	old squat cross w/ swirl design on back; "Ann Jane"; entirely in English; many of the letters and number are backwards
1509	Henri[q]ues	~	~			Spanish	
1510	~	~	~			~	
1511	Medina	~	7/7/2000		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1512	~	27/1/1976	20/3/20__			Spanish	
1513	Luna Del Bois	~	25/10/2009		cross	Spanish	
1514	Gackson Coplin	~	11/9/2002		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Jackson
1515	Jimenez	~	~			~	
1516	Kelly	~	4/6/1999		tomb	Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1516	Jo[ne]s	~	7/11/1991		tomb	Spanish	
1517	~	~	~			~	
1518	Shep[h]a[r] Alt.	7/5/1969	[5]/7/2004		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Shephard
1519	Medina	2/11/1946	30/6/1995		tomb	Spanish	
1519	Cisnero	4/6/1926	30/11/1996		tomb	Spanish	
1519	Cisnero	4/10/1945	5/1/2002		tomb	Spanish	
1519	Rosario Cisnero	7/9/19[49]	4/2/200_		tomb	Spanish	
1520	De Nunes D. Jones	7/1/1979	7/1/2004		tomb	~	the paint job on this marker is confusing - could potentially be two different burials?
1520	Millord Jones	~	~		tomb	~	misspelling of Miller?
1521	Jones	1908	1967		tomb	Spanish	cross
1522	Hilton	~	4/4/2001		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1522	Hilton	~	20/3/2006		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1522	Hilton	~	24/9/1985		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1523	Barett	8/2/1925	19/11/1997		tomb	Spanish	
1523	de Kelly	~	~		tomb	~	
1523	Kelly Barett	25/8/1949	17/7/1988		tomb	Spanish	
1523	~	~	~		tomb	~	nothing is written on this marker, just a crucifix
1523	Kelly	26/5/1917	_/6/1986		tomb	Spanish	"Rev Felipe Kelly"
1524	Kelly Metiviel	~	5/_/1980		tomb	Spanish	two crosses; misspelling of Metivier?
1524	Shephard	~	28/18/1999		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1524	Kelly __[l]er	~	~		tomb	~	
1525	Salomon	~	21/6/1969		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1526	Acosta	1935	1984		tomb	English	"Fred L. Acosta, I have seen many farewells and I have seen, many goodbys, I have seen people sad and I have seen people, cry, to say goodbye to one you sincerely love, is like the moon saying, farewell to the radiant sky. 1935-1984, New York City" (line are separated by commas here, but not on the actual marker)
1527	Almonte Cisnero	21/11/1974	17/3/2010		cross	Spanish	"Francisco Jeovanny"
1528	~	~	~			~	
1529	Bonifacio del Jon_____	~	30/7/[20]09		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1530	Devers	~	4/9/1984		cross	~	unlabeled single date
1531	Moris	~	22/10/2009		tomb	Spanish	
1532	Dominguez Kelly	9/1/1966	24/10/2008		tomb	Spanish	
1533	Kinl Vda Wllm_____	~	~		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of King and Willmore?
1533	~	~	5/3/2000		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1533	Willmore Green	3/2/1906	~		tomb	Spanish	death date is illegible
1533	Olivio Chery	8/10/1953	23/2/1996		tomb	Spanish	cross

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1533	Llonson	~	21/2/1991		tomb	~	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Johnson?
1534	Polanco	4/1/1938	4/2/1990		tomb	Spanish	
1535	~	~	~			~	
1536	Grrem	~	4/11/19[7]9		tomb	~	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Green
1536	Grrem	~	5/8/2003		tomb	~	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Green
1536	Grrem	~	10/_____		tomb	~	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Green
1536	Grrem	~	1981		tomb	~	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Green
1537	Staquio Medina	23/19/1927	2002		tomb	Spanish	
1537	Geronimo	~	9/6/1982		tomb	Spanish	
1537	Keris	~	14/11/1983		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Kerry?
1538	~	~	3/6/1986		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1538	Roustand	~	30/11/1986		tomb	Spanish	
1538	Roustand	~	1/3/2009		tomb	Spanish	
1538	~	~	22/2/1986		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1538	Coplin King	~	23/5/2002		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1538	[Kin_] de Geronimo	~	31/1/1985		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1538	Hernandes	~	19/3/1987		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1538	Green	~	3/1/1987		tomb	Spanish	cross; unlabeled single date

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1538	Shephard [Willmore]	~	3/6/1986		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1538	~	~	6/3/1995		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1539	~	~	~		cross/ tomb	~	older construction single tomb with a skinny cross atop
1540	Kin	12/6/1933	2004		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of King; "Pastol" written above name
1540	Ki__	~	21/4/1995		tomb	Spanish	King?
1540	Coplin	~	1/3/1999		tomb	Spanish	
1541	Kelly	~	~		tomb	~	
1541	Boyer de Kelly	20/3/1921	30/3/2009		tomb	Spanish	two doves and a cross; also a photo of the deceased
1541	Kelly Medina	12/5/2004	14/7/2009		tomb	Spanish	cross
1541	Smith	~	4/9/200_		tomb	Spanish	
1541	~	1950	18/3/1980		tomb	~	
1542	Peguero Vda. Lalane	10/11/1897	1/4/1982		tomb	Spanish	cross
1542	Lalane P.	29/3/1926	16/9/1980		tomb	Spanish	cross
1542	Lalane P.	29/9/1921	27/6/1992		tomb	Spanish	cross
1543	Jasson	~	[16]/10/1991		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Jackson?
1544	King	~	20/12/2000		tomb	Spanish	
1545	~	~	~			~	
1546	Baret King	5/7/1917	17/7/1998		tomb	Spanish	cross
1546	Luis Vda Barett	15/1/1918	30/1/2000			Spanish	cross
1547	Kelly V[ander]horst	~	~		tomb	Spanish	"Familia Kelly V[ander]horst" written across top of multi- stori tomb
1547	Kelly V.	26/3/1934	13/6/1984		tomb	Spanish	
1547	Kelly V.	~	~		tomb	~	dove

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1547	Kelly	___/6/___	___/1/1984		tomb	~	
1548	Jones	2/5/1925	9/11/1995		tomb	Spanish	
1548	Ramon	~	20/12/1995		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1548	Hilt__ King	~	28/5/1998		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; likely Hilton
1548	Bock	~	20/5/1997		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Buck?
1548	Pool Cancu	11/12/1922	28/11/2000		tomb	Spanish	cross; misspelling of Paul?
1548	Fermin	~	11/3/1995		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1548	~	~	5/8/1996		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1548	Geremiam	~	3/4/1993		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1548	King Gremam	~	3/7/2000		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1548	Green S.	2/11/1928	23/2/2000		tomb	~	
1548	Johnson	9/4/1922	4/1/2001		tomb	Spanish	
1548	Green de Po___	~	4/___/1994		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1548	Forchue Medi__	1914	1/2/1991		tomb	Spanish	
1548	Coplin de Kelly	~	12/3/1999		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1548	Shephard Azor de Medina	14/1/1933	4/9/1994		tomb	Spanish	
1548	Metivey Hilton	~	6/5/2001		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Metivier?
1548	~	~	~		tomb	Spanish	written on the side of the tomb: "Bodega de la Sociedad Buen Samaritano de La iglesia Evangelica Dom. IED"

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1549	Polanco Kelly	21/7/1_98	28/9/1998		tomb	Spanish	
1549	Isidro Polanco	11/8/1947	1/5/2004		tomb	Spanish	cross
1550	Mercede	~	21/8/1984			Spanish	unlabeled single date
1551	~	~	~			~	
1552	Javier de [Rib]ota	~	12/_/1982		tomb	~	unlabeled single date; tomb and cross crumbling
1553	~	~	~			~	
1554	~	~	~			~	
1555	Zapata	~	19/3/1985		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1556	~	~	~			~	
1557	~	~	~			~	
1558	~	~	~			~	
1559	S____ao Kelly	~	~			Spanish	written in sharpie?
1560	~	~	~			~	
1561	~	~	~			~	
1562	Bare Amamdram	~	~			~	Bare = Barrett?
1563	~	~	10/2/2010		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1564	~	~	~			~	
1565	~	~	~			~	
1566	Salomon	~	12/10/1987		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1567	Green	~	1/2/1991		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1568	Millerd King	~	~		tomb	English	misspelling of Miller?; "Rest in Peace"
1568	Shephard Johnson	15/10/1989	15/11/2007		tomb	Spanish	
1568	King	~	23/7/1984		tomb	Spanish	
1569	Me[tivi]__ Cancu	~	26/8/2000		tomb	Spanish	
1569	Metivier Cancu	~	4/9/2008		tomb	Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1570	Polanco Javier	12/1/1964	13/6/1992		tomb	Spanish	cross
1571	~	~	30/7/2005		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1572	Perreux Custobio	~	19/12/2009		tomb	Spanish	
1573	~	~	~			~	
1574	~	~	~			~	
1575	~	~	~			~	
1576	Barett	~	~			Spanish	died at 93 yrs old
1577	Pool De Pena	~	1/2/2010		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1578	Acosta B.	29/8/1962	2/6/____			Spanish	
1579	~	~	~			~	
1580	Ramon Rod[ri]guez	16/12/1922	24/5/2002		tomb	Spanish	
1580	King Roustand	~	~		tomb	~	
1581	Capois	~	~			Spanish	
1582	~	~	~			~	cross
1583	~	1/4/1923	24/9/1971		tomb	Spanish	cross
1584	Serra de B.	12/8/1950	15/10/2007		tomb	Spanish	cross
1584	Serra	1919	7/7/1988		tomb	Spanish	cross
1584	Toribio	1902	1[8]/8/1988		tomb	Spanish	cross
1585	~	~	~			~	
1586	~	~	~			~	
1587	[Bock]	~	[8]/8/1996		tomb	Spanish	misspelling of Buck?
1587	Moya	~	6/1/1991		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1588	~	1912	~			~	cross; unlabeled date, but other side of cross is not visible and thought to have a second date; pictures of the deceased above plaque; large structure

