

“FRIEND” PAUL CUFFE OF WESTPORT¹



Paul Cuffe, son of a black father, Kofi Slocum,² and a red mother, Ruth Moses, once refused to pay Massachusetts taxes on the grounds of not being allowed to vote: “No taxation without representation,” he said. In 1783, the right of black adults if they were male and if they owned adequate amounts of property, would be enabled to vote in Massachusetts.

Although Cuffe is described in all the literature as “black” he was a member in good standing of the Pequot tribe of native Americans. —Back then, if you had a black ancestor then “black” was the complete descriptor of who you were and any other element of your ancestry was of secondary significance to the white people who mattered, and also, back then, if you were not all-white then it really didn’t matter to any all-white person how you might be conceiving of yourself — because the only thing that truly mattered to these white people whose opinions mattered was how they needed to think of you. The white people needed to think of him as black rather than red, because he was well-to-do and the property of black people could be taxed — whereas the property of red people could not.

1. **Paul Cuffe**. CAPTAIN PAUL CUFFE’S LOGS AND LETTERS, 1808-1817: A BLACK QUAKER’S “VOICE FROM WITHIN THE VEIL” edited by Rosalind Cobb Wiggins with an introduction by Rhett S. Jones. Washington DC: Howard UP, 1996

2. “Kofi,” in the African language, perhaps meant “Born on a Friday.” The name is often misspelled “Cuffee,” possibly as a way to make its pronunciation more apparent.



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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1720

It would have been at some point in this timeframe that a young slave of the Ashanti of Ghana, of Akan ancestry, was purchased by 40-year-old [Friend](#) Ebenezer Slocum of Dartmouth in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. His new [Quaker](#) slavemaster allowed him to retain his name — Kofi.

PAUL CUFFE

That was **so** considerate. **Goood** Quaker slavemaster!

It has been asserted that Kofi had already been a slave, in Africa:

Sometime during the late 1720s, Ebenezer Slocum, a resident of Dartmouth in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, purchased Kofi, a young Ashanti slave of Akan ancestry. Kofi, also a slave in Africa, quickly discovered that the conditions of slavery in his West African homeland were drastically different than in the colonies; Ashanti slaves could marry, own property, participate in legal proceedings and even inherit their master's lands. Little is known about Kofi's formative years, but evidence suggests that he received an education in Quaker values while serving the Slocums.



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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1742

February 16, Tuesday (Old Style): [Friend](#) Ebenezer Slocum of Dartmouth in the Massachusetts Bay Colony sold his black [slave](#) Kofi to his nephew, another [Quaker](#), Friend John Slocum (this document is still in existence). A few years later, at about the age of 25 when he had earned enough to be able to purchase himself, Kofi would be [manumitted](#).

PAUL CUFFE

John Slocum, a devout Quaker, was influenced deeply by the 1733 denunciation of slavery by the Nantucket Meeting, the first condemnation of its nature in America. Reflection upon this denunciation led to Slocum's decision to offer Kofi the opportunity to purchase his freedom. Through the performance of supplemental work following his daily duties, Kofi bought his freedom in the mid-1740s.



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1746

July 7, Monday (Old Style): The manumitted Quaker slave Kofi Slocum married Ruth Moses, a *Pequot* from a [*Wampanoag*](#) settlement on [Martha's Vineyard](#). They would reside on [Cuttyhunk Island](#) as caretakers of the Slocum family's farms there, while raising four sons and six daughters.

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1759

January 17, Wednesday: On [Cuttyhunk Island](#) near the commercial port of [New Bedford](#), [Paul Cuffe](#) was born to a father, Kofi Slocum, who had formerly been a slave to an American family, the Slocums, but who had been allowed by his benevolent [Quaker](#) slavemaster to purchase his own [manumission](#) — and to a mother who was Pequot.

The family, although not accepted as Friends did live following Quaker values. Sometime in his youth, Cuffe received about two weeks of formal education, which led him to a basic knowledge of reading and writing.



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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1764

The initial volume of Lieutenant-Governor [Thomas Hutchinson](#)’s THE HISTORY OF THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETT’S BAY, FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT THEREOF IN 1628, UNTIL ITS INCORPORATION WITH THE COLONY OF PLIMOUTH, PROVINCE OF MAIN, &C. BY THE CHARTER OF KING WILLIAM AND QUEEN MARY, IN 1691. (The manuscript to the 2d volume of this history would be discovered soiled in the street after the mob trashed the governor’s mansion, and would be published in 1767.)



When [Henry Thoreau](#) would record in his journal, in regard to Clark’s Island, that “Hutchinson calls this one of the best islands in Mass. Bay,” he would be referring to this source, which was available for his use at the Concord Public Library. Henry would also copy the following materials into his Indian Notebook #2:

God was Ketan – gave man fair weather. Powows caused sickness – Passaconaway made them believe that he could make water burn, rocks move, and trees dance, and metamorphose himself into a flaming man; that in winter he could raise a green leaf out of the ashes of a dying one, and produce a living snake from the skin of a dead one.

According to some converts [Indian] – When an Ind. has a strange dream in which he sees Chapian (evil spirit) as a serpent – he receives a powow with great dancing & rejoicing of the Ind.

Little religion – hereafter fruitful cornfields – flowering meads – pleasant swim & bathe in. hunting – fowling; – fishing.

By this point Cuffe Slocum had taught himself to read and write. He was acting as an entrepreneur, hiring others to perform tasks required for the local coastal trade.

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

READ HUTCHINSON TEXT

A WEEK: In these parts dwelt the famous Sachem Pasaconaway, who was seen by Gookin "at Pawtucket, when he was about one hundred and twenty years old." He was reputed a wise man and a powwow, and restrained his people from going to war with the English. They believed "that he could make water burn, rocks move, and trees dance, and metamorphose himself into a flaming man; that in winter he could raise a green leaf out of the ashes of a dry one, and produce a living snake from the skin of a dead one, and many similar miracles." In 1660, according to Gookin, at a great feast and dance, he made his farewell speech to his people, in which he said, that as he was not likely to see them met together again, he would leave them this word of advice, to take heed how they quarrelled with their English neighbors, for though they might do them much mischief at first, it would prove the means of their own destruction. He himself, he said, had been as much an enemy to the English at their first coming as any, and had used all his arts to destroy them, or at least to prevent their settlement, but could by no means effect it. Gookin thought that he "possibly might have such a kind of spirit upon him as was upon Balaam, who in xxiii. Numbers, 23, said 'Surely, there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel.'" His son Wannalancet carefully followed his advice, and when Philip's War broke out, he withdrew his followers to Penacook, now Concord in New Hampshire, from the scene of the war. On his return afterwards, he visited the minister of Chelmsford, and, as is stated in the history of that town, "wished to know whether Chelmsford had suffered much during the war; and being informed that it had not, and that God should be thanked for it, Wannalancet replied, 'Me next.'"

**PEOPLE OF
A WEEK**

THOMAS HUTCHINSON

REVEREND WILKES ALLEN



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1766

Cuffe Slocum and Ruth Moses Slocum purchased 116 acres with a house and other structures, in Dartmouth on the shore of Buzzards Bay.

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All of the Cuffe Slocum family members contributed to the upkeep of the farm until Coffe's death in 1772 necessitated that his sons become the providers for their widowed mother and numerous sisters.



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1773

Cuffe Slocum died. His 15-year-old son [Paul Cuffe](#) shipped aboard a whaler bound for the West Indies. Paul would be captured by the British during this 3rd whaling voyage and released after three months, when their prison facilities in [New-York](#) became so over-subscribed that they needed to let some of their American captives go.



PAUL CUFFE

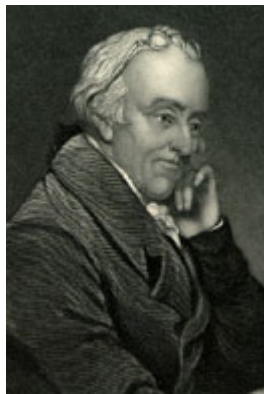
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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1777

The 19-year-old [Paul Cuffe](#) joined with his brother John Cuffe and other free African and native American leaders near [Westport](#) in a protest against the fact that their property was being taxed by the government while that government was denying them, as local male property owners of long standing, the franchise to vote in local elections.

Dr. Benjamin Rush was appointed Physician General of the Military Hospital of the Middle Department, American Army. He argued that whites and blacks were genetically equivalent in ability and differed only in their life opportunities. What was taken to be innate inferiority was to be better understood as merely the product of a life environment of [enslavement](#).³



“It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God.”



– Stanley Cavell, MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?
1976, page 141

3. To understand the impact of this attitude, it is necessary to weigh it against other competing prevalent attitudes of the times. [Thomas Jefferson](#), for instance, had the attitude that blacks were of no use as soldiers and could never be citizens because although they might seem brave, they were merely foolhardy out of ignorance and thus could not be relied upon in the face of real danger. “Our” founding father was of the opinion that this ignorance was not the result of lack of opportunity for education but of an innate lack of rational capability, and thus could never be remedied, despite the fact that, of course, he had no evidentiary basis whatever for such a determination — it being merely the most convenient thing for a [slaveholder](#) such as himself to presume.



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1778

[Dartmouth](#) was destroyed by the British. [Paul Cuffe](#) and an older brother, David Cuffe, began to make trips at night and during bad weather, carrying needed supplies in a small boat to outlying islands — until pirates took their boat and cargo from them. Paul would build another boat and resume this risky business of running the British blockade.



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1780

Late in the year: As a means of finding security in turbulent Revolutionary times, [Paul Cuffe](#) had chosen to maintain his father’s African name, but to keep his mother’s Wampanoag identity. This tactic was intercepted, however, when the [Dartmouth](#) town government, which had declared Indian land to be exempt from taxation, decided to levy taxes on the Cuffe farm. The impact of the heavy taxation of the family farm was twofold. Not only did taxation lead Paul to begin a career as a blockade runner in order to raise money, but it also led him to question his ethnic identity. His first foray into identity politics came, like many of his later endeavors, partly out of a desire for economic gain and partly out of circumstances. Following an onslaught of new taxes in 1780, Paul, his brother John, and five other free persons of color decided to challenge the taxation. The group went to the Massachusetts legislature with an appeal titled an “Interesting Petition or Memorial from Negroes of Dartmouth for exemption from taxation.” This petition, although defeated in the Massachusetts house, did start a debate about the provision of the state Constitution that it was property value, rather than race, that determined who could vote. The Cuffe brothers and other free blacks quickly saw the contradiction present in fighting a war under the principle “no taxation without representation” in order to create a republic that denied to its black subjects access to that very principle. This right would be officially recognized three years later. At this point, Paul’s brother John convinced him to petition the town meeting to allow them to be exempt from taxation due to their Indian heritage. The Cuffe family’s resistance to paying back taxes ultimately led a board of selectmen from the Massachusetts legislature to declare that a free black’s right to vote could only be determined in the town in which he lived. We don’t know that the Dartmouth legislature ever voted on his right to vote, but Cuffe would emerge from these legal hassles with reduced tax penalties as well as with an understanding that he could succeed in the new republic through careful and deliberate playing of the race card. Organized black nationalist movements in the United States appear to have begun with Cuffe.

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1783

The right of propertied taxpaying black male citizens of Massachusetts to vote was recognized. The slogan “No taxation without representation” was finally beginning to produce a positive outcome! It was largely through the efforts of [Paul Cuffe](#) that some blacks, if propertied and taxpaying and male like himself, thus obtained the opportunity to vote in Massachusetts.



Soon after the Revolution, Cuffe went into business with his native American brother-in-law Michael Wainer, creating a boat yard just below their property on the Acoaxet River in [Westport](#).

February 25, Tuesday: [Paul Cuffe](#) got married with Alice Piquet, a native American.



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1787

May 22, Tuesday: The 12 founder members of the new nonsectarian Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade were three Anglicans ([Granville Sharp](#), Philip Sansom, and [Thomas Clarkson](#)) and nine [Quakers](#) (William Dillwyn, Samuel Hoare, Jr, George Harrison, John Lloyd, Joseph Woods, John Barton, Joseph Hooper, James Phillips, and Richard Phillips).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

Influential figures such as John Wesley would give their support to the campaign. Later they would persuade [William Wilberforce](#), the MP for Hull, to be their spokesman in the House of Commons. Thomas Clarkson initially took responsibility for collecting information to support the abolition of the slave trade. This included interviewing 20,000 sailors and obtaining equipment used on the slave-ships such as iron handcuffs, leg-shackles, thumb screws, instruments for forcing open slave's jaws, and branding irons. In this year he would be publishing a pamphlet, A SUMMARY VIEW OF THE SLAVE TRADE AND OF THE PROBABLE CONSEQUENCES OF ITS ABOLITION.



The work of this anti-slavery movement would continue beyond the ending of the English slave trade in 1807, as slavery still existed. The movement actually would grow substantially after the passing of the Emancipation Act which came into force in 1834. A group of Quakers, including Friend William Allen (not the same person as the William Allen of Concord, Massachusetts) and Friend [Luke Howard](#), would form the African Institution. Recognizing that slavery had destroyed the whole basis of African society, the Institution would seek to improve the lives of African people by means of Christianity and education and would survive until 1827.

"EMANCIPATION IN THE ... INDIES...": All the great geniuses of the British senate, Fox, Pitt, Burke, Grenville, Sheridan, Grey, Canning, ranged themselves on its side; the poet Cowper wrote for it: Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, in this country, all recorded their votes.

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[Josiah Wedgwood](#), another influential member of the Society—which was, it must be noted, despite the best



efforts of the abolitionist Sharp in that direction, decidedly not a society the aim of which was to abolish slavery—, produced the jasperware cameo “an African in Chains in a Supplicating Posture” at his pottery factory. The design was by William Hackwood or Henry Webber:



Black servants or supplicants typically knelt in the art of this period, a period in which the upper classes did not kneel while praying, so the above image conflates themes of humility and of gratitude and of conversion from heathenism with the concept of emancipation from foreign servitude. Curiously, the primary impact of such a depiction would be to confirm the common white perception of Negro inferiority, and this supplicant



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posture for black figures would persist long after the abolition of slavery as a standard feature of Western art.

In this year efforts began to repatriate black people back to Sierra Leone in Africa:

Paul Cuffe likely heard of Sierra Leone as early as 1787. In that year, a British philanthropist, Granville Sharp, sent three shiploads of former American slaves, since living in London and known as the "black poor of London," to West Africa to establish a "Province of Freedom." Sharp spoke out strongly against the institution of slavery and the horrors of the famed "Middle Passage" through which most slaves destined for the colonies traveled. News of Sharp's endeavor spread quickly among the Society of Friends. Cuffe, however, did not initially agree with the idea of emigration. He believed that the United States, and particularly Massachusetts, was his province of freedom. It was not until 1808 that Cuffe began seriously entertaining the idea of traveling to West Africa.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: In the individual efforts of the various colonies to suppress the African slave-trade there may be traced certain general movements. First, from 1638 to 1664, there was a tendency to take a high moral stand against the traffic. This is illustrated in the laws of New England, in the plans for the settlement of Delaware and, later, that of Georgia, and in the protest of the German Friends. The second period, from about 1664 to 1760, has no general unity, but is marked by statutes laying duties varying in design from encouragement to absolute prohibition, by some cases of moral opposition, and by the slow but steady growth of a spirit unfavorable to the long continuance of the trade. The last colonial period, from about 1760 to 1787, is one of pronounced effort to regulate, limit, or totally prohibit the traffic. Beside these general movements, there are many waves of legislation, easily distinguishable, which rolled over several or all of the colonies at various times, such as the series of high duties following the Assiento, and the acts inspired by various Negro "plots."

Notwithstanding this, the laws of the colonies before 1774 had no national unity, the peculiar circumstances of each colony determining its legislation. With the outbreak of the Revolution came unison in action with regard to the slave-trade, as with regard to other matters, which may justly be called national. It was, of course, a critical period, – a period when, in the rapid upheaval of a few years, the complicated and diverse forces of decades meet, combine, act, and react, until the resultant seems almost the work of chance. In the settlement of the fate of slavery and the slave-trade, however, the real crisis came in the calm that succeeded the storm, in that day when, in the opinion of most men, the question seemed already settled. And indeed it needed an exceptionally clear and discerning mind, in 1787, to deny that slavery and the slave-trade in the United States of America were doomed to early annihilation. It seemed certainly a legitimate deduction from the history of the preceding century to conclude that, as the



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system had risen, flourished, and fallen in Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, and as South Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland were apparently following in the same legislative path, the next generation would in all probability witness the last throes of the system on our soil.

To be sure, the problem had its uncertain quantities. The motives of the law-makers in South Carolina and Pennsylvania were dangerously different; the century of industrial expansion was slowly dawning and awakening that vast economic revolution in which American slavery was to play so prominent and fatal a rôle; and, finally, there were already in the South faint signs of a changing moral attitude toward slavery, which would no longer regard the system as a temporary makeshift, but rather as a permanent though perhaps unfortunate necessity. With regard to the slave-trade, however, there appeared to be substantial unity of opinion; and there were, in 1787, few things to indicate that a cargo of five hundred African slaves would openly be landed in Georgia in 1860.

Strangely, there is no plaque to mark the spot in [London](#) –2 George Yard– at which this movement began:

2 GEORGE YARD

It is almost as if the matter were too shameful to mention:



We are now so used to thinking about English slavery from the vantage point of its abolition and the humanitarian discourse surrounding it that we have forgotten that at one point to oppose slavery was considered un-English and unpatriotic. As Eric Williams argued powerfully in the second chapter of *CAPITALISM AND SLAVERY*, from Quakers to cardinals and admirals, supporting the slave trade was at one point expected of every true English man and woman. There was a time when William Wilberforce, the abolitionist, was the most hated man in England, his cause considered to be anti-English. Lord Nelson, the hero of Trafalgar, couched his disdain for the abolitionists in the language of patriotism: “I was bred in the good old school, and taught to appreciate the value of our West Indian possessions, and neither in the field nor the Senate shall their just rights be infringed, while I have an arm to fight in their defence, or a tongue to launch my voice against the damnable doctrine of Wilberforce and his hypocritical allies.” If Nelson was irritated by abolitionists, it is because the true, unsung heroes and patriots of England in the eighteenth century were slave traders, men like Thomas Golightly, owner of a slaving ship and the mayor of Liverpool, a city built on slave money. On February 14, 1788, Golightly and the slaving interest in Liverpool sent a petition to the House of Commons calling attention to the threat that abolitionism posed to British commerce. The petition is worth quoting in detail, because it illustrates how central slave trading had become to the identity



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of nation and empire:

FEBRUARY 14, 1788



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1790

Captain [Paul Cuffe](#) was fishing commercially on the Grand Banks.



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1793

February 12, Tuesday: There has been a whole lot of loose talk about the concepts of “[slave](#),” “[slavery](#),” and “[enslavement](#),” concepts which have never received any sort of legal definition at our federal level. Thus it is that we find that an enactment of this date is now being referred to in our history books as the “National Fugitive Slave Act of 1793,” and when we go back to the actual piece of legislation, we find that the bill is entitled instead “An Act respecting Fugitives from Labour and Justice, approved February 12th, 1793.”

In other words, there is no definition of such a concept as enslavement to be found in this document, but instead of any such precision, what we encounter is a mere pot category which mingles together escaped slaves with absconding apprentices, premature journeymen, fleeing rapists and highwaymen in such manner as to remind one of the definition that conservative biologist Garret Harding (author of the ruthless concept “lifeboat ethics”) once provided for the concept “weed”: **a plant that’s where it doesn’t belong.**

The law as enacted by our Congress:

ARTICLE 4.

For the better security of the peace and friendship now entered into by the contracting parties, against all infractions of the same, by the citizens of either party, to the prejudice of the other, neither party shall proceed to the infliction of punishments on the citizens of the other, otherwise than by securing the offender, or offenders, by imprisonment, or any other competent means, till a fair and impartial trial can be had by judges or juries of both parties, as near as can be, to the laws, customs, and usages of the contracting parties, and natural justice: the mode of such trials to be hereafter fixed by the wise men of the United States, in congress assembled, with the assistance of such deputies of the Delaware nation, as may be appointed to act in concert with them in adjusting this matter to their mutual liking. And it is further agreed between the parties aforesaid, that neither shall entertain, or give countenance to, the enemies of the other, or protect, in their respective states, criminal fugitives, servants, or slaves, but the same to apprehend and secure, and deliver to the state or states, to which such enemies, criminals, servants, or slaves, respectively below.

This “fugitive slave” law, for instance, make it very risky for any free northern black to be out and about, traveling unprotected in isolated locales. In particular it made this risky for a black fisherman such as [Paul Cuffe](#), who was while at sea always at risk of capture and transportation south and sale as a slave. (—But that wasn’t what the law “intended.” —Yeah, right, that would be a “misuse” of the law.)

April 15, Monday: John Francis of [Rhode Island](#) noted in his diary: “[Paul Cuffee](#) of Westport master schooner Mary for 500 bushels salt is to deliver 83 2/3 codfish 20 Oct. next as security he has a note for 200 dr deposited.”



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1796

Captain [Paul Cuffe](#) built the *Ranger* to do coastal trade down to Virginia.



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1797

Most of [Paul Cuffe](#)’s life would be spent in [Westport MA](#), a [Quaker](#) enclave in southwestern Massachusetts where in this year he agreed to purchase a farm for \$3,500. He had earned his fortune from whaling and trade in the Americas and Europe. He would own shares, over a period of time, in up to 10 ships, and the financial probity of the Friends and their doctrine would figure in his success as a businessman. They captained some of his ships. Cuffe’s faith was a factor in his building of a schoolhouse, on behalf of the “African Benevolent Society,” when the community failed to do so — at some point in the late 1790s, deciding that he needed to establish a school for the 15 children of his immediate and extended family, he invited his white neighbors to send their children to this school as well. White people were reluctant to send their children to the so-called “Cuff’s School” to mingle with their racial inferiors there on a basis of parity, but in some cases they had no real alternative. The school educated Cuffe’s family plus a diverse group of Westport children — de facto making itself one of the first racially integrated schools in the United States of America. The charity school in town included black students but was taught only by white teachers; this Cuff’s School included white students but was taught only by black teachers.

QUAKER EDUCATION



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1799

Captain [Paul Cuffe](#) bought 140 additional acres along the shore on the Acoaxet River in [Westport](#), Massachusetts. By this point, through general audacity as well as hard work, his assets had reached five figures, \$10,000 (this would have given him, in that era, the aura we now assign to “He’s a millionaire”). He had, for instance, acquired a shipment of Indian corn for sale in Vienna, [Maryland](#), and had arrived there, in full view of that place’s black slaves, with various credentials reassuring to the white folks. In slave territory this [Quaker](#) of color had comported himself “with candour, modesty and firmness” and had successfully transacted business. He was, we may guesstimate, the wealthiest black man in America.



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1800



[Paul Cuffe](#) bought a gristmill near his farm home in [Westport](#).



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1802



In this year Captain [Paul Cuffe](#) both sailed to the Baltic Sea, and constructed the brig *Hero*.



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1806



Captain [Paul Cuffe](#) built his *Alpha* and sailed to Savannah, Georgia.



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1807



March: Captain [Paul Cuffe](#) sailed his *Alpha* from Savannah for [Russia](#), via Sweden and Denmark. He would be forced to turn back to Denmark due to war conditions at sea. On his return to America, his vessel would nearly founder off Greenland.

[Measles](#), brought by a fleet of ships from the Cape of Good Hope, was impacting every family on [St. Helena](#).

