FREED U.S. SLAVE EMIGRANTS of 1824 to SAMANA, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC:

What is to be learned about Samaná History and the African-American Emigrants from the reports of the 1871 United States Commission of Inquiry?

Dr. Dana F. Minaya

Research Monograph
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Introduction
In 1824, freed slaves emigrated from the United States to Samaná, Dominican Republic.

Location of Samana Peninsula on 1823 Map of Hispaniola ¹

What is to be learned about the lives of the freed slave emigrants of 1824 from the 1871 Report of the Commission of Inquiry to Santo Domingo to United States Congress and other 19th century primary sources pertaining to the annexation of Samana?

In this monograph, care is taken to directly quote and footnote the original primary resources to the greatest extent possible, but, at the same time, make the document readable in modern terminology. This document will be of interest to history buffs (tourists and locals), descendants of emigrants and researchers curious about the African-American emigration of 1824.

REPORT

OF

THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

TO

SANTO DOMINGO,

THE INTRODUCTORY MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT, SPECIAL REPORTS MADE TO THE COMMISSION, STATE PAPERS PUBLISHED BY THE DOMINICAN GOVERNMENT, AND THE STATEMENTS OF OVER SEVENTY WITNESSES.

Title Page of Report Made to U.S. Congress ²
With English and Dutch slave surnames, like Willmore, Vanderhorst, Jones, Kelly, Dickson, Anderson, Green, etc., the residents of Samana Province in the Dominican Republic take great pride in the fact that a large portion of the populations are descendants of African-Americans.

Present Day Signage with Names of 1824 Emigrants to Samana

photos by Dana Minaya

In 1824, President Boyer of Hayti (Haiti) sent an emissary to the United States to invite African-Americans to settle on the island of Hispaniola. In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, community leaders such as Bishop Richard Allen, a founder of the AME church, made arrangements for freed slaves (primarily from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware), particularly those with shipbuilding skills, to settle in Samana.⁴

President Jean-Pierre Boyer of Hayti ⁴
who arranged for the emigration of African Americans to Hispaniola
Within 47 years of the arrival of the freed slave emigrants from the United States to Samana, an extensive study\(^7\) was made by an 1871 United States Commission with interest in annexing the Dominican Republic and, particularly, Samana Bay. Besides establishing a naval base at Samana in order to maintain the "Monroe Doctrine"\(^8,9\), U.S. President Ulysses S. Grant felt that territorial expansion would increase United States' prestige, furnish natural resources to exploit\(^10\) and be a location for newly freed slaves to settle.\(^11\) The distinguished African-American Frederick Douglass, 9 scientists, 9 journalists\(^12\) and one renowned illustrator, James E. Taylor, accompanied the Commissioners on their two month long voyage.\(^13\) "The Commission, its attachés, and the gentlemen of the press numbered 32."\(^14\)
The Commission of Inquiry and Ship's Officers on Deck "The Tennessee" 15

The Commission of Inquiry Meeting in a Cabin on Board "The Tennessee" 16

The Commission of Inquiry spent six days17 in Samana, during which interviews of locals were taken and scientists took expeditions and observations. Using the 1871 commission report, 19th century illustrations and news articles18 and other works written to promote annexation, a description of the ensuing life of these emigrants and their reaction to the proposal of annexation to the United States will be presented in this
document. For the most part, this document uses direct quotes from primary sources to advance this purpose.

Extent of Commission’s Work in Samana
The role of the commission was “to investigate the mental, moral, physical, botanical, mineralogical, geological, esthetical and meteorological condition of the land...”19

In order to pursue this task, there were “expeditions up and down the bay, and for seven or eight miles into the interior. The commission... had interviews with all prominent citizens. Botanists, geologists, ethnologists, paleontologists and newspaper correspondents [were] widely and continuously abroad [in expeditions].”20

“The brigade of buggists (scientists) were in motion before sunrise on the morning [following their arrival in Samana]. They filled the boats with nets a little larger than crab-nets, hammers, and spades. The instant that the brigade struck the beach it spread. The buggists shouldered their scoop nets, and went to the front like skirmishers. The over-ran the settlements, and every unfortunate beetle, fly, bug, and butterfly was remorselessly scooped in. Their operations evidently alarmed the black women of Samana, who ran out doors and hastily snatched up their little babes, as if fearful that they would be scooped in with the butterflies.”21

U.S. interest in Samana Bay

View of the Island Used by the United States as a Coaling Station in Samana Bay 22
Illustration of Strategic Location of Samana Bay in 1898

Many nations besides the United States have taken interest in the Bay of Samana—Spain, France, England and Germany. In 1807, plans were drawn for Port Napoleon at the very location of today's city of Samana. "The bay of Samana commands the "Mona passage which leads from the Atlantic Ocean (Europe and the eastern shore of the United States) to the Isthmus of Panama and the coast of South America." "Vessels bound for Central America, the Caribbean Sea, Venezuela, Colombia or the isthmus...Samana is directly on their road." to coal and repair.

Napoleon’s Plans for Samana in 1807
The Commission’s report stated that Samana Bay “shall become a great commercial harbor, and the principal naval station of the United States in the West Indies...to promote, and if necessary, protect these interests by force of arms.” 

According to Captain of The Tennessee, the ship that carried the Commission to Samana, “The harbor couldn’t be better.” The island and reefs which narrow the entrance to the main bay will make it easily defensible.

“...[T]he immense bay Samana, [is] one of the largest in the world (“thirty miles long by about 10 miles broad”)...Its capacity to contain and shelter the largest squadrons; the depth and tranquility of its waters, which remain undisturbed when there is a violent gale without; the abundance of fish which it contains, from the sardine to the whale, which is caught there; the advantage of the peninsula of the same name, which is especially rich in coal mines and excellent timber; the importance of the large river Yuma, which discharges its waters into it, and which being navigable for more than fourteen leagues (somewhere between 42 - 48 miles or 67-78 kilometers), facilitates the exportation all the production of the interior (present day Cibao)...”

Samana Bay with Mouth (Boca Grande) of the Yuna River at Far Left

"It is well protected from the winds, especially those of the northeast, by the mountains of the peninsula." “Here there is ...healthy air, plenty of stone and wood, and abundance of pure water; ...and gently rolling hills capable of the highest cultivation.” Mr. White, one of 3 commissioners of the expedition and President of Cornell University, reported, "That peninsula would make the most beautiful Winter residence in the world."
The Town of Santa Barbara de Samana

"The town of Santa Barbara de Samana fills the first level space on the northern shore of the Gulf of Samana, from the Cape (or end of the peninsula) westward."  

Samuel Hazard gives an introduction to the unusual setting of the town: "Port Santa Barbara, may be more properly described as an inlet running one and a third miles east and west, and is one quarter to one half a mile wide. The north shore is formed of irregular hills which rise a short distance form it to a considerable elevation; the head of the bay is low and swampy, the south side being sheltered by a reef and several keys. ... The anchorage off the little town is so good, that it is said a vessel may run its bowsprit ashore anywhere in the harbour;..."  

Another observer, famous illustrator James Taylor noted that, "Santa Barbara is one of the few places in the tropics where the city walls, as it were, are the great primeval forest. Two minutes' walk from the centre of Samana and you are in the dense foliage and undergrowth of the woods, apparently never before profaned by human footsteps."
The best introduction to the town is a James Taylor illustration and its description (see illustration above) - "Our sketch of the city was taken from the Dominican fort, Santa Barbara [built by the Spaniards 42], which is furnished with a couple of antique cannon mounted on modern wooden wheels. The soldiers on guard carry an old-fashioned weapon resembling a cavalry-sword, called the manchete cabo. In the centre of the city is seen the Plaza, on which the Alcalde's (mayor) office and the Catholic church are situated. The Stars and Stripes are kept waving over the residence of a patriotic American, while on either hand are the standards of Great Britain and the Dominican Republic. In the background is seen the shell of a church now being constructed for a Methodist congregation, and not far removed is the burying-ground."  

"The town covers about the space of two city blocks. There are some six or eight streets in each direction across the places, none of them over twenty feet wide, none of them with sidewalks, "45 "...the necessity for them (sidewalks) being in a measure dispensed with by the entire absence of wheeled vehicles, all the carrying trade not conducted in boats and dugouts being done upon mules, horses and oxen,..."  

44 Details from Samana Town Drawing  
Burial Ground in Distance; Alcalde's Office (four square thatched roof); Frame of Protestant Church, now constructing; Town Plaza.
"In the center of the settlement is the Plaza, or square,...and here is a Liberty Tree, of the royal palm species, planted by the villagers five or six years ago to replace one cut down by the Spaniards before they were driven away (in 1865)." 49 "Here the [Catholic] Padre, the Governor, the Commandant and the Alcalde (mayor) of the Commune reside, and here is the little Catholic church, ["the largest building in the settlement"] 49, with a rough wooden cross in front, and a small bell hung on two posts outside." 50 "There is no tavern, or hotel or other place of accommodation strangers..." 51

"Nearly every other house or hut is a store." 52 "The Santa Barbara stores and shops contain a little of everything, and are kept generally by the foreigners and whites....The stores are like our own country stores, being a combination of the green-grocer's, the dry goods merchant's and the druggist's." 53 "Were it not for the little trade they do with the people living outside [or visiting on ships] they would soon eat each other up." 54

One news reporter observed, "In the village so-called there appear to be by my own actual count, 80 buildings, of which 60 are dwellings; the remainder being shops, storehouses and out-houses, church and guardhouse. as to the population, various estimates are made, but on a careful comparison of the evidence, I must fix it at 300. This conclusion I reached before counting the houses, but if five persons be allowed to each tenement, which is the usual proportion, it makes just 300. I find the America-African population, resident in the village, to number 68--there being 15 establishments (buildings). ...But as in two cases one widow makes up the household, it will be seen that the usual proportion is verified;--for 13 times 5 are 65 and the two widows would make 67, or within one of the actual number. The whites of all nations by actual count, number 25. The remainder, slightly over 200, are descendants of the Haitian colonists sent hither in Boyer's time, more recent Haitian refugees, and Dominicans of French descent (which three classes form the large majority, and a minority of Spanish
Dominicans. "...it is therefore concluded that the vast majority of the estimated 500 African-American emigrant descendants lived outside of the town of Samaná.