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1589	~	~	~			~	
1590	~	~	~			~	
1591	Redman	6/5/1940	8/8/1989		tomb	Spanish	cross in front of tomb with same name and death date; birth date of 6/6/1904
1592	~	~	~			~	
1593	~	~	~			~	
1594	Bautista	~	~			~	cross
1595	~	~	~			~	
1596	W de Phipps	~	~			~	
1597	Phipps William	9/3/1911	1/2/1996		tomb	Spanish	
1597	Phipps Viuda. Fermin	15/1/1938	21/1/1995		tomb	Spanish	
1597	_____ Phipps	1/12/1936	3/3/1987		tomb	Spanish	
1598	~	~	~			~	
1599	Mieses de Dominguez	~	8/4/[1970]		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; metal cross
1600	~	~	~			~	
1601	~	~	~			~	
1602	~	~	~			~	
1603	~	~	~			~	small tiled slab; cross made out of tiles
1604	Baretl de Dismey	8/1/1915	2/6/2001		tomb	Spanish	cross; open bible; misspelling of Baret
1605	Espino____	~	9/___/___[9]			Spanish	
1606	~	~	~			~	
1607	Mejia	~	28/7/19__			Spanish	unlabeled single date
1608	Hamilton Vda. Morales	11/10/1896	4/6/1990		tomb	Spanish	cross
1608	Hamilton Eve	10/1/1912	10/11/1993		tomb	Spanish	cross
1608	Hamilton Vda. Troncoso	12/9/1888	26/12/1972		tomb	Spanish	cross

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1608	Hamilton - Eve	16/3/1913	19/1/1989		tomb	Spanish	cross
1609	Pena De Balbuena	1932	1999		cross	~	
1610	F. Kely	~	1/5/1987		tomb	Spanish	cross; unlabeled single date; misspelling of Kelly
1610	F. Kelly	~	26/2/2002		tomb	Spanish	cross; unlabeled single date
1610	Figaro	~	3/7/1989		tomb	Spanish	cross; unlabeled single date
1611	____cede Metia	~	14/11/1974		cross	~	unlabeled single date; Mercede?
1612	Aria	2/5/1979	27/11/1986		tomb	Spanish	
1613	Estevez	~	25/10/2004		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1614	Me_____	~	~			Spanish	open bible
1615	Mejia	~	~			~	
1616	Pool King	29/6/1952	8/6/2008		tomb	Spanish	
1617	Figaro	~	3/17/1997		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1617	Yonhson	~	13/12/1991		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Johnson
1617	~	~	5/6/2004		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1618	[L]ahson	~	~			Spanish	misspelling of Jackson?
1619	Jhonsen	~	~			~	misspelling of Johnson
1620	Acosta	~	10/11/1910	swirl	cross	Spanish	old, squat cross w/ swirl design on back; unlabeled single date
1621	~	~	~			~	
1622	~	~	~			~	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1623	A_____	~	26/2/2002		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1623	Green	~	28/3/2001		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1623	Moya Coplin	~	7/10/1984		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1623	Green	~	27/7/1987		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1623	Medina Silven	14/9/1942	19/6/2006		tomb	Spanish	cross
1624	Lopez Hernandez	~	12/4/2008		tomb	Spanish	unlabeled single date; misspelling of Hernandez
1625	B_____	~	6/22/1988		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1626	~	~	~			~	
1627	~	~	~			~	
1628	~	~	~			~	
1629	~	~	~			~	
1630	Kelly	~	8/9/1993		tomb	Spanish	cross; unlabeled single date
1630	Kelly	~	1/11/1984		tomb	Spanish	cross; unlabeled single date
1631	Dominguez	~	13/2/[1980]		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1632	~	~	6/11/2001		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1633	Gree_ Severino	~	8/9/2007		cross	Spanish	unlabeled single date
1634	~	~	~			~	
1635	~	~	~			~	
1636	~	~	~			~	
1637	~	~	5/2/1999		tomb	Spanish	
1638	~	~	~			~	
1639	Hern	~	26/10/2__			~	unlabeled single date; shortening of Hernandez?
1640	~	~	~			~	
1641	Morfe	~	14/2/2008		tomb	Spanish	

CAT #	Surname	Birth Date	Death Date	Motif	Marker Type	Language	Notes
1642	Perez	~	21/8/1999		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1643	Figaro	~	12/8/1999		tomb	~	unlabeled single date
1644	~	~	~			~	cross; "Marlina"
1645	Benjamin Azor	~	23/6/1999		cross	Spanish	
1646	Jose Salomo	4/7/1958	18/[1]/2002		cross	~	
1647	~	29/5/1976	_____			Spanish	
1648	~	~	~			~	
1649	~	~	~			~	
1650	Geronimo Smith	~	~			Spanish	"Familia Geronimo - Smith"
1651	Kly Yason	~	~			Spanish	misspelling of Kelly and Jason?
1652	~	~	~			~	
1653	~	~	21/5/2001		cross	~	unlabeled single date
1654	~	~	~			~	
1655	~	~	~			~	
1656	~	~	~			~	

APPENDIX C

The following maps were created by the author and are based on the fieldwork performed in the Samaná Cemetery Survey. See Chapter 6 for a description of how the maps were produced. The first twelve maps (Figures C-1 – C-12) highlight the markers with Anglo (red), Dominican (blue), and French (green) surnames for each decade of the study. The first decade begins in 1890 and the final decade begins in 2000. Please note that markers dating from January to July of 2010 have been included in the final decade. These first twelve maps highlight the grave markers which date to the given decade, and that decade only. Examining a single decade allowed for the evaluation of spatial patterning through time and if there were any discernible differences decade-to-decade.

The second set of maps (Figures C-13 – C-24) illustrates the progression of burials through time. The decades again serve as the chronological boundaries, but these maps are cumulative. For instance, while the first maps will show the makers for the first decade, the second map will highlight the markers for both the first and the second decades. This set of maps looked for spatial patterning through time, but also allowed for a general examination of the use of the site.

Figure C-1. Samaná Cemetery Survey Map with Markers from the 1890s Highlighted.



Figure C-2. Samaná Cemetery Survey Map with Markers from the 1900s Highlighted.

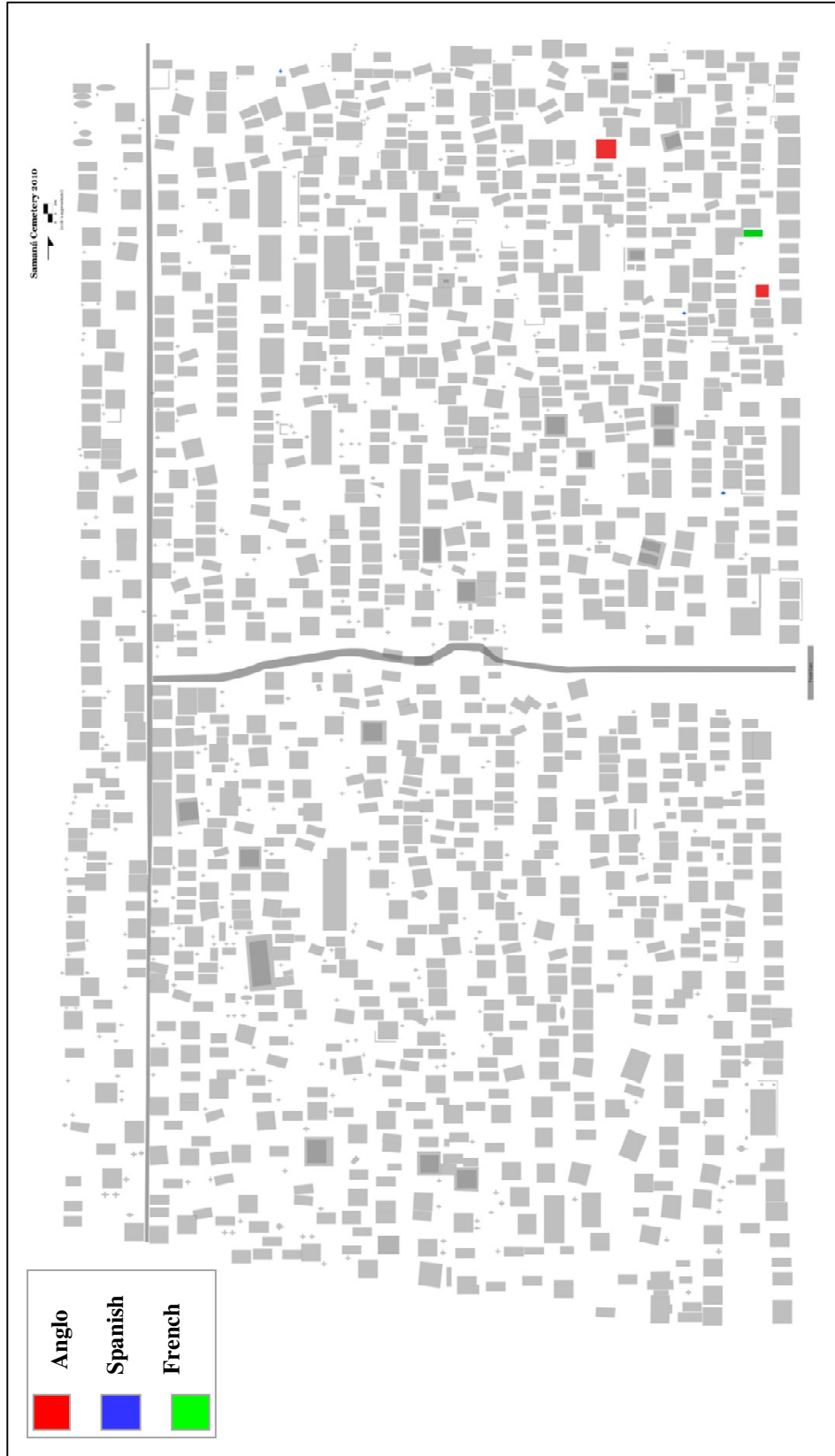


Figure C-3. Samaná Cemetery Survey Map with Markers from the 1910s Highlighted.