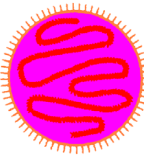


September 21, Monday: Captain [Paul Cuffe](#) and his *Alpha* arrived at Philadelphia.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2 day 21 of 9 M 1807 / Several things have conspired this day to anoy my tranquility, perhaps its best I should be stired up to look around me, & see if all things be right, & I am persuaded they are not - but I really wish people would attend to their own private concerns without dabbling with others, & judging of the propriety or impropriety of conduct they know nothing about, nor need not know any thing about - but such is human nature, it must be busy about something, & it is the increasing wish of my heart, that I may be busy about the right thing - I have not felt the old nature raised, but rather my spirit grievously depressed

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS





PAUL CUFFE

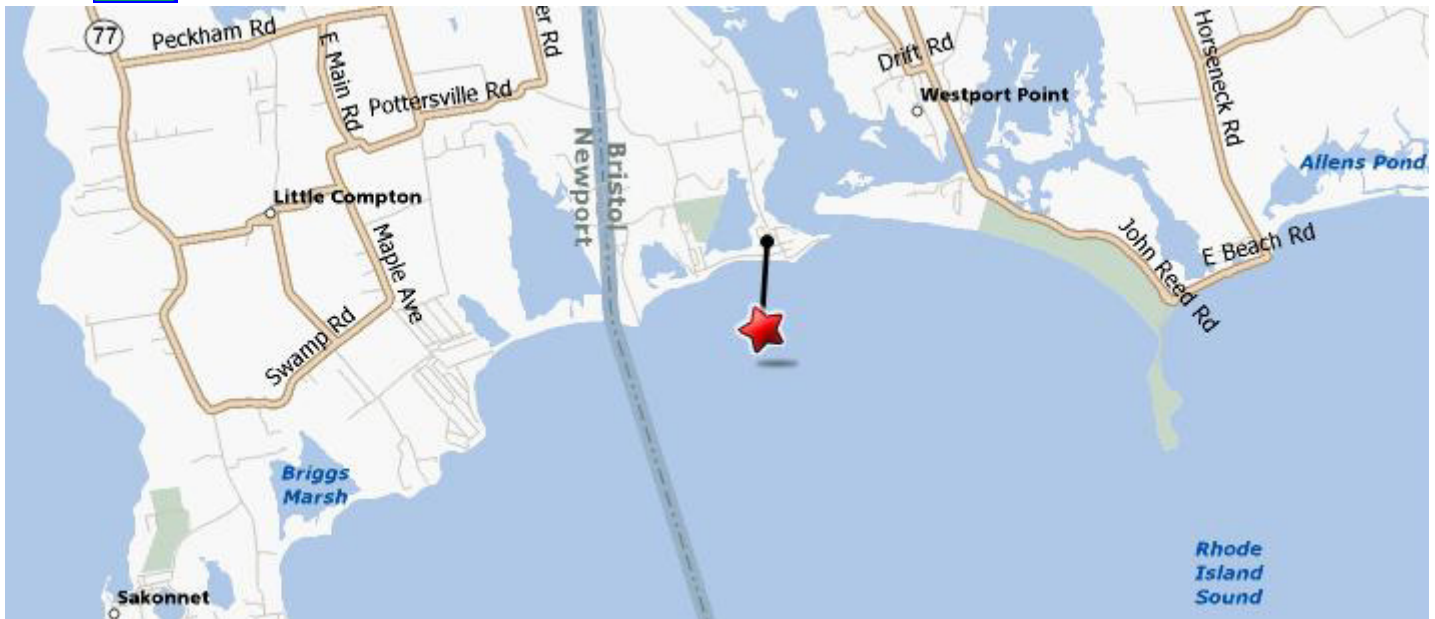
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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1808



Richard Allen requested to be accepted as a member of the Acoaxet Preparatory Meeting (later the Westport



Monthly Meeting) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), and was seriously rebuffed presumably on account of the fact that he wasn't a white man.



In this year, however—according to Rosalind Cobb Wiggins's “Paul and Stephen, Unlikely Friends” in [Quaker History](#), Volume 90 Number 1 (Spring 2001)—“forty-nine year old [Paul Cuffe](#) requested membership in



“FRIEND” PAUL CUFFE OF WESTPORT

PAUL CUFFE


GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Westport Friends Meeting (church). Acceptance took the average time of two months, indicating he had been an attender for at least two years and had taken an active part in Meeting affairs, normal requirements for any applicant.”

2nd mo 1808 ... Acoasect Preparative Meeting in their Account Inform that Paul Cuffe Requefts to Come under the Care of friends = We therefore appoint Jeremiah Auften Prince Wing & Abner Potter to Visit him and take a Solid opertuntty with him in order to – Difcover the Motive and Sincerity of his Requeft & fittnefs to become a member of our Society and report to Next M^o. meeting. — — —

3rd mo 1808 ... The committee in the Case of Paul Cuffes request reported that they have attended to that matter but this meeting concludes to continue that case in the care of the same committee to next m^e. meeting and then they to report
4th M^o. 1808 At acoasect m^o. Meeting of friends held at Westport the 16th. of the 4th. m^o. 1808 ... The Committee in the case of Paul Cuffe’s request report that they have had Several opportunities with him and he appeard to them to be Sincere in what he has requested. Therefore after Considering there on we Do with the concurrence of the Womens Meeting Receive the Said Paul Cuffe under our care as a member of our society of which Prince Wing is to inform him.



 September: Friend James Pemberton, president of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, had the idea of teaching American black men the arts of agriculture, mechanical labor, and domestic industry, and then moving on to such luxuries as religious training once their minds had been sufficiently prepared. He solicited the assistance of Captain Paul Cuffe, also, in promoting African recolonization, “the civilization of blacks in their own country” — Africa not America being their toehold in the world.

 November 13, Sunday: British forces reached Salamanca.

In the afternoon, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould made a record of the distinctly unusual and apparently disturbing experience of taking tea with a person who was not white:

1 day 13th of 11 M / Silent meetings & if satan had not have attacked me in the Afternoon it would not have been a pretty good day
In the Afternoon I had Paul Cuff to take tea me he is a black



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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

*man that has lately Joined Society in Westport
In the eveng wrote to David Smith*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 17, Thursday: Charles Chauncy Emerson was born in Boston, a son of the Reverend William Emerson, Jr. with Ruth Haskins Emerson.



King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia established a system of municipal self-government, providing for popular participation.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould made a record of the presence in Quaker meeting of a person who was not white:

*5th day 17 of 11 M / A labor on my part to keep near the fountain
& a little help experienced, but Alass not a sufficient care to
dwell within mine own Tent -I acknowledge this with shame, Oh
that I may yet do better -- At meeting but poor. Paul Cuff was
at meeting & I believe was the first black man that ever Set in
a preparative or any other Meeting of buisness in Newport - In
the Afternoon we had Cousin Silas Casey. Harriss Greene,
Freelove Greene, Sarah Greene & Sister Mary at Tea - all of whom
spent the eveng except Cousin Casey. bother David also gave us
a kind call -After company had gone I wrote a letter to cousin
Abigail Casey*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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Note that Friend Stephen is not saying that this was the first time that a person of color had attended a Quaker meeting, but that it was the first time that a person of color had attended the meeting for business. It was actually a rather common thing, for a servant of color to attend Quaker worship with his or her white master or mistress, and the Negro Gallery of the Friends meetinghouse in Saylesville, Rhode Island can still be inspected today (although nobody ever sits up there anymore and it is likely that no Friend in that meetinghouse today would be aware that when they cast their eyes upward during worship, what they are gazing at originated as a racially segregated seating arrangement).





PAUL CUFFE

“FRIEND” PAUL CUFFE OF WESTPORT

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1809

➡ Friend Paul Cuffe went into business in New Bedford:

Copartnership Formed.
THE Subscribers would inform their friends and the public, that they have lately commenced business under the firm of CUFF & HOWARDS—and have taken the Store lately occupied by RECORDS HEATH & SON, in *Water-street*, where they intend keeping a general assortment of
W. I. GOODS & GROCERIES;
and respectfully solicit a share of their custom.
PAUL CUFF.
PETER HOWARD.
ALEX. HOWARD.

➡ Spring: Friend Paul Cuffe was on a committee to inquire into a Quaker who was selling liquor to the general public.

➡ May: Friend Paul Cuffe was on a Quaker committee to attend to their Westport monthly meeting's financial accounts.

➡ December: Friend Paul Cuffe and two others were a Quaker committee to deal with a member who had been training with the militia.



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1810



Under the benign influence of [Friend Paul Cuffe](#), children of color were being accepted into the [Friends School](#) at [New Bedford](#) “on terms of perfect equality.”

The willingness to further racial equality by establishing and managing African American and integrated schools was rarely duplicated in the schools Quakers established for their own children. One exception was the Friends school in New Bedford, Massachusetts, which by 1810 admitted African American children “on terms of perfect equality,” notes European American abolitionist Deborah Weston; that school was apparently unique in the yearly meeting. While New England Friends did work to open public schools to children of any race and to organize private schools for African American children and adults, there is no evidence that any other Quaker schools were open to African Americans, even in Rhode Island, home to a large number of both Quakers and African Americans. That includes the Yearly Meeting Boarding School (to be named after donor Moses Brown) which reopened in Providence in 1819 after operating a few years in Portsmouth and the numerous local schools run by Friends meetings throughout the 1700s and 1800s (and in a few cases the 1900s, most in Rhode Island, a few in Massachusetts, Maine, and New Hampshire.) Some isolated efforts for integration failed. In the 1840s and 1850s, Sarah Grimké and Elizabeth Buffum Chace tried with no success to enroll African American students in Providence and Philadelphia, and during the Civil War the yearly meeting school in Providence refused to admit the motherless children of a highly respected African American physician from Boston who was going to New Orleans to do relief work. Despite Chace’s urging that Friends demonstrate their commitment to the freedmen by enrolling these children, the school committee declared that it was not yet time – even though by then Rhode Island’s public schools were integrated, as were those in Massachusetts. New England Friends were generous and consistent donors when it came to restoring Quaker education in North Carolina or providing schools for the freed people in the South. Annual donations went, sometimes for decades, to a number of southern schools for African Americans, but the major focus of the New England Yearly Meeting was on freedmen’s schools in Washington, D.C., especially in teacher training, and on the Normal Institute at Maryville, Tennessee, for which the meeting bore full responsibility from 1875 to 1905. African American abolitionist and fugitive Samuel Ringgold Ward, who preached to white and mixed congregations in Upstate New York, noted the general anomaly in Quaker practice when he wrote in 1855, “They will give us good advice. They will aid us in giving us a partial education but never in a Quaker school, beside their own children. Whatever they do for us savors of pity, and is done at arm’s length.”⁴



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February 15, Thursday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 15 of 2 Mo [February 15, 1810]// Our dear brother Philip Dunham was at meeting also [Paul Cuffe](#), the latter Dined with us - dear Philip was much favor'd. I think I never heard a more living & baptizing supplication from any person, & at the funeral of Joseph Wilbours Wife this Afternoon his testimony was living & Powerfull

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



2d of 5 Month (May 2), 4th day of the week (Wednesday): The *Salsette* anchored off Castle Chanak Kalesia.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 2nd of 5 Mo// Surely those that contend, that those who are of a different complexion from our selves are not accountable beings & have not minds capable of mental improvement, are mistaken, & no greater proof is needed than in the instance of [Paul Cuffe](#) a man of colour who has been to my shop today, whose spirit seems sweet & lovely, & mind expanded far above these lower objects, he felt near to my best life & my spirit was much refreshed in his company, by the arisings of the precious life. -It has been a noisy day but no more so than common for Election days, as usual there has been much Spirituous liquor drank & peoples min in quite heat. however not much violence committed, which is a favor -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 11, Monday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*2nd day // Easter breakfasted with us Thos Watson John Fry, Philip Dunham, Jos Scott & Abby Anthony dined with us - Wm Almy, Easter Newhall Edward Cobb John Smith & Betsy Parrish took tea & Easter & Edward Cobb lodged with us
Our Meetings today have been preciously favord with the overshadowing Wing of Divine goodness - And as to my own particular I may humbly & thankfully acknowledge that my stoney heart was removed & an heart of flesh vouchsafed - In the morning Jas Green opened the meeting in a few words which savord well E Thornton follow'd him in a long, excellent lively & well adapted discourse -- In the Afternoon Richard Jordan & Willet Hicks arrived from N York & attended Meeting Richard opened the meeting in a long & powerful testimony & during the course of the setting many excellent pertinent & feeling remarks were made*



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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

by divers friends Viz Rowland Green, John Shoemaker, Thos Titus, Willet Hicks, [Moses Brown](#), D Buffum, Cyrus Beady, [Paul Cuff](#) & Several others. This is the first time that ever a man of colour delivered his opinion in our Yearly Meeting & I guess in any in the World. Meeting adjourn'd till 4 OClock tomorrow Afternoon

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 21, Friday: Robert Fulton showed a model of his improved torpedo boat in [New-York](#)'s City Hotel. (Feel free to picture this in your mind.)

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 21 of 9 Mo // At about half past 2 OClock this Afternoon I went to the [Baptist](#) Meeting house of which John B Gibson is Minister & was vaccinated in my left Arm by Dr. Fansher who is employed by the Town to inoculate the inhabitants – In the eveng brother David set with us – But I must not forget to insert that in the Afternoon I had a very precious visit at the Shop from our friend & Brother [Paul Cuffe](#) which did indeed seems as a brook of refreshment by the Way –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 25, Sunday: Captain [Paul Cuffe](#) began his 1st voyage from [Westport](#) to Freeport, Sierra Leone in his 69-ton *Traveller*.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 25th of 11 Mo // We breakfasted at Jonathans & then came home & prepared for meeting – At Meeting D Buffum broke Silence which has not been broken for many weeks before, he spake lively to the necessity of a religious life – Between meetings my dear father came up to see us & mentioned that he felt much fatigued with the walk, but thought that he felt as it was very pleasant, as perhaps it might noon [soon?] Snow & he should not come again very soon if ever -Our Afternoon meeting was silent, after which I visited the Work & Alms Houses – Set most of the evening at home –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1811

→ January 1, Tuesday: The Grand Duchy of Berg was annexed by France.

As of the end of the year William Parkman had been replaced as postmaster of [Concord](#) by John L. Tuttle.

Captain [Paul Cuffe](#) and his crew of nine black seamen set sail in the *Traveller* from Philadelphia, bound for Sierra Leone, a colony that the British had created on the west coast of Africa as a dumping ground for poor blacks from [London](#) as well as for black Loyalists who had come to despair of their existence as free people under the conditions of Nova Scotia. For three months Cuffe would be meeting with government officials and with local chiefs, visiting schools and Methodist meetings, and distributing Bibles, while forming estimates of the prospects that would be faced by any black Americans who might choose to emigrate there.



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 1 of 1 Mo 1811// Still confind at cousin Peleg Gardiners by heavy Wind no ferry boats passing. The mind as quiet as could be expected considering how much longer I am detained from my buisness than I expected & how much my buisness at home is in want of me-*⁵



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RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



March 11, Monday: Captain [Paul Cuffe](#)'s 69-ton *Traveller* arrived at Freeport, Sierra Leone. He would trade his goods, visit the British governor, meet native leaders, and make himself familiar with the situation in that British colony.

He would establish there a “Friendly Society” of traders who dealt only in trade goods, and not at all in human beings.

Near Nottingham, England, a group of workers began a wild protest against the new textile machinery (knitting frames) that was impacting their jobs. They would be termed Luddites or “Ludds” (reputedly after a Ned Ludd). By the following year Luddites would be active in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire, and Leicestershire. Although the Luddites avoided violent acts against persons, government crackdowns would include mass shootings, hangings, and deportations. It would require 14,000 British soldiers to quell the rebellion. The movement would effectively die in 1813 except for a brief resurgence at the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1816.

The Spanish defenders of Badajoz surrendered the city to the French.

Elisabeth Catharina Ludovica Magdalena Brentano got married with [Ludwig Achim von Arnim](#). The couple would produce 7 children.

BETTINA BRENTANO VON ARNIM

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 11 of 3 Mo // My H has been engaged in assisting brother David in removing from his house (which he has sold) to one owned by John Williams in Thames Street - I have been occupied as usual—

5. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1807-1812: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 7 Folder 10 for May 1, 1809-June 30, 1812; also on microfilm, see Series 7



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RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

HISTORY'S NOT MADE OF WOULD. WHEN SOMEONE REVEALS THAT A PAIR OF NEWLYWEDS WAS TO PRODUCE 7 CHILDREN, S/HE DISCLOSES THAT WHAT IS BEING CRAFTED IS NOT REALITY BUT PREDESTINARIANISM (THE RULE OF REALITY IS THAT ANY NUMBER OF UNCONCEIVED CHILDREN AREN'T KNOWN ABOUT YET).



March 17, Sunday: A setting of the 98th Psalm for chorus by Meyer Beer ([Giacomo Meyerbeer](#)) was performed for the initial time, in Berlin.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 17 of 3 Mo// Silent but pretty large meetings. My thoughts have been much turn'd towards [Paul Cuff](#) who has gone on a religious account to Africa. I should be very glad to hear where he is & how he fairs – Between Meetings & this evening read Lealand against the Deists

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 22, Monday: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) left Athens aboard the *Hydra*.

Captain [Paul Cuffe](#)'s trading during his 1st visit to Freeport, Sierra Leone had been completed, and in accordance with a letter he had received his *Traveller* set sail for [London](#) rather than for America:

The commercial side of his trip has been disappointing, but he had accomplished much in other areas. He had been able to gather colonists together to work out a petition for the African Institution in London with the hopes of having the document presented in Parliament. Cuffe also had taken the first steps in forming a Friendly Society, which he hoped would one day be the core of his future endeavors “for the betterment of Africa.” The *Traveler* was loaded and ready to return to America when Cuffe received a letter requesting his presence in London to meet with members of the African Institution....

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 22 of 4th Mo // An hint from a friend is good when spoken in a manner that can give no offence, – a friend of mine spoke

Bettina Brentano von Arnim

“Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” Project

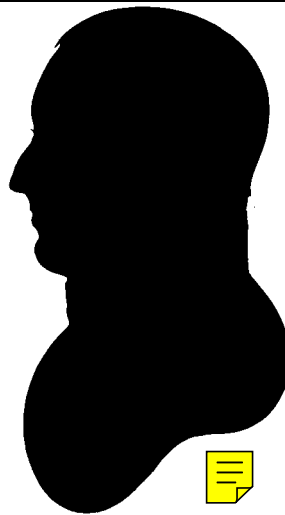


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to me this Afternoon that did me much good, or at least put me, on looking into my Spiritual condition to find the cause of my "great dearth & poverty," which is no doubt owing to a want of going down daily to search after Stones of memorial. Oh that I may be renew'd in Spirit & live nearer the fountains of life –



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May: Until December, Captain [Paul Cuffe](#) would be visiting schools and factories in [London](#), Liverpool, and Manchester with an escort of English abolitionists. He would be received courteously by Members of Parliament and by the head of the African Institution for “promoting the civilizations of the people” of Africa, the Duke of Gloucester, who was nephew to the king. He would succeed in negotiating a license for trading with Sierra Leone.

Cuffe’s visit to England was brief but successful. In America Cuffe had been used to the openness of Friends and the outward acceptance of his race, but there was little or no social mingling. English Quakers treated him as “one of the family,” which had an immediate and lasting impression on him. In England Cuffe gained both a warm and loving reception as well as great support for his West African venture, both spiritually and monetarily.

While in London, Cuffe would be fascinated by the “Lancastrian” system there developed, in which a large population of abandoned boys were being educated through older students functioning as teachers of the younger ones. Back in America, he would build and establish a school on his property, a school in which only persons of color were allowed to function as teachers.



July 28, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 28 of 7 Mo // Our Meetings were silent. In the Afternoon it was a pretty good time to me - for which I desire to be

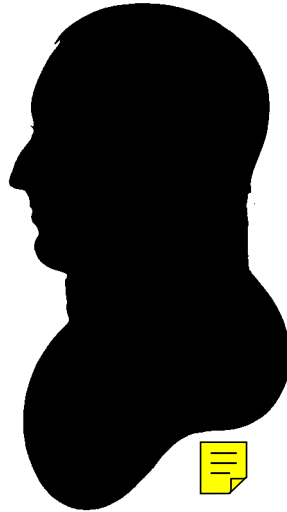


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thankful. – We took tea at my fathers. –



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

In [London](#), Friend [Paul Cuffe](#) was staying at the home of Friend William Allen on Plough Court (not the same person as the William Allen of Concord, Massachusetts) and wrote in his journal:

*In the Evening my friend Allen Called his famely together and
We Ware Comforted and I believe I may say the presence of the
precious Comforter Was felt to be Near.*



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August 1, Thursday: Catherine Byron, [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#)'s mother, died.

According to a report in the [Edinburgh Review](#) based upon a news account in the [Liverpool Mercury](#), a vessel arrived on this day in the port of Liverpool with a cargo from Sierra Leone. It was the vessel *Traveller* the owner and master (Captain [Paul Cuffe](#)), mate and crew of which, this publication was interested to point out, were free blacks.

From the [Liverpool Mercury](#).
MEMOIRS OF CAPT. PAUL CUFFEE.
“ On the first of the present month of August, 1811, a vessel arrived at Liverpool, with a cargo from Sierra Leone; the owner, master, mate, and whole crew of which are free blacks. The master, who is also owner, is the son of an American slave, and is said to be very well skilled both in trade and navigation, as well as to be of a very pious and moral character. It must have been a strange and an animating spectacle to see this free and enlightened African, entering as an independent trader, with his black crew into that port, which was so lately the *nidus* of the slave trade.—*Edinburgh Review* for August, 1811.”

The article continued by remarking on what a strange and animating spectacle it must have been, to see this free and enlightened African sail with his black crew into such a port on the coast of Africa — a port which had been so lately the *nidus* of the slave trade.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 1 of 8 M 1811 // I expect presently to go to [Portsmouth](#) to attend our Quarterly Meeting, & am favor'd at this moment to feel desires to arise for a good time, Oh! that I may keep near to what I now feel moving upon my spirit, & thereby experience life to arise into dominion. —

It rained & we had a wet ride to Portsmouth before meeting we stopped at Holder Almays, & saw several of our friends & acquaintances from off the Island, which was pleasant & agreeable

At Meeting James Greene as usual opened the Service, then our dear & much lov'd friend Nathan Hunt from North Carolina, delivered a powerful Gospel testimony, which according to my sense was to exceed any thing I ever heard from him or hardly any one else. The meeting seem'd cover'd with an Awful solemnity while he was speaking & the hearts of many deeply affected with the truths that he declared. It was to my mind an highly favor'd season for which I desire to be thankful. —

In the meeting for discipline the buisness went on with a good degree of love & condescention — We dined at Anna Anthonys, & then Rode home, & tho it rained & we had an uncomforatble ride both in & out of town & my dear H got some wet, yet she appears not to have taken cold, for which also I desire to be thankful —



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September 20, Friday: Captain [Paul Cuffe](#)'s *Traveller* made a quick trip to Sierra Leone before turning toward America.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 20 of 9 Mo// Again Nothing material to insert, except that, Our Old friends Dorcas Earl & Eunice Clarke took tea with us also father & Mother Rodman with them –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 31, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 31 of 10 Mo// The day has been severly stormy yet David Rodman & myself took Chaise & rode to [Portsmouth](#) to attend our Monthly Meeting, which considering the hevy rain & very high Wind was pretty well attended. Holder Almy preached in the first & in the last we got along with our buisness with a good degree of satisfaction - The Public Appearance of Holder Almy was approved & refer'd to the Quarterly Meeting for their perusal [?, left margin not visible] After Meeting we dined with Holder & then rode home. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Near the end of his visit to England, Captain [Paul Cuffe](#) saw himself described in the Liverpool *Mercury* as preferable “to the proudest statesman that ever dealt out destruction amongst mankind.” That newspaper’s “Memoir of Captain Paul Cuffee” [*sic*] offered a description his early life and many notable achievements, including his 1780 challenge to the Massachusetts legislature against taxation without representation for blacks. (The captain would later receive an English land grant on which he would be able to settle a few worthy immigrants of his choosing. His plans would be delayed by the War of 1812, but in 1815-1816 he would make a successful voyage to Sierra Leone with 38 colonists. On January 16, 1817 he would write that in Sierra Leone, “These few Europeans hath pritty much Control of the Colony Yet the people of Coular Are intitled to every privilege of a free born Subjects.... Yet It cannot be said that Thay Are Equal for the prejudice of tradition is precipitable but I believe much Lieth At thare Doors.”)

Memoir of Captain Paul Cuffee, Liverpool MERCURY

On the first of the present month of August 1811, a vessel arrived at Liverpool, with a cargo from Sierra Leone, the owner, master, mate, and whole crew of which are free Negroes. The master, who is also owner, is the son of an American Slave, and is said to be very well skilled both in trade and navigation, as well as to be of a very pious and moral character. It must have been a strange and animating spectacle to see this free and enlightened African entering, as an independent trader, with his black crew, into that port which was so lately



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the nidus of the Slave Trade. — Edinb. Review, August, 1811.

We are happy in having an opportunity of confirming the above account, and at the same time of laying before our readers an authentic memoir of Capt. Paul Cuffee, the master and owner of the vessel above referred to, who sailed from this port on the 20th ult. with a licence from the British Government, to prosecute his intended voyage to Sierra Leone.

The father of Paul Cuffee, was a native of Africa, whence he was brought as a Slave into Massachusetts. — He was there purchased by a person named Slocum, and remained in slavery a considerable portion of his life. — He was named Cuffee, but as it is usual in those parts took the name of Slocum, as expressing to whom he belonged. Like many of his countrymen he possessed a mind superior to his condition, and although he was diligent in the business of his Master and faithful to his interest, yet by great industry and economy he was enabled to purchase his personal liberty.

At this time the remains of several Indian tribes, who originally possessed the right of soil, resided in Massachusetts; Cuffee became acquainted with a woman descended from one of those tribes, named Ruth Moses, and married her. -- He continued in habits of industry and frugality, and soon afterwards purchased a farm of 100 acres in Westport in Massachusetts.

Cuffee and Ruth has a family of ten children. — The three eldest sons, David, Jonathan, and John are farmers in the neighborhood of Westport, filling respectable situations in society, and endowed with good intellectual capacities. -- They are all married, and have families to whom they are giving good educations. Of six daughters four are respectably married, while two remain single.