"...[T]he natives are intelligent, and speak a little of every language, English predominating... every one understands a little English..." 56  "...[T]he French patois is spoken more generally than the Spanish." 57

**Housing**

- **In the town of Santa Barbara de Samaná**

![Image](image_url)  

**Group of natives around a well in Samana City** 58

In the town of Santa Barbara de Samaná there were "...80 or 90 buildings, all told, consisting for the most part of a light frame work of scantlings brought from the States (due to an absence of saw-mills59), and clap-boarded with bamboo split in half and pressed flat by piling stones upon them while wet. The rude planking made in this primitive manner is from four to six inches wide and half a quarter of an inch thick. Paint is almost unknown, but most of the huts are whitewashed. The roofing is of cocoa leaves bound together with vines. 60 The flooring, when there is any, which is not often, consists of rough-hewn wood, or bark, or boughs, or the same leaves that are used for thatch. None of the houses—or, perhaps, I should say cabins—have more than one story; few have more than one, or perhaps, two rooms. Doors and windows are luxuries
which the majority of the people have learned to do without.”61 ... “Chickens, hogs and goats range through the houses and the yards at will.”62

“...But there are two or three houses in the village roofed with shingles and supplied with all modern conveniences as plank floors, partitions, and doors and windows.”63 “...The more ambitious [buildings were] roofed with corrugated iron. Glass [was] unknown....”64 The few more substantial houses were “are as comfortable and as large as ordinary American frontier cottages, built of American lumber and pointed and whitewashed, fastened with lock and key, with blinds to the windows and pictures on the walls. But I must say that these establishments are very few and belong for the most part to the Americans and French [political65] refugees from Hayti.”66

In town, the ordinary class lived in “...houses, or huts, [that] are from ten to fifteen feet wide, and seldom more than eighteen deep, and with two exceptions, all are of a single story; few have floors; none have sash or glass in the windows, and both doors and windows close with heavy boards swung on hinges, like those used in our barns and secured by strong hooks. There are sometimes two rooms, often but one.”67 “A single room contents the poorest classes, a curtain of leaves serving to separate the sleeping place.”68

- Outside of Town where Most of the Emigrants Lived
Since most of the African-American emigrants lived outside of town, it is important to learn of their living circumstances, the environment best described by the reporter from “The New York Times” upon sailing into Samana Bay for the first time. As the ship traveled from Cape Cabron69 along the shoreline, “The vegetation was so rich and luxuriant that not a single foot of land could be seen until we arrived almost at the town of Santa Barbara....But by and by there were little clearings, apparently no bigger than a man’s hand, and in the shade of wooing branches little houses, seemingly not larger than bathing boxes, with white walls and brown, conical roofs. ....From the deck of the ship they seemed no larger than rustic summer-houses, but we have since made closer inspection, and find that they are the habitations of farmers, and large enough to accommodate whole families. They were perched in the most romantic of situations, some of them on ledges of rock, in pleasant shade; others on the very edge of the water, surrounded with palm and banana and other fruit-bearing trees....The huts or cottages...became thicker and closer as we approached the town, and in some places four or five were within the space of half an acre. We afterward learned that the occupants of those houses are small farmers....”70

In the countryside, the African-American emigrants lived in the same type of housing as the natives.71 “The American immigrants mostly lived in cottages located in cultivated forest openings. Their cottages were quite simple and contained little property. Continual insurrections had made the immigrants victims of pillage, therefore the desire
to accumulate goods had been crushed. One sign of a desire for refinement was the cultivation of flowers around the cottages."  

This observation was made of the house and surroundings of a first generation descendent of emigrants from Philadelphia, a Lieutenant soldier-farmer, named Johnson --" His house was comfortable; the inside was painted, and the floor was boarded, and not made of earth, like the greater number of the cabins. It was partitioned off into two or three apartments, all of which were cleanly and tidy...he lived on a little eminence about thirty feet above high water mark, with only a few feet of clearing around his house. Rose-bushes in full bloom grew in his windows, and large banana and palm trees made an almost impenetrable shade around his dwelling. Where the farm was, I could not exactly see. "Oh," said he, "the farm [of one and a half acres] is away in the country," pointing away behind the richly forested mountains."  

"Each house has two or three rooms, and the family does not sleep in one room together."  

"The furniture is of the most primitive kind, a few chairs and a table serving for the majority. Instead of beds, swinging hammocks (see illustration following) are in general use."  

"...There are not more than two or three bedsteads on the whole Peninsula. Those who have no hammocks sleep on rude bamboo frames, or on improvised pallets of leaves and bark."
Agriculture
“They (the emigrants) generally occupy their own land, and live by working their farms. The farms average about five carreaux, or sixteen acres. About four or five acres are under cultivation, depending on the size of the family. They can support themselves from that much [land].”

Raising crops in the tropics, takes “not one quarter part so much labor” as in the North. “...any little piece of ground will give a family food enough and they can have it ready for growing and cutting in forty days from landing.” The land is cleared by cutting down everything, allowing it to dry, and then burning it. The soil “is from 10 to 20 feet deep immediately about here, and that is the general rule as far as... observed. It seems very rich. We plant corn and it comes up splendidly...--as much so as at home where we have dressed the soil a great deal. No manure or dressing is used here. The land requires to let it grow up to brush for a year or two and then clear it off again. The soil is so rich...[that it was thought] manure or dressing would [not] do any particular good.”

“By general testimony...there are...no insects which destroy tropical fruit, as with us Northern fruits are so frequently destroyed.”

Farming implements include hoes, axes, crow-bars, machetes, and pickaxes. They do not use plows and cultivators. A plow has never been seen in this country. “The cultivation is simple, holes being dug with the machete, or long knife, and afterward the weeds are kept down, and the ground slightly stirred with the hoe.”

Commonly cultivated vegetable crops were plaintain, banana, yam, the sweet potato, yautia, tapioca, arrowroot, sugarcane, cacao yielding chocolate, bread fruit, coffee, rice, and Indian corn.

The cultivated fruits included mango, sweet and sour oranges, pineapple, papaya, lemon, lime, coconut, avocado, guava, mamey, pomegranate, pomelo (resembling grapefruit), star-apple, nispero, 3 varieties of custard-apple, and tamarind. “Pineapples are immensely large and rich. Some measure 10 inches in diameter, and one of the naval officers was recently presented with a pine[apple] weighting 27 pounds. All of these fruits are found in practically unlimited quantities, the production being checked only by the difficulty of transportation.”

“On the heights above Samana you can raise most of our northern vegetables...” Northern vegetables would grow very well here, if we had northern seed...The seed would have to be changed every year, and brought from the North. It does not seem to go to seed here. Our potatoes here would not sprout. You cannot raise them unless you bring the seed every year.”

“Apples, peaches, blackberries, strawberries, and watermelons flourish on the mountains. ...Mountain rice is abundant.”
Diet/Nutrition

“The people generally live on fruits and vegetables. The staples of their diet are plantains, which are excellent fried, yams, sweet potatoes, coconuts, pine, bananas, oranges, tomatoes, eggplants, and sometimes salt fish."93 "We buy wheat flour from abroad, and the people generally eat it...."94

Today Samana is known for its delicious fresh fish, but in 1871 it was reported that "Fresh fish is never seen...."95 "I was very much surprised to see no fish, for the bay, I am assured, teems with it; but the pelicans seemed to be the only fishers of the deep in and around Samana."96

“Bacon, beef and other flesh meat [including pork and goat meat]79 is used, but not to any great extent."98 "The better classes have meat about twice a week, cattle being raised in small numbers on the high lands, but beef sells for eight or ten cents a pound—which is far beyond the means of the poor—and besides it is hard to keep in this climate."99 “Everybody keeps poultry”100 ("...turkeys, ducks, chickens, and other poultry."101)

“Sugar cane is an article of food, and workmen often come to town, and soldiers to do guard duty, with their lunch on their shoulder in the shape of a long, juicy stalk of cane."102

“Poor people here never have trouble in getting enough to eat. On the contrary, those that are not disposed to cultivate enough to eat can get yams wild in the woods, sometimes half a barrel of yams in one hole. There is no trouble in getting a living here."103 “There are some poor old persons who have to be supported by relatives or neighbors. ....[Dying of starvation] was never heard of."104

Adjustment as New Emigrants

President Boyer of Haiti "...promised and gave to immigrants five carreaux, or about sixteen acres of land each, so that they became property owners and citizens right away. They are glad they came. At first a few were dissatisfied. They had not learned the language, the place was wild, and they were ignorant of the fruits and food, and crops and work; but after they had got well started they became satisfied. The rising [new] generation, which is taking their places, knows the maxims and ways of this country, and they are ten times better pleased to be here than in the States."105
One of the emigrants, "Madame [Dishmey] told us that she had come in the ship Four Sons, 210 souls on board. Out of these about 150 persons, constituting of thirty families, had remained in Samana."\(^{106}\)

**Availability of Real Estate**

![Image of a farm with plantain and tobacco]

_Farm of Plantain and Tobacco\(^ {107}\)_

The greater portion of land around Samana town is held by small proprietors. "The American negroes here have titles granted by Boyer-Haytian titles. They are considered perfectly good...."\(^ {108}\)
"All the land in the province, except that belonging to the negro colonists from America, is owned either by the general Government or the municipality, and is leased in perpetuity, or, what amounts to the same thing, by the year renewable by the lessee upon the same terms."[109] "...thirty years of possession gives a clear title here."[110]

Emigrants could purchase land throughout the province without difficulty. "The old Spanish titles and Boyer’s [emigrant] titles are the best."[111]

**Emigrant Industry and Leadership**

Peter R. Vanderhorst, a trader and son of the former church minister, "...and Mr. James affirm that "those of American descent are the foremost men in the settlement, always have to go ahead, and are depended on for efficient action."[112] Nearly every one of these colonists has done well."[113] "The American emigrants "... constitute the most intelligent and well-to-do portion of the inhabitants of the town and peninsula of Samana."[114]

"The people are mostly farmers; many of them own the land, and some of them rent."[115] In the American settlement three miles from town, the New York Times writer found some of the original emigrants still in possession of their "fifteen acres, which were given to them nearly half a century since by Boyer." One "family owns between three and four hundred acres of land, which has been acquired by purchase and lease, the nucleus of the estate being the Government free gift of five carreaux when the Philadelphia immigrants arrived here."[116]

"Our people are honest working people....Most of our people make their living by farming and by trades; some cut trees, and saw boards, and hew out frames for house-building. They raise produce and sell it, to be shipped to St. Thomas, Turk’s Island, and other places. About half of the people own their farms. Their places are about fifteen acres each. One family cultivates about three acres well, but not more if they keep it in good cultivation."[117] "There are a few old and inform people who cannot support themselves, but all who are able to work can support themselves, and have food to spare."[118]

"The price of labor was formerly about thirty cents ($35.40 in 2010 dollars[119]) per day, but since annexation has been talked of the price has risen to one dollar, ..."[120] "But this standard of value is entirely the product of the annexation scheme. Before the excitement on this subject sprang up one could hardly say that anything had a price. Labor was either borrowed and returned in labor at some future time, or repaid in produce or store goods."[121]
"The wages for a day's work of a carpenter is $1 to $2 now, and of a common laborer 50 cents. [$1 = $1 18 , $2 = $236 $ .50 = $59 in 2010 using the calculation for unskilled wage 122] Work here is generally done by the job." 123

Commerce

- Local Trade, Exports and Imports

In Samana town "...stores are numerous, business dull." 124

Marciaq's Store on the Shore in the City of Samana 125

J.L. Marciacq 126, whose store is pictured here, was one of the largest dealers in Samana. He states in the Commission Report that the people in the country bring "cocoa-nuts, yams, eggs, tobacco, etc." In return "I give them goods, cotton cloth, liquors, canned fruit, codfish, rice, shirts, waistcoats, shoes, sometimes." 127 The cotton cloth was used to make universally worn, home-made clothing 128 "There is very little money in circulation except when a man-of-war [ship] is in the harbor, and in the market season. The whole business of the island is conducted on a system of barter. The farmer, for instance, when he wants a yard of calico or a bottle of whisky, gives in exchange for it double its worth in coffee or rice, which is shipped by the trader to Turk's Island and St. Thomas." 129
Goods that Marciacq had recently exported to the United States included “honey, beeswax, cocoa-nuts, hides, and cacao.” According to the port collector (customs), the emigrants also purchased imported flour and paid for their goods in “…cacao [chocolate], coffee, fruit, honey and eddies [taro root].”