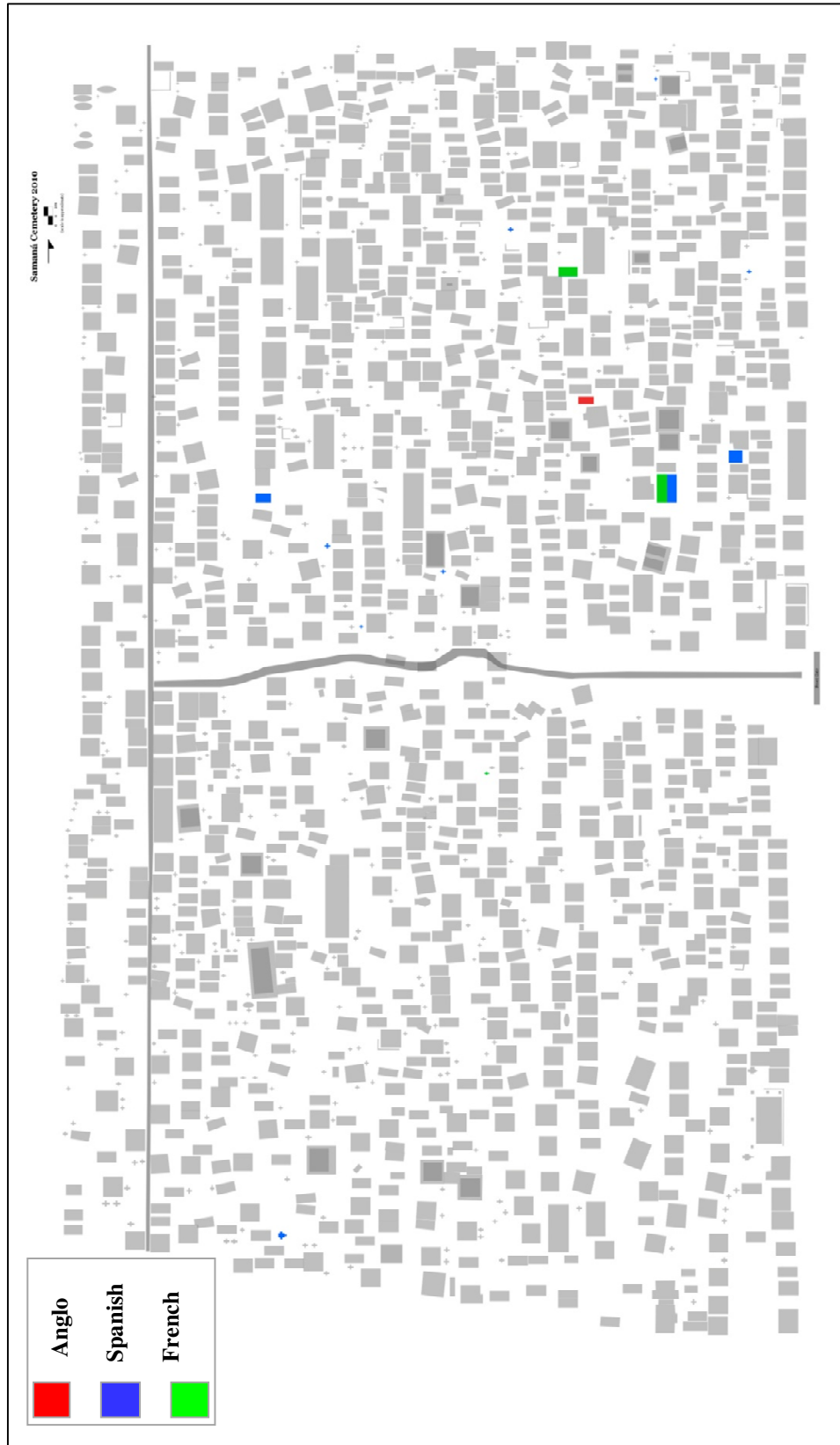


Figure C-4. Samaná Cemetery Survey Map with Markers from the 1920s Highlighted.

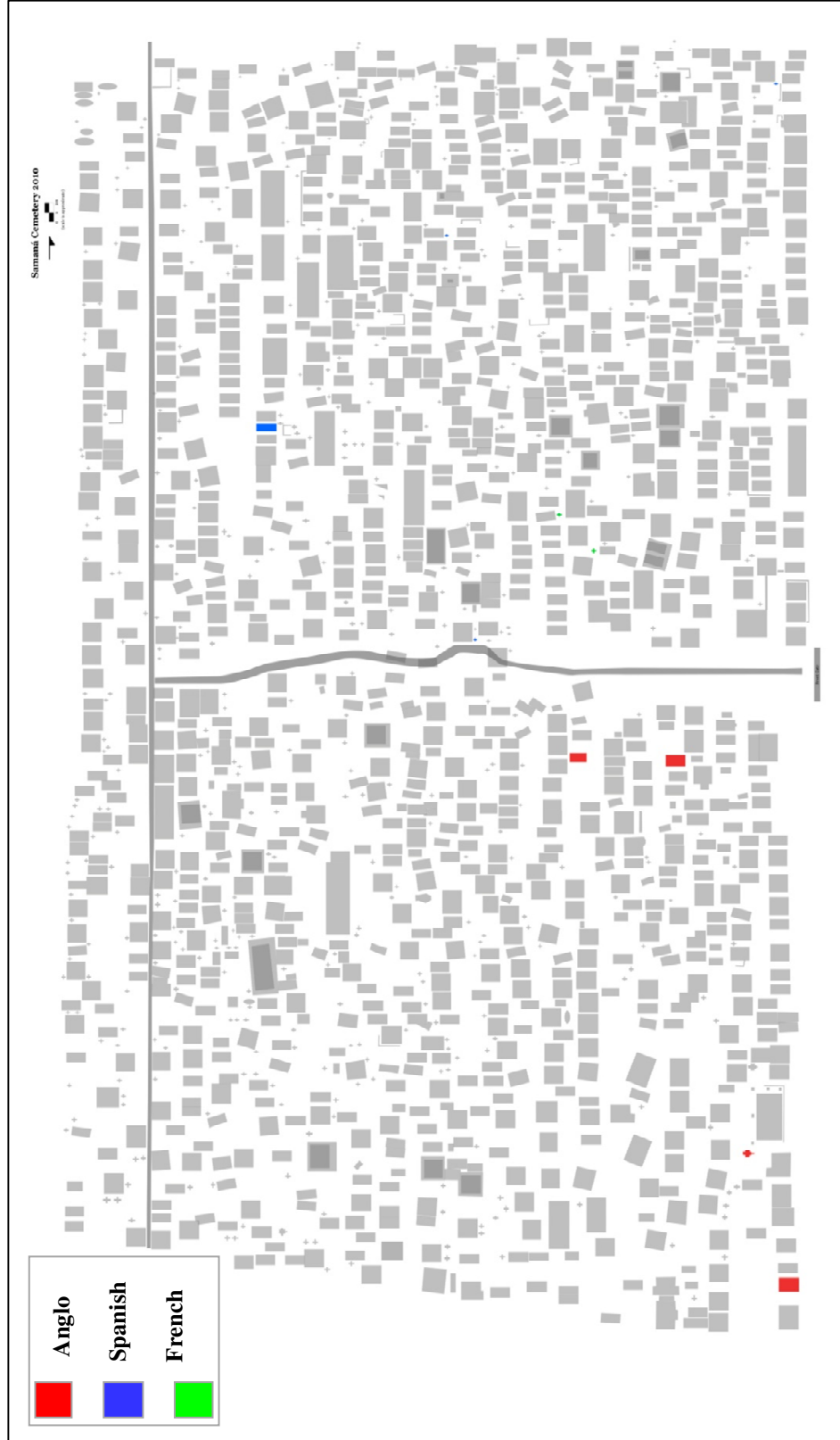


Figure C-6. Samaná Cemetery Survey Map with Markers from the 1940s Highlighted.

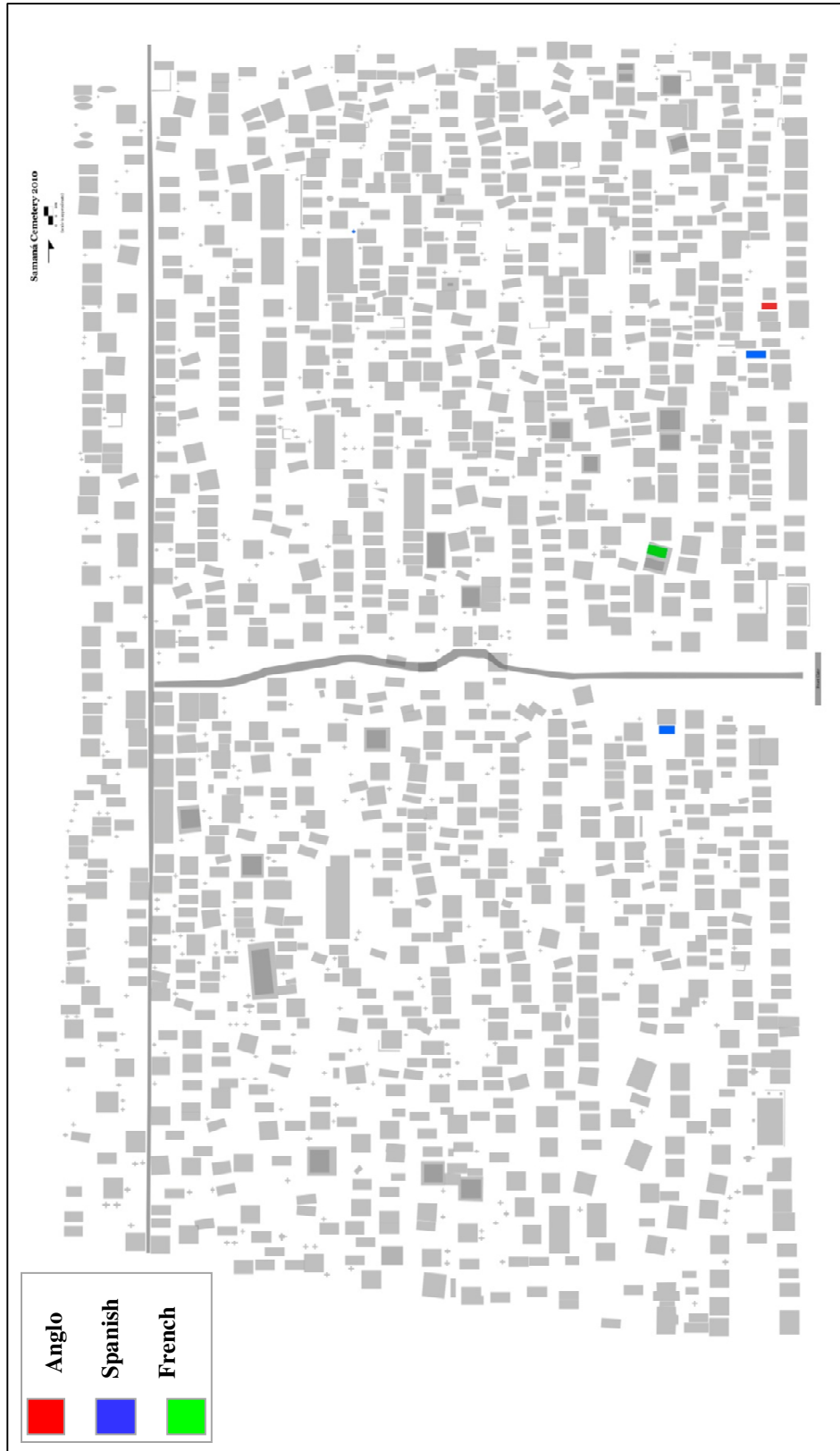


Figure C-7. Samaná Cemetery Survey Map with Markers from the 1950s Highlighted.