Paul was born on the Island of Cutterhunkker, one of the Elizabeth Islands near [New Bedford](#), in the year 1759; when he was about 14 years of age his father died leaving a considerable property in land, but which being at that time unproductive afforded but little provision for his numerous family, and thus the care of supporting his mother and sisters devolved upon his brothers and himself.

At this time Paul conceived that commerce furnished to industry more ample rewards than agriculture, and he was conscious that he possessed qualities which under proper culture would enable him to pursue commercial employments with prospects of success; he therefore entered at the age of 16 as a common hand on board of a vessel destined to the bay of Mexico, on a Whaling voyage. His second voyage was to the West Indies; but on his third he was captured by a British ship during



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the American war about the year 1776: after three months detention as a prisoner at New York, he was permitted to return home to Westport, where owing to the unfortunate continuance of hostilities he spent about 2 years in his agricultural pursuits. During this interval Paul and his brother John Cuffee were called on by the Collector of the district, in which they resided, for the payment of a personal tax. It appeared to them, that, by the laws of the constitution of Massachusetts, taxation and the whole rights of citizenship were untied. – If the laws demanded of them the payment of personal taxes, the same laws must necessarily and constitutionally invest them with the rights of representing, and being represented, in the state Legislature. But they had never been considered as entitled to the privilege of voting at Elections, nor of being elected to places of trust and honor. -- Under these circumstances, they refused payment of the demands. -- The Collector resorted to the force of the laws, and after many delays and vexations, Paul and his brother deemed it most prudent to silence the suit by payment of the demands. But they resolved, if it were possible, to obtain the rights which they believed to be connected with taxation.



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PAUL CUFFE

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1812

→ Captain [Paul Cuffe](#)'s A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE SETTLEMENT AND PRESENT SITUATION OF THE COLONY OF SIERRA LEONE IN AFRICA (NY: Samuel Wood)



→ February 20, Thursday: Captain [Paul Cuffe](#) sailed his *Traveller* from Sierra Leone toward the coast of Massachusetts with a cargo of African goods. Upon arrival, his vessel and its cargo would be embargoed because his last port of call had been a British port and the US and Britain had gone to war.

In 1812 tensions between the United States and Britain were nearly at the breaking point. Once home, having just returned from a British colony, Cuffe's ship was seized by customs officials. The incident necessitated Cuffe's going to Washington to win back his brig and cargo. He was not only successful in this goal, but he also met with President [James Madison](#) in an attempt to gain support for his next trip to Sierra Leone. Cuffe was the first black man to ever meet on official business with the President of the United States.

Cuffe intended to visit Sierra Leone once each year, bringing skilled immigrants and needed supplies while exporting African products to cover expenses. He had purchased a house in Freetown but never intended to settle there himself, because, as he explained "my wife is not willing to go." The war with England delayed his return, however, as traffic with the enemy became forbidden.

Carl Maria von Weber arrived in Berlin on his concert tour with Heinrich Joseph Baermann. He would stay at the home of the parents of his fellow student Meyer Beer ([Giacomo Meyerbeer](#)).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 20th of 2nd Mo 1812// Our first meeting was pretty favor'd to me but attended with a doubtful occurrence. – The first (Preparative) was short - but two friends asked for certificates -thus we go one after another, Some are removed by Death & some go to other places untill I know not but Poor R Island will be entirely striped of friends.
Sister Joanna Set the evening with us –*



PAUL CUFFE

“FRIEND” PAUL CUFFE OF WESTPORT

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 24, Monday: Prussia signed a treaty of alliance with [France](#). The treaty bound Prussia to allow the free passage of French troops and to provide 20,000 Prussian troops for use with France. Prussia also adhered to the Continental System.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 24 of 2nd Mo// Nothing particular to insert, except the usual rounds - The weather is very close & winterlike which has a tendency with some other circumstances to depress my spirits.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



Rosalind Cobb Wiggins has pointed out that while Captain [Paul Cuffe](#)'s vessel was being impounded by the US Coast Guard on [Aquidneck Island](#) in April, he would be lodging at the home of [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) and Hannah Gould in [Newport](#), and that this amounted to a social gesture in the society of that day that was bold even for [Quakers](#): “White people who could afford servants considered African-Americans to be the lowest sort of domestic, scarcely educable and more like the docile creatures in their barns. People of Color could be lodged in the stable and fed in the kitchen, but not Paul in Stephen and Hannah’s home.” I do not find evidence, however, within Friend Stephen’s journal itself, that Friend Paul lodged at the Gould home for more than one evening, or that he slept in some supposedly available area inside the home itself rather than in an outbuilding, and so I wonder whether Friend Rosalind had independent evidence of that lodging — or whether she was here merely drawing an unsupported speculative inference. (Within my own conceptual frame of reference, I rather doubt that there would have been available a “decent” space within the tiny home to put up a white adult male overnight, let alone putting up an adult male of color, unless he were to doze sitting up before the fire in the front room.)

NO-ONE’S LIFE IS EVER NOT DRIVEN PRIMARILY BY HAPPENSTANCE





“FRIEND” PAUL CUFFE OF WESTPORT

PAUL CUFFE

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



April 21, Tuesday-24, Friday: Rosalind C. Wiggins has pointed out that while Friend [Paul Cuffe](#)'s vessel was impounded by the US Coast Guard on [Aquidneck Island](#), he lodged at the home of [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) and Hannah Gould in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) and that this amounted to a social gesture in the society of that day that was bold even for [Quakers](#): “White people who could afford servants considered African-Americans to be the lowest sort of domestic, scarcely educable and more like the docile creatures in their barns. People of Color could be lodged in the stable and fed in the kitchen, but not Paul in Stephen and Hannah’s home.” I do not find evidence, however, within Friend Stephen’s journal itself, that Friend Paul lodged at the Gould home for more than one evening, or that he slept in some supposedly available area inside the home itself rather than in an outbuilding, and so I wonder whether Friend Rosalind actually had independent evidence of that lodging — or whether she was here merely drawing an unsupported speculative inference. (Within my own conceptual frame of reference, I rather doubt that there would have been available a “decent” space within the tiny home to put up a white adult male overnight, let alone putting up an adult male of color, unless he were to doze fully clothed sitting up before the fire in the front room.)



At the Hanover Square Rooms in London, Palestine, an oratorio by William Crotch to words of Heber, was performed for the initial time (there was a capacity audience and the response was so positive that the work would need to be repeated on May 26th).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 21 of 4 Mo 1812// [Paul Cuffee](#) has arriv'd from Africa & has passed considerable time in my Shop this Afternoon but such was the State of his mind at present in consequence of difficulty at the Custom house about his Vessel that he could not into into a detail of the progress & Success of the object of his voyage.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 22, Wednesday: Friedrich replaced Viktor II as Prince of Anhalt-Bernburg-Schaumburg-Hoym.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 22 of 4 Mo // [Paul Cuffe](#) took tea & set the eveng & is to lodge with us - he has related many interesting particulars of his voyage.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 24, Friday: [Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 24 of 4 Mo // [Paul Cuffee](#) is in town endeavoring to effect measures to enable him to get to Washington & labor there for the release of his Vessel & Cargo. he is procuring letters of recommendation, & other documents that may be of service to him in explaining the nature of his voyage to Africa & the minds of the people seem to be very open to render him all necessary assistance



PAUL CUFFE

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



May 18, Monday: Amidst celebrations by night and military preparations by day, the Emperor and Empress of Austria arrived in Dresden.

John Bellingham was hanged in front of Newgate Prison, for the murder of Prime Minister Spencer Perceval a week earlier. In the cheering multitude was [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#).

Demetrio e Polibio, a drama serio by Gioachino Rossini to words of Viganò-Mombelli, was performed for the initial time, in Teatro Valle, Rome.

Friend [Paul Cuffe](#) was in **New-York** while on his way back from [Washington DC](#) to [Westport, Massachusetts](#). He wrote in his diary that

On my Return Called to see Dr. Ross, a man that Resided 7 years in Jamaica in which time he Saw most horrible abomination inflicted on the Slaves being jibetted, Launced on a Plank Down a Steep Place Whiped Hanged Burnt and racked. Lord have Mercy I Pray Thee.

During this stop-over in the big city, Friend Paul went with Friend Thomas Eddy for a visit to the African School. There was a street encounter:

P.S. I was traveling in the Street With my Guide he kindly introduced me to two Methodist preachers Who accosted me thus, "Do you understand English?" I answered them "There Was a Part I did not understand (Viz) that of one Brother professor making merchandize of and holding in Bondage their Brother professor, this part I Should be glad they Would Clear up to me."

These white preachers, in the big city for a convention of their fellows, of course made no response to a person of color's street insolence. Friend Paul was sufficiently disturbed by the encounter, however, that that evening he wrote the incident up as a letter. On the following day he would go to the convention of Methodists and make his protest heard, and later he would pay a call on the Methodist Bishop, the Reverend Asbury, in a further effort to discuss the pros and cons of human [enslavement](#).

RHODE ISLAND RELIGION

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 18 of 5 Mo// Tho' its seems as if there is nothing to insert, yet I feel most easy to say that times are gloomy both within & without both as respecting myself & things at large in town, State & the world. yet it does not just at this present time seem as if the devastation of War was quite so much to be feared as some little time ago -- O Williams set the eveng with us, on our part very acceptably.-




“FRIEND” PAUL CUFFE OF WESTPORT

PAUL CUFFE

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 19, Friday: In [New-York](#), Friend [Paul Cuffe](#) was sufficiently disturbed by his street encounter with the two Methodist ministers who proved to be unwilling to discuss the pros and cons of human [slavery](#) with him, that he visited the convention they were attending and made a protest. Later he would pay a call on the Methodist Bishop, the Reverend Asbury.⁶

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 19 5 Mo// I watched last night with James Robinson he lays very helpless & I hardly think it any more than within possibility that he may get about again –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 5, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 5 of 11 M / Got discharged from the court so as to be at Meeting late, but was favor'd to get quiet soon considering the confused litigation I had just left - [Paul Cuffe](#) was at meeting & Dined with me after dinner settled a little buisness between us & in the Afternoon went to Court again, tried a case but did feel so well Satisfied as in the former ones tho' I could see no other way to get along with it. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

RHODE ISLAND

6. Perhaps Friend Paul would discuss with this Bishop the contribution to religious thought of the Reverend John Wesley. In his description of the Methodist character, the Reverend Wesley had insisted repeatedly that the heart of Christian ethics was love. He offered the following definition: “A Methodist is one who has ‘the love of God shed abroad in his heart by the Holy Ghost given unto him;’ one who ‘loves the Lord his God with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his mind, and with all his strength. God is the joy of his heart, and the desire of his soul.’” –Or, perhaps, Friend Paul wouldn’t.



PAUL CUFFE

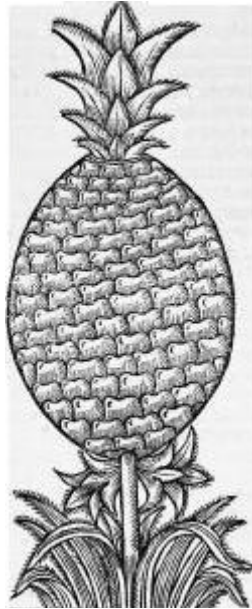
“FRIEND” PAUL CUFFE OF WESTPORT

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1813

➡ January 21, Thursday: [John Charles Frémont](#) was born in Savannah. Georgia.

In the diary of Francisco de Paula y Marin, counselor to King Kamehameha II, we find an entry mentioning the planting of pineapples (from the Caribbean) and oranges (from the Old World) in the island chain to which we now refer as the Hawaiian Islands.



Friend [Paul Cuffe](#) was named to the committee tasked to rebuild the local Friends' meetinghouse.

Completing a trip of 55 days, Lowell Mason arrived in Savannah, Georgia from his home in Medfield, Massachusetts.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 21st of 1st M 1813 / It is just one Year this day since My dear Father departed this life - - The day I well remember & the sensations felt at the time has been renewed at this time. I feel his loss & expect I shall for years to come & perhaps to the end of my life. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ June 17, Thursday: [Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day / The meeting this forenoon did little more than to finish the epistles & appoint a committee to receive sunscriptions to assist Vasselbrough Quarterly Meeting to build



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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

meeting houses. – & adjourned to th 4th hour in the Afternoon – Public Meeting in cours as usual at the 11th hour in which our friend Henry Hull was powerfully concernd in testimony & supplication, & many of the inhabitants of the town were present whho I think must all be satisfied, & acknowledge the truth of his remarks & feel the force of truth upon their minds. At 4 OClock Meeting met again According to adjournment - An Address was presented by the committee which I think cannot fail to impress Government & the minds of many individuals with the consistency of out principles against War & the propriety of shielding the sword with all Possible speed - It was after a few observations agreed to & Signed by the Clerk. – The women having requested the suttters opened between the Men & women it was accordingly done at the close of the Meeting & Our friend Elizabeth Coggeshall was largely concerned in testimony & when she concluded gave us an account of her concern to visit England & her prospect of soon embarking for that land. She craved our prayers for her support & when she Pronounced "Farewell dear brothers, farewll dear sisters, farewell in the Lord & in his Christ" it went effectually to the tendering of Many hearts & drew tears from many eyes - she concluded the Meeting in a solemn heart tendering supplication & we separated many of us no Doubt to meet again no more in the like capasity Henry Hull & Benj Mitchell had appointed a meeting for Black people at 7 OClock in the evening which was well attended by them & testimony born by the following Vizt Henry Hull Benj Mitchell Paul Cuffe Avis Keene A supplication by Ann Shipley & a testimony by Betsy Purinton. –



PAUL CUFFE

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1815

➡ Friend [Paul Cuffe](#)’s interest in Africa stemmed in part from his father’s having been born there. The success he achieved as a captain of color, with black crews, was evidence of the black expertise thought essential to the redemption of Africa. In this year, at a personal expenditure of \$4,000, Cuffe took nine free black families in his ship *Traveler* to settle in Sierra Leone. This voyage, and his financial success, anticipated ideals later associated with black nationalists from Henry Highland Garnet to Marcus Garvey. And this complex man, like Bishop Henry M. Turner later in the century, was certain enough of his own vision to risk association with the American Colonization Society, whose motives regarding the return of blacks to Africa were, in black leadership circles, highly suspect.



➡ June: Friend [Paul Cuffe](#) became involved in the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#). He would be asked to help make decisions regarding the Quaker meetinghouse in Boston. According to the diary kept by Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#), on the second day of the yearly meeting, in the afternoon, this man of color was among the “public laborers,” which is to say, among those who stood and doffed their hats and spoke from the silence of worship. The public laborers whom Friend Stephen heard were:

- Friend Rowland Green
- Friend Elisha Thornton
- Friend [Moses Brown](#)



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- Friend [Paul Cuffe](#)

This is the first time that ever a man of colour delivered his opinion in our Yearly Meeting and I guess in any in the World.



June 13, Tuesday: The term “civilized” was in this year coming into currency among us civilized peoples, as an explanation of sorts for our manifest superiority over the remainder of God’s creation. We updated and generalized the invidious distinction between the inexperienced rural hicks or rubes, on the one hand, and the suave urban slickers, on the other—a distinction which had been hanging around in our cultures at least since the days of [Aesop](#)—and made it serve as a distinction between those humans who still live their lives as part of extended tribes, on the one hand, and those humans who, on the other, have lost all traces of their tribal allegiance save an allegiance to a mini-tribe known as “my family.” “Civilized” means that it’s because we live in cities, that we’re ever so much better than you, yeah.⁷



In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) made a record that now indicates to us that some Quakers must have been having, in their general white racism, difficulty accepting non-whites such as [Friend Paul Cuffe](#) as their social equals, regardless of whatever wealth and accomplishment:

3rd day / At 10 OClock the Meeting met by adjournment The Meeting enterd on the State of society & after the first Queries & answers thereto was heard - we recd a visit from Jemima Shorwell which was short but very sweet, she addressed the young men very sweetly inviting them to come taste & see how good the Lord is -when she retired we resumed the state of society Many remarks were made by J Murray, R Mott, J Bonsill D Buffum, [Moses Brown](#) Wm Rotch Jr & by a large number of Minor laborers, some to the purpose & some greatly out of joint - with respect to the subject of Love & Unity. The intemperate use of spirituous liquor & our testimony against War a pretty general exercise spread over the meeting for the advancement of our concerns with respect [illegible] & the committee to prepare epistles were directed to prepare an epistle to the Quarterly Meeting expressive of the Meetings exercise & desiring individual labot for the advancement of the exercise? of Truth &c. - to give the committees opportunity to investigate the subjects committed to

7. Etymologically, the Indo-European origins of “city” and “cemetery” are very entangled, entangled indeed. Isn’t it interesting that, when we obtained a term to distinguish ourselves in 1815 from all the non-white peoples who needed to die out to make room for us, we chose a positive coinage such as “civilization,” for ourselves, rather than a more accurate negative coinage such as “cemetery,” for them?



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them - The meeting adjourned till tomorrow morning -We had at Dinner a large company - also at tea & among the rest Brother Paul Cuffee - it appeared to be a new experience to most of the company to sit down to a table & eat with a man of colour, but however I am glad to insert that none were displeased & with some it was rather gratifying to have it to say that they had had the opportunity of being with him - After tea our dear old friend John Casey came in & spent a little while in very pleasant & edifying conversation. after he went out our company [illegible] & in a short time we drew into silence & J Heald expressed a few words much in the sweetness & we then retired to rest⁸

We may hope that, digesting this meal, Captain Cuffe was able to look back and feel rather gratified to say that he had had the opportunity to break bread with this assortment of oh-so-pleasant oh-so-condescending honkies.

8. Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote this putting upward the bright shiny congratulatory side of this coin (“Look at what great people we are, we are actually able to overcome our disinclinations and actually able to sit down politely and actually consume food at the very same table with a person of another race!! We didn’t even need to throw up afterward!!”) but clearly this bright coin of acceptance and brotherhood had another –more unpleasant –more uncongratulatory side to it.

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"FRIEND" PAUL CUFFE OF WESTPORT

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September 23, Saturday: Unable to persuade his king Louis XVIII to appeal to the allies to rescind or modify their ultimatum, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, prince de Bénévent resigned as Prime Minister of France.

During the 18th Century there had been some 15 violent storms sweeping across New England, but none of them approached the fury of the hurricane that hit the southern New England coastline at 9AM on this day, known as the "Great September Gale of 1815." The eye of the hurricane came ashore at Old Lyme in Connecticut and the greatest destruction was done along the path of the storm's "eastern quarter," such as in [Providence](#).



1815. The glad tidings of Peace were announced here February 12, and our streets were thronged with delighted men and women, and resounded with acclamations of joy. The town was brilliantly illuminated in the evening, and although it was intensely cold, the streets were thronged to a late hour by persons of both sexes and of all ages, and the sound of mirth resounded from almost every dwelling. Many, however, who had been carried along by this tide of rejoicing, had cause to mourn when the excitement had subsided, and the "sober second thought" of reflection had returned. They had speculated largely, when prices were high, and vast amounts were invested in merchandise, the value of which, on restoration of peace, "fell, like Lucifer, never to rise again." Many failures were the consequence; but to people



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at large, peace came as a blessing.

This year was signalized by the Great Storm and high tide. The storm commenced Sept. 22, and the wind was violent, and increasing through the night and the succeeding morning, many houses were unroofed, and other blown down. The tide on the 23d, rose to an extraordinary height, the gale from the South-East was of unparalleled severity, both combined, they drove the principal part of the shipping in the harbor from its moorings up the river against Weybosset bridge, which in short time gave way, and the whole was driven up and landed on the northern shore of the cove. A large sloop was left a considerable distance North of Great Point, now the site of the State Prison, and between that point and the upper part of the Canal basin, were upwards of thirty sail, of a burthen from 500 tons downwards. The water entirely filled the lower stories of the buildings in Market-street, west of the bridge, and a portion of the brick wall of the Washington Insurance building, in the third story, was broken in by the bowsprit of the ship Ganges, as she was driven rapidly by in the foaming current. A sloop of some 50 or 60 tons was driven across Weybosset-street, into Pleasant-street, where she grounded. The Baptist meeting-house, built for Rev. Mr. Cornell, near Muddy Dock, now Dorrance-street, was entirely destroyed. Many houses, stores and barns were swept from the wharves in South Water, Weybosset and some other streets, into the cove, where many of them were crushed to pieces. The water at the junction of Westminster and Orange-streets was at least six feet in depth. Two human beings only here lost their lives in this storm, which was matter of great wonder, when so many were perilled. No measures were taken to ascertain the damage done by the storm, but it was estimated at about a million of dollars.



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A large trunk of the public papers of former [Rhode Island](#) governor [Stephen Hopkins](#) were swept out of the house in which they were stored, and lost (Hopkins's house, which now stands adjacent to Benefit Street, at that time stood adjacent to what is now Main Street, within reach of the waters). By noon the storm had passed up into the wildernesses of the north and was breaking up, but the high winds had stalled the ebbing of the high tide, and then over these high waters came rushing the additional waters driven by the storm, pushing up Narragansett Bay and concentrating at the docks of Providence. First there had been the fury of the wind and then came the fury of the water:

Wind:

The vessels there were driven from their moorings in the stream and fastenings at the wharves, with terrible impetuosity, toward the great bridge that connected the two parts of the town. The gigantic structure was swept away without giving a moment's check to the vessel's progress, and they passed to the head of the basin, not halting until they were high up on the bank....

Water:

Stores, dwelling houses, were seen to reel and totter for a few moments, and then plunge into the deluge. A moment later their fragments were blended with the wrecks of vessels, some of which were on their sides, that passed with great rapidity and irresistible impetuosity on the current to the head of the cove, to join the wrecks already on the land.



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Some 500 buildings were destroyed in this city. The Indiaman *Ganges* was forced all the way up Westminster Street to Eddy Street, where its bowsprit pierced the 3rd story of the city's Market House.⁹



In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Moses Brown](#) would be making a detailed tabulation of the various trees that had toppled in his yard. The salt spray was carried from the ocean 40 or 50 miles inland. Apples and other fruit were blown off the trees, the corn was injured, and fences and trees were prostrated. In particular the

9. Some 4-foot-long metal tubes jammed into the marshy soil and sediment layers at Succotash Marsh in East Matunuck, [Rhode Island](#) (at the west side of the ocean entrance of the [Narragansett Bay](#)) by Tom Webb of the Geological Sciences Department of [Brown University](#), have revealed that there has been a series of overwash fans created by storm tidal surges, indicating that seven category-three hurricanes have struck Narragansett lowlands in about the past millennium. The 1st such overwash fan that has been revealed dated to the period 1295-1407CE, the 2nd to the period of roughly the first half of the 15th Century, the 3rd to approximately 1520CE (give or take a few decades), and the 4th to the historic storm of the 14th and 15th of August, 1635. The 5th such overwash fan obviously dates specifically to this historic storm of September 23, 1815.

NEW ENGLAND



“FRIEND” PAUL CUFFE OF WESTPORT

PAUL CUFFE

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original apple tree near Woburn MA of the Loammi Baldwin apple got knocked over:



At the time Captain [Paul Cuffe](#)'s ship was fortunately out of harm's way in New-York and Philadelphia.

In [Newport](#), [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) recorded in his journal that:

7th day 23 of 9 M / This forenoon we had the most severe Gale that Newport ever experienced - it commenced before day break to Rain Thunder & lighten, continued to increase gradually till a little before 9 OC when it suddenly increased & the tide rose with surprising velocity such as was never seen before - The wind & tide making such devastation of Vessels houses Stores & even lives as appalled all Skill to save. The destruction of houses was chiefly on the Long Wharf & on the Point - Andrew Allens wife, three children & a girl that lived with them were all in the house when it went off into the cove & they were all drowned - Over the Beach John Irish in attempting to save his boat was drowned - & two men who lived with Godfrey Hazard in trying to save their Sheep were also drowned. - Shocking was the Scene I have no powers to describe it, tho' at a more lesure



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*Moment I intend to attempt a more full description Our cellar
was full of Water, but we lost nothing of consequence. - We were
humbly thankful it was no worse*




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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Many boats were destroyed at [Boston](#) wharves:



I recollect being engaged near my father's saw-mill handling lumber with my brothers [[Adin Ballou](#) was 12 years old 

The tempest, which began about 7 o'clock in the morning, reached its height at noon, when it was little else than a hurricane. Multitudes of people were filled with terror and consternation. I confess that I was, and hastening to my chamber, obtained what relief and composure I could from the unseen world by earnest supplication. I gained something of trust and calmness, but hardly enough to overcome all my fearful apprehensions, for there seemed to be no place of refuge from impending danger and my faith was not of the surest type.