The town of Santa Barbara de Samana was a trading center for the coast of Samana peninsula and the lower Yuna River area. “The trade of these towns is principally in agricultural products, as tobacco, sugar, and some cacao and coffee; some trade also being made in mahogany, hides, and wax: while on the shores of Samana Bay, besides these products, oranges and cocoa-nuts are also articles of export.” “Vegetables are shipped to the neighboring islands. The production is limited, as the demand is not great.”

“Business, before the American occupation or the leasing of a coaling station, was altogether a system of barter; but since the occupation, we have had a little money in circulation.” The United States coaling station (also seen in the illustration above of Marciacq’s store) is on a three to four acre, one-eighth of a mile in length island in Samana town’s bay. “There is no building whatever erected on it, but a flag is raised over it every day on a pole where once fluttered the Spanish flag.”

“There is one steamer, the Tybee, plying between Santo Domingo City, Samana, Puerto Plata and New York, and a small trade is carried on which is slowly increasing, the vessel bringing clothing, flour, smoked fish and liquor, and taking back tobacco, hides, dye woods and mahogany in small quantities. On her last trip but one the Tybee took from this place 2,500 seroons (of 112 lbs. each) of tobacco, 1,500 hides and 300 gallons of wild honey, which abounds in the peninsula.”

- Customs and Price Fluctuations

Customs duties amount “to about forty percent, ad valorem (according to the value) of the country.”

“The prices of fruits, vegetables, and all products of the country are governed entirely by the market, and the market depends entirely upon the ships. When there are no vessels in the harbor, the cost of everything is merely nominal. At such times speculators buy up everything at low rates, for the people must sell their fruits or see them spoil on their hands, and as soon as a cargo is collected, it is shipped to a northern port.” “When a ship as large as the Tennessee (the Commission’s ship) arrives in port and sends her boats to shore for supplies, the shop-keeper does not hesitate to make all the money he can [by charging exorbitant prices].”
- Currency

"There is "no recognized currency. Gold and silver circulate from the ships, but most of the trading among the natives is by barter."143 American, French and Spanish gold and silver comprise the little money in circulation."140 "The money used here now is American gold and silver. The paper money has disappeared. Several of the people here have a good deal of the old paper money laid away unless they have destroyed it. I (Rev. James) had $15,000 of one issue by Cabral, but it is good for nothing, and I have used a good deal of it for wrapping paper, or in any way it came handy....all the paper money of every kind is good for nothing."141 "There was no circulating medium practically speaking. The currency issued by Baez and his predecessors can be bought by the bushel at the value of waste paper. Gen. Boynton142 obtained for one good dollar143 about $1,000 in Haytien and Dominican paper currency. He bought a few copper coins. Also, as curiosities, and the shop-keeper wrapped them up in $20 bills of Santo Domingo. Another man said he had possessed about $15,000 in bills, but he had used a good deal of it for wrapping paper."144

If you had to borrow money, you would have to pay six percent interest.145

"When they obtain any silver or gold, they will hide it or spend it very sparingly."146 "What does a natives do when he gets a little more money than he wants to use? A. He hides it in the earth; I have heard of a great deal of that among the people, and from what I have seen, I think it is a characteristic of the people to hide away money for safety."147

Local Government and Revenue

- Government Structure

""It has also a civil governor appointed by the national government....For the commune of Samana, nee Santa Barbara, there is a town council of five, who are elected by the people, and choose their own president....[The town] limits extend about three miles from the landing place. ...[The alcalde or mayor] is appointed by the national government. The peninsula is divided into 8 sections, each of which has a commissaire or chief of section, who seems to unite in his person the duties in part of justice of the peace and constable. He maintains order among the people and if a serious crime is committed, arrests the offender and brings him before the alcade of Samana.... "148

"With all the ponderous show of government, there is no public building. The Governor considers matters of state in a little room of his house, having a brick floor; The military gentleman in command devotes one of his apartments to public use; While the Alcadi (mayor) hears cases in the guard house. The administration of justice consists principally in settling petty disputes and exacting fat fees from both innocent and guilty."149
Voting: “It is customary when anything of the kind takes place here that messengers are sent around and names taken, and the people called in to vote.”

- Paucity of Governmental Revenue

“The people are poor, and the government almost without resources.”“There are too many officers of the government, too many big men, too many idle men lurking around in the government service. Of course there should be a proper number of men to administer the government, but no people as we have now. During the war President Baez, in order to gratify men, gave them a grade, and after the war was over, it seemed hard to put those men down; but the government cannot pay them because they are too many (owing most of them two years of backpay 152), and so they are idle and discontented. The people are burdened. In a little village like this you will see men sitting around everywhere doing guard, and an officer to every ten or fifteen of these men. One officer would be enough for the whole of this town; let the rest quit their idleness and go to work.”

“It appears from the testimony of the authorities that there is no regular system of taxation except customs, and the revenue derived from the rent of lands. The municipal government has the control of a considerable amount in the vicinity of the town.”

“The land claimed by the commune, and leased in part by the town council, yields a small revenue, which is applied to the payment of officials, the repair of the Catholic church, and other trivial public expenses.”

“The only revenues of the Government are derived from an ad valorem customs duty of 40 per cent, a small tax on business [ranging from $2.00 to $5, payable semi-annually 156],... the imposition of fines and penalties [and “...stamps ranging from 25 cents upward to $4, which stamp are affixed only to licenses and to documents transferring property.”]. The receipts, however, are very small. ... There is no poll tax, no school tax, no property, or other tax ....”

Transportation

- Roads

Because of the condition of the roads, news reporters noted that they did not see any wheeled vehicles in Samana. 159 & 160

The New York Times reporter “...made an excursion to the American settlement about three miles to the westward of Santa Barbara. Crossing over one or two little rivulets which in the rainy season become mountain torrents, I soon found myself between rows of stately wild orange trees and royal palms, on what had evidently been at one time a road. On inquiry I found that it was an old Spanish highway, and that it led to the principal towns and cities on the island. Many portions of it were smooth and level enough for a horse and buggy to travel on, but these patches were few and very far
between--not in all more than five hundred yards in three miles. The other portions of it were mere bridle paths, and for the most part only footpaths wide enough for a single person to pass at a time, so steep the ascent and so the great the obstructions of earth and rock. The only way in which I could account for the regularity and evenness of certain places, and the ruggedness and almost impassability of others, was that the Spaniards and the other European nations who have held possession of the island in the numerous wars and sieges and revolutions which have from time to time taken place threw up immense earthworks and fortifications, and that when the bloody storm passed away the obstructions were never removed.” 

The Methodist pastor, Reverend James, stated, “If only we had roads, which could be built without very great expense, leading up into the country, everything would be more valuable there. Things (produce) 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.”

- Use of Horses and Bulls
As for a lengthy trip to Santo Domingo, “...the distance was 100 miles of horseback riding; four ranges of mountains had to be crossed; rivers forded, vast plains to be traversed under a burning sun...” It was certainly easier to travel to Santo Domingo via ship.

“...the “toting” that is not done...on their heads is left to horses and oxen.” “The narrow shaded roads are very difficult to travel over. Most of the traveling into and from the interior towns is accomplished by pack animals.”
“There are some small horses and bulls on the island which are remarkably swift and sure-footed. The horses are generally ridden without saddles [or a bit, “a single rope-rein being knotted around the head instead.”] The saddles and trappings in general are quite primitive, but considering the difficulties, one is carried along with celerity (swiftness) and ease.”...but a wicker saddle is used on the bulls, to which are attached long leathern or cordage panniers hanging down on either side, in which is carried merchandise from the town and produce to the market.”

“The rider [of bulls] who is often a woman or girl, sits astride on a rude wooden saddle, without stirrups, the naked feet and legs hanging dangling down nearly to the ground. In place of a bridle or other head gear to guide the bull, there is a ring in the nose of the animal, with a single cord attached to the nose. Literally these stunted and docile little bulls are lead by the nose.”

The Dominican and His Steed

- Dug-Out Canoes
For transportation to Sabana de la Mar and the neighboring communities along the Samana bay shoreline the transport of choice was “... a canoe or dug-out, made from the trunk of a tree called mapou, which grows to a great height and girth all over the
island. It was about twenty-five feet in length, and three feet in breadth. The motive power was by two paddles tied on the end of long poles and used as oars. ... the captain said (through the interpreter) that it was very safe and pointing to a pile of what I had thought was rags remarked, "besides that is a good sail." "How long will it take to cross [eighteen miles of rough sea]," we asked. "About three hours," was the reply."173

"Rude and awkward as they are, the negroes handle them [dugouts] with great dexterity, and manage to urge them at considerable speed."174

- Sailing Ships and Steamers
The wharf was "...made of a few stakes driven into the water, covered with rough planking, and running about fifteen or twenty feet into the water. It was five or six feet wide, and evidently not intended, so weak and slight was it, for the unloading of heavy merchandise."175

Sailing vessels sometimes had difficulty entering and leaving the Bay "...for sailing vessels cannot make their way out, unless with the land-breeze blowing, and often the sea-breeze blows so steadily that it is impossible to get out for a long time."176

However, the steamship "The Tybee", was able to sail with regularity "... making monthly trips between New York and Puerto Plata, Samana and ...[Santo Domingo]. This steamer ... is cultivating a trade with the island, and takes our mails."177

The mails were not regular.178 They did have newspapers "...during the [United States Civil] war, telling ...the news when the rebellion was going on."179

- Plans for Railway
There was "... a survey in progress ... for a railroad from Santiago to Samana Bay. It leads through a rich and productive valley country, and is considered practicable [for export of products]."180

Health

New York Tribune: "There is not a doctor nor a drug store in the village, so we could not get medical testimony; but I got the next thing, it: I went, with one of my companions, to the coffin-maker!...He was the only person in town who made coffins, and during the year he made only four!"181 Among the 500 descendants of the American emigrants, there were only 3 deaths in during the year 1870, one due to an accident and the others due to advanced age.182

The pastor of the emigrants, Reverend James said, "The country is healthy; the families are generally large; there is not a fresh grave in our graveyard."183
When questioned about the general health of the emigrants, Joseph P. Hamilton said, "Take my family; there is my wife, is thirty-nine, and her mother who is sixty-four, and her grandmother, who is one hundred and four. The old lady came here in 1824 and has dozens of descendants, and is lively and hearty." \(^{184}\)

One health protectant may have been the "... singular fact that the negroes of the Peninsula, mostly Americans, neither smoke nor drink, as a rule." \(^{185}\)