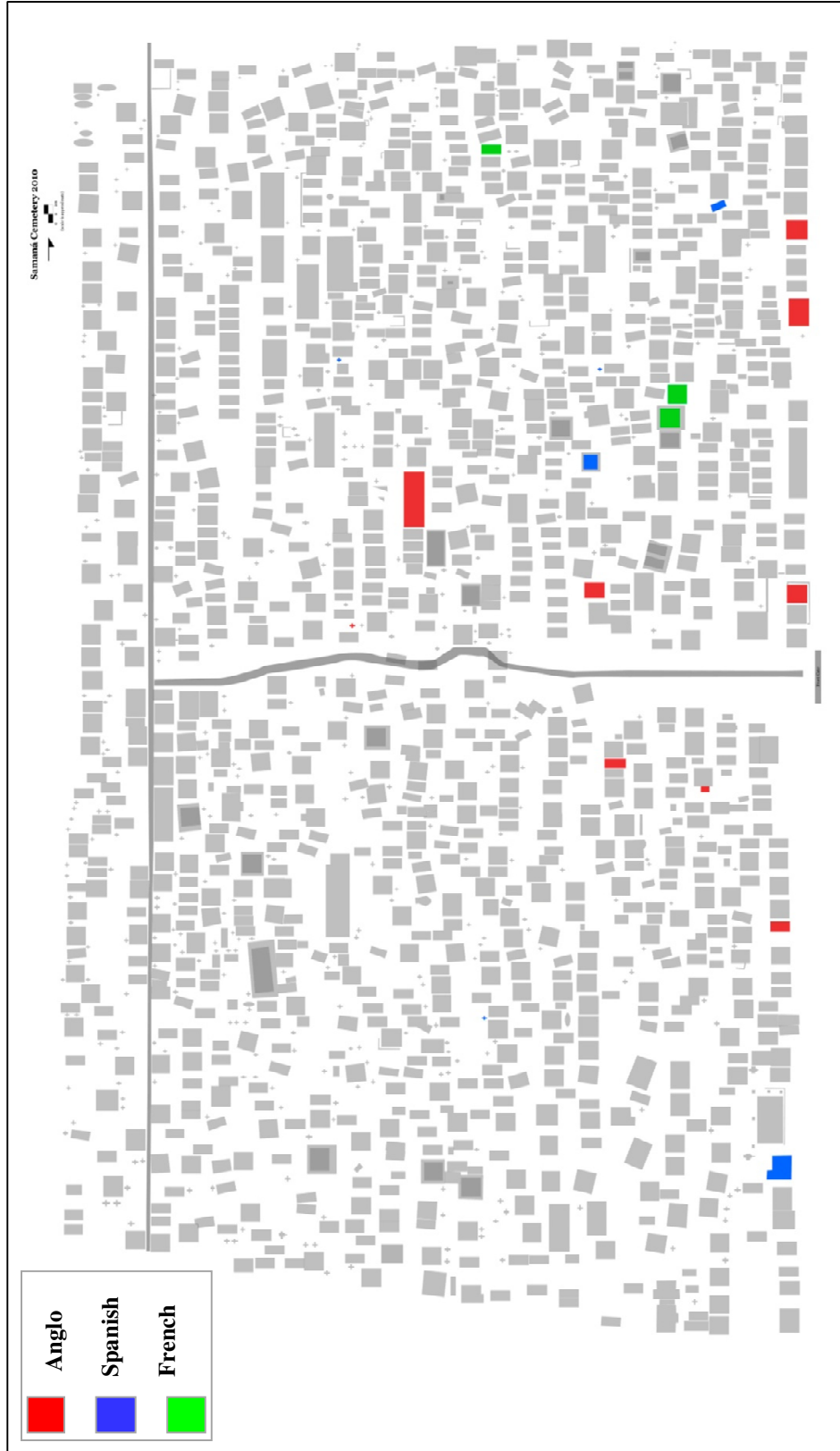


Figure C-8. Samaná Cemetery Survey Map with Markers from the 1960s Highlighted.

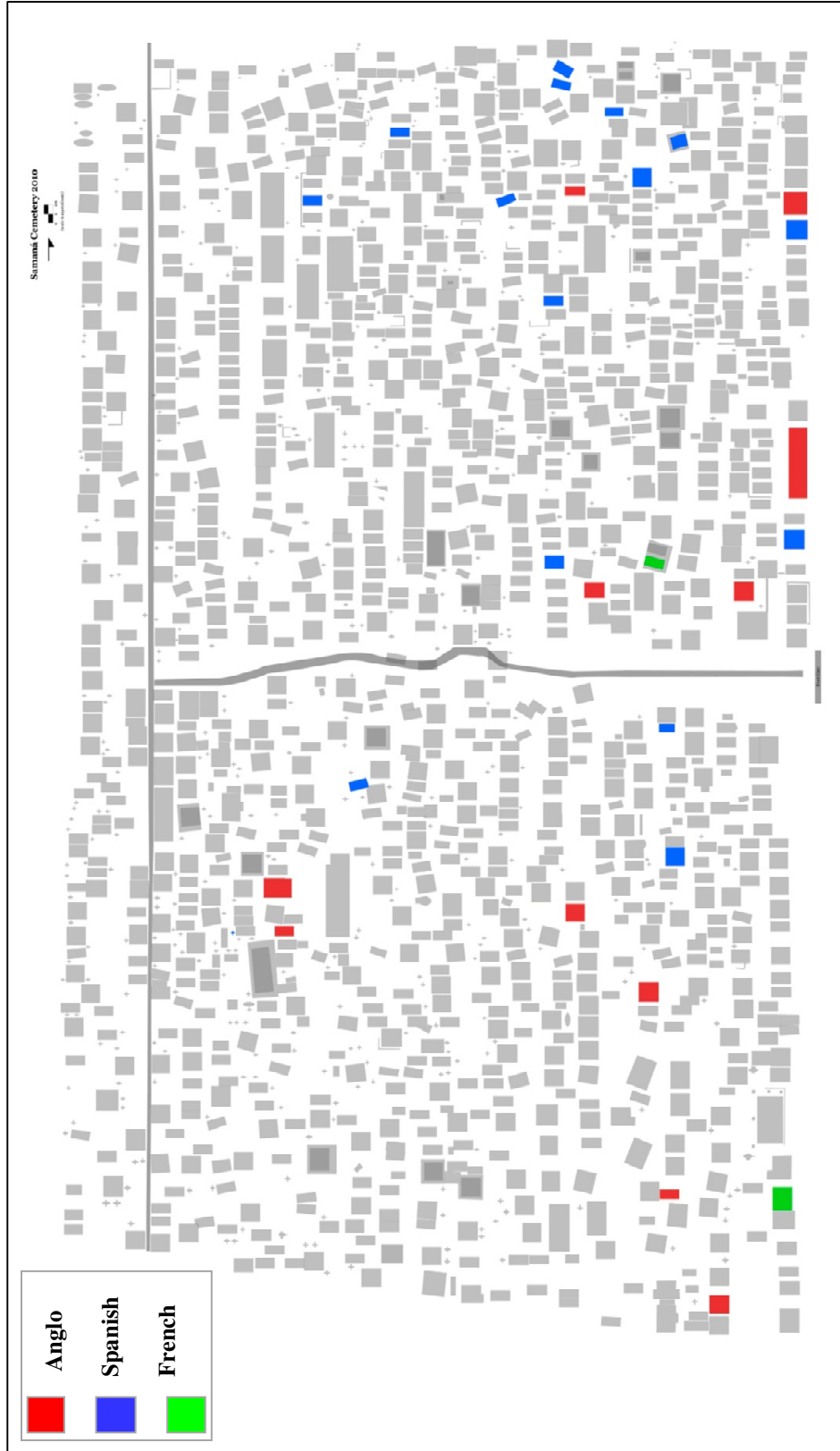


Figure C-9. Samaná Cemetery Survey Map with Markers from the 1970s Highlighted.