When the storm subsided, the inhabitants of southern New England looked with amazement on the devastations it had caused. Inland the noblest timber lots were covered with prostrate trees and upturned earth, the finest orchards were laid waste, rail-fences, wood, and lumber were scattered far and wide, roads were rendered impassable by accumulated debris, and incalculable damage had been done to buildings on every hand, many of the lighter ones being wholly destroyed. In seaport towns and along the shore, still greater havoc, if possible had been wrought. The ocean rolled in upon the coast its mountainous waves, which, in thickly settled localities, inundated the wharves, streets, and exposed places of business, filled the cellars and lower stories of dwellings and warehouses near the water line, causing the occupants to flee for their lives, and destroying immense amounts of property that chanced to be within reach. The wind drove before it all sorts of sea-craft, even the largest vessels, sinking some, wrecking others, and landing many high on the beach, far away from tide-water. The remains of sloops and schooners, gradually dismantled and abandoned, appeared on the sand banks and along the coast for years, victims of the Storm-King's insatiate power. Such was the "great gale" of 1815, the like whereof has never been seen by New Englanders since the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock.



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Many of the trees on the Boston Common were blown down.

When, in [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#), Henry Thoreau would argue for the liberty to travel unnecessarily on the Sabbath, he was arguing against one of the pet projects of the very most prominent citizen of his town, Squire Samuel Hoar. For a story had it that when the great hurricane of 1815 had devastated the woodlands around [Concord](#), one old farmer exclaimed:

I wish the wind'd come on Sunday! -Sam Hoar would've stopped it.

[A WEEK](#): History has remembered thee; especially that meek and humble petition of thy old planters, like the wailing of the Lord's own people, "To the gentlemen, the selectmen" of Concord, praying to be erected into a separate parish. We can hardly credit that so plaintive a psalm resounded but little more than a century ago along these Babylonish waters. "In the extreme difficult seasons of heat and cold," said they, "we were ready to say of the Sabbath, Behold what a weariness is it." - "Gentlemen, if our seeking to draw off proceed from any disaffection to our present Reverend Pastor, or the Christian Society with whom we have taken such sweet counsel together, and walked unto the house of God in company, then hear us not this day, but we greatly desire, if God please, to be eased of our burden on the Sabbath, the travel and fatigue thereof, that the word of God may be nigh to us, near to our houses and in our hearts, that we and our little ones may serve the Lord. We hope that God, who stirred up the spirit of Cyrus to set forward temple work, has stirred us up to ask, and will stir you up to grant, the prayer of our petition; so shall your humble petitioners ever pray, as in duty bound -" And so the temple work went forward here to a happy conclusion. Yonder in Carlisle the building of the temple was many wearisome years delayed, not that there was wanting of Shittim wood, or the gold of Ophir, but a site therefor convenient to all the worshippers; whether on "Buttrick's Plain," or rather on "Poplar Hill."



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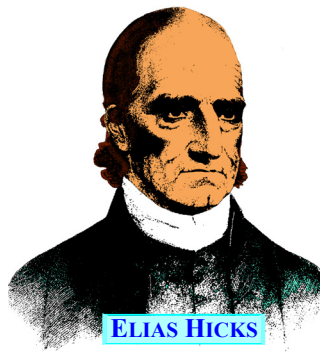
PAUL CUFFE

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Many of the local historians of [Concord](#), and many Thoreauvian scholars, have made this sort of connection. It is the sort of connection in which they deal, between one prominent citizen of Concord MA with prominent attitudes and another prominent citizen of Concord MA with prominent attitudes. It is, I might say, an easy association. But how many such historians and scholars know that when Thoreau would grow up in Concord in the following generation, and would take such attitudes, he was seconding the attitudes of the great Quaker preacher, [Elias Hicks](#)? For Hicks had pronounced in opposition to the so-called Blue Laws, laws which for instance entitled the Quakers of Philadelphia to stretch chains across the public street during their First Day silent worship in order to prevent the noise of the passage of carriages. For Hicks, First Day was just another day, of no greater or lesser holiness than any other weekday. He would come in from the fields, change his clothing, put on his gloves, and go off to Meeting for Worship on First Day just as he would come in from the fields, change his clothing, put on his gloves, and go off to Meeting for Worship on Fourth Day (Wednesday). But this was not merely a matter of preference for Friend Elias, any more than it was a matter of preference for Squire Hoar: it was a principle. Blue laws were laws, and laws were enacted by governments, and therefore such laws were infringements upon religion, sponsored by the state apparatus which should be allowed have no connection whatever with religion. In this direction lay a great danger, sponsored by the Squires of this world who would like nothing better than to be able to legislate the religious convictions of other people. Thus, when the Governor of New York issued a Thanksgiving Proclamation, Friend Elias was greatly alarmed, that he

*“has
by recommending a religious act
united the civil and ecclesiastical authorities,
and broken the line of partition between them,
so wisely established
by our enlightened Constitution,
which in the most positive terms
forbids
any alliance between church and state,
and is the only barrier
for the support of our liberty and independence.*

*For if that is broken down
all is lost
and we become the vassals of priestcraft,
and designing men,
who are reaching after power
by subtle contrivance
to domineer over the consciences
of their fellow citizens.”*



ELIAS HICKS

The terminology and the cadence was not Thoreauvian, but Thoreau’s attitudes as proclaimed in [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#) would be identical with this.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE



PAUL CUFFE

“FRIEND” PAUL CUFFE OF WESTPORT

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Subsequent to this historic gale, and in consequence of it, [John Farrar](#), Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at [Harvard College](#), who had since 1807 been maintaining and analyzing weather records in Cambridge, would be able to elaborate upon the insights of [Benjamin Franklin](#) into the nature of the “nor’easter” weather phenomenon by conceptualizing such hurricanes as “a moving vortex and not the rushing forward of a great body of the atmosphere” (he had noted not only the lagging times of arrival of the winds at Boston versus New-York and the wind’s opposite directionality, as had Franklin, but had also been able to analyze mathematically the veering of the wind as a fluid phenomenon).



December 10, Sunday: Captain [Paul Cuffe](#) sailed with a cargo of 38 people and their effects, bound for Sierra Leone on the coast of Africa.



“FRIEND” PAUL CUFFE OF WESTPORT

PAUL CUFFE

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1816

➡ February: After peace broke out between Britain and America, Captain [Paul Cuffe](#) arrived with his *Traveller* once again at Sierra Leone. He had brought a cargo of black American pioneers. This trip would be, however, a financial hardship, as he had been forced to underwrite the expense of the trip for 30 of his 38 passengers while, unexpectedly, he had needed to pay import duties on his cargo.

➡ December 5, Thursday: The Reverend Robert Finley, an activist in the American Colonization Society, wrote to Captain [Paul Cuffe](#) about how unhappy the free Negroes of America were going to remain, “as long as they continue among the whites.” This white man somehow knew that these black man were going to be unhappy. So how could they be made happy, he asked? –Well, he suggested, we could “place them perhaps in Africa.”¹⁰

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 5th of 12 M 1816 / Meeting was attended as well as usual.
silent & to me rather a barran season. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

10. So explain this relative unhappiness to me, please, as there seem to be three possibilities: is the black man **somewhat unhappier** than the white man, that the black man is in America? –Or are the white man and the black man **approximately equally unhappy**, that the black man is in America? –Or is the black man **slightly less unhappy** than the white man, that the black man is in America? Inquiring minds want to know. Is it the **black** man who is going to be happier, when the black man is back in Africa where he belongs, or is it the **white** man who is going to be happier, when the black man is back in Africa where he belongs, or, perchance, are they both going to be **equally happy** once the white man is alone in America and the black man alone in Africa?



PAUL CUFFE

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1817



January 24, Friday: [Lieutenant Francis Hall](#) arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, where he would be either horrified or amused (you can take your pick) by the sophistry of the arguments presented to him by local white men in defense of black servitude (“it is necessary”; “it is for the best”; “this is the real world”; “it is for the good of the negroes”; “they tell me they appreciate it”; “it is superior to any other real possibility”; plus every other analysis with the solitary exception of “this arrangement of affairs sure is making life pleasant for me as a white man”).

At this point Friend [Paul Cuffe](#), persuaded that American blacks would never be allowed to be full citizens, was hoping that they might fare better back in Africa, farther away from white prejudice. As a merchant he of course had an interest in nurturing trade between Africa and black American businessmen. He was intrigued by the idea of converting Africa to Christianity. In 1810 and 1811 he had sailed to Sierra Leone, a British colony that had been functioning as a haven for poor blacks from London, and for the black Loyalists of Nova Scotia who despaired of ever being allowed to succeed there. In 1815 and 1816 he had made a successful voyage to Sierra Leone with 38 colonists from the United States. In 1816 Robert Finley had contacted him in regard to plans to form an American Colonization Society and Cuffe had greeted the idea with enthusiasm. Soon the new ACS had contacted James Forten, a black businessman with a sailmaking business in Philadelphia, to recruit colonists from the vicinity of Philadelphia. Prominent Americans such as Henry Clay, John Randolph of Roanoke, and Justice Bushrod Washington were members of the American Colonization Society during its early years. Many free African-Americans, however, including those who had supported Paul Cuffe’s efforts, were wary of this new organization. They were concerned that it was dominated by Southerners and slave holders and that it excluded blacks from membership. Most free African-Americans of course would prefer to remain in the land which had been the context of their lives all their lives. Forten and Cuffe were close friends and Forten often looked after Cuffe’s Philadelphia business interests. He was a supporter of Cuffe’s colonization schemes, and the two men had corresponded on this topic. On January 15, 1817, Forten and other black leaders had called a meeting at Bethel to discuss the ACS and the idea of colonization and the church had been packed by almost 3,000 black men. After the Reverends Richard Allen, Absalom Jones, and John Gloucester spoke in favor of immigrating to Africa, Forten called for those in favor to say “yea,” but there was not a single “yea” from the assembled men. The “no,” however, seemed “as it would bring down the walls of the building.” Forten wrote to Cuffe on January 25, “there was not one sole [sic] that was in favor of going to Africa.” The common people were well aware that the covert agenda of this new organization was 1.) to rid this nation of its strongest opponents to [slavery](#), the free blacks and 2.) to ease the white people’s fear of [servile insurrection](#). Forten described this awareness to Cuffe as “They think that the slave holders wants to get rid of them so as to make their property more secure.” Instead, the assembly voted a series of unanimous resolutions. “Whereas our ancestors (not of choice) were the first cultivators of the wilds of America, we their descendents feel ourselves entitled to participate in the blessings of her luxuriant soil.... Resolved, That we never will separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population in this country; they are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering, and of wrongs....” A committee of twelve formed in opposition to the covert agenda of the ACS, and James Forten became chairman. The Reverends Richard Allen, Absalom Jones, and John Gloucester, who had been so caught off guard by the unanimous opposition of the majority, were in this committee. Some of them, especially James Forten, privately believed that colonization was a workable idea, but were willing to unite with the majority in opposing the ACS. At a meeting of a respectable portion of the free people of color of the city of Richmond, on Friday, January 24, 1817, William Bowler was appointed chairman, and Lentey Craw secretary. A preamble and resolution were



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unanimously adopted and ordered to be printed: “Whereas a Society has been formed at the seat of government, for the purpose of colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of color of the United States; therefore, we, the free people of color of the city of Richmond, have thought it advisable to assemble together under the sanction of authority, for the purpose of making a public expression of our sentiments on a question in which we are so deeply interested. We perfectly agree with the Society, that it is not only proper, but would ultimately tend to the benefit and advantage of a great portion of our suffering fellow creatures, to be colonized; but while we thus express our approbation of a measure laudable in its purposes, and beneficial in its designs, it may not be improper in us to say, that we prefer being colonized in the most remote corner of the land of our nativity, to being exiled to a foreign country — and whereas the president and board of managers of the said Society have been pleased to leave it to the entire discretion of Congress to provide a suitable place for carrying these laudable intentions into effect — Be it therefore Resolved, That we respectfully submit to the wisdom of Congress whether it would not be an act of charity to grant us a small portion of their territory, either on the Missouri river, or any place that may seem to them most conducive to the public good and our future welfare, subject, however, to such rules and regulations as the government of the United States may think proper to adopt.”



8mth 16, Saturday: From [Westport, Paul Cuffe](#) wrote of failing health to his “Estem’d friend Stephen Gould”:

I am in a low State of health, as thou Proposed of a physician from theare I think now to except of thy offer If thee can make it Conveanant to Come with him thy Company would be very agreable. For further information inquire of Captain Philipps. I am thy ashured friend. Paul Cuffe.

The letter would be sent by way of one of his coastwise vessels to the Gould watch-repair shop near Long Wharf in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) and presumably would be delivered by a member of the all-black crew. Captain Phillips was Cuffe’s son-in-law. When this letter would arrive, Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) would make a record that:

The foregoing rec’d from my friend Paul Cuffe was probably the last time he ever set pen to Paper. I went to Westport to see him and carried Doctor Hazard with me, but medical aids was in vain. He died in about two Weeks Afterwards.

Stephen, 36 years of age, would hasten to Westport, a day’s journey by horseback away, taking with him a Dr. Hazard of Newport, and would spend a night there in Westport while these two [Quakers](#), white and non-white, had comforting discussions. The sick man would die two weeks later at the age of 59.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 16th 8m 1817 / This Afternoon took Chaise & with My H & John rode to [Portsmouth](#), lodged with my aged Cousin Elizabeth Chase whom I love & feel a tender concern for – FIRST DAY morning are breakfast these & before meeting stoped at Uncle Peter Lawtons – At Meeting David Buffum preached in a very lively manner. He is on his way to Salem Quarterly Meeting We dined at Uncle Peters & spent the Afternoon & Set out to come home but it began to rain & thunder before we got far, which induced us to turn back so we lodged there, & early this Morning (2nd Day) we rode home. – This has been a pleasant visit to us all. – my mind has however been much affected with divers considerations – particularly with the necessity of our living in love &



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becomeing wean'd from the World, & the love & cares of it, as we advance in life. Some instances that I am acquainted with has much affected my mind of those who are, as with one foot in the grave & the other on its Brink, being too too much fastened to earth & its perplexing cares, where there is no necessity for it. This excites in my mind a lively concern, yea an anxious desire that as I grow older, I may be more & more concern'd to live in the life of Religion. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



8mth 23, Saturday: William Kingston met for 5 hours with his friend Samuel Wesley at Blacklands House, the lunatic asylum in Blacklands Terrace, Chelsea. Wesley indicated that he did not consider that his delusional leap of earlier this year warranted his being treated as a lunatic.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#), 36 years of age, had hastened from [Newport, Rhode Island](#) to [Westport, Massachusetts](#), a day's journey by horseback, taking with him a Dr. Hazard, and would spend the night there while the two [Quakers](#), Stephen and Paul, white and non-white, would have comforting discussions. The sick man would die two weeks later at the age of 59.

7th day 23rd of 8 M / In consequence of a letter which I rec'd from my friend [Paul Cuffee](#) dated 16th inst - I set out early this morning with Doctor Hazard for Westport. we stoped at Thos Barkers to see Stephen Huntington who is very weak & low, after eating some breakfast with them we persued our journey & stoped at the four corners to sate our horse, then went on & reached Pauls house about 3 OClock where we found him very low & so much weakened by his complaint that articulation had become difficult - when I went into the room, I told him I had come to see him, & by his request brought Dr Hazard with me he replied "It is too late" but after a little conversation he agreed to take some medicine which appeared to set well on his stomach - Dr Handy the attending Physician soon came & after they had consulted together a course of medicine was agreed on. The family gave us some dinner & some tea & being Full of lodgers we went to a neighbors of theirs (Daniel Tripp) to sleep where we found comfortable accommodations - we rose early in the Morning & went to Pauls to breakfast & found him no worse & on the whole some favorable symptoms I found in the course of the forenoon that he was a little revived in streangth & could communicate a little more freely but much speaking in his situation was improper I therefore requested him to spare conversation on my account but told him if there was any special buisness that he wanted me to do for him that I would write to any of his friends respecting it - he told me there was & gave me to understand what it was of which I made a minute to communicate to Wm Rotch Jr -He told me he had made a Will to his mind & that those had agree'd to execute it in whom he had confidence. - While sitting by him I observed to him that We both knew that consolation was not to be derived from many words, but if favor'd with a degree of that feeling which has no fellow it was sufficient & that I trusted while sitting by his bed side I had been thus favor'd & was



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thankful in the evidence that things were well with him, let the event of the present illness turn as it Might, either to live or die. I observed that I had seldom set by any one in Similar circumstances, where there seemed to be more peace, but on account of his low condition of body I had not expressed it before, & that I was particularly comforted in observing the very affectionate attention of his family & solicitude to do everything that could be done for his comfort, & to prolong his days, particularly his neice & two daughters who were very affectionate & assiduous in their attentions - he replied "It is very sweet."— before I left him I told him that if nothing happened to me & he continued in his present state I thought I should come to see him again before long - he replied "How glad I shall be to see thee if I am living" After dinner we took an affectionate leave of him & his family & set off for home we stoped at Thos Barkers again & ate some supper & the Dr went into the room to Stephen who is very low & apparantly near the final change - we then Set out for home & reached it about 10 OClock in the evening. our journey was protracted in consequence of the horse's being nearly worn down. - I should have been glad to have gone to Westport Meeting, but could not, as we were anxious to get home. - I am glad I went & have no doubt the visit will be memorable as long as I live, as well as to Paul & his family - if nothing more it has been a fresh evidence to my mind that the colour of the skin does not effect a man in the kingdom of heaven

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 27, Wednesday: In [Westport, Paul Cuffe](#) was so obviously failing, that his family and friends were summoned for a group farewell.

Early in 1817, Cuffe's health began to fail. By July, it became obvious to himself and to his family that he was dying. Late in August, Cuffe called his family and "shaking hands with all, showing fellowship and friendship, bid us farewell." Paul Cuffe died at the age of 58 in the early morning hours of September 7, 1817,¹¹ "sensible to the last moments," saying to his nurse: "let me pass quietly away."

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 7, Sunday: In [Westport, Paul Cuffe](#) died.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 7 of 9th M 1817 / Our Meeting this forenoon was large & to me a good one - Our frd David Buffum was very lively in testimony on the subject of FAITH & father Rodman was short to the same effect
Silent in the Afternoon & to me a Season of favor*

11. Some sources say he died on August 27th, some on September 7th, some on September 9th, and some on September 17th. -But then, my paper edition of the Britannica isn't even aware he existed.



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Sister Ruth took tea with us –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 8, Monday: The Covent Garden Theater in London opened, with its stage illuminated by gas light.

At the [Westport](#) meetinghouse of the Religious Society of Friends, a silent worship funeral service was held for [Paul Cuffe](#) after the manner of Friends. (His and his wife's graves at the meetinghouse he had helped to construct are a hundred feet from the graves of the white Quakers of the Friends Cemetery, near the gray stone wall that borders the corner of the churchyard, entirely isolated. Later on, Friends' histories would prevaricate. Does any of this surprise you?)¹²

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), [Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 8 of 9 M / Heard this morning of the Decease of PAUL CUFFEE he left time Yesterday Morning & is to be interr'd this afternoon, to meet at 2 OC at Westport Meeting house this news has affected my mind, for tho' his complexion was darker than mine, I can emphatically say "I loved him" & his loss is great to our Society & the community at large – had time permitted I should have tryed to have got to his funeral, but it was rather to short for me to get there with convenience & I regret it, as in the event of his decease, I have, for several weeks felt an inclination to be at the performance of the last solemn duties, but alass, it is otherwise & disappointments is the lot of Mortals & to which we must submit. –



September 10, Wednesday: [Paul Cuffe](#)'s brother John Cuffe wrote to his sister Freeloove Cuffe in New-York:

Here is some accounts of the dueings of our dear and much beloved brother Captain Paul Cuffe the 27th of the 8th month of 1817. Between the hours of 8 and 9 in the morning then he took a fond leave of his family wife and children grandchildren Brothers and sisters and others, shaking hands with all in fellowship and friendship bid all farewell. It was as broken a time as was not even known amongst us and he seemed to long to go with angels and with the souls of just men and women in the heavens above to receive the reward of the Righteous [A friend came and evidently asked him about Heaven. Paul replied saying] that my works are gone to judgement afore hand that I due know when he said [the friend] not many days hence you shall see the glory of god. 6 oclock in the evening he said feed my lambs. He said much more but being week and spoke so low I could not understand so as to take the tru meaning and he also asked us all not to hang on unto him but to give up and let him go. I [John Cuffe]

12. I don't presently know of any case anywhere in America, in which a Friends meeting actually had accepted into membership any person who had the slightest taint of non-white ancestry — even if as in this case the petitioner were an adult male. Such requests seem to have been **always everywhere** stonewalled. The best we were capable of was this sort of “just-as-if-they-were-like-us” treatment. (This sheds an interesting light upon the limitations of a descriptor such as “not racist.”) Five years later, for instance, when another New Bedford man of color, Nathan Johnson, would apply for membership in this very [Quaker](#) monthly meeting, he also would be stonewalled. This raises the interesting question of whether even a **well-to-do** person of color will **ever** be more than merely tolerated by the “real,” that is, the white, American Quakers.



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had layen very close with many prayers to go and his christ that he might be brought to health again [They all pray together with Paul] the will of the lord be done. He still kept failing from day to day some days took no nourishment at al in nor medesian Escept cold water until first morning at 2 oclock in the morning the 7 day of this 9th month 1817 then Brother Cuffe departed this life. This is news that will not soon be forgotten with Soarrow not from the teeth outward but from the heart. I may say that I wept much. He died in the 59th year of his age after three months of sickness. He bore his illness with patience and through the whole and was awake to the last moments. [...] and as he close drew near and said to the nuse that he was But little more than a dade man Let me go Quietly away ofering his hand to his atendance that would have to tend him. So he fell asleep in death and is gone home to glory. He was a loving husband and a tender father and a cind neighbor and a faithful friend. The time appointed and all met together under a great on the second say of the week the second hour in the afternoon and after waiting in great silence testimonies then being born by friends he was borne to the grave and decently buried. A large crowd of people of all societyes. I do not remember as I have been before at so large a gathering of people at anny funeral before. He was buried at friends burying ground at the fourth meeting house where we meet together. At his death he was 57 and months and 21 days old.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 10th of 9 M 1817 / Set an hour this evening at Thos Robinsons the old man is feeble & takes but little part in conversation. - the visit however was very interesting being favor'd with precious feelings in conversations with Abigail, & Mary Morton, on various subjects which all of us seemed alive to. I went over to wait on Sister Ruth home, who had set the evening with them. - The little time I passed with them was so pleasant that I regreted that I did not go over early. -

The historian Rosalind Cobb Wiggins struggled with the fact that, once the body of his friend [Paul Cuffe](#) had been interred (near, but not in, the local burial ground for white Quakers), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) seemed to fall away from his previous concern for the welfare of American people of color, and the fact that this personal failure on the part of Friend Stephen has been typical of a falling away by white American [Quakers](#) in general. She asked Quakers now, to act to forever cleanse “this stain of evasion” from their otherwise splendid human rights record:



Following Cuffe's death Stephen seems to only have occasionally spoken out in Meeting about slavery or the slave trade. Only two or three times did he cordially greet black men and women who had known of Paul and his vision. His concerns gradually changed as his responsibilities within his Meeting and the Yearly Meeting expanded.... Ten years before his own death it was suggested that he and Hannah become Assistant Caretakers, or house parents, at the Yearly Meeting Boarding School (now known



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as [Moses Brown School](#)) in [Providence](#). They accepted and lived in an apartment in the school building for the next six years before returning to Newport to take charge of family property. The years in Providence involved him even more in Yearly Meeting affairs, and of course with the students at the school, which he enjoyed. Yet, it is surprising that his focus uncoupled so abruptly from the plight of men and women such as Paul Cuffe and turned to the spiritual health of the Society of Friends. An excerpt from the 1830s illustrates his growing conservatism: "3rd day 8th of 6th M, 1830: Today Stephen Wilson & Hannah his wife from Goose Creek in Virginia called at the Institution [the school] – they are Hixites [[Hicksites](#)] & Hannah as a Preacher has come here to impose [her views] on Friends. She was formerly ... an old acquaintance of ours.... We treated her civilly but cool & felt grieved that one who had once been esteemed & no doubt in good measure religious should be attached to wrong principles." Three months later he wrote: "In the Street [in Providence] I met Wm Rotch & noded to him, & he to me – but he did not look nor feel to me as Wm Rotch once looked & felt – I deplore his departure from Society but nothing can be done – he must remain as he is." William Rotch Jr. had been a faithful Nantucket Quaker and staunch supporter of Paul Cuffe's.... What made him stand back from those very few Friends who were publicly protesting Slavery, such as Elias Hicks and later the Grimké sisters [Friend [Sarah Moore Grimké](#) and [Angelina Emily Grimké](#)]? There were many Quakers like him who were distraught by slavery and its trade yet they weren't heard in the public arena. ...after Cuffe's death Stephen scarcely mentioned slavery or the Trade, although it was covertly growing. He did note that he approved a letter protesting slavery to Congress by the Providence Abolition Society. Yet in 1838 he also approved a motion by the Yearly Meeting barring abolition societies' use of Friends Meeting houses for their gatherings.... Stephen was a confined life and once Paul's strong, supportive presence was gone there was little to keep the fires of outrage alive. His life was well insulated even from such occurrences as the Snowtown and Hardscrabble race riots in Providence that erupted in 1826 and 1830 not far from the School. In January 1838 he went to Salem for a Quarterly Meeting and noted with dismay the anti-slavery discussions: "Their heated zeal injuring a good and right cause ... reminded me of the Spirit which I saw among the Hixites [followers of Friend Elias Hicks] in New York in 1827." His social and business contacts were confined to the area within "the walls of Zion," the all-white Quaker Close.... To answer the first question: Why didn't the unusual friendship and Paul's project have more lasting effect among Friends? It seems that Cuffe's untimely death cut off Stephen's emotional support and the visible presence that he needed in order to speak out. The ongoing rigid class differentiation that the two had ignored together closed in on Stephen following Paul's death. He became increasingly preoccupied with Quaker affairs. Concerns for African Americans are scarcely mentioned after Cuffe's



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death. The reason Cuffe’s works have been so little known until now, even among Friends, is that his papers were not kept in the New England Yearly Meeting Archives. However, there were a number of biographers who had found them in the archives of the New Bedford Free Public Library and the Dartmouth Whaling Museum Library. The authors were not Quakers. Those books were published beginning in the 1970s but even these were not included in the Library of the New England Yearly Meeting Archives. His papers were not fully transcribed and published until 1996; these reveal to Friends who are so familiar with Quaker concepts how Paul led his life in accordance with the precepts of non-violence and seeking “that of God” in all those with whom he came in contact, even in the world of successful merchantmen. Now that the papers are available it is hoped Paul will become known as “a pattern and an example.” In this country Friends Meetings remain almost entirely white perhaps because of the lack of historical understanding of the works of such men as Cuffe and because of class divisions that have been bonded to race as though with superglue. Is the only solution in individual self revelation, in individual efforts to reach into all communities, black and white? There is a crying need to remove this stain of evasion from Quakers’ splendid human rights record.