The entire district of Samana was found to be very healthy. Near the city of Samana, there were no large swamps of marshes found that would be breeding grounds for malaria carrying mosquitoes. \(^{186}\)

"The supply of water to the inhabitants of the village is derived from mountain streams, quite pure and healthy, and from wells in the village strongly impregnated with chloride of sodium." \(^{187}\)

"The village is poorly drained, and decomposing filth strews the ground in every direction...On the hills [where most of the immigrants live] it is undoubtedly more healthy..." \(^{188}\) Two or three passages about 20 feet wide run lengthwise of the village, full of sewerage and excrement, and these are crossed by several shorter one that run up from the water's edge." \(^{189}\)

"By general testimony there are no snakes or poisonous vermin in the island,..." \(^{190}\) "...nobody was ever known to be bitten by any kind of snakes here." \(^{191}\)

**Culture and Feelings of Being American**

"The Dominican Minister of the Interior estimates the District of Samana to have 2,100 in population (1,300 in Samana and 800 in Sabana de la Mar)." \(^{192}\) The number of Samana immigrants and their descendants numbered from five to six hundred when the commission did its study in 1871. \(^{193}\) "...[M]emory and tradition fix ...[the number of emigrants in 1824] at about 210. Many left and went to Santo Domingo and Port Platte, where their children, with a few of the original emigrants still reside. Those [descendants] left at Samana have increased to 500 or more, and but for frequent revolutions would have been rich and numerous." \(^{194}\)

"The colony at Samana...had located themselves in and about the town, (within a radius of five miles,) had not mixed much with the native element, but had preserved their organization. The children had grown and intermarried...." \(^{195}\) Reverend James said, "We try to keep our people together here as Americans, so that they shall not fall 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.... Although we have been here so long, we have preserved our feelings as Americans." \(^{196}\)
Author Samuel Hazard found that the emigrants retained "...all the habits of neatness peculiar to our best coloured people. Some of them, in their towering high bandana head and gay coloured striped dresses, were models in this way." 198

There were "...several old colored men who claimed Philadelphia, as their place of nativity, one of whom told me they were raised on Coates street. Others were from New Jersey 199, and one from the interior of New York." 200 In the emigrant settlements outside of town, there were "...those among them who had not seen a white face for many years." 201

All of the descendants of the American emigrants conversed freely in English. 202 "...[Y]ou would be astonished to see them read and write English." 203

Geographic features of the Samana peninsula keep the Samana community isolated from the rest of the Dominican Republic; therefore the emigrants were able to maintain their American culture for the 47 years since the came in 1824. "The peninsula, as it is called is really an island...The sea washes over to the gulf between the island and the mainland, and at times the water is deep enough for small vessels to pass through." 204
"The Commissioners [and Frederick Douglass\textsuperscript{206}] were especially struck by the remarkable intelligence and independence of the negroes of American descent as compared with their brethren of the present day in the United States. By their own unaided efforts they have won for themselves the respect of their neighbors, and have steadily advanced in material prosperity."\textsuperscript{207} These observations came about through "...informal conversations held with the natives, who are communicative and generally well informed and intelligent,... the result, doubtless, of their more independent, [self-reliant\textsuperscript{208}] life here."\textsuperscript{209}

The New York Tribune made observations of a first generation descendent of emigrants from Philadelphia, a soldier-farmer, named Johnson --"this soldier-farmer was a fair specimen of the inhabitants of Samana Peninsula. He appeared to be a little better off in the world than the majority of his neighbors, which I attribute to his superior push and industry...[Johnson] was the son of one of those immigrants, which accounts for his superior intelligence and thrift. And the same was true of all who, like him, were descended from the American colored colonists. They have much of the force and spirit of the Yankee, and ... look to the United States with the most intense devotion,..."\textsuperscript{210}
Frederick Douglass

The highly esteemed African-American Frederick Douglass is remembered as a famed orator, abolitionist, writer, social reformer and diplomat. He was appointed by United States President Grant to the Commission, serving as secretary to the chief commissioner. Frederick Douglass was accompanied by his son Charles E. Douglass who was appointed messenger for the commission.

- Reasons for Douglass Appointment to the Commission
News reporters stated the following for the reasons that Grant made the Douglass appointment.
• His influence on Southern blacks to emigrate—"The object of attaching [Frederick Douglass] to the expedition is, on board, popularly supposed to be, to enable him, in case San Domingo is annexed, to describe in his beloved decasyllables the glories of the country to his sable (African-American) friends in the Southern States, whom in consequence of their late symptoms of a Democratic tendency, it might be advisable to transplant (emigrate)."211
• Easing annexation through representation of the equality of people of color—"... to give the Commission the complexion and all the shades, individually and politically, to serve the purpose of the administration, two colored persons—the famous mulatto orator, Fred Douglass, and his son212—are attached to it, the former as assistant secretary and the latter as messenger. This is at once a sop to the radicals at home and a propitiation to the colored citizens of the Dominican Republic. How can the Dominicans refuse the embrace of the great American republic when they see one of their own race and color a dignified official and put on in equality with the distinguished white men in this Commission."213

- The Issue of Race
But this seeming equality with white men was questioned by the Commission’s ship crew. One newsmen reported, “That Frederick Douglass and his son should be chosen to accompany such an expedition strikingly illustrates the progress of the [race?] and as the two wander about the ship—they are on deck nearly all day—they are watched and pointed at by the crew, who whisper and look as they pass among them, evidently not understanding how men of color can be placed upon an equality with their white brethren.”214

There was some criticism of Douglass’ acceptance of this post. “Some blacks argued that it was not significant enough for a man of his status.”215

- Relations with the Samana Emigrants.
Douglass conducted many of the interviews of the local emigrants which were written in the commission report to U.S. Congress and must have been quite a sensation in the
Samana community during his weeklong stay. It was reported that the settlers were all delighted to see a “colored” representative. The old emigrants flocked around Fred Douglass continuously, listening to his rehearsal of the delivery of his race from slavery in the United States.

Frederick Douglass Portrait

Older Emigrants Had Remembrances of Slavery in the United States
On the afternoon following their arrival in Samana, Frederick Douglass addressed a called assemblage of the community, some two hundred or two hundred and fifty people from the town and its outskirts, in the Plaza of the town.220 & 221

The following excerpt from the article which accompanied the above drawing, explains interesting details: “These colored residents invited Mr. Frederick Douglass to make them an address, which he did, enforcing it by taking up and turning over to them a practical contribution in aid of their eminently respectable efforts to help themselves. The address was delivered on the Plaza to an audience of nearly two hundred people. General Acosta, Military Governor of Samana, supported Douglass on the right. General Sigel followed with a few remarks223. None of the Commissioners assisted at the scene. There is one circumstance connected with this gathering worthy of notice. The padre sent his pulpit, with all the sacred emblems on it, out of the Catholic church (seen, with its bell, on the right of our picture facing the Plaza, as a rostrum for Douglass. It was known, too, that Douglass was not a Catholic, and that his audience would be composed mostly of the colony of negro Methodists who came here from
Philadelphia many years ago. This showed a liberality on the part of the old priest rarely witnessed in any country, while at the same time it indicated the tolerance and kindly feeling existing among the people of different religious views here.”224

These are observations made by reporters of Douglass’ address to the community:
- The Sun: Douglass “...talked about the glory and greatness of the United States and dwelt especially on the deliverance of the negroes from slavery.”225
- New York Standard: “Most of his auditors were negroes and half-breds and he spoke to them of the condition of their race in our country, describing how they had been exalted from wretched slavery to the right of suffrage and an equality with white men. He expressed no opinion on the annexation question, but said that the Commission had been sent down here to find out their views upon the subject, and asked all in favor of the scheme to raise their hands; whereupon there was a unanimous show of hands, of all sizes and colors.”226
- New York Herald: “He is...a pretty smart fellow as well as a good speaker, and the gave he people good advice.”227

- Concern for the Emigrant's Methodist Church
Being an ordained minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, Douglass took great interest in the emigrant Methodists. Following destruction of the Methodist church during Spanish occupation of 1861 to 1865, Douglass found that their church was under construction by twelve or fifteen colored men were at work on its rafters and roof, working all through the day with hopes of finishing it in a few weeks. “Frederick Douglass was exceedingly interested in the matter of its erection, and made a collection to help the poor people in its construction.”228 On board the commission’s ship [The Tennessee] Douglass made a collection of sixty-four dollars in gold ($1,180 in 2010)229 to aid the enterprise230

Nineteen years later, Douglass was appointed minister-resident and consul-general to the Republic of Haiti (1889–1891). In 1890, during his time in Haiti, he, accompanied by his second wife,231 visited Samana again. Douglass was asked to address the congregation in the same church for which he had made a collection in 1871. He reported that he “...found them happy in all that I could say to them of the beneficial change (abolishment of slavery) wrought in the condition of the colored people of the United States since 1824.”232

Religion
Reverend Issac Miller was the African Methodist Episcopal minister who accompanied the 1824 emigrants, but he died within a few months. Another missionary was requested from the A.M.E. church, but there was no response. One can only imagine that the A.M.E. Church in Philadelphia was preoccupied with servicing the needs of slaves who were fleeing to Philadelphia from the U.S. South.
Eventually, the emigrants directed their appeal for a missionary to the Wesleyan Society in London; ... the Wesleyan Society struggled to find ways to include Haiti within their mandate. Finally, in September 1837, Wesleyan missionary William Cardy arrived. During his tenure in Samana the emigrant community began their own contributing role as local leaders in the church. Following Cardy's departure in 1844, the emigrants took on their own local leadership and pastoring. Therefore, the Wesleyan Church (or present day St. Peters), became the denomination serving the Protestant community in 1871.

St. Peter’s Wesleyan Church in 1856

The buildings are from right to left are the Wesleyan chapel, the mission-house and the school-room on the hill.

- Construction of a New Church
A new Wesleyan Methodist Church, to replace that destroyed during the Spanish Occupation, was being built [and near completion] at the time of the Commission's visit. "[Frederick Douglass] was exceedingly interested in the matter of its erection, and made a collection to help the poor people in its construction. Twelve or fifteen colored men were at work on its rafters and roof, working all through the day without apparently, any great inconvenience [i.e. heat/sun stroke]. The governor himself--Cabral's governor--made ... a present of 2,000 feet of lumber." It is 50 feet by 38; the frame is up, and next week we will commence to shingle it."
"...strangely enough, they fly an English flag [because of the link to the Wesleyan Methodists]."  

- Church Leadership
  "The building used as his [Reverend James] dwelling house and also as schoolhouse 241, was donated to the church by the Wesleyan missionary society."  