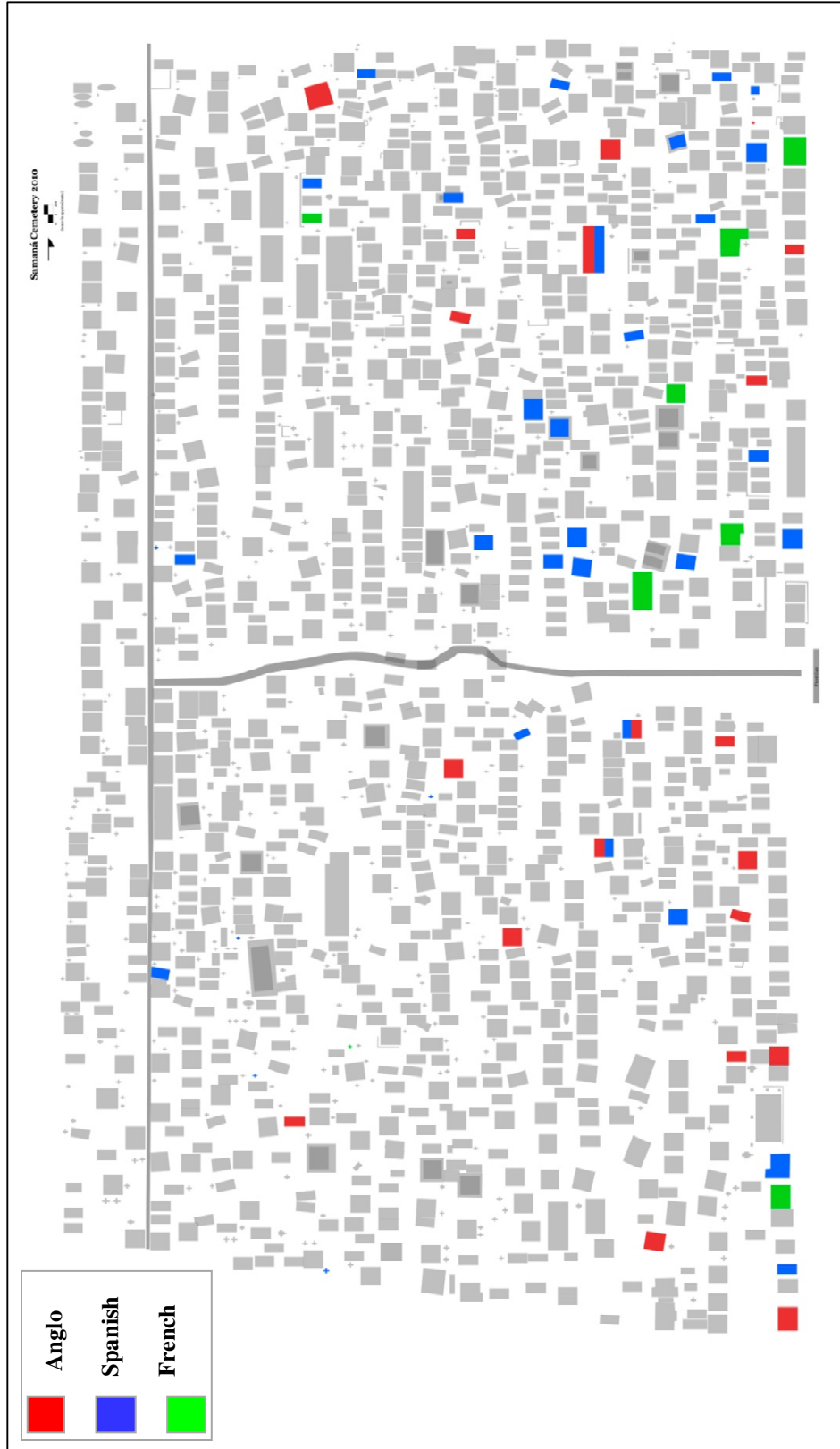


Figure C-10. Samaná Cemetery Survey Map with Markers from the 1980s Highlighted.

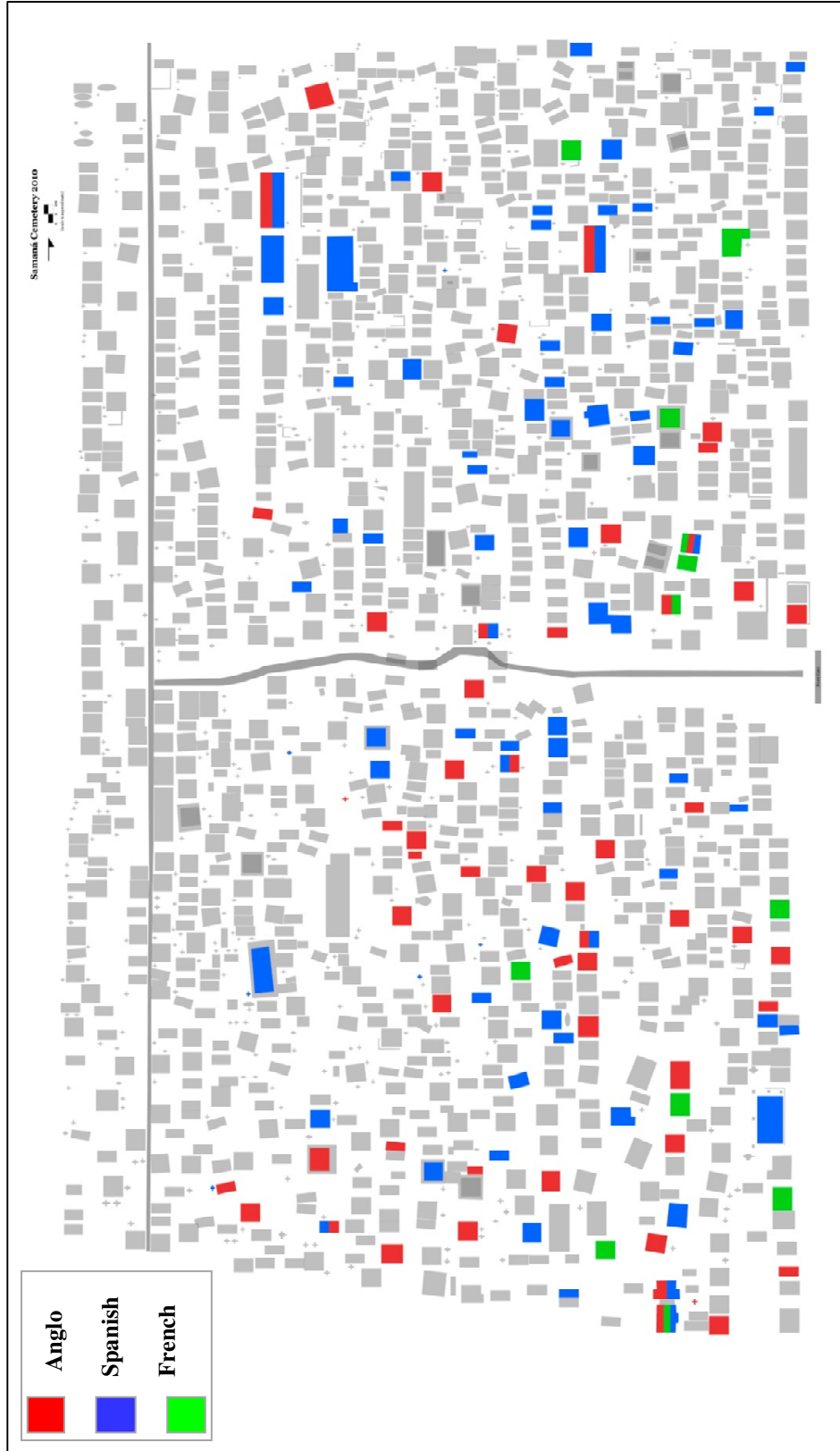


Figure C-11. Samaná Cemetery Survey Map with Markers from the 1990s Highlighted.

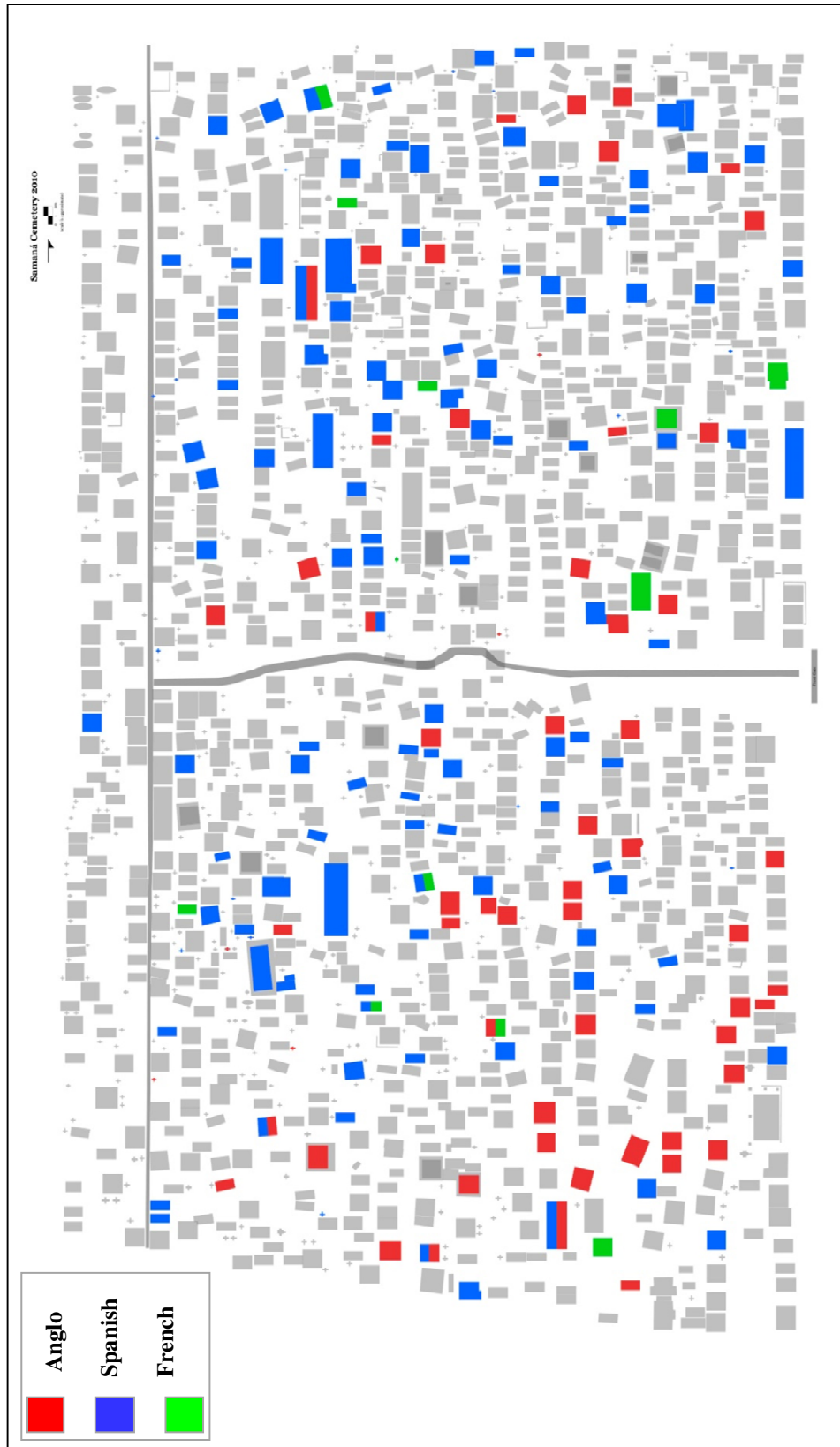


Figure C-12. Samaná Cemetery Survey Map with Markers from the 2000s Highlighted.