October 24, Friday: When the [New Bedford Morning Mercury](#) reported the death of [Paul Cuffe](#) it wrote of “his Brethren” but, by this, it definitely did not indicate his coreligionists the local [Quakers](#). No of course not –get a clue!– what this gazette meant by “his Brethren” was the other people of colour living in the vicinity.



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1818



October 1, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 1st of 10th M 1818 / I feel better this morning, but am not quite smart enough to sit in meeting & attend a committee which meets at the breaking up of it to investigate the pecuniary concerns of society. – While meeting was sitting had a very interesting call from Thomas Paull a man of colour from Boston, a preacher among the [Baptists](#) & also an intimate friend of our late friend & brother [Paul Cuffee](#), he appears to be a religious man & desirous of doing good to all mankind & in particular to the people of his colour. – After dinner went up to set a little while with the committee at the meeting house. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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1819



July 19, Monday: At a banquet in Dublin, the “Irish Friends of South American Independence” recruited young men to volunteer into John Devereux’s Irish Legion to fight in support of General Simón Bolívar (most of these recruits would die of tropical maladies before reaching battle).

Dr. Hildreth reported finding some metal objects near a body in an ancient mound in Marietta, Ohio:

Lying immediately over or on the forehead of the body were found three large circular bosses, or ornaments for a sword-belt or buckler; they are composed of copper, overlaid with a thick plate of silver.... Near the side of the body was found a plate of silver which appears to have been the upper part of a sword scabbard; it is six inches in length and two inches in breadth, and weighs an ounce; ... Two or three broken pieces of a copper tube were also found, filled with iron rust. These pieces from their appearance, composed the lower end of the scabbard near the point of the sword. No signs of the sword itself were discovered except the appearance of the rust above mentioned.... A piece of red-ochre or paint, and a piece of iron ore, which has the appearance of having been partially vitrified, or melted, were also found. The ore is about the specific gravity of pure iron.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 19th of 7 M / This Afternoon Alice & Rhoda Cuffee daughters of my late much esteemed friend [Paul Cuffee](#) of Westport called to see me – Their visit was very pleasant they are good countenanced young women & I feel desirous they may in their lives & conversation imitate the bright example of pious father, whose skin tho’ black rended him none the less acceptable to his Maker.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



PAUL CUFFE

“FRIEND” PAUL CUFFE OF WESTPORT

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1820



February 6, Sunday: The merchant vessel *Elizabeth*, for the moment redesignated as the *Mayflower of Liberia*, sailed out of New-York harbor under the escort of an American sloop of war, transporting 86 freed black Americans to swampy Sherbro Island in Sierra Leone on their way to becoming African colonists, and Africans. The American Colonization Society had (in effect) founded Liberia — although many details remained to be worked out such as precisely where the hell Liberia was supposed to be (some land, eventually, would be “purchased” for some \$300.⁰⁰ worth of rum, clothing, tobacco, clothing, trinkets, and guns and powder in a transaction we know took place only because a pistol was being aimed). But the idea, the idea was most exceedingly clear: Africa was to be for Africans, black Africans and America was to be for Americans, white Americans.¹³

(Sherbro Island’s unhealthy conditions would produce a high death rate among the settlers as well as the society’s representatives. The British governor would tolerate relocation of the immigrants to a safer area temporarily while the ACS worked to save its colonization project from complete disaster.)

Lord Cochrane occupied Valdivia in the name of the Republic of Chile.

13. At this point freed and refugee slaves had been being welcomed on this Sierra Leone coast controlled by Great Britain already for some 30 years. By the time of our civil war there would be some 11,000 American blacks free in this Liberia.

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1821



The American Colonization Society sent Dr. Eli Ayres, a white man, to purchase some coastal land north of Sierra Leone. With the aid of US naval Lieutenant Robert F. Stockton, another white man, Dr. Ayres cruised the coastal waters west of Grand Bassa seeking out lands appropriate for the colony. Lt. Stockton took charge of the negotiations with leaders of the Dey and Bassa peoples who lived in the area of Cape Mesurado. The local leaders were persuaded –some said at the point of a gun– to part with a “36 mile long and 3 mile wide” strip of coastal land for approximately \$300 worth of trade goods, supplies, weapons, and rum.

Between this year and 1831 more than 300 [slaving](#) expeditions would be bringing an estimated 60,000 more black captives to Cuba



[TRIANGULAR TRADE](#)



The [negreros](#) *La Jeune Eugène*, *La Daphnée*, *La Mathilde*, and *L'Elize* were during this year captured by the USS *Alligator*. *La Jeune Eugène* was sent to the port of [Boston](#), but the other slavers escaped, only to be recaptured under the French flag (there would be controversy over credit, between the US and France) (HOUSE REPORTS, 21st Congress, 1st session III, No. 348, page 187; FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE, 1824, pages 35-41).



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The [negrero](#) *La Pensée* was captured with a cargo of 220 [slaves](#), by the USS *Hornet*, and taken to Louisiana (HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress, 1st session II, No. 92, page 5; 21st Congress, 1st session III, No. 348, page 186).

The [negrero](#) *Esencia* succeeded in putting 113 black [slaves](#) ashore at Matanzas (PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1822, Vol. XXII., SLAVE TRADE, FURTHER PAPERS, III. page 78).

We infer that most likely it was in this year that the [negrero](#) *Dolphin* was captured by United States officers and sent into the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina (FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE (1824), pages 31-2).



February 18, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 18th of 2nd M / Father Rodman & David Buffum were both engaged in testimony in the forenoon Meeting, & in the Afternoon both were Silent. —

Rec'd this morning From my F Thos Thompsons of Liverpool [who assisted Paul Cuffe when Cuffe first arrived, friend with whom [Paul Cuffe](#) stayed in 1811, 9th month just before leaving England] a Pacquet containinng a letter from him dated the 28th of 11th M last George Bishops New England Judged and address by Thos Shillito to Friends in England & Ireland & a Manuscript Book in the hand writing of Griffeth Given entitled "A Collection of some Papers writt By DANIEL GOULD & MADE PUBLIC in order to Promote Piety & good Works By G O & T C The circumstance of this Ancient & (to me) valuable manuscript comeing into my Possession [is] quite remarkable & on this wise, many years ago when I was a lad I used to visit my much loved cousin Bathsheba Gould who lived then at Middletown in the family of her Brother Thomas Gould in my visits to her she used to amuse me & ot[her] of her young relations with Anecdotes of our venerable predecessor Daniel Gould & would read to us some of The Papers, which were his & among them two letters from Griffith Owen to him, in one of which. dated 30th of 1 M 1714 was contained information that "he & Thomas Chalkley had perused his papers, sorted & placed them with titles to each & had written a preface, & that Friends in Philadelphia being Slow & backward in Printing & their Printer not an Artist, he had concluded to send it to Great Britain to be printed & had ordered mony there to be paid for them if he approved of it. —having got them transcribed fair in a Book." This information I treasured & pondered in my mind till at length cousin Bathsheba gave me the letters & having become acquainted with Thos Thompson by letter thro' the introduction of Wm Rickaman & understanding he was an Antiquarian I copyed the whole of the foregoing letter & sent to him in quiring if he had any knowledge of the Book therin mentioned, & to my joy & Astonishment he sent me the Identical manuscript as popyed [copyed?] by Griffith Owen it appears from some cause to have been overlooked [—?] to the printing, but carfully preserved in the original Manuscript, & to me is a



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valuable acquisition.

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



May 14, Monday: Olympia, an opera by Gaspare Spontini to words of Dieulafoy and Briffaut, translated by Hoffmann, was performed for the initial time, in the Berlin Opera. The audience included Carl Maria von Weber, in town for the premiere of Der Freischutz. This was the German version of Olympie.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 14th of 5 M / Attended the funeral of Nancy Dennis the sitting was solid & Hannah Dennis was engaged in a lively & to my feeling pertinent testimony. -- She was once a member of our Society & was buried after our manner & in our burying place near the Meeting house by the side of her Mother Lydia Dennis Rec'd this Afternoon a letter from my unknown frd Thos Thompson of Liverpool [Friend Stephen had never met him in person, but must have known of him through [Paul Cuffe](#)] dated 31 of 3 M last wherein he acknowledges the receipt of my letter & several Books & manuscripts, sent him some time past. --

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



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1822



March 27, Wednesday: Gioachino Rossini witnessed a performance of Der Freischutz at the Karntnertortheater in Vienna, conducted by the composer (presumably he and Weber didn't meet at this time).

[Friend](#) Charles Waln Morgan wrote to a friend in Philadelphia that “my black man Nathan” had risen at the end of a meeting of the [New Bedford](#) Society of Friends, without any forewarning to him, “and informed the meeting that he had no wish to intrude, but believed it to be his duty to request to become a member of that Society.” He “sp[oke] very well & properly, the request Received due notice, and is under care of overseers. I was entirely ignorant of his views or intentions — though he is quite plain and has been very exemplary in every respect for a long time.” Although this [Quaker](#) predicted that his monthly meeting would accept Nathan Johnson, in part because of “his location in my family,” this sort of optimism would of course prove to have been overly sanguine as the Friends would of course never act upon Johnson's request.¹⁴



“Nobody ever bought a product that made them feel worse.”

— [George W. Bush](#)



14. I don't presently know of any case anywhere in America, in which a Friends meeting actually had accepted into membership any person who had the slightest taint of non-white ancestry — even if as in this case the petitioner were an adult male. Such requests seem to have been **always everywhere** stonewalled. (This sheds an interesting light upon the limitations of a descriptor such as “not racist.”) It has been alleged that in the case of the well-to-do Captain [Paul Cuffe](#), who wore Quaker garb and took part not only in local meetings for worship and for business, but also took part in Quaker [Yearly Meeting](#) in New England, he had been accepted as a Quaker, but we must bear carefully in mind that he had been buried, in 1817, five years prior to this, not in the Quaker graveyard with white Quakers, but **outside the door** of the new meetinghouse which he had helped to erect in New Bedford, well separate from all white people. This raises the question of whether even a **well-to-do** person of color would **ever** have been more than merely tolerated by the “real,” that is, the white, American Quakers.



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April 25, Thursday: For having killed Billy Williams in the yard of the Massachusetts State Prison, [Samuel Green](#) was [hanged](#) on the [Boston Neck](#) gallows tree.¹⁵



(no gallows now, just a traffic light)

The survivors of the initial settlement on swampy Sherbro Island arrived at Cape Mesurado and began to build a new American Colonization Society settlement. A white representative of the Society was governing the colony, although eventually there would arise objections to the authoritarianism of a white Methodist missionary, the Reverend Jehudi Ashmun, who would replace Dr. Ayres as the ACS governing representative.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 25th of 4th M / With my H rode to [Portsmouth](#) to attend our Moy [Monthly] Meeting, stoped at Uncle Thurstons. – In the first Meeting was favored a little – two female appearances in the Ministry

In the last Meeting tho' I laboured to get into the life & center down to the gift, yet it lay so low & my efforts was so paralised that I could not attain to what I desired & took but little share in the buisness Dined at Uncle Stantons – then rode Home –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

15. Presumably the duly constituted authorities in Boston would have experienced no difficulty whatever in seeking out and retaining and remunerating the services of one or another Protestant reverend who was not so embarrassed by the death penalty as to be unwilling to mount the scaffold with the victim, and administer last rites.



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1827

➡ March 16, Friday: [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) was elected a chevalier of the Legion of Honor.

In [New-York](#), the first issue of a new newspaper appeared, [Freedom's Journal](#). This was the first one for Americans of color, and was being issued by senior editor the Reverend Samuel Cornish and junior editor John Russworm.



The paper would appear until 1830. David Walker was Boston agent for this newspaper, which had national circulation.



SLAVERY

The paper is now available at <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/libraryarchives/aanp/freedom/volume1.asp>

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On the front page of the 1st issue, the journal began to recount the familiar story of Captain [Paul Cuffe](#):



From the Liverpool Mercury. MEMOIRS OF CAPT. PAUL CUFFEE.

"On the first of the present month of August, 1811, a vessel arrived at Liverpool, with a cargo from Sierra Leone; the owner, master, mate, and whole crew of which are free blacks. The master, who is also owner, is the son of an American slave, and is said to be very well skilled both in trade and navigation, as well as to be of a very pious and moral character. It must have been a strange and an animating spectacle to see this free and enlightened African, entering as an independent trader, with his black crew into that port, which was so lately the nidus of the slave trade.—*Edinburgh Review for August, 1811.*

We are happy in having an opportunity of confirming the above account, and at the same time of laying before our readers an authentic memoir of Capt. Paul Cuffee, the master and owner of the vessel above alluded to, who sailed from this port on the 20th ult. with a licence from the British Government, to prosecute his intended voyage to Sierra Leone.—The father of Paul Cuffee was a native of Africa,—whence he was brought as a slave into Massachusetts. He was there purchased by a person named Slocum, and remained in slavery a very considerable portion of his life. He was named Cuffee, but as it is usual in those parts, took the name of Slocum, expressing to whom he belonged. Like many

of his countrymen, he possessed a mind superior to his condition, although he was diligent in the business of his master, and faithful to his interest, yet by great industry and economy he was enabled to purchase his personal liberty. At the time the remains of several Indian tribes, who originally possessed the right of soil, resided in Massachusetts, Cuffee became acquainted with a woman descended from one of those tribes, named Ruth Moses, and married her. He continued in habits of industry and frugality, and soon afterwards purchased a farm of 100 acres at the point in Massachusetts.

Cuffee and Ruth had a family of ten children. The three eldest sons, David, Jonathan, and John, are farmers in the neighborhood of West Point, filling respectable situations in society, and endowed with good intellectual capacities. They are all married, and have families to whom they are giving good education. Of six daughters four are respectably married, while two remain single. Paul was born on the Island of Catterhamker, one of the Elizabeth Islands, near New Bedford, in the year 1750—when he was about fourteen years of age, his father died, leaving a considerable property in land, but which being at that time unproductive, afforded but little provision for his numerous family, and thus the care of supporting his mother and sisters devolved upon his brothers and himself. At this time Paul conceived that commerce furnished to industry more ample rewards than agriculture, and he was conscious that he possessed qualities which, under proper culture, would enable him to pursue commercial employments with prospects of success—he therefore entered at the age of sixteen, as a common hand on board of a vessel destined to the bay of Mexico, on a whaling voyage. His second voyage was to the West Indies, but on his third he was captured by a British ship during the American war, about the year 1783—after a short detention as a prisoner, at New-York, he was

permitted to return home to Westport, where owing to the unfortunate continuance of hostilities he spent about two years in his agricultural pursuits. During this interval Paul and his brother John Cuffee, were called on by the collector of the district, in which they resided, for the payment of a personal tax. It appeared to them, that by the laws and constitution of Massachusetts, taxation and the whole rights of citizenship were united. If the laws demanded of them the payment of the personal taxes, the same laws must necessarily and constitutionally invest them with the right of representing and being represented in the state legislature. But they had never been considered as entitled to the privilege of voting at elections, nor of being elected to places of trust and honor. Under these circumstances they refused payment of the demands. The collector resorted to the force of the laws, and after many delays and detentions, Paul and his brother deemed it most prudent to silence them by paying the demands; but they resolved, if it were possible to obtain the rights which they believed to be connected with taxation. They presented a respectful petition to the state legislature. From some individuals it met with a warm and almost indignant opposition. A considerable majority was, however, favorable to their object. They perceived the propriety and justice of the petition, and with an honorable magnanimity, in defiance of the prejudice of the times, they passed a law rendering all free persons of color liable to taxation according to the established rates for white men, and granting them all the privileges belonging to the other citizens. This was a day equally honorable to the petitioners and the legislature—a day which ought to be fully remembered by every person of color within the boundaries of Massachusetts, and the names of John and Paul Cuffee should always be united with its recollection.

To be Continued



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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1837



August 16, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) was having second thoughts about the advisability of [Quakers](#), all of whom were white and, therefore, all of whom were free, involving themselves in the ongoing antislavery struggle. It should be enough, for them to keep themselves personally pure within the Quaker Close, not themselves owning any slaves, not themselves purchasing any of the products of [slavery](#) such as cane sugar or cotton cloth, and therefore entirely separated from the wicked practices of the non-Quaker world. Clearly, over the years since the death of his friend of color [Paul Cuffe](#), he had come to consider that it was not any of their business to remedy all the ills of the outside world:

4th day 16th of 8 M / I am still at home, having given up the prospect of Lynn & Salem. – Tho' I felt tolerably in the Morning it looked doubtful whether I should have got to Lynn in season for the Select Meeting & on looking at it felt as if the journey had better be omitted at present – In the course of the forenoon I wrote a letter to Sister Elizabeth [Rodman] Nichols which has very much relieved my mind of the concern to be at Lynn & Salem. After giving her the reason of my not coming I wrote the following "I hope we shall not all run wild with Abolitionism, it is a worthy cause to be zealous in but not intemperate. I am afraid some will not only injure the cause they wish to promote but themselves also, by forcing measures which to move much in at present, would be of no more avail than to cast pearls before Swine, & I am clear it would be giving that which is holy to be sacrificed, trampled on & devoured by the dogish natures, there is a way for every right thing to be rightly moved in, & if way does not open for this, patient waiting is the best resort – David Buffum once told us in our Yearly Meeting at a time when a very difficult case was before it, & it looked as if it was necessary something should be done, yet there was a streight [difference of opinion] in the Meeting as to what ought to be done –

He rose & said it was not only necessary to see that something needed to be done, but before we moved we ought to see, what to do, & how to do it" -- It is my opinion that Slavery is a most crying sin & evil in our land, & that if it does not go out in mercy it will in Judgement, & I hope the experiment of Mercy will be fully tried by poor erring & frail mortals, & the Judgement left to Him who judgeth right, & will execute in his own due & appointed time, in such way & manner as he pleases. – I am clear that the excitement raised on Slavery, & is still increasing, is not wholly the Lords work.- it might have had a right beginning, but now it has run into passion, which has carried, & is carrying many far beyond that prudence & sound discession which marked the course of such men in former days as Woolman, Brown, Buffum, & may I not add the honorable names of the Rotch & Arnold, of the days when the Abolition of the Slave trade was effected. – I do not wish to say much more about it, but to express something of this kind to my dear friends



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Sophrona Page & Avis Keene was very much the drift I felt towards Lynn & Salem & if thou think proper I am willing thou should make them acquainted with my concern. – I am seriously affraid that more hurt will arise from the present excitement regarding Slavery to the Members of this Yearly Meeting, than has ever been done by all the Hixism [the protests and outrages of the [Hicksite](#) followers of [Friend Elias Hicks](#)] & Beaconism that has been encountered else where. – I much desire that those who are looked up to as the Way Marks in our Society, may give a certain sound & right direction to those who follow after them.



October 31, Tuesday: English immigrant William Procter, a candlemaker, and Irish immigrant James Gamble, a soapmaker, who had gotten married to sisters, joined forces in Cincinnati to form “Procter and Gamble.”



Mr. Procter _____ Mr. Gamble

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 31st of 10th M 1837 / Notwithstanding the Wind blew a gale, so that it was with difficulty the horse could Carry the Chaise – My wife & I rode to Fall River where we arrived in good season to tea & put up at Clarke Shoves. In the evening I called on Canute Halvorson & his family recently arrived from Norway – we also called on Edmund Chase & family a little while & returning to Clarke Shoves set the evening in company & council with Divers friends on the Subject of Canute Halvorson & family who appear to be Member of Society & the remnants of an extinct



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Monthly Meeting established there and the Notice of Friends in England by Wm Allen [with whom [Paul Cuffe](#) stayed in 1811] & Stephen Grellett when on a religious visit in that country it appears that Canute brought divers testimonials of his being a friend & Member, but how he is to be united to society here is a question not readily to be decided, as there is no Moy [Monthly] Meeting give him a certificate - he being the last Member of the one to which he belonged at Christina in Norway & has brought the whole records of the Monthly Meeting with him in the Language of the country, which his son Halvor read & translated to us. - He has also the Certificate of his Marriage which reads much as ours & was witnessed by many individuals as ours is - & there is a Man from Norway lately come over & is now in Fall River who was present at the Marriage & signed the Certificate - He has various testimonies from individuals, & one from our Ancient friend Wm Rickman mentioning him to be in profession with Friends & also one from the Government of the City from Whence he came signifying that he was a "Quaker" & of reputable life & conversation - his case is an interesting one & advice was given to Friends to wait & hear from Friends in London to see if there is no regular channell by which they can be joined to friends in this country - & if there is not it is my opinion they ought to be received by request -

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1839



March 18, Monday: [George Back](#) had been further honored following his triumphant return, receiving such items as the gold medal of the Société de Géographie de Paris. On this day he was made a “Sir.”

NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF [PAUL CUFFE](#), A PEQUOT INDIAN: DURING THIRTY YEARS SPENT AT SEA, AND IN TRAVELLING IN FOREIGN LANDS (Vernon: Printed by Horace N. Bill; Stockbridge, New York).

NARRATIVE OF PAUL CUFFE



PAUL CUFFE

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1891

June: Professor of History and Politics of the University of Georgia John Hanson Thomas McPherson's [HISTORY OF LIBERIA](#).



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PAUL CUFFE

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2003

When I, Austin Meredith, had come to [Providence, Rhode Island](#) from Southern California as a member of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), as part of making this move, I had promised my spouse that I wouldn't just as a retired person hang around our new townhouse on Providence's East Side — but would find a way to get out there in our new community and make myself useful. Since the [Moses Brown School](#) was a [Quaker](#) institution, and since our new home was just down the street from our new digs, I had begun to plan that I would be able to fill in the slack hours of my retirement by providing volunteer services for the school.

I had begun by writing up a biography of Friend Moses Brown, founder of the school, and a history of the legacy that he left to provide for the institution that he had founded. Then I created more and more of these Quaker biographies, about Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) the righteous American Quaker poet, about Friend [Lucretia Coffin Mott](#) the righteous antislavery activist, about Friend [Paul Cuffe](#) the righteous black and Native American sea captain — electronic stuff that the school would be able to use in their teaching if they chose, stuff that the computer-savvy kids could relate to a whole lot better than dusty old yellowed falling-apart Quaker paper publications. However, when I made a presentation to their History Department, I got exactly nowhere. So I attempted to donate a PC to the school, a machine that they could have in their student facility alongside their other PCs, one that could be available to their students. They stonewalled this, throwing up a barrier of lies.

Well, the Quaker monthly meeting right next to the Moses Brown School, the Providence Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends that I attend every First Day (Sunday), is of course a member of the New England Yearly Meeting, and the New England Yearly Meeting of course owns the Moses Brown endowment asset that runs this school. Our Meeting has a library with multiple “PLEASE DONATE” signs posted. Since the Moses Brown School students are in and out of this building as part of their school day, I donated that PC, with my Quaker history and Rhode Island history database on it, to our meeting's library. I figured that the Moses Brown students might have an opportunity to consult these electronic materials while in the meeting library. Maybe. —Anyway, I couldn't figure out any better thing to do, given the strange and unexplained intransigence I had been running into. What was I supposed to do, lie down and die? I had invested years of my life in preparing this stuff!