  "There are two clergymen connected with the church, who relieve each other in conducting the service." 243 Reverend Jacob James, a self-described "full black" and part of the legacy of local leadership was the "...preacher in charge of the Methodist Church in Samana and the vicinity,..." 244

- The Congregation and Attendance
  "The Methodist congregation, pastor Jacob James, claims [250] communicants, most of whom dwell [as farmers 245] outside this village, and represent the 500 or more Afro-Americans of the peninsula." 246 Reverend Jacob James said "Most of the brethren are Americans who came from the United States, or whose parents did. We are all colored people." 247 About half of the congregation were actually "...members of the Methodist Church, and the rest are attendants upon the service." 248

Reverend Jacob James said, "To-day the preaching and class meetings and exercises took up the time until almost sundown. The attendance is good." 249 "The average attendance at public worship is from three to four hundred." 250 "The children come to church and Sunday school..." 251 "Their Sunday school is said to number 90, which, allowing for those who cannot join it on account of the distance, is equal to the number of children between 5 and 15 that we expect to find in a community of 500." 252 Wednesday evening lectures and Friday evening prayer meetings are as regular as at home [in the U.S.]." 253

Religious Tolerance

"The majority of the population belong to the Catholic faith." 254 The Catholic church's "padre is a regular old monk of the good old times, a native of Italy, and well versed in three or four languages. He is...rather liberal in his ideas." 255 "There is toleration of all religions. This is guaranteed by the Dominican constitution, and is a fact." 256 "There is no religious animosity, that I (Benjamin Burr) have seen. They do not seem to quarrel over it in any case I ever heard of." 257 "...[O]n public days, as saints day, on such days they have soldiers to go into the Catholic Church. It is a part of the ceremony. They take these American negroes that happen to be on duty on that day and they do not find any fault. I have seen Protestant soldiers on duty at these ceremonies." 258

"Some of the...[Catholics] send their children to the Methodist school, and seem to have a great respect for their Protestant neighbors,..." 259 Some, but not many, intermarried with the Protestants. 260
But religious toleration had not always been the norm for the Protestant emigrants. "When the [Spanish] archbishop came [during the Spanish reoccupation of 1861 to 1865], he stopped our religion (Protestant) here, and at Puerto Plata and everywhere." 261 The Spaniards burnt the Samana Wesleyan Church in 1863. 262 "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 and worshiped privately. After the Spaniards were driven out public worship was resumed." 263

In this drawing, the reconstruction of the Wesleyan Church is shown, most likely being built to replace the church burnt during the Spanish Occupation of 1861-1865.

Race and Ethnic Relations

"They [the Dominicans] seem to be practically destitute of prejudice of class, race, or color. In their intercourse with each other and with strangers they are courteous in manner, respectful and polite." 265

"There are very few pure whites, very few indeed. There are a great many more mulattos than blacks." 266 "There are pure Spanish and Spanish mixed with negro, with Indian and with English, and with French. There are pure blacks and blacks with the same variations, and, besides, adventurers from all parts of the West Indies, mixed with these mixed natives in endless confusion. The corruptions of language are equal to the crosses in race, and few on the peninsula speak any tongue correctly." 267

"In Hayti three-fourths are blacks. In Dominica three-fourths are mulattoes. There is a greater proportion of blacks in Samana than in any other part of Dominica." 268 "The Commissioners came with the idea that the tie between the full-blooded negroes of Santo Domingo and Hayti was stronger than between the blacks and the mulattoes. Such, however, is not the case." 269
According to General Theophilus James—"There is no prejudice observable, so far as I have observed, between people on account of color. I am a full black myself. I think the sentiments of the full blacks are perhaps a little more friendly to the whites...than the mulattoes are, but there is scarcely any difference." The question was asked of local schoolmaster Judd, "Is there prejudice on account of color here?—Answer. ... There is a slight prejudice between mulattoes and blacks. Mulattoes think they know more and should rule. The pure blacks are the best friends of the whites generally, for they pride themselves on their pure African blood. A mulatto hates his mother, perhaps, because she was black, and is mad at his father because he cannot be white too,...The prejudice of color is strong, but it is only a family affair. In public affairs no distinction is made." For example, the governor in the town was a black man. "There are often intermarriages."

Gender and Family

Woman at a well in Samana City

In the American settlement three miles from town, a New York Times writer observed that the emigrants had "...increased and multiplied to a wonderful extent,...One of them, now seventy-seven years of age, his wife seventy-four, has had eleven children. One of the children has eleven children, and the old colonist rejoices in the grand-paternity of forty in all."  

"I never saw a child struck or spoken harshly to."

"The sexes are about equal in number, the excess, if any, being in favor of the males."
"When we landed at Santa Barbara, about 3 o'clock in the afternoon... The women appeared to be far more industrious than the men, and the only persons at work. Some of them were cooking out of doors, beneath a shade made of palm-leaves; others were sewing, others nursing little children, .... There were women tending store; women washing clothes at the stream; women bringing large bundles of tree branches into the village to feed the horses and cows which were tethered around the houses; but the male portion of the population seemed to be doing very little except superintending the operations of their female companions. Most of the farmers are, however, in the interior, and I have no doubt that they were at work on their little plantations."  

Women Washing Clothes near Puerto Plata

**Clothing**

"...[T]he younger generation dispense altogether with the conventional apparel of society, and run about in a state of unaffected nudity, only seen elsewhere among the cherubile children of the old masters. A shirt and pantaloons of rough cotton fabrics constitute the usual attire of the men. A dress of calico is often the only garment of the women, and in the country the children often go until ten or twelve years old in the condition I have referred to. This clothing is kept reasonably clean, and on special occasions both men and women wrap their heads with muslin handkerchiefs, of gay colors; while for church or school ...the children are plainly but neatly clad."
Shoes are "...seldom worn in this country, and never by those who cross the mountains on foot."281

**Literacy and Local Influence**

Dr. W. Newcomb, naturalist found the American immigrants to be superior in intelligence to other peoples of the same class in South and Central America or among the Mexican Rancheros.282 A newspaper reported observed: "...the intelligence and the wealth is with the Methodists (emigrants)."283 "These American blacks ... have contrived to secure a controlling influence in the simple affairs of the town and adjacent country...."284

One interviewee from Maine, a farmer and exporter, for the prior two years in Samana, made the observation "...perhaps once in fifty, you will find Spaniards who have a good education; who can read and write Spanish. They are scattered all around the island. I do not know where they got their education. There are no schools; nobody to teach...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."285 They have all held together, preserved their religion and their language, which the best of them speak more than respectably well, and show a creditable anxiety to keep up a decent appearance."286 "School books prepared in the United States were found in some remote cabins."287

Reverend James noted, "Of my congregation about one-quarter can read the New Testament and their hymn books. They sing from the books, and a good many from the giving out of the hymns. Many of the hymns they know by heart. The revolutions and wars have got us down so that we cannot do as we would have done... in the way of scattering books and teaching the people...."288

**Education**
"Primary education in the communes is at the charge of the municipalities as an obligatory expense, independent of the protection and aid granted by the state. The municipalities now support twenty-one schools [nationwide], more or less important, ... each municipality according to its means, as it will be shown by the following statistics. ... Samana, one school for boys.....$150 [low in comparison with other municipalities]."\textsuperscript{290} Using the Consumer Price Index, this is equivalent to $2760 in 2010 dollars.\textsuperscript{291}

Haitian General Theophilus James, born in Samana, and now returned to Samana after the overthrow of Haytian President Salnave, observed: "The people around here, who are descendants of the colored Americans who came in 1824, are very desirous of education. Now there are scarce any means of education whatever. A teacher is hard to find, and the people are too poor to pay much, and there is not organized means of general education; but I believe, and I have heard the same from the best informed and most respectable among the people, that a school system, enforced by law, would be well received and supported."\textsuperscript{292}

At the time there were two schools in Samana. One was operated by the Wesleyan Church.\textsuperscript{293} The second was operated by Lewis Judd who, along with his father, a Baptist missionary, had been driven out of Port-au-Prince, along with other supporters of the assassinated Haitian President Salnave. In addition, there were two women who have an informal school of five or six scholars.\textsuperscript{294}

\textbf{- The Wesleyan Mission School}

The Wesleyan Church "... maintained a day-school, on the rolls of which are 80 scholars. [Rev.] Mr. James officiates also as teacher and his compensation for both duties (teacher and minister) he estimates at $400 per annum ($47,200 in 2010 U.S. $)."\textsuperscript{295} The building used as his dwelling house and also as schoolhouse, was donated
the church by the Wesleyan missionary society. Some Catholic children come to their school, but they can’t receive all who would like to come. The regular hours of school are from 9 to 4; but sometimes the school is delayed in the a.m., because some scholars have to come from eight to twelve miles on foot. Mr. James employs his brother Jeremiah as assistant.”

The pastor, Reverend James, of the immigrant’s Methodist church said “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. ... Here and there one pays to have his children taught.”

“In the schools the text-books are all in the English language and published in Philadelphia.”

-Mr. Judd’s School

“The building was a wooden one-story structure, consisting of one large room, with desks arranged around the walls. There was a large black-board on one side and several shelves of school-books, a rostrum for the teacher in the centre, the two or three little girls in a corner, away from the fifteen or sixteen little black and white boys, ranging in age from five to thirteen years....”

The tuition in Mr. Judd’s school was one dollar a month. Using the Consumer Price Index, $18.40 in 2010 dollars.

In the commission’s interview of Mr. Judd, he stated: “I have twenty four pupils; Three are grown-up girls; one does not know her A B C’s.” “The parents here are anxious to educate the children. They will walk for miles to sell ten cents’ worth of provisions to come and buy an A B C book from me to teach their children.” “They desire education. I intend, if I have health, to open a night-school next month, with twenty or thirty grown-up persons for scholars, who have begged me to do this...The students want to learn English, rather than Spanish. “All my scholars talk English; the people feel the want of it.”

Other Colonists in the Dominican Republic

The American emigrants kept in contact with their counterparts in other communities on the island. “…the American emigrants sent out in 1824 and succeeding years, who, with their descendants, now form a number of settlements, and amount to several thousand persons. These are mostly Methodists and Baptists.”

A person from Philadelphia who had been throughout the Dominican Republic doing a geological survey for the past two years observed: ‘There are two small communities of American negroes who call themselves Protestants.” In the Commission inquiry, it
was reported that there were protestants in Santiago, but no Protestant Church. However, there was a colored Protestant church in Puerto Plata.  

Crime

"The testimony shows them [, Dominicans,] to be an honest and inoffensive people, among whom, in the rural districts, a person may travel alone and unarmed all over the country, with treasure, without danger."307 The most striking proof of the pacific character of the people is to be found in the fact that notwithstanding the unsettled condition of the country for so many years, its internal dissensions and wars with foreign powers, it is still possible for a stranger to travel anywhere in the republic ... without danger."308 The judicial officers stated that high crimes, such as murder, arson, burglary, and the like, are nearly unknown among them. No pauper class exists, and beggary is almost unknown. They are a temperate people, and drunken men are rarely seen.  