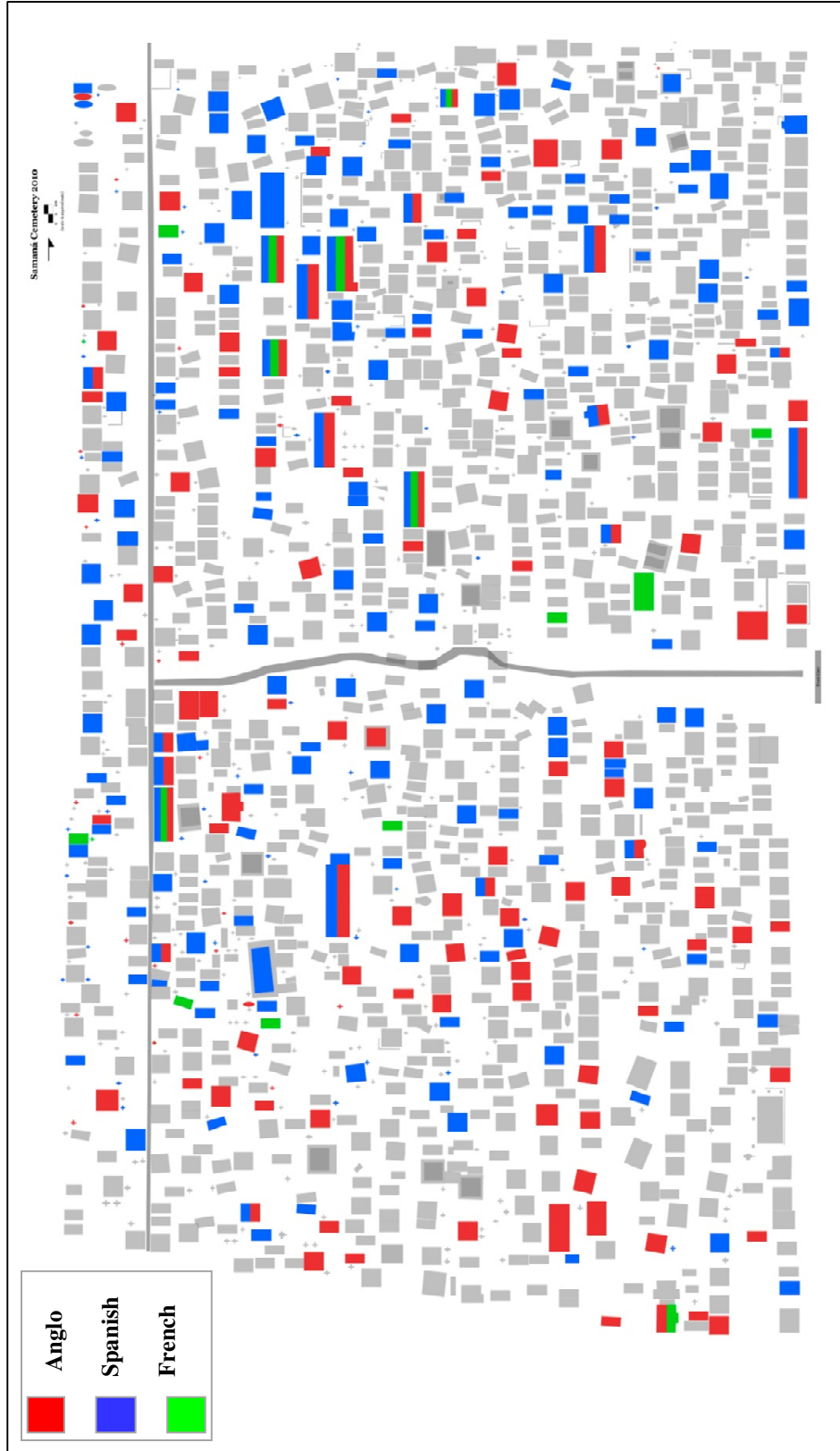


Figure C-13. Samaná Cemetery Survey Map with Markers from 1890-1899 Highlighted.



Figure C-14. Samaná Cemetery Survey Map with Markers from 1890-1909 Highlighted.



Figure C-15. Samaná Cemetery Survey Map with Markers from 1890-1919 Highlighted.



Figure C-16. Samaná Cemetery Survey Map with Markers from 1890-1929 Highlighted.



Figure C-17. Samaná Cemetery Survey Map with Markers from 1890-1939 Highlighted.



Figure C-18. Samaná Cemetery Survey Map with Markers from 1890-1949 Highlighted.

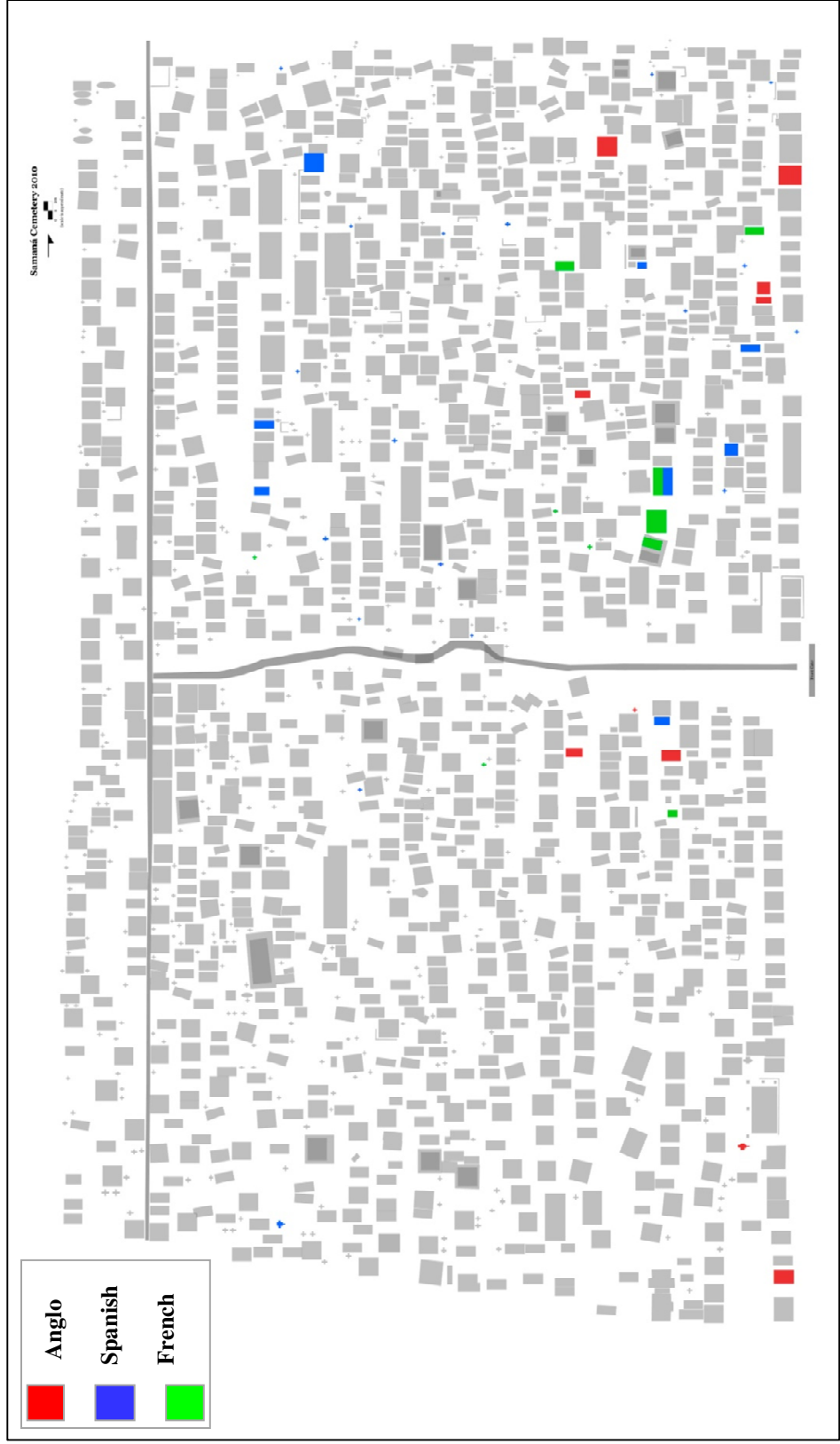


Figure C-19. Samaná Cemetery Survey Map with Markers from 1890-1959 Highlighted.

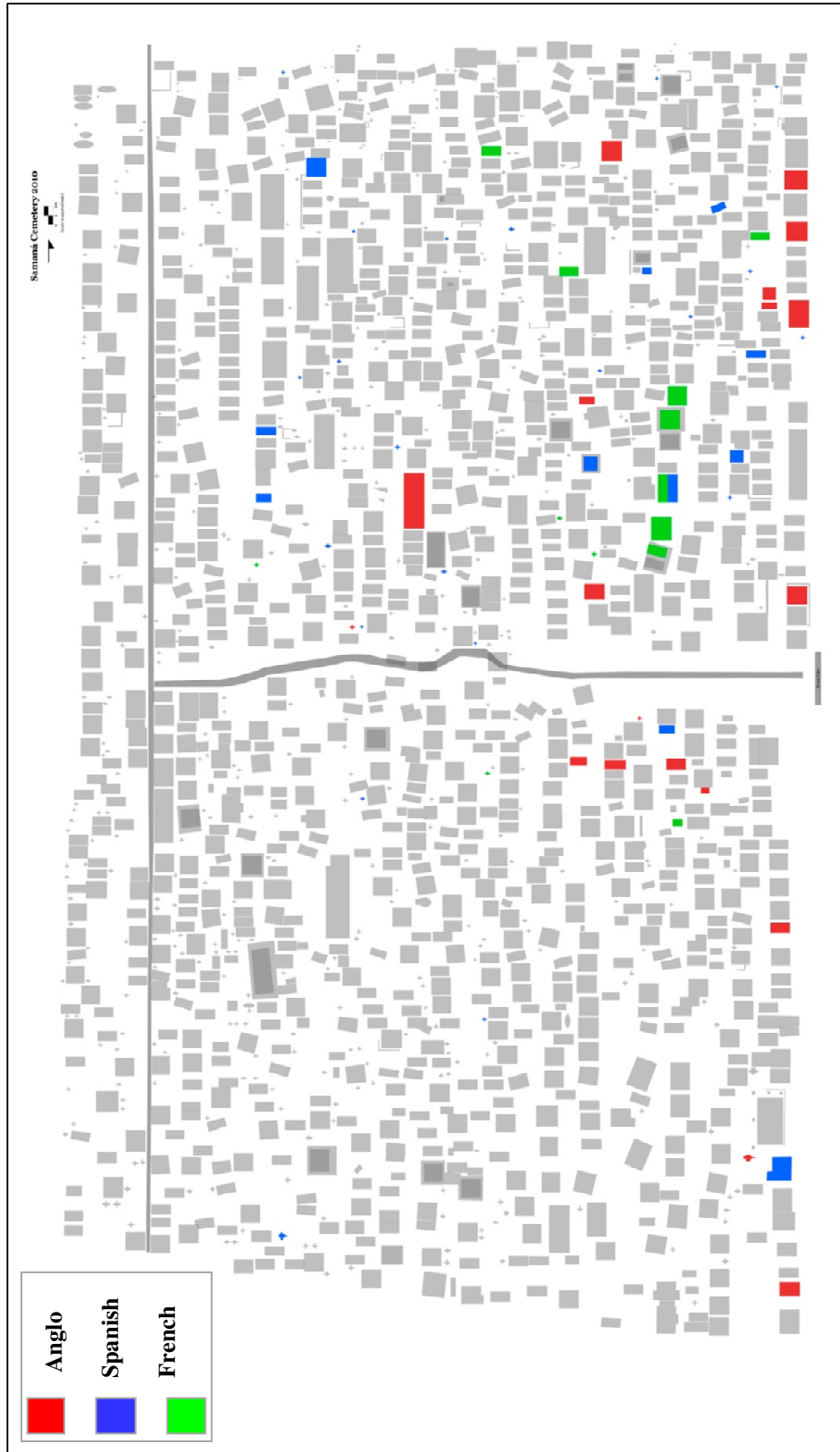


Figure C-20. Samaná Cemetery Survey Map with Markers from 1890-1969 Highlighted.