So I presented the machine and the database to our meeting's Library Committee. A member of the Library Committee then stood up after Meeting for Worship one First Day and publicly thanked me for my “magnificent gift,” and briefly described it for the benefit of the members and attenders of the Quaker meeting.

But after this thanks, the machine and the database failed to appear in the meetinghouse library. Finally I confronted the Library Committee with “What is going on?” I extracted from this committee, over their reluctance, the information that the Ministry and Counsel committee of our meeting had taken the machine and the database away from the Library Committee. This Ministry and Counsel committee has members who are deeply involved with the operation of the Moses Brown School. They were keeping the stuff under lock and key in a dark room upstairs. Evidently they were looking it over? Then I found out they sabotaged the machine by ripping up the cover in order to get at the hardware OFF switch — forcing the machine into a hard shutdown from which it was not possible to restart the database. They had, for reasons of their own, rendered the machine unusable.



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Well then, I fixed the machine, doing a file system check and restore routine, and getting everything re-initialized. Then I found myself being eldery and warned. I was to examine my conduct! Nobody had asked me to do this! Nobody wanted me to do this! What did I think I was going to pull off? I should be grateful that they didn't just throw the machine, and my Quaker and Rhode Island historical database, into the dumpster! I found that, for having written these materials on Quaker history and Rhode Island history, and for having donated this PC to the meeting, I needed to be treated like some kind of criminal.

In sum, I found myself still unable to keep the promise that I had made to my spouse in moving to Providence, to get out of our East Side townhouse from time to time, and make myself useful during my retirement.

ASSLEY



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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: December 25, 2015



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PAUL CUFFE

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

ARRGH AUTOMATED RESEARCH REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot “Laura” (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.



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Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary "writerly" process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.

Place requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.



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HISTORY OF LIBERIA

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY STUDIES IN HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

HERBERT B. ADAMS, Editor

History is past Politics and Politics present History--_Freeman_

NINTH SERIES

HISTORY OF LIBERIA by John Hanson Thomas McPherson, Ph.D.

_Fellow in History, Johns Hopkins University, 1889; Instructor in History, University of Michigan, 1890;
Professor of History and Politics, University of Georgia, 1891._

* * * * *

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AUTHORITIES

PREFATORY NOTE.

This paper claims to be scarcely more than a brief sketch. It is an abridgment of a History of Liberia in much greater detail, presented as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Johns Hopkins University. I have devoted the leisure hours of several years to the accumulation of materials, which I hope will prove the basis of a larger work in the future.

J.H.T. McP.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, June, 1891.

HISTORY OF LIBERIA.



PAUL CUFFE

“FRIEND” PAUL CUFFE OF WESTPORT

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

I.

INTRODUCTION.

There are but few more interesting spots in Africa than the little corner of the west coast occupied by the Republic of Liberia. It has been the scene of a series of experiments absolutely unique in history--experiments from which we are to derive the knowledge upon which we must rely in the solution of the weighty problems connected with the development of a dark continent, and with the civilization of hundreds of millions of the human race. Many questions have arisen which have not been settled to our complete satisfaction. Is the Negro capable of receiving and maintaining a superimposed civilization? Froude declares that “the worst enemies of the blacks are those who persist in pressing upon them an equality which nature has denied them. They may attain it in time if they are fairly treated, but they can attain it only on condition of going through the discipline and experience of hundreds of years, through which the white race had to pass before it was fit for political rights. If they are raised to a position for which they are unqualified, they can only fall back into a state of savagery.”¹⁶ Upon the truth or error of this view how much depends! It is shared by many; some even believe that the condition of Liberia tends to confirm it, thinking they discern signs of incipient decay. But the great preponderance of opinion is on the other side. The weight of evidence shows the colonists have at the lowest estimate retained the civilization they took with them. Many maintain that there has been a sensible advance. A recent traveller describes them as “in mancher Hinsicht schon hypercultivirt.”

What might be called a third position is taken by one of the most prominent writers of the race, E.W. Blyden, the widely-known President of Liberia College. The radical difference in race and circumstance must, he thinks, make African civilization essentially different from European: not inferior, but different. The culture which the blacks have acquired, or may attain in further contact with foreign influence, will be used as a point of departure in future intelligent development along lines following the characteristics of the race. This tendency to differentiate he regards as natural and inevitable; it ought to be recognized and encouraged in every way, that the time may be hastened when a great negro civilization, unlike anything we have yet seen, shall prevail in Africa and play its part in the world's history.

If we make allowance for the errors and mistakes of an untrained and inexperienced people, the history of Liberia may be regarded as a demonstration of the capacity of the race for self-government. Upon the capability of individuals is reflected the highest credit. The opportunities for a rounded-out and fully developed culture afforded by the peculiar conditions of life in the Republic produced a number of men who deserve unqualified admiration. From the earliest days of the colony, when Elijah Johnson upheld the courage of the little band in the midst of hostile swarms of savages, to the steadfast statesmanship of Russwurm and the stately diplomacy of Roberts, there have stood forth individuals of a quality and calibre that fill with surprise those who hold the ordinary opinion of the possibilities of the Negro. The trials of the Republic have afforded a crucial test in which many a character has shown true metal. It is not too much to assert that the very highest type of the race has been the product of Liberia.

16. Letter to Philip A. Bruce, dated London, April 8, 1889.



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There are other aspects in which our tropical offspring has for us a vital interest. Perhaps the most important is the connection it will have in the future with what is called the Negro Problem in our own country. There have been and are thoughtful men who see in colonization the only solution of its difficulties. Others ridicule the very suggestion. It is a question into which we do not propose to go. But there is scarcely any doubt that when the development of Liberia is a little more advanced, and when communication with her ports becomes less difficult, and when the population of the United States grows more dense and presses more upon the limits of production, there will be a large voluntary migration of negroes to Africa. And no one will deny that the existence of a flourishing Republic of the black race just across the Atlantic will react powerfully upon all questions relating to our own colored population.

But let us not venture too deeply into this theme. Another claim of Liberia upon the sympathetic interest of the entire people, is that it represents our sole attempt at colonial enterprise. It is true the movement was largely individual, but the effort came from a widespread area of the country; moreover, the part played by the National Government was not only important, but essential. Without its friendly intervention, the plan could never have been carried out. The action carries with it some responsibility. The United States might well exercise some protective care, might now and then extend a helping hand, and let the aggressive Powers of Europe see that Liberia is not friendless, and that encroachment upon her territory will not be tolerated.

A few words upon the topography of the country and upon the aborigines may not be out of place. Liberia is by no means the dreary waste of sand and swamp that some imagine it. The view from the sea has been described as one of unspeakable beauty and grandeur. From the low-lying coast the land rises in a terraced slope--a succession of hills and plateaux as far as the eye can reach, all covered with the dense perennial verdure of the primeval forest. Perhaps the best authority on the natural features of the country is the zoologist of the Royal Museum of Leyden, J. Buettikofer, who has made Liberia several visits and spent several years in its scientific exploration. The account of his investigations is most interesting. Small as is the area of the country all kinds of soil are represented, and corresponding to this variety is a remarkably rich and varied flora. Amidst this luxuriance is found an unusually large number of products of commercial value. Cotton, indigo, coffee, pepper, the pineapple, gum tree, oil palm, and many others grow wild in abundance, while a little cultivation produces ample crops of rice, corn, potatoes, yams, arrowroot, ginger, and especially sugar, tobacco, and a very superior grade of coffee. The fertility of the soil renders possible the production of almost any crop.

The fauna of the land is scarcely less remarkable in variety and abundance. The larger animals, including domestic cattle and horses, do not thrive on the coast, but are plentiful farther inland. On the Mandingo Plateau, elephants are not uncommon. Buffaloes, leopards, tigers, antelopes, porcupines, the great ant-eater, divers species of monkeys, and numerous other animals are found, besides many varieties of birds.

The native Africans inhabiting this territory are probably more than a million in number, and belong to several different stocks of somewhat varying characteristics. The most common type is of medium size, well formed, coal-black in color and rather good-looking. They are intelligent and easily taught, but are extremely indolent. Their paganism takes the form of gross superstition, as seen in their constant use of gree-gree charms and in their sassa-wood ordeal. Like all the races of Africa, they are polygamists; and as the women manage the farms and do nearly all the work, a man's wealth and importance are often estimated by the number of his wives. Domestic slavery is universal among them, the great majority of slaves being obtained by capture in war. These inter-tribal wars were once almost constant, and their prevention requires the utmost vigilance of the Liberian authorities.



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The natives harvest rice and cassada; supply the coasting trader's demand for palm-oil; raise tobacco; procure salt by evaporating sea-water; engage in hunting and fishing. They carry on a number of rude industries such as the manufacture of basket-work, hats, mats, fish-nets; a crude sort of spinning and weaving. Iron ore exists in abundance, and the natives have long known how to smelt it and obtain the metal, from which they manufacture rude weapons, spurs, bits, stirrups and kitchen utensils. The cheapness of imported iron ware has driven out this interesting art on the coast; but in the interior it is still practised by the Mandingoes, who are also fine goldsmiths, and manufacture highly ornamented rings. There are also silversmiths among the Veys, who do good work. The leather industry, too, has been carried to some perfection.

With all their disadvantages the natives seem to extract a good deal of enjoyment out of existence. They are very fond of singing and dancing to the rude strains of a drum and harp, and usually prolong their revelries far into the night.

Taken as a whole, the native character has many fine traits; and from the civilization and development of this part of her population, Liberia has much to hope.

II.

THE COLONIZATION IDEA.

It is always a most interesting part of historic inquiry to search out the very earliest sources, the first feeble germ of the idea whose development we are investigating. It is difficult to decide from what one origin can be traced the continuous development of the idea which resulted in the birth of Liberia; but toward the close of the last century there arose a number of projects, widely differing in object and detail, which bore more or less directly upon it, each of which may be said to have contributed some special feature to the fully rounded and developed plan.

The earliest of these sprang from the once notorious hot-bed of slavery — [Newport, Rhode Island](#). As early as 1773 the Reverend [Samuel Hopkins](#), then widely known as a theological writer, and responsible for the system termed [Hopkinsianism](#), conceived the idea of a missionary effort in Africa, undertaken by natives properly trained in the United States¹⁷ This at first did not include the conception of a permanent settlement; but on consultation with the Rev. Ezra Styles, afterward President of Yale, it developed into a definite plan for a colony. The scheme proved popular; it was widely advertised by sermons and circulars both in this and the mother country; and by 1776 funds had been collected, Negro students placed under suitable instruction at Princeton, and success seemed almost assured. The outbreak of the Revolution, however, swept away all the thought of carrying Hopkins' cherished enterprise into execution, and after peace was restored his most strenuous efforts failed to arouse the old interest. Later thinkers, however, found suggestion and encouragement in his labors.

17. James Ferguson, [_Life of Hopkins_](#). Hopkins' Circular, 1793.



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The colony founded at Sierra Leone by English philanthropists drew in part its inspiration from Reverend Samuel Hopkins's idea, and in turn suggested later American plans. After the celebrated decision of Lord Mansfield in the Somerset case (1772), many slaves escaped to England, where they congregated in the dens of London in helpless poverty and misery. James Ramsay's essay on Slavery soon turned public attention to the Negro, and Dr. Smeathman's letters suggested quite a scheme of colonization. A movement in behalf of the oppressed race asserted itself at the University of Cambridge, in which Clarkson, Wilberforce, Granville Sharp and others took part. As a result of these efforts some four hundred Negroes and sixty whites were landed at Sierra Leone during May 1787. Disease and disorder were rife, and by 1791 a mere handful survived. The Sierra Leone Company was then incorporated; some 1,200 colonists from the Bahamas and Nova Scotia were taken over, and the settlement in spite of discouraging results was kept up by frequent reinforcements until 1807, when it was made a Government colony and naval station. Its growth in population and commerce has since steadily increased, and it now numbers some 60,000 persons chiefly concentrated in the city of Freetown, and all blacks save one or two hundred.

...Paul Cuffee, the son of a well-to-do Massachusetts freedman, had become by his talents and industry a prosperous merchant and ship-owner. Stimulated by the colony at Sierra Leone, and longing to secure liberty to his oppressed race, he determined to transport in his own vessels, and at his own expense, as many as he could of his colored brethren. Accordingly, in 1815, he sailed from Boston with about forty, whom he landed safely at Sierra Leone. He was about to take over on a second voyage a much larger number, when his benevolent designs were interrupted by death.

It will be observed that the colonization plans hitherto unfolded had all been proposed for some missionary or similar benevolent object, and were to be carried out on a small scale and by private means. It is now time to consider one proposed from a widely different standpoint. As a political measure, as a possible remedy for the serious evils arising from slavery and the contact of races, it is not surprising to find Thomas Jefferson suggesting a plan of colonization. The evils of slavery none ever saw more clearly. "The whole commerce between master and slave," he quaintly says, "is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this and learn to imitate it." And again, "With what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one-half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms these into despots and those into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the amor patriae of the other.... I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just."¹⁸ Yet his equally clear perception of the evils sure to result from emancipation immediate and unqualified, makes him look to colonization as the only remedy. "Why not retain and incorporate the blacks into the state?" he asks, "Deep rooted prejudices entertained by the whites, ten thousand recollections by the blacks of the injuries they have sustained; new provocations; the real distinctions which nature has made; and many other circumstances, will divide us into parties and produce convulsions which will probably never end but in the extermination of the one or the other race." After the lapse of a century how prophetic these words sound! Jefferson believed then that by colonization slavery was to be abolished. All slaves born after a certain date were to be free; these should remain with their parents till a given age, after which they should be taught at public expense agriculture and the useful arts. When full-grown they were to be "colonized to such a place as the circumstances of the time should render most proper, sending them out with arms, implements of the household and handicraft arts, pairs of the useful domestic animals, etc.; to declare them a free and independent people, and extend to them our alliance and protection till they have acquired strength."

Such in outline was Jefferson's contribution to the colonization idea. Its influence was unquestionably great: the "Notes on Virginia," privately circulated after 1781, and at length published in 1787, went through eight editions before 1800, and must have been familiar to nearly all of those concerned in the formation of the Colonization Society.

18. Jefferson, *_Notes on Virginia_*.



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Clearer still must the details of Jefferson's project have been in the minds of the members of the Virginia Legislature in 1800, when, after the outbreak of a dangerous slave conspiracy in Richmond, they met in secret session to consult the common security. The resolution which they reached shows unmistakably Jefferson's influence. With the delicate if somewhat obscure periphrasis in which legislation concerning the Negro was traditionally couched, they enacted: "That the Governor be requested to correspond with the President of the United States on the subject of purchasing lands without the limits of this State whither persons obnoxious to the laws or dangerous to the peace of society may be removed."¹⁹ An interesting correspondence ensued between Monroe, who was then Governor, and Jefferson. Both regarded the idea as something far more important than a mere penal colony. Monroe, too, saw in it a possible remedy for the evils of slavery, and refers to the matter as "one of great delicacy and importance, involving in a peculiar degree the future peace, tranquillity, and happiness" of the country. After much discussion Africa was selected as the only appropriate site, and approved by another Act of the Legislature. Jefferson lost no time in attempting to secure land for the colony, but his efforts met with no success. After a discouraging repulse from Sierra Leone, and the failure of several half-hearted attempts to obtain a footing elsewhere, the whole matter was allowed to sink into abeyance. For years a pall of secrecy concealed the scheme from public knowledge.

In the meantime a new private movement toward colonization was started at the North. Samuel J. Mills organized at Williams College, in 1808, for missionary work, an undergraduate society, which was soon transferred to Andover, and resulted in the establishment of the American Bible Society and Board of Foreign Missions. But the topic which engrossed Mills' most enthusiastic attention was the Negro. The desire was to better his condition by founding a colony between the Ohio and the Lakes; or later, when this was seen to be unwise, in Africa. On going to New Jersey to continue his theological studies, Mills succeeded in interesting the Presbyterian clergy of that State in his project. Of this body one of the most prominent members was Dr. Robert Finley. Dr. Finley succeeded in assembling at Princeton the first meeting ever called to consider the project of sending Negro colonists to Africa. Although supported by few save members of the seminary, Dr. Finley felt encouraged to set out for Washington in December, 1816, to attempt the formation of a colonization society.

Earlier in this same year there had been a sudden awakening of Southern interest in colonization. Toward the end of February, Gen. Charles Fenton Mercer accidentally had his attention called to the Secret Journals of the Legislature for the years 1801-5.²⁰ He had been for six years a member of the House of Delegates, in total ignorance of their existence. He at once investigated and was rewarded with a full knowledge of the Resolutions and ensuing correspondence between Monroe and Jefferson. Mercer's enthusiasm was at once aroused, and he determined to revive the Resolutions at the next meeting of the Legislature. In the meantime, imputing their previous failure to the secrecy which had screened them from public view, he brought the whole project conspicuously into notice. At the next session of the Legislature, in December, resolutions embodying the substance of the secret enactments were passed almost unanimously in both houses. Public attention had been in this way already brought to bear upon the advantages of Colonization when Finley set on foot the formation of a society in Washington. The interest already awakened and the indefatigable efforts of Finley

19. Kennedy's Report, p. 160.

20. A.C.S. Report for 1853, pp. 37-55.



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and his friend Col. Charles Marsh, at length succeeded in convening the assembly to which the Colonization Society owes its existence. It was a notable gathering. Henry Clay, in the absence of Bushrod Washington, presided, setting forth in glowing terms the object and aspirations of the meeting. Finley's brother-in-law, Elias B. Caldwell was Secretary, and supplied the leading argument, an elaborate plea, setting forth the expediency of the project and its practicability in regard to territory, expense, and the abundance of willing colonists. The wide benevolent objects to be attained were emphasized. John Randolph of Roanoke, and Robert Wright of Maryland, dwelt upon the desirability of removing the turbulent free-negro element and enhancing the value of property in slaves.²¹ Resolutions organizing the Society passed, and committees appointed to draft a Constitution and present a memorial to Congress. At an adjourned meeting a week later the constitution was adopted, and on January 1, 1817, officers were elected.

III.

THE COLONIZATION MOVEMENT.

With commendable energy the newly organized Society set about the accomplishment of the task before it. Plans were discussed during the summer, and in November two agents, Samuel J. Mills and Ebenezer Burgess, sailed for Africa to explore the western coast and select a suitable spot. They were cordially received in England by the officers of the African Institution, and by Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for the Colonies, who provided them with letters to Sierra Leone. Here they arrived in March, 1818, and were hospitably received, every facility being afforded them to prosecute their inquiries, though marked unwillingness to have a foreign colony established in the vicinity was not concealed. Their inspection was carried as far south as Sherbro Island, where they obtained promises from the natives to sell land to the colonists on their arrival with goods to pay for it. In May they embarked on the return voyage. Mills died before reaching home. His colleague made a most favorable report of the locality selected, though, as the event proved, it was a most unfortunate one.

After defraying the expenses of this exploration the Society's treasury was practically empty. It would have been most difficult to raise the large sum necessary to equip and send out a body of emigrants; and the whole enterprise would have languished and perhaps died but for a new impelling force. Monroe, who ever since his correspondence with Jefferson in 1800, had pondered over "the vast and interesting objects" which colonization might accomplish, was now by an interesting chain of circumstances enabled to render essential aid.

Though the importation of slaves had been strictly prohibited by the Act of Congress of March 2, 1807, no provision had been made for the care of the unfortunates smuggled in in defiance of the Statute. They became subject to the laws of the State in which they were landed; and these laws were in some cases so devised that it was profitable for the dealer to land his cargo and incur the penalty. The advertisements of the sale of such a cargo of "recaptured Africans" by the State of Georgia drew the attention of the Society and of Gen. Mercer in particular to this inconsistent and abnormal state of affairs. His profound indignation shows forth in the Second Annual Report of the Society, in which the attention of the public is earnestly drawn to the question; nor did he rest until a bill was introduced into the House of Representatives designed to do away with the evil. This bill became a law on March 3, 1819.

Provision was made for a more stringent suppression of the slave trade: new cruisers were ordered and bounties awarded for captures; but the clause which proved so important to the embryo colony was that dealing with the captured cargoes:

21. The remarks of these gentlemen and others of similar views have subjected the Society to many unjust attacks. Of course many would join such a movement from mixed motives; but the guiding principles of the Society itself have always been distinctly philanthropic.



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“The President of the United States is hereby authorized to make such regulations and arrangements as he may deem expedient for the safe-keeping, support, and removal beyond the limits of the United States, of all such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color as may be so delivered and brought within their jurisdiction; and to appoint a proper person or persons residing upon the coast of Africa as agent or agents for receiving the negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color, delivered from on board vessels seized in the prosecution of the slave trade by commanders of the United States armed vessels.” The sum of \$100,000 was appropriated for carrying out the provisions of the Act. President Monroe determined to construe it as broadly as possible in aid of the project of colonization. After giving Congress, in his message, December 20, 1818, fair notice of his intention, no objection being made, he proceeded to appoint two agents, the Rev. Samuel Bacon, already in the service of the Colonization Society, and John P. Bankson as assistant, and to charter the ship Elizabeth. The agents were instructed to settle on the coast of Africa, with a tacit understanding that the place should be that selected by the Colonization Society; they were to provide accommodations sufficient for three hundred, supplying provisions, clothing, tools, and implements. It is important to note the essential part taken by the Government in the establishment of the colony, for this is often said to be purely the result of private enterprise; the inference tending to free the United States from any responsibility for the protection of its feeble offspring. It is true according to the letter, that the Government agency was separate from the colony: the agents were instructed “to exercise no power founded on the principle of colonization, or other principle than that of performing benevolent offices;” and again, “you are not to connect your agency with the views or plans of the Colonization Society, with which, under the law, the Government of the United States has no concern,” Yet as a matter of fact the agency and colony were practically identical; and for years the resources of the Government were employed “to colonize recaptured Africans, to build homes for them, to furnish them with farming utensils, to pay instructors to teach them, to purchase ships for their convenience, to build forts for their protection, to supply them with arms and munitions of war, to enlist troops to guard them, and to employ the army and navy in their defence,”²² These words of one unfriendly to the colony forcibly show the extent to which our national government was responsible for the experiment.

When the Elizabeth was chartered the Society was notified that the Government agency was prepared to transport their first colonists; or more literally “agreed to receive on board such free blacks recommended by the Society as might be required for the purpose of the agency.” For the expenses of the expedition \$33,000 was placed in the hands of Mr. Bacon. Dr. Samuel A. Crozier was appointed by the Society as its agent and representative; and eighty-six negroes from various states--thirty-three men, eighteen women, and the rest children, were embarked. On the 6th of February, 1820, the Mayflower of Liberia weighed anchor in New York harbor, and, convoyed by the U.S. sloop-of-war Cyane, steered her course toward the shores of Africa. The pilgrims were kindly treated by the authorities at Sierra Leone, where they arrived on the ninth of March; but on proceeding to Sherbro Island they found the natives had reconsidered their promise, and refused to sell them land. While delayed by negotiations the injudicious nature of the site selected was disastrously shown. The low marshy ground and the bad water quickly bred the African fever, which soon carried off all the agents and nearly a fourth of the emigrants. The rest, weakened and disheartened were soon obliged to seek refuge at Sierra Leone.

22. Report of Amos Kendall, Fourth Auditor, to the Secretary of the Navy, August, 1830.



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In March, 1821, a body of twenty-eight new emigrants under charge of J.B. Winn and Ephraim Bacon, reached Freetown in the brig Nautilus. Winn collected as many as he could of the first company, also the stores sent out with them, and settled the people in temporary quarters at Fourah Bay, while Bacon set out to explore the coast anew and secure suitable territory. An elevated fertile and desirable tract was at length discovered between 250 and 300 miles S.E. of Sierra Leone. This was the region of Cape Montserado. It seemed exactly suited to the purposes of the colonists, but the natives refused to sell their land for fear of breaking up the traffic in slaves; and the agent returned discouraged. Winn soon died, and Bacon returned to the United States. In November, Dr. Eli Ayres was sent over as agent, and the U.S. schooner Alligator, commanded by Lieutenant Stockton, was ordered to the coast to assist in obtaining a foothold for the colony. Cape Montserado was again visited; and the address and firmness of Lieutenant Stockton accomplished the purchase of a valuable tract of land.