"Crime is rare, and the greater crimes, such as murder and assassination, are altogether unknown."310 Benjamin Burr, an expatriate living outside of Samana town, stated: "We have been out and did not return until 10 o'clock at night, when there was considerable money in the house, and the doors were not locked, and I did not feel alarmed; did not look or search about on returning."311 His wife said that she feels very secure living in the countryside almost as a lone woman. "When I first came here I was careful to fasten the doors at night, before going to bed; but I do not do it now. That front door has not had a lock or hook on it since I have been here. It was pulled out the week after I came. Anybody could come up here at night, and come right up into this house...I may say that in any part of the country in New England I should not dare to walk alone through the woods at 10 o'clock at night, as I have done here."312

"Stealing valuable property or robbing does not occur. Why, when the steamer Tybee came in the last time a considerable part of her cargo, consisting of goods in small and large boxes and packages of all kinds, lay on the wharf for several days without a guard or watch, day or night, and nothing was taken. There are generally no locks on the doors here, an it is even more so in the interior. People's fields join without fences and they do not quarrel about the division of the crops where there is no clear line of separation."313

"[T]he calaboose (jail), consists of one room, amply ventilated, through it has neither door nor window. There is neither dark cell, nor gallows; but Samana has a fine set of mahogany stocks,..."314 The stocks "...are two long pieces of mahogany, one resting above the other with seven pairs of holes half notched into each. This the city prison where criminals are safely kept by putting their feet into the stocks."315
Legal Disputes and Justice

Trial before a Justice of the Peace for an assault in Samana City

Among the immigrants, the church reverend settled their business disputes. Sometimes, there were lawsuits, but according to the minister Rev. James, there were none in his church.317

"There is no very fixed administration of law....There is a Governor of the district, and a military commander...the Mayor, and with four Councilmen, constitute the officers of justice for the municipality....While the Alcadi [mayor] hears cases in the guard house. The administration of justice consists principally in settling petty disputes and exacting fat fees from both innocent and guilty."318 "The magistrates who administer law and justice....seem to have no respect for any known code, but proceed in a summary manner according to their own crude notions of equity."319
Revolutions and Insurrections

Encampment of Dominican Troops

The emigrants suffered greatly from the continual revolutions and insurrections, notably that of Baez, Cabral, Luperon and the Spanish reoccupation (1861-1865). "These people are naturally peaceable, but these revolutions have rendered them somewhat turbulent. The governments are despotic." 321

"Of course we fear it (revolution) constantly. The people here are on the constant lookout, occupying themselves in preparing for their defense; and as a matter of course, the industry of the country is neglected. The able-bodied men are always liable to be called out. The whole country is military; every one is a soldier.... In case of danger here, we fire a cannon of alarm, which call all, young and old together, with their arms, and messengers are sent to the interior and to the capital to give warning and the men all come together for the defense. If any do not come, we send for them and bring them by force, and punish them by fine and imprisonment. The last call of that sort was made when Luperon invaded us in 1869. We called them out also against the Spaniards. They served gratuitously; 7 reales (70 cents) per week are issued to them in money for rations; when there is no money they give it to them in bread." 322
In the American settlement three miles from town, a New York Times writer observed: "One old woman sometimes regrets coming to Samana because "When war came and all my beeves and horses were taken away and my house burned down." This is the story which they all tell—that they all have been ruined by war; this is the reason they all give for their seeming wretchedness and poverty—"We have had no incentive to work because if we are suspected to own money we are liable to be murdered." When a revolution take place, the huts and habitations are generally abandoned; the men follow one leader or the other; the women and the children take to the mountain caves and fastnesses, where they hide until the storm has swept away and something like peace comes again."\(^{324}\)

“They are afraid to plant crops, lest they may be reaped by marauders, ... with a few exceptions, in this locality at least, only raise what is necessary for their own sustenance."\(^{325}\)

**- Spanish Occupation**

“When the Spaniards came... They began by imposing heavy taxes on the people. They had promised us religious liberty, yet they forbade us to hold Methodist meetings in our church and behaved to the people generally in a haughty and overbearing way. They whipped their own soldiers brutally in the streets, [and] behaved badly to our women..."\(^{326}\) “People would come down to town with things to sell, and the Spaniards would take them at the price they chose to pay. The people were ignorant and frightened, and took it; but they said, “if it is that way now, what will it be by and by!”\(^{327}\)

“They were not satisfied with the Spaniards, because they came with guns and bayonets, and treated the people almost as slaves. The forbid any one to enter town with a machete, which is not so much a weapon as a necessity to these people. For the slightest offenses they forced people to work on the roads and do military duty when their families were in need. 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 they would make them all slaves....Right over in that hut, which you can see from the window of my school-house now, a man was forced away to serve for three years, leaving his family unprovided for and sometimes sick."\(^{328}\)

**- Gregorio Luperon and José María Cabral**

“The insurrections which still exist are headed by Cabral and Luperon.... Their opposition [to the Baez government] has assumed the character of an annoying guerrilla warfare,...”\(^{329}\) “Only a year ago (1870) Gen. Luperon of Cabral’s army sailed into the harbor and bombarded the town, and holes made by the shot were showed me in some of the houses.”\(^{330}\) According to Peter Vanderhorst, Luperon burned up his home and one of the prominent emigrants had been killed by Luperon.\(^{331}\)

When the revolutionary leaders take property, “They give us some printed slips of paper. I (an American colonist) have a bag-full of these promises to pay, but they are
worthless, almost of my neighbors have lots of it. They take our cattle, our horses, and everything we have, and leave us this stuff for pay."\textsuperscript{332}

**Military Service**

Observations of a first generation descendant of emigrants from Philadelphia, a Lieutenant soldier-farmer, named Johnson -- "There were two hundred sixty men at the Samana post. Twenty or fifty of whom drilled every Sunday. Johnson, at age 30, had been a soldier for fifteen years, half of which had been in active service. Because he was in the military, Johnson was able to rent his farm for four dollars a year."\textsuperscript{333} This would be $73.70 in 2010 U.S.dollars.\textsuperscript{334} The New York Times writer wrote "I found all of the soldiers... all supplied with excellent American rifles, but their swords look as if they belonged to the old Spanish hidalgos, rusty, and of the description that find their way to museums and old-iron stores in the United States."\textsuperscript{335}

Lewis Horan, recent emigrant from the U.S. observed: "Here we have been accustomed to stand guard for the last three years. Fifteen men or so are detailed one week and fifteen the next; The first returning to their work as soon as they are relieved...[They get paid] As far as the revenue will permit it. I think they fare rather badly."\textsuperscript{336}

**Emigrant Endorsement of Annexation to the U.S.**

Because of continual unrest from revolutions and insurrections, a local Samana official stated, "We cannot continue as we are; we are always in disorder; there is no power in the country able to suppress these disorders."\textsuperscript{337} The provincial governor stated, "All the people of this [Samana] peninsula are [favorably] agreed about it...Our people all expect protection by annexation, and desire it; every father and every family want tranquility."\textsuperscript{338}

The American expatriate Benjamin Burr reported "I have made it my business a great deal of late to find out somebody that is against it [annexation], and I cannot find a man who will say he is against it. The Spanish inhabitants do not talk so much about it as [much as] the descendants of this American negro colony; they [the Spaniards] do not seem so enthusiastic; but they say they want a more secure and permanent government. They want not to fight any more--to go to work and earn something and enjoy it."\textsuperscript{339}

Approximately twenty years earlier, the threat of re-enslavement had been of great concern to the emigrants, as reported by Reverend James: "This thing has been talked of here for twenty years. When General Santana was in power (1858-1861) we wanted
it (annexation) and hoped for it; but some objection to it would be raised then because the United States was a slaveholding country. But now the United States is a country of freedom. We all know that, and all want to join the United States.”

The schoolmaster Judd observed, “The people once thought that whites from the United States would come and make them slaves, especially if they knew of the gold and silver on the island; “that has until lately been the general feeling among the colored people, but now they know the Americans have abolished slavery and there is no fear of them.”

“The people expressed an earnest desire for annexation, and some old negroes who came here from Philadelphia many years ago spoke of it with tears of anxious joy in their eyes.” Their love of the country of their birth seems to have deepened with time, and they all look upon American institutions as the only means of rescuing the country from its present insecurity. Very touching expressions of this met the commissioners at various points. These people live on the best of terms with their neighbors, speaking the language of the country and conforming in general to its customs, and they have formed in a greater or less degree centers from which respect for the United States has gone forth.”

“They (the American blacks) have everything to gain, a stable government, freedom from oppressive and illegal taxation, and market for what products of the soil they care to raise, and above all a personal security which they do not possess now.”

“Most of the traders favor annexation. It will bring money, immigration, and business.”

**Eventual Results for Annexation**

“With Senate rejection of a coaling and naval station on June 16, 1871, [President] Grant had no alternative or secret funds to pay another year’s lease of the bay [at a cost of $100,000 per annum]. He revoked the Navy orders [to maintain the U.S.S. Nantasket] and the stars and stripes came down at Samana Bay.”

In 1918, Author Otto Schoenrich wrote: “It is interesting to speculate on what the future of Santo Domingo would have been if annexation had been realized. The power of the United States would have maintained peace; salutary laws would have educated the people in self-government; liberal tariff concessions would have stimulated agriculture and industry; the influx of a good stock of immigrants would have developed and settled the interior; honest administration would have provided roads and school, and soon the country would have attained a high degree of development and prosperity. The failure of the United States to extend a helping hand condemned Santo Domingo to long years of anarchy and dictatorships.”
The author of this document leaves it to the reader's study of U.S. history, to speculate on the eventual outcomes of an annexation of Samaná.

Tropical Morning in Samaná
Endnotes:


4 President Jean-Pierre Boyer of Hayti who arranged for the emigration of African Americans to Hispaniola. Source: Hazard, Samuel. *Santo Domingo. Past and Present: with a Glance at Hayti.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1873, p. 164. Special note on author Samuel Hazard: Commissioner Andrew D. White was accompanied by Samuel H. Hazard, Jr. of Philadelphia when traveling in the northern part of the country. (Cincinnati Daily Gazette March 17, 1871.) Hazard was an independent newspaper correspondent who arrived separately from the Commission of Inquiry on the Steamer Tybee (Hazard, pp. viii and 5)


6 President Ulysses S. Grant (1869-1877): Initiated the Commission’s Inquiry for Annexation. Source: United States fifty dollar bill


8 According to Wikipedia: The Monroe Doctrine is a policy of the United States introduced on December 2, 1823. It stated that further efforts by European countries to colonize land or interfere with states in the Americas would be viewed as acts of aggression requiring U.S. intervention (however, the wording referred to the entire Western Hemisphere. The Monroe Doctrine asserted that the Americas were not to be further colonized by European countries but that the United States would neither interfere with existing European colonies nor meddle in the internal concerns of European countries.

9 President Grant’s Message, Commission of Inquiry, p.2.


12 Actually 11 journalists, John P. Foley, stenographer for the commission, has the initials of J.P.F., those used by the writer for the New York Times articles during the commission. And, Rebello, who was an assistant to Commission secretary Burton and fired from duty, was an assistant editor to The Sun (Hartford Daily Courant, February 28, 1871, "Courant Topics").

Scientists:
Prof. W.P. Blake, geologist and mineralogist; C.C. Parry, botanist; Dr. Newcomb, naturalist; A.R. Manive, mineralogist; E. Waller, Columbia College, mineralogist and chemist; J.S. Adam, assistant to Prof. Blake; H.A. Ward, Rochester University, zoologist and paleontologist; C. Wright, botanist; H. Brummel, botanist. (Daily National Republican, February 22, 1871, "San Domingo: From Our Correspondent."