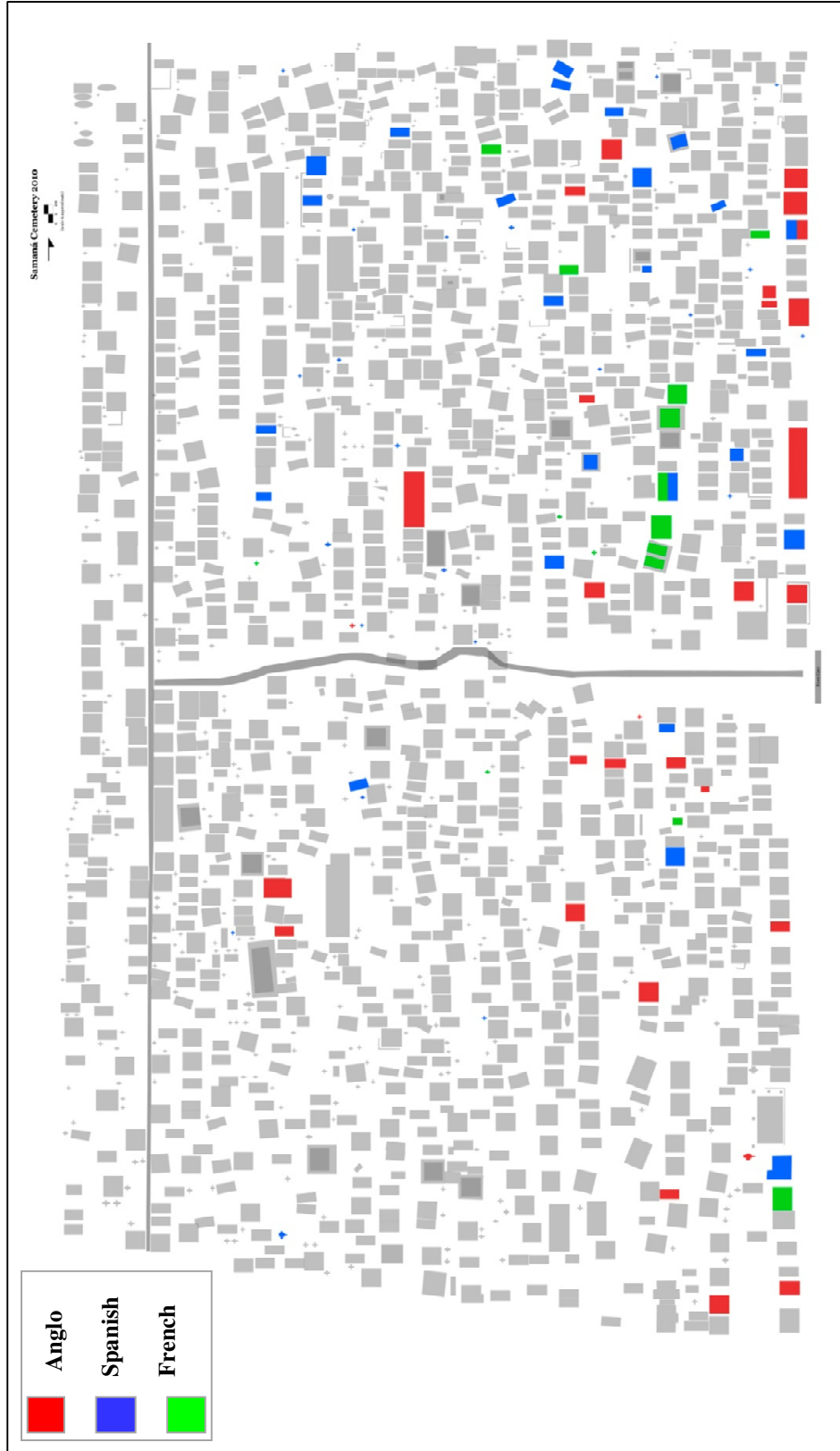


Figure C-21. Samaná Cemetery Survey Map with Markers from 1890-1979 Highlighted.

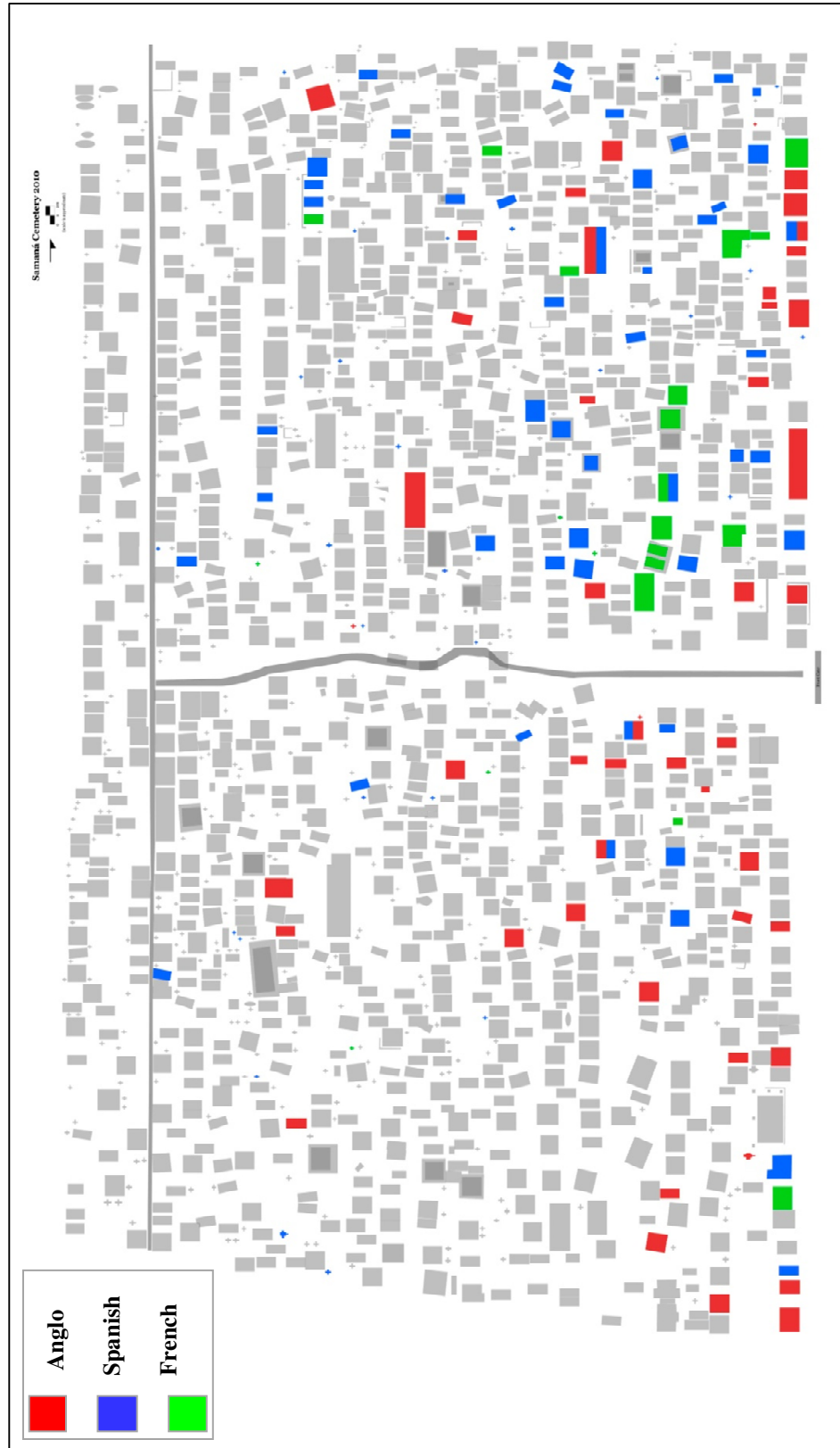


Figure C-22. Samaná Cemetery Survey Map with Markers from 1890-1989 Highlighted.