The cape upon which the settlers proposed to build their first habitations consists of a narrow peninsula or tongue of land formed by the Montserado River, which separates it from the mainland. Just within the mouth of the river lie two small islands, containing together less than three acres. To these, the Plymouth of Liberia, the colonists and their goods were soon transported. But again the fickle natives repented the bargain, and the settlers were long confined to “Perseverance Island,” as the spot was aptly named. Space forbids entering on the interesting details of the difficulties they successfully encountered. After a number of thrilling experiences the emigrants, on April 25, 1822, formally took possession of the cape, where they had erected rude houses for themselves; and from this moment we may date the existence of the colony. Their supplies were by this time sadly reduced; the natives were hostile and treacherous; fever had played havoc with the colonists in acclimating; and the incessant downpour of the rainy season had set in. Dr. Ayres became thoroughly discouraged, and proposed to lead them back to Sierra Leone. Then it was that Elijah Johnson, an emigrant from New York, made himself forever famous in Liberian history by declaring that he would never desert the home he had found after two years’ weary quest! His firmness decided the wavering colonists; the agents with a few faint-hearted ones sailed off to America; but the majority remained with their heroic Negro leader. The little band, deserted by their appointed protectors, were soon reduced to the most dire distress, and must have perished miserably but for the arrival of unexpected relief. The United States Government had at last gotten hold of some ten liberated Africans, and had a chance to make use of the agency established for them at so great an expense. They were accordingly sent out in the brig Strong under the care of the Rev. Jehudi Ashmun. A quantity of stores and some thirty-seven emigrants sent by the Colonization Society completed the cargo. Ashmun had received no commission as agent for the colony, and expected to return on the Strong; under this impression his wife had accompanied him. But when he found the colonists in so desperate a situation he nobly determined to remain with them at any sacrifice. He visited the native chiefs and found them, under cover of friendly promises, preparing for a deadly assault on the little colony. There was no recourse but to prepare for a vigorous defense. Twenty-seven men were capable of bearing arms; and one brass and five iron fieldpieces, all dismantled and rusty, formed his main hope. Ashmun at once set to work, and with daily drills and unrelenting labor in clearing away the forest and throwing up earthworks, succeeded at last in putting the settlement in a reasonable state of defense. It was no easy task. The fatiguing labor, incessant rains, and scanty food predisposed them to the dreaded fever. Ashmun himself was prostrated; his wife sank and died before his eyes; and soon there was but one man in the colony who was not on the sick-list. At length the long-expected assault was made. Just before daybreak on the 11th of November the settlement was approached by a body of over eight hundred African warriors. Stealthily following the pickets as they returned a little too early from their watch, the savages burst upon the colony and with a rush captured the outworks. A desperate conflict ensued, the issue of which hung doubtful until the colonists succeeded in manning their brass field-piece, which was mounted upon a raised platform, and turning it upon the dense ranks of the assailants. The effect at such short range was terrible. “Every shot literally spent its force in a solid mass of living human flesh. Their fire suddenly terminated. A savage yell was raised, ... and the whole host disappeared.”²³ The victory had been

23. Ashmun.



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gained at a cost of four killed and as many seriously wounded. Ammunition was exhausted; food had given out. Another attack, for which the natives were known to be preparing, could scarcely fail to succeed. Before it was made, however, an English captain touched at the cape and generously replenished their stores. On the very next evening, November 30, the savages were seen gathering in large numbers on the cape, and toward morning a desperate attack was made on two sides at once. The lines had been contracted, however, and all the guns manned, and the well-directed fire of the artillery again proved too much for native valor. The savages were repulsed with great loss. The unusual sound of a midnight cannonade attracted the Prince Regent, an English colonial schooner laden with military stores and having on board the celebrated traveller Captain Laing, through whose mediation the natives were brought to agree to a peace most advantageous to the colonists. When the Prince Regent sailed, Midshipman Gordon, with eleven British sailors volunteered to remain, to assist the exhausted colonists and guarantee the truce. His generosity met an ill requital; within a month he had fallen victim to the climate with eight of the brave seamen. Supplies were again running low, when March brought the welcome arrival of the U.S. ship Cyane. Captain R. T. Spence at once turned his whole force to improving the condition of the colonists. Buildings were erected, the dismantled colonial schooner was raised and made sea-worthy, and many invaluable services were rendered, until at length a severe outbreak of the fever among the crew compelled the vessel's withdrawal. It was too late, however, to prevent the loss of forty lives, including the lieutenant, Richard Dashiell, and the surgeon, Dr. Dix.

On the 24th of May, 1823, the brig Oswego arrived with sixty-one new emigrants and a liberal supply of stores and tools, in charge of Dr. Ayres, who, already the representative of the Society, had now been appointed Government Agent and Surgeon. One of the first measures of the new agent was to have the town surveyed and lots distributed among the whole body of colonists. Many of the older settlers found themselves dispossessed of the holdings improved by their labor, and the colony was soon in a ferment of excitement and insurrection. Dr. Ayres, finding his health failing, judiciously betook himself to the United States.

The arrival of the agent had placed Mr. Ashmun in a false position of the most mortifying character. It will be remembered that in sympathy for the distress of the colony he had assumed the position of agent without authority. In the dire necessity of subsequent events he had been compelled to purchase supplies and ammunition in the Society's name. He now found, himself superseded in authority, his services and self-sacrifice unappreciated, his drafts²⁴ dishonored, his motives distrusted. Nothing could show more strongly his devotion and self-abnegation than his action in the present crisis. Seeing the colony again deserted by the agent and in a state of discontent and confusion, he forgot his wrongs and remained at the helm. Order was soon restored but the seeds of insubordination remained. The arrival of 103 emigrants from Virginia on the Cyrus, in February 1824, added to the difficulty, as the stock of food was so low that the whole colony had to be put on half rations. This necessary measure was regarded by the disaffected as an act of tyranny on Ashmun's part; and when shortly after the complete prostration of his health compelled him to withdraw to the Cape De Verde Islands, the malcontents sent home letters charging him with all sorts of abuse of power, and finally with desertion of his post! The Society in consternation applied to Government for an expedition of investigation, and the Rev. R. R. Gurley, Secretary of the Society, and an enthusiastic advocate of colonization was despatched in June on the U.S. schooner Porpoise. The result of course revealed the probity, integrity and good judgment of Mr. Ashmun; and Gurley became thenceforth his warmest admirer. As a preventive of future discontent a Constitution was adopted at Mr. Gurley's suggestion, giving for the first time a definite share in the control of affairs to the colonists themselves. Gurley brought with him the name of the colony--Liberia, and of its settlement on the Cape--Monrovia, which had been adopted by the Society on the suggestion of Mr. Robert Goodloe Harper of Maryland. He returned from his successful mission in August leaving the most cordial relations established throughout the colony.

24. These were eventually paid by the United States Government. Kendall's Report to Secretary of Navy, December, 1830.



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Gurley’s visit seemed to mark the turning of the tide, and a period of great prosperity now began. Relay after relay of industrious emigrants arrived; new land was taken up; successful agriculture removed all danger of future failure of food supply; and a flourishing trade was built up at Monrovia. Friendly relations were formed with the natives, and their children taken for instruction into colonial families and schools. New settlements were formed; churches and schools appeared; an efficient militia was organized; printing presses set up and hospitals erected. On every side rapid progress was made. After years of illustrious service Ashmun retired to his home in New Haven, where he died a few days later, on August 25, 1828. Under Dr. Richard Randall and Dr. Mechlin, who successively filled his post, the prosperity of the colony continued undiminished.

The decade after 1832 is marked by the independent action of different State colonization societies. At first generally organized as tributary to the main body, the State societies now began to form distinct settlements at other points on the coast. The Maryland Society first started an important settlement at Cape Palmas, of which we shall make a special study. Bassa Cove was settled by the joint action of the New York and Pennsylvania Societies; Greenville, on the Sinou river, by emigrants from Mississippi; and the Louisiana Society engaged in a similar enterprise. The separate interests of the different settlements at length began in many cases to engender animosity and bad feeling; the need of general laws and supervision was everywhere apparent; and a movement toward a federal union of the colonies was set on foot. A plan was at length agreed upon by all except Maryland, by which the colonies were united into the “Commonwealth of Liberia,” whose government was controlled by a Board of Directors composed of Delegates from the State societies. This board at its first meeting drew up a plan of government, and Thomas Buchanan was appointed first Governor of the Commonwealth, 1837. The advantages of the union were soon apparent. The more aggressive native tribes with whom not a little trouble had been experienced, were made to feel the strength of the union; and many of the smaller head-men voluntarily put themselves under the protection of the Government, agreeing to become citizens, with all their subjects, and submit to its laws. The traffic in slaves all along the coast was checked, inter-tribal warfare prevented, and trial by the sassa-wood ordeal abolished wherever colonial influence extended. Mr. Buchanan was the last white man who exercised authority in Liberia. On his death the Lieutenant-Governor, Joseph Jenkins Roberts, succeeded him. Roberts, who afterward became Liberia’s most distinguished citizen, was a Virginia Negro, having been born at Norfolk in 1809, and brought up near Petersburg. He obtained a rudimentary education while running a flat-boat on the James and Appomattox Rivers. In 1829 he went with his widowed mother and younger brothers to Liberia, where he rapidly rose to wealth and distinction. As Governor he evinced an efficient statesmanship that promised well for his future career.

Roberts had not long been governor when trouble arose with the British coast-wise traders that gave rise to a most interesting crisis. The Liberian Government in regulating commerce within its jurisdiction had enacted laws imposing duties on all imported goods. The English traders, accustomed for hundreds of years to unrestricted traffic on this very coast, were indignant at the presumption of the upstart colony, and ignored its regulations. The Government protested, but in vain. And at length the little colonial revenue schooner John Seyes, while attempting to enforce the laws at Edina, was actually seized by the stalwart Britisher and dragged before the Admiralty Court at Sierra Leone. A long discussion which would be profitless to follow in detail, ensued. The result was, that the John Seyes was confiscated. The British Government opened a correspondence with the United States, in which it was ascertained that Liberia was not in political dependence upon them. Whereupon the sovereignty of Liberia was promptly denied, her right to acquire or hold territory questioned, and she was given to understand that the operations of British traders would in future be backed by the British navy.



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Evidently if Liberia was to maintain and govern her territory something must be done. The Colonization Society while claiming for Liberia the right to exercise sovereign powers, seems to have had the unacknowledged conviction, that England's position, however ungenerous, was logically unassailable. The supreme authority wielded by the Society, its veto power over legislative action, was undoubtedly inconsistent with the idea of a sovereign state. This is clearly apparent from the fact that though there was pressing necessity for a treaty with England, neither the colony nor the Society had power to negotiate it. It was accordingly determined to surrender all control over the colony; and the “people of the Commonwealth of Liberia” were “advised” by the Society “to undertake the whole work of self-government;” to make the necessary amendments to their Constitution, and to declare their full sovereignty to the world.

The suggestion was adopted in Liberia by popular vote, and a convention met on July 26, 1847, adopted a [Declaration of Independence](#) and a new Constitution, closely modelled on the corresponding documents of the United States. In September the Constitution was ratified by vote of the people. Governor Roberts was elected to the office of President, upon which he entered January 3, 1848. His inaugural address is one of remarkable interest, fitly proclaiming to the world a new Republic.

IV.

MARYLAND IN LIBERIA.

The widespread interest awakened by the actual establishment of a permanent colony at Monrovia led to the formation of a number of State Colonization Societies, at first purely auxiliary to the central body, but later in some cases independent. The foundation of independent settlements at Bassa Cove and Sinou by the New York, Pennsylvania and Mississippi Societies, and their union in 1837 into the Commonwealth, has been considered. A much more important colony was founded by Maryland at Cape Palmas, which for years maintained its independence.

In 1831, the Maryland State Colonization Society was formed. Active interest in the movement had long been felt in the State, and it scarcely needed the eloquence of Robert Finley, son of the old champion of colonization, who visited Baltimore in that year, to awaken enthusiasm. The Society had hardly been formed when ample funds were provided in an unexpected way. In August, 1831, a tragic Negro uprising took place in Virginia, in which some sixty-five white men, women and children were murdered. The Southampton Massacres were attributed largely to the instigation of the troublesome free-Negro element, and the growing sentiment in favor of emancipation was abruptly checked. The Maryland Legislature, sharing the general excitement, passed in December a resolution which became law in March, and proved to the State Society what the Act of March 3, 1819, was to the main organization. The connection was more explicit. Three members of the Society were to be appointed Commissioners to remove all free Negroes to Liberia. The sum of \$20,000 in the current year, and of \$10,000 in each succeeding year, for a period of twenty years, was devoted to the purpose. Any free Negro refusing to emigrate was to be summarily ejected from the State by the sheriff. The wave of feeling which dictated this monstrous piece of legislation passed away before any of its harsh provisions were carried out. But the beneficent portion remained in force. The Society was left in the enjoyment of the liberal annuity of \$10,000.



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In October, 1831, and December, 1832, expeditions were sent out which landed emigrants at Monrovia. The difficulty of arriving at an agreement with the parent Society regarding the rights and status of these people, together with other considerations, led to the adoption of the idea of founding a separate colony. The plan was adopted largely through the support of Mr. John H.B. Latrobe, throughout his life one of the most active and efficient friends of colonization. The motives of the undertaking were distinctly announced to be the gradual extirpation of slavery in Maryland, and the spread of civilization and Christianity in Africa. Cape Palmas, a bold promontory marking the point where the coast makes a sharp bend toward the east, was selected as the new site. Its conspicuous position makes it one of the best known points on the coast, and some identify it with the “West Horn” reached by Hanno, the Carthaginian explorer, twenty-nine days out from Gades. Dr. James Hall, who had gained experience as physician in Monrovia, was placed in charge of the expedition, and the brig Ann, with a small number of emigrants, sailed from Baltimore November 28, 1833. A firm legal basis was projected for the new establishment in a Constitution to which all emigrants were to subscribe. The experience gained by the older colony was put to good use. Regular courts, militia, and public schools were provided for from the first.

The vessel touched at Monrovia, gathered as many recruits as possible from those sent out on the two previous expeditions, and finally anchored at Cape Palmas on February 11, 1834. After the usual tedious “palaver” and bargaining, the natives formally sold the required land. The cape is a promontory some seventy-five feet in height, separated from the mainland, except for a narrow, sandy isthmus. A river, navigable for some miles to small boats, opens opposite it, and forms a safe harbor. A long, salt-water lake extends to the east, parallel to the coast. The land is very fertile and well adapted to farming. Several native villages lie near the cape. From a well-founded fear of native treachery the colonists laid out their town on the promontory, upon the summit of which a brass six-pounder was mounted. Farm lands were laid out on the mainland, and in a short time the little community was in a thriving condition. None of the distressing misfortunes encountered by the colony at Monrovia marred the early history of “Maryland in Liberia.”

In 1836 the health of Dr. Hall, whose services to the infant colony had been invaluable, became so much impaired that he was obliged to resign. He returned to the United States, and long rendered the Society efficient service in another capacity. John B. Russwurm, a citizen of Monrovia, and once editor of the Liberia Herald, was appointed Governor, and served ably and faithfully until his death in 1851. Early in his administration a convenient form of paper currency, receivable at the Society’s store, was introduced, and proved most useful in trade with the natives. In 1841 some slight difficulties with employees of missions led the Society, while still retaining control of affairs, to assert by resolution that the colony was a sovereign State. A revenue law introduced in 1846 soon produced an income of about \$1,200. In this year began the trips of the “Liberia Packet,” a vessel maintained by a company formed to trade between Baltimore and Harper, as the town of the colony was named, in honor of Robert Goodloe Harper. A certain amount of trade was guaranteed and other aid given by the Society. In 1847 the judiciary was separated from the executive; a chief justice and a system of courts were provided for.



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The year 1852 ended the period during which the Society drew its annual stipend from the State treasury; but the General Assembly was induced to extend the provisions of the Act of 1831 for a further period of six years. It may be as well to note here that in 1858 a further extension was made for five years, the amount at the same time being reduced to \$5,000 per annum.²⁵ For twenty years the colony had flourished under the care and good management of the Society. Prosperity now seemed secure, and a spirit of discontent, a desire to throw off the yoke and assume autonomy began to prevail. The great success following the assumption of Independence by Liberia in 1847, and the recognition at once obtained from the leading nations of Europe, naturally strengthened the feeling. A committee of leading citizens petitioned the Society to relinquish its authority, at the same time demanding or begging almost everything else in its power to bestow. The Society was further asked by its spoiled fosterling to continue to support schools, provide physicians and medicine, remit debts, and finally, to grant a “loan” of money to meet the expenses of government.²⁶

The Board of Managers, though deeming the colony still unripe for independence, generously determined to grant the request, as made advisable by force of circumstances. Among other things it was feared that the better class of colonists might be attracted toward the independent State of Liberia. A sort of federal union with that State was suggested, but found impracticable. A convention met and drafted a Constitution, which was submitted to the Board. An agreement was reached as to the conditions of the transfer of the Society’s lands, etc. Both were ratified by the people, and in May, 1854, Wm. A. Prout was elected Governor. Other officials, senators and representatives, were chosen at the same time.

The prosperity of the colony continued under the careful management of Gov. Prout. On his death the Lieutenant-Governor, Wm. S. Drayton, succeeded to his office. It was not long before the “rash and imprudent” conduct of this official precipitated a serious conflict with the natives. An expedition against them resulted in a demoralizing defeat, with loss of artillery and twenty-six valuable lives. In consternation an urgent appeal was sent to Monrovia. The treasury of the Republic was exhausted from the effects of the uprising of the Sinou river tribes; but Dr. Hall was fortunately present, and supplied the Government with a loan from the funds of the Maryland Society. One hundred and fifteen Liberian troops, under command of ex-President Roberts, were soon embarked for Cape Palmas, and easily overawed the native chiefs, who agreed to a fair adjustment of their grievances by treaty, February 26, 1857.

The war was not without important results. The Maryland colonists were thoroughly aroused to the weakness of their isolated position, and determined to have union with Liberia at any price. It was known that the Republic was willing to admit Maryland only as a county, on precisely the same terms as the other three-- Montserado, Sinou, and Bassa. State pride and the views of the Society had hitherto kept them from such a union; but now, in the reaction from their recent terror, a vote of the people called for by Act of the Legislature was unanimous in favor of “County Annexation;” and a committee was appointed to arrange matters at once with Roberts. When he declined to assume any such responsibility, they actually proceeded to dissolve the Government, and cede all public property forthwith to the Republic of Liberia. The interesting document entitled the “Act or Petition of Annexation,” shows the number of colonists to have been at this time 900 and the aboriginal population about 60,000. The tax on imports produced \$1,800 a year. The State’s liabilities were \$3,000, with assets estimated at \$10,000.

The Liberian Legislature by an Act of April, 1857, formally received the colony into the Republic as “Maryland County.” The advantages gained by this change undoubtedly more than counterbalanced any loss of independence. Though the total dissolution of the government and surrender of all rights and property before any negotiation with Liberian authorities had taken place, seems inconceivably rash statescraft, the wisdom of the colonists in desiring the union is unquestionable.

25. The outbreak of the Civil War ended the arrangement after the third payment.

26. This singular petition is preserved in Minute Book No. 4 of the M.S. C.S., p. 36.



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At the time of annexation the Maryland Colonization Society had on hand some \$6,000, which was invested, and the interest devoted to a school at Cape Palmas; in connection with this trust its existence is prolonged. Up to the end of its period of activity it had received and expended nearly half a million dollars; the balance sheet of December 31, 1857, may be of interest:

State Appropriations,	\$ 930.00
State Colonization Tax,	12,851.00
Colonial Agency,	1,091.85
Columbia Expedition,	248.88
Stock of C. & L. Trading Co., ...	1,250.00
Mdse.,	104.62
State Fund,	241,922.16
Contributions,	45,385.74
Profit and Loss,	139,972.31-1/2
J.T.G., Colonial Agent,	126.70

	443,883.26-1/2

V.

THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

The History of Liberia from this point on assumes a peculiar interest. The capacity and capabilities of the Negro are subjected to a crucial test. He is left fully freed from the control or influence of an alien race, in possession of a borrowed civilization, and of a borrowed political system of an advanced type, dependent on popular intelligence for its very existence. Can he maintain his position? Will he make further progress, developing along lines peculiar to his race and environment, and spreading a new civilization among the adjacent tribes? Or is he to lapse helplessly back into his original condition--to be absorbed into the dense masses of surrounding barbarism? The question is a vital one. The solution of weighty problems in large part depends upon the answer.

The form of government was, as has been seen, closely copied from that of the United States. There is the same tripartite division--executive, legislative and judicial. The President is elected every two years, on the first Tuesday in May. He is commander-in-chief of the army and navy; makes treaties with the concurrence of two-thirds of the Senate, with whose advice he also appoints all public officers not otherwise provided for by law.

The legislative authority consists of a Senate of two members from each county, elected for four years, and a House of Representatives holding office for two years; four members being apportioned to Montserado county, three to Bassa, one to each other county, with one additional representative for each 10,000 inhabitants. The judicial power was vested in a Supreme Court with original jurisdiction in all cases affecting ambassadors and consuls and where the Republic is a party, and appellate jurisdiction in all other cases; and in subordinate courts to be established by the Legislature.



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The majority of the colonists had been long accustomed to similar institutions in the land of their captivity, and the new machinery of government was soon running smoothly. Within the little State peace and prosperity prevailed; its foreign relations, on the contrary, were involved in the greatest uncertainty. It had indeed severed the leading strings which bound it to its natural protector, and stood forth in the assertion of its independence. But it was wholly unsupported and unrecognized. The dispute with England, whose protege on the north looked with jealousy and distrust on Liberian policy, remained unsettled. The danger was real and pressing. Clearly recognition must be sought and an international footing obtained without delay. President Roberts accordingly determined to go abroad, and as at once chief magistrate and ambassador appeal to the leading courts of Europe. His first effort, however, was directed toward obtaining alliance with the United States. In America his reception was enthusiastic. But the delicacy with which the dissension on the slavery question made it necessary to handle every subject remotely bearing on that bone of contention, prevented him from obtaining even the formal recognition of Liberia. Roberts then determined by pleading his country's cause in England to arouse compassion in the heart of the power from which there was most to fear. Here substantial rewards met his efforts. His prepossessing personality, tact, and statesmanlike qualities won many friends.²⁷ With their support the recognition of Liberia as a sovereign State was soon obtained, together with a commercial treaty which left nothing to be desired. In further evidence of kindly sentiment the English Government presented the young Republic with a trim little cutter of four guns for coast protection. In France and Belgium similar generous treatment was experienced, and Roberts was conveyed home in triumph on the British man-of-war Amazon.

A second visit of Roberts to England, in 1852, four years later, to adjust disputes with traders who claimed certain tracts of land, was equally successful, and France, under Louis Napoleon, presented him with arms and uniforms for the equipment of the Liberian troops. In 1852 Prussia also extended her friendship, soon followed by Brazil and the free Hanse towns. In 1862, the necessity for cautious dealing with the race question having passed away, the United States government at last formally recognized the Republic, and Holland, Sweden, Norway, and Hayti formed treaties in 1864. The consent of Portugal and Denmark in 1865, and of Austria in 1867, brought Liberia into treaty relations with nearly all the leading commercial nations.

The internal condition of the Republic during the first decade was one of unprecedented growth and prosperity. The Colonization Society in America was in a flourishing condition, and gained friends on every side. Its receipts for the ten years were not far short of a million dollars; and this generous means permitted the transportation, in the same period, of over five thousand chosen emigrants. The accession of so large a force of laborers added a new stimulus to the activity awakened by self-government. Many new settlements were formed and all the older ones received an infusion of new strength. Agriculture, especially the cultivation of the great staples, rice, coffee, sugar and cotton, made rapid progress; while commerce was stimulated by the establishment of regular monthly lines of steamers between England and various points on the coast, the first of which was started in 1853. The enterprise of Holland soon added still other lines. Communication with America was at the same time facilitated by the regular trips of a large vessel built for the purpose, the gift to the Society of Mr. John C. Stevens of Maryland.

27. Carl Ritter, who saw him in 1852, speaks of him as “den edlen, hochgebildeten, erfahrenen, weisen, und der Rede sehr kundigen Staatsman Wir (i.e., Ritter,) haben wiederholt seinen wuerdenvollen Reden in den ersten Kreisen in London beigewohnt.”



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At the close of his fourth administration President Roberts decided to decline reelection. For eight years he had been at the helm, and had brought the ship of state safely through her first perilous voyages. And now while the waters seemed smooth and skies serene he thought it best to intrust her guidance to other hands. The election took place in May, 1855, amidst scenes of political strife and party violence at once intense and short-lived. It resulted in the choice of Stephen A. Benson for President and Beverly P. Yates for Vice-President. Both were distinctly the product of Liberian training. Benson was brought over, at the age of six years, by his parents in 1822, and received his entire education in the country. He became a successful merchant and entered political life in the wake of Roberts. As chief magistrate he showed himself a practical and efficient man, with the interests of the country at heart.

One of the leading objects of Benson's policy was the improvement and elevation of the aborigines; but his designs were in part frustrated by the outbreak of a stubborn and exhausting war with the native tribes dwelling about the Sinou River. Details must be omitted for want of space; but this war devastated four settlements and sadly depleted the national treasury. It was soon afterwards that the Maryland colony at Cape Palmas was almost overwhelmed in a similar native uprising, and united with the Republic, as elsewhere narrated.