13 January 17, 1871 left New York; March 26, 1871 landed at Charleston; Commission of Inquiry pp. 4-5.

14 Commission of Inquiry, p. 22. "The officers and crew of the [steam] frigate [The Tennessee] numbered four hundred and ninety-six. The commanding officer was Captain William G. Temple, of the United States Navy (p. 35 of Commission of Inquiry). On page 41, The Tennessee was also described by Hamilton Fish as a man-of-war (p. 41 Commission of Inquiry). President Grant appointed three commissioners: B.F. Wade, many years a Senator; President A.D. White, Cornell University, and Dr. S.G. Howe, distinguished for his philanthropy, learning, and service in relieving the blind and mute of much of the monotony of life. (p. 40 of the Commission of Inquiry). From Ohio, New York and Massachusetts, respectively. Julia Ward Howe was the wife of Dr. S.G. Howe (New York Standard, February 21, 1871, "San Domingo").

Brooklyn Daily Eagle, February 21, 1871, "Our Dominican Correspondence. — Benjamin... Wade, ex-Vice President and senator; Presidents A.D. White of Cornell University, and Dr. T.G. Howe, intimate friend of Senator Sumner; Hon. A.G. Burton of Kentucky, Ex-Minister to Bolivia, Secretary to the Commissioners. Then we have Mr. Frederick Douglass, Secretary to Mr. Wade, General Franz Sigel, Secretary to Mr. Wade, Captain H. Wade, Honest Ben's son, Secretary to Mr. Wade. So much for Mr. Wade's personal staff. Professor White has Mr. J.F. Crane as his Secretary, while Dr. Hawe has in the same capacity Dr. H.D. Wheelwright. The Commissioners being fully provided with secretaries, it was found necessary further to have Mr. R.R. Hill and Mr. J.F. Foley as stenographers, and there still being such more work requiring expert penmen, Mr. C. Rebello was called upon to act as Secretary to the Secretary-in-Chief."

15 The Commission of Inquiry and Ship's Officers on Deck "The Tennessee"
Source: Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper. (New York, NY) Saturday, April 15, 1871; pg. 69; Issue 811; col A.

16 The Commission of Inquiry Meeting in a Cabin on Board "The Tennessee"
Source: "Expedition of the "Tennessee" to Santo Domingo, Bearing Commissioners White, Wade and Howe, the Scientific Explorers, Etc. — Cabin of the "Tennessee."
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper. (New York, NY) Saturday, February 04, 1871; pg. 352; Issue 801; col A

17 Tuesday, early afternoon January 24, 1871 to Monday Morning January 30, 1871

18 Great length was taken to find the writings of each journalist accompanying the commission. Eventually, the writings of every journalist were successfully found.

19 Brooklyn Daily Eagle. February 21, 1871, "Our Dominican Correspondence."


21 The Sun, February 21, 1871, "The Tennessee Safe"
22 View of the Island Used by the United States as a Coaling Station in Samana Bay
Source: Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, (New York, NY) Saturday, March 11, 1871; pg. 444; Issue 806; col A

23 Illustration of Strategic Location of Samana Bay in 1898

24 Hazard, Samuel. *Santo Domingo, Past and Present; with a Glance at Hayti*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1873, p. 204. "...England was at one time extremely anxious to secure it, being, as it undoubtedly is, the key to the southern passage of the Gulf of Mexico."


26 New York Times, March 25, 1870, "Cuba or San Domingo?"

27 Napoleon's Plans for Samana in 1807
Source: Library of Congress Website [http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g4954s.ct000101](http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g4954s.ct000101)

28 Commission of Inquiry, p. 61.


31 [http://www.unitconversion.org/unit_converter/length.html](http://www.unitconversion.org/unit_converter/length.html)


33 Samana Bay with Mouth (Boca Grande) of the Yuna River at Far Left.

34 Commission of Inquiry, p. 23.


36 New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula"

37 View of Samaná Town from the Bay
Source: Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, (New York, NY) Saturday March 11, 1871; Issue 806; page 440;
"Santo Domingo: The Visit of the United States Commission."

38 Brooklyn Daily Eagle. February 21, 1871, "Our Dominican Correspondence."


40 New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula"
41 View of Samaná Town from the Fort
Source: Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, (New York, NY) Saturday March 11, 1871; Issue 806; page 440.


43 Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, (New York, NY) Saturday March 11, 1871; page 438; Issue 806;
"Santo Domingo: The Visit of the United States Commission."

44 Details from Samana Town Drawing: Burial Ground in Distance; Alcaide's Office (four square thatched
roof); Frame of Protestant Church, now constructing; Town Plaza.
Source: Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, (New York, NY) Saturday March 11, 1871; Issue 806; page
440.


46 Philadelphia Public Ledger, February 23, 1871, "Letter from San Domingo: U.S. Steamship Tennessee
in Samana Bay."

47 Details of Plaza from Samana Town Drawing
Source: Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, (New York, NY) Saturday March 11, 1871; Issue 806; page
440.


49 New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula".

50 New York Standard, February 21, 1871, "San Domingo"


53 New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula".


55 Springfield Weekly Republican, February 24, 1871, "Santo Domingo: The Investigation Commission."

Samana."

57 Springfield Weekly Republican, February 24, 1871, "Santo Domingo: The Investigation Commission."

58 Group of natives around a well in Samana City
Source: Library of Congress LOT 9634 [item] [P&P] I LC-USZ62-70939 (b&w film copy neg.)

59 "So far as I have learned, there are no saw-mills—though the water power is abundant—and sawn
timber is consequently imported." New York Tribune, February 21, 1871, "Santo Domingo: Arrival of the
Tennessee."

60 An alternate view of the materials used: "The houses... made of lengths of the royal palm, covered with
a portion of the leaf of the same tree, and securely fastened by pegs, and, in some cases, iron nails. The
roof is farther secured by binding it with lengths of a tough fibrous vine, which is almost as strong as a


66 New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula"

67 Boston Daily Advertiser, February 21, 1871, "The Tennessee Sale".

68 Philadelphia North American and United States Gazette, February 21, 1871, "Letters from San Domingo".

69 Cape Cabron is the most northeasterly tip of Samaná Peninsula.

70 New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula".

71 Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, (New York, NY) Saturday March 11, 1871; page 438; Issue 806; "Santo Domingo: The Visit of the United States Commission."

72 Commission of Inquiry, p. 75.

73 New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula".

74 A Native Hut

75 Frederick Douglass' summary of testimony by American colonists, Commission of Inquiry, p. 231.


78 Hammocks

79 Products of Santo Domingo
Source: Hazard, Samuel. Santo Domingo, Past and Present, with a Glance at Hayti, frontispiece.

80 Interview of Joseph P. Hamilton, Commission of Inquiry, p. 222.

81 Interview of Benjamin Burr, Commission of Inquiry, p. 220.


83 Commission of Inquiry, p. 220.


85 Frederick Douglass' summary of testimony by American colonists, Commission of Inquiry, p. 231.

86 Commission of Inquiry, p. 83.
87 Commission of Inquiry, pp. 71-72.


89 Interview of George Lewis Judd, school teacher, Commission of Inquiry, p. 228.

90 Interview of Benjamin Burr, Commission of Inquiry, p. 219.


93 Interview of Joseph P. Hamilton, Commission of Inquiry, p. 222-223.


95 New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula".

96 Interview of Joseph P. Hamilton, Commission of Inquiry, p. 222-223.

97 New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula".


100 Interview of Joseph P. Hamilton, Commission of Inquiry, p. 222-223.


102 Interview of Joseph P. Hamilton, Commission of Inquiry, p. 222-223.

103 Commission of Inquiry, p. 223.

104 Interview of Rev. Jacob James, Commission of Inquiry, p. 230.


106 Commission of Inquiry, p. 219.


108 New York Standard, February 21, 1871, "San Domingo"

109 Commission of Inquiry, p. 234.

110 Commission of Inquiry, p. 224.

111 Springfield Weekly Republican, February 24, 1871, "Santo Domingo: The Investigation Commission."

112 New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula".

115 Frederick Douglass' summary of testimony by American colonists, Commission of Inquiry, p. 231.

116 New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula".

117 Interview of Rev. Jacob James, Commission of Inquiry, p. 230.

118 Frederick Douglass' summary of testimony by American colonists, Commission of Inquiry, p. 231.

119 http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/ 30 cents = $35.40 in 2010 using the calculation for unskilled wage

120 The Sun, February 22, 1871, "The San Domingo Commissioners."


122 http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/

123 Interview of Rev. Jacob James, Commission of Inquiry, p. 230.


125 Marciaq's Store on the Shore in the City of Samana Source: Library of Congress LOT 9634 [item] [P&P] LC-USZ62-70941 (b&w film copy neg.)

126 Note on the merchant Marciaq: "We met one family of French Creoles, originally from New Orleans, named Marciaq, consisting of father, mother, daughter and two sons, who had been driven from Hayti last February when Salnave was massacred. The daughter, a fine looking young Creole, is the widow of Salnave, who was massacred at that time. They were waiting anxiously for the settlement of the question of annexation, desirous of remaining, but determined to “return to the States” in case American protection is not guaranteed to them." (Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser, February 22, 1871. "San Domingo: Our special Correspondence.")

127 Interview of Port Collector and Secretary to the Samana Municipal Council, Benito Garcia. Commission of Inquiry, p. 213.


129 New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula".

130 Commission of Inquiry, p 217.

131 Interview of Port Collector and Secretary to the Samana Municipal Council, Benito Garcia. Commission of Inquiry, p. 213.

132 Commission of Inquiry, p. 79.

133 Commission of Inquiry, p. 83.

134 Interview of Port Collector and Secretary to the Samana Municipal Council, Benito Garcia. Commission of Inquiry, p. 213.

135 New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula"

136 New York Standard, February 21, 1871, "San Domingo"

137 New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula".

58


140 New York Standard, February 21, 1871, "San Domingo"

141 Commission of Inquiry, p. 231.

142 General Henry Van Ness Boynton was a Civil War Hero who was the reporter representing the Associated Press and Cincinnati Daily Gazette.

143 http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare. $18.40 in 2010 dollars using Consumer Price Index


145 Frederick Douglass' summary of testimony by American colonists. Commission of Inquiry, p. 231.

146 Commission of Inquiry, p. 240.

147 Commission of Inquiry, p. 214.


150 Commission of Inquiry, p. 214.

151 Cincinnati Daily Gazette, March 17, 1871, "San Domingo: The Work of the Commissioners is Completed."

152 Cincinnati Daily Gazette, March 17, 1871, "San Domingo: The Work of the Commissioners is Completed."

153 Commission of Inquiry, p. 231.


155 Springfield Weekly Republican, February 24, 1871, "Santo Domingo: The Investigation Commission."


159 New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula."

160 New York Standard, February 21, 1871, "San Domingo"

161 The old Spanish Highway was maintained "...by cutting it once every three months, it is kept from closing again. ...This way has winding through it a path just wide enough for the hoofs of the horses or the bulls which do the carrying." Cincinnati Daily Gazette, February 23, 1871, "San Domingo: On the Way to the Tropics."