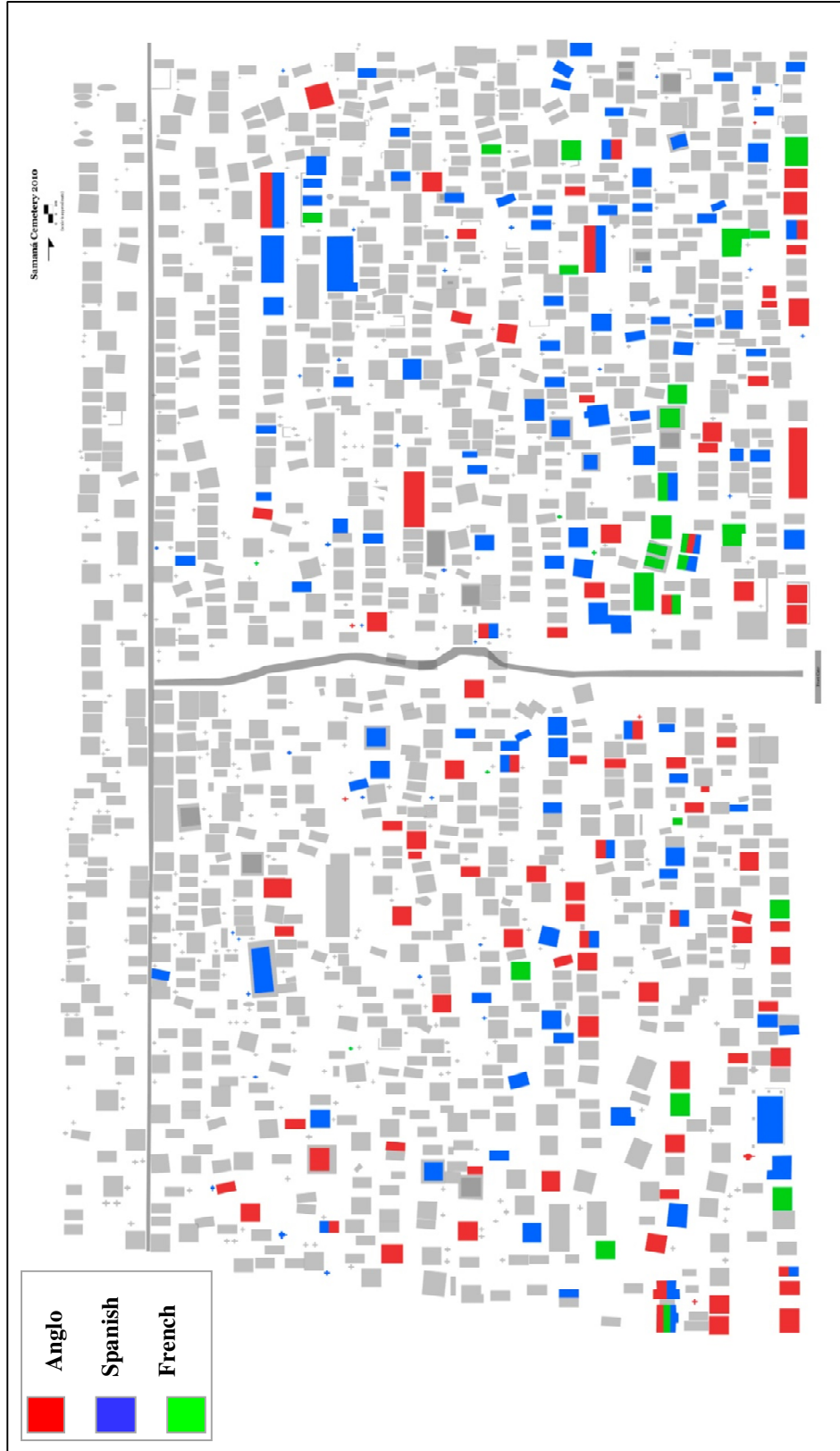


Figure C-23. Samaná Cemetery Survey Map with Markers from 1890-1999 Highlighted.

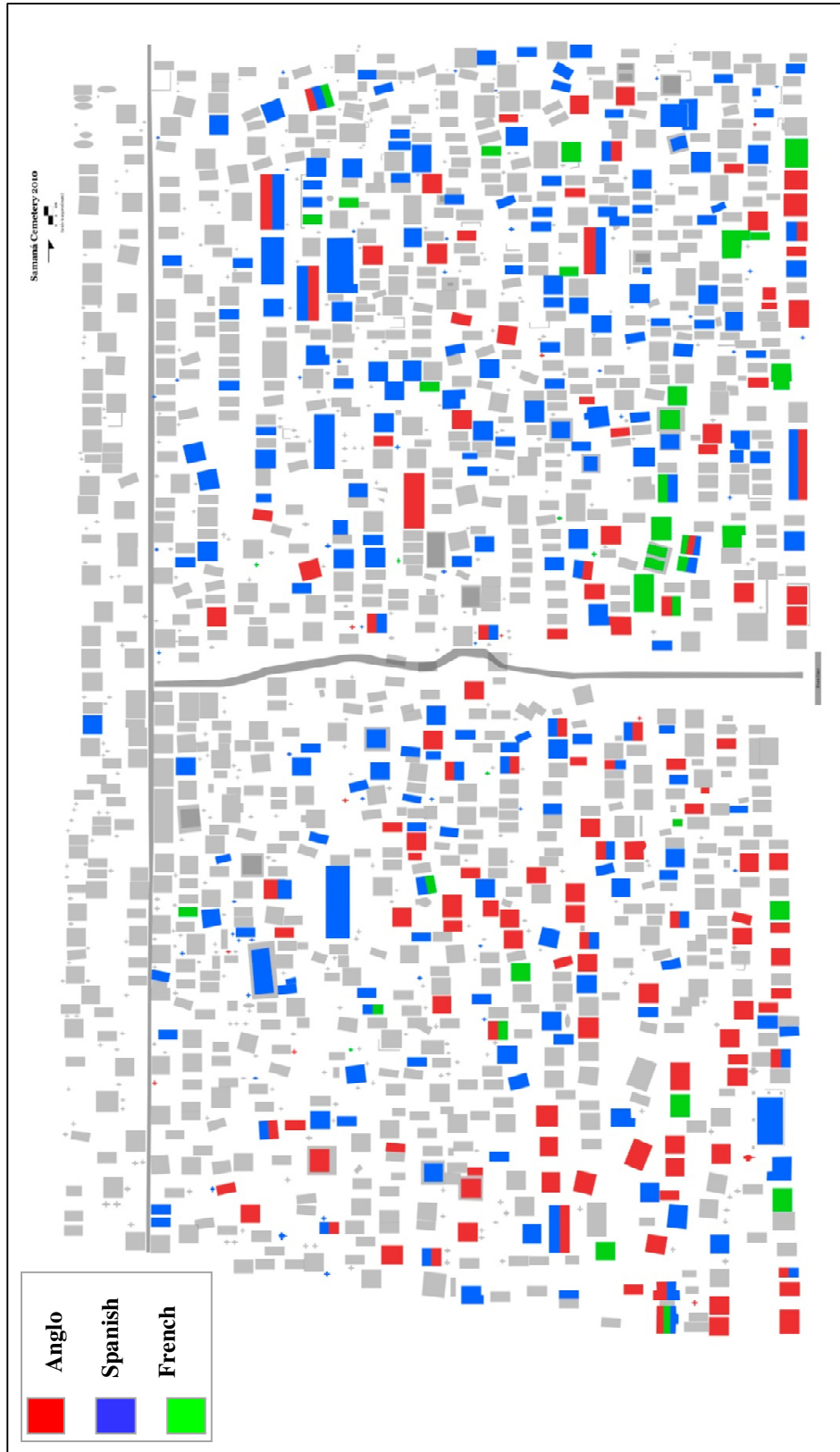
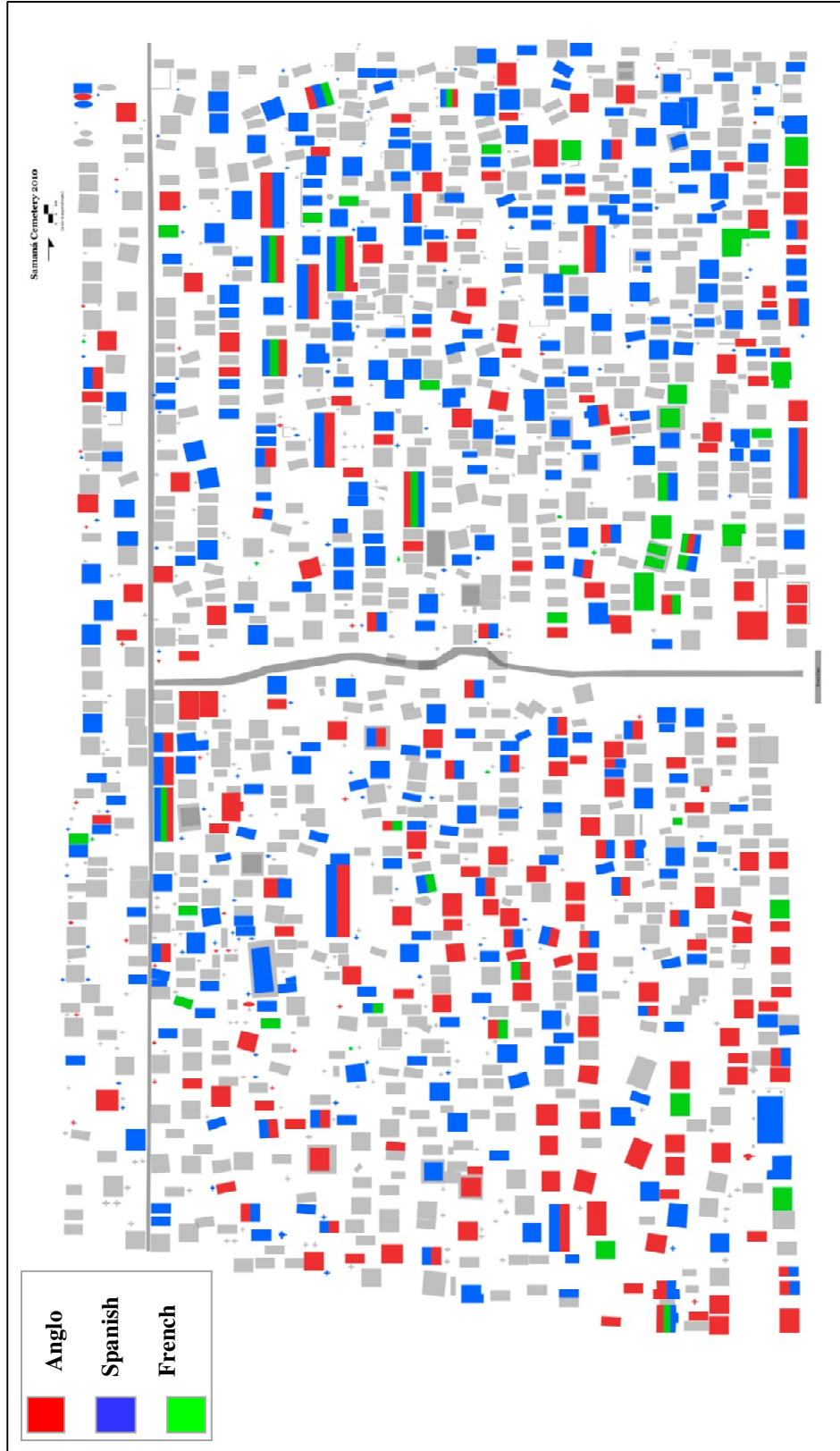


Figure C-24. Samaná Cemetery Survey Map with Markers from 1890 to July, 2010 Highlighted.



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