164 Water Carrier


166 *New York Standard*, February 21, 1871, "San Domingo"

167 Commission of Inquiry, p. 73.


170 *New York Times*, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula".


172 The Dominican and His Steed
Source: Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, (New York, NY) Saturday March 11, 1871; Issue 806; "Santo Domingo: The Visit of the United States Commission."


175 *New York Times*, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula"


179 Interview of Rev. Jacob James, Commission of Inquiry, p. 230.


182 Commission of Inquiry, p. 73.


184 Commission of Inquiry, p. 224.

185 *New York Standard*, February 21, 1871, "San Domingo"

186 Commission of Inquiry, p. 73.

187 Commission of Inquiry, p. 73.

188 Springfield Weekly Republican, February 24, 1871, "Santo Domingo: The Investigation Commission."

189 Springfield Weekly Republican, February 24, 1871, "Santo Domingo: The Investigation Commission."

181 Commission of Inquiry, p. 221.
182 Commission of Inquiry, p. 182.
183 Frederick Douglass' summary of testimony by American colonists, Commission of Inquiry, p. 231.
184 Springfield Weekly Republican, February 24, 1871, "Santo Domingo: The Investigation Commission."
185 Daily National Republican, February 22, 1871, "San Domingo: From Our Correspondent."
186 Interview of Rev. Jacob James, Commission of Inquiry, p. 229-230.
187 A Dominican American
188 It appears that the James family may be from New Jersey. "Jeremiah James, the colored New Jerseyman, mentioned in my letter from Samana, who has resided forty years at that place..."311("Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser, February 22, 1871. "San Domingo: Our special Correspondence."
190 Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, (New York, NY) Saturday March 11, 1871; page 438; Issue 806; "Santo Domingo: The Visit of the United States Commission."
191 Commission of Inquiry, p. 75.
192 Interview of George Lewis Judd, school teacher, Commission of Inquiry, p. 227.
194 Samana as an Island: Historical Maps Show Samaná Peninsula and the Mainland Separated by Water
Source: Library of Congress, T. Kitchin, geographer, A map of Hispaniola or St. Domingo, 1758.
199 New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula"
200 The Sun, February 21, 1871, "The Tennessee Safe"
201 Charles E. Douglass was the youngest of Frederick Douglass' 3 sons (Douglass family tree: http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/doughml/famtree.html) (Commission of Inquiry, p. 36).
214 New York Standard, February 21, 1871, “San Domingo”


217 Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser, February 22, 1871. “San Domingo: Our special Correspondence.”

218 Frederick Douglas Portrait Image from [http://www.lib.utexas.edu University of Texas](http://www.lib.utexas.edu)

219 Elder Emigrants Had Remembrances of Slavery in the United States Source: Drawing by Masood Ali Warren from the private collection of Frank Minaya


222 Address by Frederick Douglass in the Public Plaza of Samaná Town Source: Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper, (New York, NY) Saturday March 11, 1871; Issue 806; “Santo Domingo: The Visit of the United States Commission.”

223 General Franz Sigel, along with Frederick Douglass, was a Secretary to Mr. Wade, the head commissioner of the expedition.

224 Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper, (New York, NY) Saturday March 11, 1871; page 438; Issue 806; “Santo Domingo: The Visit of the United States Commission.”

225 The Sun, February 22, 1871, “The San Domingo Commissioners.”

226 New York Standard, February 21, 1871, “San Domingo”


229 In 2010, the relative worth of $64 from 1871 is $1,180 using the Consumer Price Index [http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare](http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare)


231 Helen Pitts Douglass’ observations of Samana can be found in The Frederick Douglass Papers, found online at the Library of Congress website, In the document “Around the Island of Santo Domingo (Series: Family Papers).”


There is presently an active AME Church in Samana, being reorganized in 1899.

St. Peter’s Wesleyan Church in 1856

New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula".

Interview of Joseph P. Hamilton, Commission of Inquiry, p. 222.

Interview of Rev. Jacob James, Commission of Inquiry, p. 230.

The Sun, February 22, 1871, "The San Domingo Commissioners."

Formerly the schoolhouse and pastor’s home had been separate buildings, which leads one to believe that one of these buildings had also been destroyed during the Spanish Occupation. The chapel which you see on the right, is a plain wooden structure, without galleries, which on the Sabbath has a congregation of about one hundred and fifty persons. In the centre is the Mission-house, which is small and roughly constructed, but serves the main purposes of shelter and convenience. On the eminence behind the house stands the building which is used as a school-room, and where about thirty children receive daily instruction." (Source: The Wesleyan Juvenile Offering published by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 1856)

Springfield Weekly Republican, February 24, 1871, "Santo Domingo: The Investigation Commission."


Interview of Rev. Jacob James, Commission of Inquiry, p. 229.

New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula".

Springfield Weekly Republican, February 24, 1871, "Santo Domingo: The Investigation Commission."

Interview of Rev. Jacob James, Commission of Inquiry, p. 229.


Interview of Rev. Jacob James, Commission of Inquiry, p. 229.

Frederick Douglass’ summary of testimony by American colonists, Commission of Inquiry, p. 231.

Interview of Rev. Jacob James, Commission of Inquiry, p. 229.

Springfield Weekly Republican, February 24, 1871, "Santo Domingo: The Investigation Commission."


New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula".

New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula".

Commission of Inquiry, p. 247.

Interview of Benjamin Burr, Commission of Inquiry, p. 218.

Interview of Benjamin Burr, Commission of Inquiry, p. 218.

260 Commission of Inquiry, p. 222.

261 Interview of Joseph P. Hamilton, Commission of Inquiry, p. 222.


263 Interview of Joseph P. Hamilton, Commission of Inquiry, p. 222.

264 Church Frame: In this drawing, the reconstruction of the Wesleyan Church is shown, most likely being built to replace the church burnt during the Spanish Occupation of 1861-1865
Source: Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper, (New York, NY) Saturday March 11, 1871; issue 806; page 440.

265 Commission of Inquiry, p. 13.

266 Interview of Benjamin Burr, Commission of Inquiry, p. 220.


268 Commission of Inquiry, p. 227. Judd


270 Commission of Inquiry, p.229.

271 Commission of Inquiry, p. 227. Judd

272 Commission of Inquiry, p. 218.

273 Commission of Inquiry, p. 227. Judd

274 Woman at a well in Samana City
Source: Library of Congress LOT 9634 [item] [P&P] I LC-USZ62-70939 (b&w film copy neg.)


276 Commission of Inquiry, p.134.

277 Frederick Douglass’ summary of testimony by American colonists, Commission of Inquiry, p. 231.


279 Women Washing Clothes near Puerto Plata


281 Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser, February 22, 1871. “San Domingo: Our special Correspondence.”

282 Commission of Inquiry, p. 75.
Philadelpia Inquirer, February 21, 1871, "From Our Correspondent: The trip Thither of the "Tennessee"..."

Brooklyn Daily Eagle. February 21, 1871, "Our Dominican Correspondence."

Interview of Benjamin Burr, Commission of Inquiry, p. 218.

New York World, February 21, 1871, "The Tennessee."


Interview of Rev. Jacob James, Commission of Inquiry, p. 230.

A Dominican School

Commission of Inquiry, p. 173.

http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare

Interview of Haitian General Theophilus James, born in Samana, and now returned to Samana after the overthrow of Haytiian President Salnave, Commission of Inquiry, p. 229.

Interview of Joseph P. Hamilton, Commission of Inquiry, p. 227.

Interview of George Lewis Judd, school teacher, Commission of Inquiry, p. 227.

http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/ In 2010, the relative worth of $400 from 1871 is $47,200 using the unskilled wage calculator.

Springfield Weekly Republican, February 24, 1871, "Santo Domingo: The Investigation Commission."

Interview of Rev. Jacob James, Commission of Inquiry, p. 230.


Interview of George Lewis Judd, school teacher, Commission of Inquiry, p. 227.

http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare

Interview of George Lewis Judd, school teacher, Commission of Inquiry, p. 227.

Interview of George Lewis Judd, school teacher, Commission of Inquiry, p. 228.


Commission of Inquiry, p. 232.

Commission of Inquiry, p. 246.


Commission of Inquiry, p. 134.

New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula".

Interview of Benjamin Burr, Commission of Inquiry, p. 220.

Interview of Mrs. Benjamin Burr, Commission of Inquiry, p. 221.

Interview of Haitian General Theophilus James, born in Samana, and now returned to Samana after the overthrow of Haytian President Salnave, Commission of Inquiry, p. 229.


Trial before a Justice of the Peace for an assault in Samana City
Source: Library of Congress LOT 9634 [item] [P&P] I LC-USZ62-70940 (b&w film copy neg.)

Interview of Rev. Jacob James, Commission of Inquiry, p. 231.


Encampment of Dominican Troops
Source: Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, (New York, NY) Saturday, April 08, 1871; pg. 57; col A

Interview of George Lewis Judd, school teacher, Commission of Inquiry, p. 227.

7 reales or 70 cents is equivalent to 2011 U.S.$12.90 in 2010 dollars using the Consumer Price Index. http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/

Interview of the civil and military governor of Samana province, Governor José Silvano Acosta. Commission of Inquiry, p. 209.

New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula".

Philadelphia North American and United States Gazette, February 21, 1871, "Letters from San Domingo".

Frederick Douglass' summary of testimony by American colonists, Commission of Inquiry, p. 232.

Interview of Joseph P. Hamilton, Commission of Inquiry, p. 222.

Interview of George Lewis Judd, school teacher, Commission of Inquiry, p. 227.

Commission of Inquiry, p. 7.

New York Standard, February 21, 1871, "San Domingo"

New York World, February 21, 1871, "The Tennessee."

Frederick Douglass' summary of testimony by American colonists, Commission of Inquiry, p. 232.

New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula".

http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare

New York Times, February 21, 1871, "Samana Peninsula".
336 Commission of Inquiry, p.213-4. Interview of Lewis Horan, recent emigrant from Virginia, U.S.

337 Interview of Port Collector and Secretary to the Samana Municipal Council, Benito Garcia. Commission of Inquiry, p. 212

336 Interview of the civil and military governor of Samana province, Governor José Silvano Acosta. Commission of Inquiry, p. 209.

339 Interview of Benjamin Burr, Commission of Inquiry, p. 219.

340 Interview of Rev. Jacob James, Commission of Inquiry, p. 230.

341 Interview of George Lewis Judd, school teacher, Commission of Inquiry, p. 227.

342 New York Herald, February 21, 1872, "St. Domingo."

343 Commission of Inquiry, p. 11.

344 Brooklyn Daily Eagle, February 21, 1871, "Our Dominican Correspondence."

345 Commission of Inquiry, p. 272.

346 In 2010, the relative worth of $100,000.00 from 1871 is $1,840,000 using the Consumer Price Index. http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare


349 Tropical Morning in Samaná