A widespread scarcity of provisions followed these wars, which gave rise to much apprehension. But this eventually did good in giving new emphasis to the fact that main reliance must be placed upon agriculture rather than trade. The great resources of Liberia were shown at a National Fair, held in December, 1858; premiums were awarded for the best specimens of coffee, arrow-root, cotton, rice, ginger, potatoes, oxen, sheep, swine, turkeys, butter, preserves; cloth and socks of African cotton; boots; soap and candles from palm oil; ploughs, hoes and other implements from native iron and home manufacture; farina; chocolate; planks, shingles, cabinet work, and many other products of Liberian agriculture and industry.

President Benson was reelected without opposition, and entered upon his second term in January, 1858. A fresh outbreak of the slave trade in this year was followed by a number of captures by U.S. cruisers, giving rise to the old difficulty in regard to the disposition of the cargoes. The Act of March 3, 1819, which had long fallen into disuse, was revived, and a contract made with the Colonization Society to transport and maintain for a twelvemonth the recaptured Africans already on the Government's hands. The substitution of small, swift steamers for the craft of older days so increased the efficiency of the navy that captures were made in rapid succession. Within two months 1,432 Africans were landed at Key West. This state of affairs made further legislation immediately necessary. Congress, acting upon the suggestion of a Presidential message, passed an Act amending the Act of March 3, 1819, which empowered the President to form a five-years' contract with "any person or persons, society or societies," to receive in Africa and care for the unfortunates rescued from slavers, for the period of one year, and at a price of \$100 per capita. Commanders of cruisers were to be instructed to land their captures directly upon the coast of Liberia whenever practicable; immediate measures were to be taken for removing to Africa those already at Key West; and the sum of \$250,000 was appropriated to defray expenses.



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Three large vessels were at once chartered and stored with \$60,000 worth of supplies; with the least possible delay the suffering crowd at Key West was transported to Liberia; but only 893 survived the passage. The effect of the new orders issued to the U.S. slave squadron was soon felt in Liberia. On August 8, 1860, the Storm King unexpectedly arrived with a cargo of 619; within twenty-four hours the Erie, prize to the steamer Mohican, followed with 867. Tidings came that still larger numbers were en route. The effect of this inundation of liberated barbarians upon the small civilized community, already surrounded by savage swarms, may be imagined. The greatest consternation prevailed, and excitement rose to fever heat. President Benson wrote to the Society that great evils would result unless means were liberally supplied, and entire control of the new arrivals given to the Liberian Government. The Society accordingly transferred the execution of its contracts to that government, and placed at its disposal all money received by their terms. This action seems to have allayed the worst apprehensions; and although over 4,000 recaptured Africans were landed within the space of two months, no harm seems to have resulted. They made rapid progress in civilization, becoming assimilated to and in many cases intermarrying with the colonists; from among them arose some of the best citizens of the Republic.

President Benson's policy in regard to the natives was successful in bringing many tribes much more closely under the influence of the government. A number of steps were taken toward actively spreading among them the arts of civilized life, improving their methods of agriculture, and checking the evils of intertribal warfare and of superstition. A poll tax of one dollar a year was levied on each male adult, to be collected from the chiefs of the several districts; with a part of the funds thus raised schools for popular instruction were to be established throughout the country.

The control and oversight by the central authority of so many small settlements scattered over a large range of coast had been greatly facilitated by the small armed cutter presented in 1848 by the English government. This was now found to be hopelessly out of repair, and was generously replaced by the donor with another and somewhat larger vessel--the Quail, an armed schooner of 123 tons. About the same time the New York Society sent over a small steamer to provide rapid and regular communication between points along the coast. In honor of a liberal benefactor it was called the “Seth Grosvenor.”

The third and fourth administrations of Benson passed uneventfully, and in January, 1864, Daniel B. Warner, who, the May previous, had been elected, succeeded him. Warner was born near Baltimore, in 1812, and emigrated in 1823. The Civil War in America, with the sanguine hopes it aroused in the breast of the Negro, caused a rapid falling off in the number of applicants for transportation to Liberia. The income of the Society for once exceeded the demand upon it, and several good investments were made. Liberia, however, was demanding more cultivators. A supply came from an unexpected quarter. Two societies were organized by thrifty negroes of Barbadoes, to return to Africa and make their home in the new Republic. Agents were sent out, and sympathy with their enterprise enlisted. The Liberian Government issued a proclamation of cordial invitation, and the Legislature appropriated \$4,000 to assist the colonists, increasing in their case the allotment of land from ten to twenty-five acres for each family. The Colonization Society devoted \$10,000 to their aid, and despatched an experienced agent to take charge of the expedition. A large vessel was chartered, and after a pleasant voyage of thirty-three days, without the loss of a single life, 346 emigrants were landed at Monrovia. They proved a welcome and valuable acquisition, many being mechanics and skilled laborers.

After the close of the war, the alluring prospect of “ten acres and a mule” having failed our freedmen, the Society again received numerous applications for passage. The M. C. Stevens had been sold during the period of depression; another and larger vessel, the Golconda, was therefore purchased and fitted for an emigrant ship. During her first four voyages she safely carried over 1,684 persons.



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In January, 1867, the semi-centennial of the founding of the Colonization Society was celebrated in Washington. From the review of the fifty years' work it appeared that the sum of \$2,558,907 had been expended, exclusive of outlay by the Maryland Society, and of the large sums expended by the United States Government. 11,909 emigrants had been sent over, in 147 vessels; of these 4,541 were born free, 344 purchased freedom, and 5,957 were emancipated for the purpose of going to Liberia.²⁸ Besides these, 1,227 had been settled by the Maryland Society, and 5,722 recaptured Africans had been sent back by the United States Government.

In January, 1868, James S. Payne entered upon the office of President. He is another example of Liberian training. Born in Richmond, Va., in 1819, he was taken before his tenth year to Monrovia by his father. One of the leading purposes of his administration was the establishment of closer intercourse with the great tribes of the interior. These people, the Mandingoes especially, were much further advanced in civilization than the coast tribes, who formed a barricade between them and Liberia, and offered determined opposition to any attempt to penetrate inland. They feared to lose their advantageous position as middlemen, and succeeded in keeping anything but the vaguest rumors about the interior from reaching the colonists. In 1869 Benjamin Anderson, a young Liberian appointed by the Government, and provided with liberal financial aid by a wealthy citizen of New York, accomplished an extremely interesting journey to a point over 200 miles from the coast.²⁹

With great difficulty and the expense of a small fortune in presents to captious and rapacious chiefs, he succeeded in making his way from point to point along a course roughly corresponding to that of the St. Paul's River. The route lay through dense forests, along paths worn by many generations of native feet. The ascent was steady; at 100 miles from the coast the elevation was 1,311 feet, and toward the end of the journey it rose to 2,257 feet. All along the way the population was dense, and showed a steady improvement in character, civilization and hospitality as the coast was left behind. The object of his journey, Musardu, the chief city of the Western Mandingoes, was at length reached, just on the edge of the primeval forest. Beyond lies a vast plateau covered with tall grass, showing here and there a solitary palm, and stretching away to the head waters of the Niger. The climate is wholesome, the air bracing, and the soil fertile.

The city proved large and populous; the houses were small and of a monotonous uniformity, bewilderingly placed without apparent arrangement. The whole was surrounded with a huge mud wall, which served not only as a defense against foes, but to keep out wild beasts, especially elephants, herds of which were frequently seen near the town. The inhabitants were strict Mussulmans, and were much further advanced in civilization than even the most intelligent tribes through which he had passed. They had an extensive commerce with the interior, caravans coming from places as distant as Timbuctoo. Good horses were plentiful, and there were evidences of the existence of valuable gold mines. Anderson was received with profuse hospitality; they appeared to be delighted with the idea of opening trade with Liberia, and promised gold, ivory and various commodities in exchange for European goods.

Another journey with the same general results was subsequently made by another citizen, to Pulaka, about one hundred miles to the southeast of Monrovia. These explorations are of great interest. They show the belt of coast occupied by Liberia to be merely the entrance to a high and healthful interior of great fertility and unlimited resources, over which the Republic has power to expand indefinitely.

28. *Semi-Centennial Memorial*, p. 190.

29. B. Anderson, *Narrative of a Journey to Musardu*.



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President Payne’s successor was Edward James Roye, who was duly inaugurated January 3, 1870. Born in Newark, Ohio, in 1815, he had passed through the public schools of his native town, afterwards attending the college at Athens, Ohio, and Oberlin. He went to Liberia in 1846, becoming a prosperous merchant and politician. From 1865 to 1868 he held the post of Chief Justice. Roye came into office at a time when a rage for internal improvements possessed the country; and with this spirit he was in full sympathy. His inaugural outlines a bold and ambitious policy. The resources of the Treasury were entirely inadequate to his extensive projects, and in an evil moment the Legislature passed an Act authorizing the negotiation of a loan of \$500,000. The loan was placed in London on terms which netted only L85 per bond of L100, redeemable at par in 15 years and bearing interest at 7 per cent. The amount thus offered was further reduced by the requirement that the first two years’ interest should be paid in advance. From the remainder were deducted various agents’ commissions and fees, until at length the principal reached Monrovia sadly reduced in amount,--not over \$200,000. And this soon disappeared without any visible result. It is an old story; but in Liberia’s case it was particularly disastrous. For with her little revenue, rarely exceeding \$100,000, it soon became impossible to pay the \$35,000 yearly interest on a debt for which she had practically received not a single advantage. And this accumulating at compound interest has reached a magnitude absolutely crushing. So desperate is her financial condition that many believe inevitable the fate which croaking prophets have long foretold, and against which she has struggled bravely--absorption by England.

Serious as were the more remote effects of the financial blunder just considered, its immediate consequences brought upon the country a crisis which might have resulted in civil war. Great dissatisfaction with the negotiation of the loan prevailed. The Administration was severely criticised; serious accusations were brought against it. While the excitement was at fever heat matters were complicated by an attempt of the Administration to prolong its hold of office, which precipitated the threatened outbreak. For some years a Constitutional Amendment had been under consideration, lengthening the term of President and members of the Legislature. The measure had been submitted to the people, and twice voted upon; but the result was a subject of dispute. Roye and his party maintained that it had been duly carried and was a part of the organic law of the land; and that as a consequence his term did not expire until January, 1874. A proclamation was issued forbidding the coming biennial elections to be held.

This action at once aroused violent opposition. A strong party declared that the amendment had not been carried; and in any event could not be construed to apply to the present incumbent. The proclamation was disregarded; the polls opened on the accustomed day; and the veteran Joseph J. Roberts, aptly called the epitome of Liberian history, was elected by large majorities.

Far from being subdued by the decided expression of popular will Roye and his supporters, with the spirit of the decemvirs of old, determined to maintain power at any hazard. Roberts’s election was declared illegal, and of no effect. Throughout the summer the two parties stood at daggers drawn. At length the increasing strength of the opposition encouraged the thought of removing the President from office. The legal method of impeachment seemed far too slow and uncertain for the temper of the times. An excited convention was held in Monrovia, October 26, 1871, at which a “Manifesto” was adopted decreeing his deposition. A few extracts disclose its character:

“President Roye has, contrary to the Constitution, proclaimed himself President for four years, although elected for only two years.

“He has distributed arms and munitions of war, and has not ceased his efforts to procure armed men to crush the liberties of the people.

“He has contracted a foreign loan contrary to the law made and provided; and without an act of appropriation by the Legislature he has with his officers been receiving the proceeds of that loan.



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“Every effort to induce him to desist from his unconstitutional course has been unavailing. Threats and entreaties have been alike lost upon him. He has turned a deaf ear to the remonstrances from all the counties of the Republic:

“Therefore, on the 26th day of October in the year of our Lord 1871, and in the twenty-fifth year of the Independence of the Republic, the sovereign people of Liberia did by their resolutions in the city of Monrovia, joined to the resolutions from the other counties of the Republic, depose President E.J. Roye from his high office of President of Liberia; and did decree that the Government shall be provisionally conducted by a Chief Executive Committee of three members, and by the chiefs of Departments until the arrival of the constitutional officer at the seat of Government.”

Before the party of the Administration could recover from the shock of this action, President Roye and his Secretaries of State and of the Treasury were arrested and thrown into prison,--a *coup d'état* which made his opponents undisputed masters of the situation. The appointed Committee took charge of affairs; the excitement died away with a rapidity characteristic of Liberian politics, and in January, 1872, Roberts was triumphantly inaugurated. Roye died in prison soon afterward.

A reign of peace and prosperity followed under Roberts, interrupted toward the end of another term, to which he was elected, by a severe war with the Grebo tribe near Cape Palmas. Limited space will prevent detailed consideration of the later history of the Republic. Payne was elected to a second term in 1876. A.W. Gardiner was Chief Executive for three successive terms, from 1878-1884; and H.R.W. Johnson, a native born Liberian, son of the famous pioneer Elijah Johnson, was made President in 1884. The recent years of the Republic have not brought an increased tide of immigration, nor any marked progress. The diminished interest in colonization felt in the United States so crippled the finances of the Society that few immigrants have been sent in the last decade. That large numbers of Negroes are willing, even anxious to go, is shown by the lists of the Society, which has adopted the policy of aiding only those who can pay a part of their passage. Several instances of the formation of societies among the Negroes themselves to provide for their own transportation have occurred. In South Carolina the “Liberia Joint Stock Steamship Company” was formed, which succeeded in purchasing a vessel and sending over one expedition of 274 emigrants. The company was unfortunate and failed financially before another attempt could be made. In Arkansas a large secret Society for the same object was formed, several hundred members of which made their way to New York and prevailed upon the Colonization Society to give them passage.³⁰

The culmination of a dispute with Great Britain over the north-western boundary of Liberia is perhaps the most interesting topic of her recent history. The boundaries of the Republic were never very definitely marked out, as her territory grew by gradual settlement and purchase from native chiefs. Even to-day there is no hard and fast interior border line; the country extends back indefinitely from the coast, new land being taken up as settlement proceeds. In 1849 the coast line acquired in this way extended from the San Pedro River on the south-east to Cape Mount, the extreme settlement on the north-west. Between 1849 and 1852 various purchases were made from the natives covering some fifty miles more of the north-western seaboard. These purchases extended to She-Bar, very near Sherbro Island, and were confirmed by formal deeds from chiefs of the local tribes. The conditions of the deeds bound Liberia to establish schools in the districts ceded, and to guarantee the protection, peace and safety of the natives. If now a few settlements had been made in this territory all future trouble would have been avoided; but all available energy was needed for intensive development, and the newly acquired territory was left uncolonized. In the course of time English traders established themselves within this district, who refused to recognize Liberia's jurisdiction, and who smuggled in large quantities of goods in bold defiance of the revenue laws. As early as 1866 correspondence with the British Government was opened; and Liberia's jurisdiction was more than once virtually recognized. Matters were complicated by the outbreak of disturbances among the natives, in quelling which the Republic was

30. A.C. Reports of 1881 and 1882.



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obliged to use military force--a course which resulted in the destruction of property belonging to the English traders. Claims were at once brought against Liberia through the English Government to a large aggregate amount. Holding Liberia liable for damages received in the territory was a practical admission of her jurisdiction. Nothing was accomplished until 1871, when Lord Granville proposed to President Roye, who was then in England, to compromise on the River Solyma as the limit of the Republic. This is about the middle of the disputed territory. Roye weakly agreed, and this agreement is known as the Protocol of 1871. It was not ratified by the Senate. The tact of President Roberts staved off the crisis for some time; but at length the English Foreign Office demanded a settlement, and a commission of two from each State and an arbitrator appointed by the President of the United States met on the ground. Every possible delay and impediment was resorted to by the British commissioners, who further refused to submit the points disputed to the umpire. Of course, no agreement was reached.

The situation remained unchanged until 1882. On March 20 four British men-of-war silently entered the harbor, and Sir A.E. Havelock, Governor of Sierra Leone, came ashore. President Gardiner was intimidated into acceding to the demand that the boundary should be fixed at the Manna River, only fifteen miles from Cape Mount. But when this “Draft Convention,” as it was called, came before the Senate for ratification, it was indignantly repudiated. At the next regular meeting of the Legislature in December, a resolution refusing to ratify the Draft Convention was passed, and a copy sent to Havelock. It elicited the reply:--

“Her Majesty’s Government cannot in any case recognize any rights on the part of Liberia to any portions of the territories in dispute,” followed by the peremptory announcement that “Her Majesty’s Government consider that they are relieved from the necessity of delaying any longer to ratify an agreement made by me with the Gallinas, Solyma, and Manna River chiefs on the 30th of March, 1882, whereby they ceded to Her Majesty the coast line of their territories up to the right bank of the Manna River.”

Liberia made a last feeble effort. A “Protest” was drawn up and sent to the various powers with whom she stood in treaty relations--of course, without result. The President of the United States replied at once, counselling acquiescence. Nothing else was possible. The Senate authorized the President to accept the terms dictated, and the “Draft Convention” was signed November 11, 1885. On April 26, 1888, Sir Samuel Rowe visited Monrovia and formally exchanged ratifications. Thus once more strength proved triumphant; Liberia’s boundary was set at the Manna River, and Sierra Leone, which had possessed but a few hills and swamps, was given a valuable coast line.

VI.

HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF COLONIZATION.

Colonization has come to be looked upon with unmerited indifference--with an apathy which its history and achievements surely do not deserve. To some, perhaps the present condition of the Republic seems a discouraging and inadequate return for the life and treasure lavished upon it; for others, hoping for a bloodless and gradual extinction of slavery, the Civil War carried away the chief element of interest. Others still, who looked for a ready solution of the Negro Problem in this country, have gradually lost heart in the face of the increasing millions of the race. And so, some from one cause, some from another, have lost interest in colonization and in Liberia, until a time has come when few have more than the vaguest knowledge of these terms. Sometimes the voice of contempt is heard; but this is always a proof of ignorance. Liberia stands forth historically as the embodiment of a number of ideas, efforts, principles, any one of which ought to secure at the least our respect, if not our sympathy and enthusiasm.

1. _As a Southern Movement toward Emancipation_.



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This thesis will doubtless meet with the most strenuous opposition; but a careful and impartial study of the writings and addresses of those most prominent in the movement will convince anyone of their profound hope that colonization would eventually lead to the extinction of slavery in the United States. It must be remembered that at the time of the formation of the Society the pro-slavery feeling in the South was by no means so strong as it became in later years, when the violence of Abolition had fanned it to a white heat. Indeed, during the whole period before 1832 there seems to have been a prevailing sentiment in favor of emancipation--at least throughout Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. But the condition of the free blacks was notoriously such that the humane master hesitated to doom his slaves to it by emancipating them. The colonizationist hoped, by offering to the free Negro an attractive home in Africa, to induce conscientious masters everywhere to liberate their slaves, and to give rise to a growing popular sentiment condemning slavery, which would in time result in its extinction. Of course there were those in the Society who would not have subscribed to this doctrine; on the other hand, many held views much more radical. But it is the men who formed and guided the Society, who wielded its influence and secured its success, whose opinions must be regarded as stamping its policy.

The Constitution of the Society did not touch upon this subject. It was needless to give unnecessary alarm or offense. But when in 1833 the Maryland Society adopted its Constitution--a much larger and more explicit one--the attitude taken is boldly announced:

“Whereas the Maryland State Colonization Society desires to hasten as far as they can the period when slavery shall cease to exist in Maryland, and believing that this can best be done by advocating and assisting the cause of colonization as the safest, truest and best auxiliary of freedom under existing circumstances,” etc.

It may well be questioned whether such a plan would ever have succeeded: but it must not too hastily be called chimerical. As a practical result it secured the emancipation of several thousand slaves, many of whom were supplied by former owners with money for transportation and establishment in Africa. What further success it might have had was prevented by the rise of the Abolition Movement. The intense pro-slavery feeling which this stirred up in the South caused the Colonization Society to be regarded with distrust and even active hostility. It was accused of secretly undermining slavery and exciting false hopes among the slaves. It was even said to foment discontent and raise dangerous questions for sinister purposes, and was subjected to bitter attack as “disguised Abolitionism.”

From the opposite extreme of opinion the Society suffered assault still more violent. William Lloyd Garrison, in his intemperate zeal for “immediate emancipation without expatriation,” could see nothing but duplicity and treachery in the motives of its adherents. His “Thoughts on Colonization” hold up the movement to public odium as the sum of all villainies, and in the columns of the Liberator no insult or reproach is spared. His wonderful energy and eloquence brought over to his camp a number of the Society’s friends, and enabled him in his English campaign to exhibit it in a light so odious that he actually brought back a protest signed by the most eminent anti-slavery men of that country.

Assailed on one side and on the other the Society, as we have seen, serenely pursued its course. Apparently it did not suffer. But it can scarcely be doubted that its growth and expansion were seriously checked by the cross-fire to which it was subjected. Among the negroes themselves prejudices were industriously disseminated, and everything was done to make them believe themselves duped and cheated.

From these reasons colonization never reached the proportions hoped for by those who looked to it for the gradual extinction of slavery. But we should not fail to recognize in the movement an earnest and noble, if too ambitious, effort to solve, without violence or bloodshed, a problem only half disposed of by Lincoln’s edict and the Fifteenth Amendment.



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The coast upon which the colony was established had for several hundred years been one of the chief resorts of the slave dealers of the western shores of Africa. Their “factories” were situated at numerous points on both sides of the early settlements. The coast tribes, broken up and demoralized by the traffic, waged ceaseless wars for the sole purpose of obtaining for the trader a supply of his commodity. It was their only means of getting supplies of the products and manufactures of civilization; and, as we have seen, when they found the presence of the newcomers an obstacle to their chief industry, they took up arms to expel them.

Until the year 1807 there was no restriction whatever on the traffic, and the proportions which it reached, the horrors it entailed, are almost incredible. Sir T.F. Buxton estimated on careful calculations that the trade on the western coast resulted in a loss to Africa of 500,000 persons annually. At length the progress of humanity drove England to declare war on the infamous traffic, and her cruisers plied the length of the continent to prevent infractions of her decree. At enormous expense the entire coast was put in a state of blockade.

The result was mortifying. Instead of disappearing, the exportation of slaves was found actually to increase, while the attending horrors were multiplied. Small, swift cutters took the place of the roomy slave-ships of older days, and the victims, hurriedly crowded into slave-decks but a few feet high, suffered ten-fold torments on the middle passage from inadequate supplies of food and water.

The colonists, even in their early feebleness, set their face resolutely against the slave trade: its repression was a cardinal principle. Their first serious wars were waged on its account. Ashmun risked his life in the destruction of the factories at New Cesters and elsewhere. The slavers, warned by many encounters, forsook at first the immediate neighborhood of the settlements, and, as the coast line was gradually taken up, abandoned at length, after many a struggle, the entire region. Six hundred miles of the coast was permanently freed from an inhuman and demoralizing traffic that defied every effort of the British naval force. Nor was this all. The natives were reconciled by the introduction of a legitimate commerce which supplied all they had sought from the sale of human beings.

In still another way did the colony exercise a humane influence. Among the natives exists a domestic slavery so cruel and barbarous that the lot of the American plantation Negro seemed paradise in comparison. Life and limb are held of such small value that severe mutilation is the penalty of absurdly slight transgressions, or is imposed at the arbitrary displeasure of the master, while more serious offenses are punished by death in atrocious form: as when the victim is buried alive with stakes driven through his quivering body.³¹ The institution is of course a difficult one to uproot. But among the natives in the more thickly settled portions of the country it has ceased, and is mitigated wherever the influence of the Government penetrates, while the number of victims is greatly diminished by the cessation of inter-tribal warfare.

In this way Liberia has proved, from the standpoint of humanity, pre-eminently successful.

3. As a Step toward the Civilization of Africa.

31. Anderson's Journey to Musardu.



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George Whitefield is said to have declared to Oglethorpe when lamenting his failure to exclude slavery from Georgia, that he was making a mistake: the Africans were much better off as slaves than in their native barbarism, and would receive a training that would enable them ultimately to return and civilize the land of their nativity. In this bold idea he anticipated one of the leading thoughts of the fathers of colonization, and, perhaps prophesied, a great migration which the world is yet to see. But to confine ourselves to the present and the strictly practical--there is to the interior of Liberia, sweeping away beyond the valley of the Niger, a country of teeming population and vast resources. That this territory be opened to the commerce of the world, and the blessings of civilization be conferred upon the people, it is necessary that some impulse of enlightenment come from without. The casual visit of the trader has been proved by experience to do vastly more harm than good. Vice and demoralization have too often followed in his track. The direction and instruction of European agents accomplish little. The best efforts of all men of this class have resulted in an unequal hand-to-hand fight with the deadly climate, in which no white man can work and live. Besides, the natives need more than guidance; they must have before them the example of a civilized settlement.

It would be impossible to imagine a more ideal agent for accomplishing this work than Liberia. True, its slow development has prevented it as yet from penetrating to the most fruitful portion of the interior district; but so far as it has gone the work has been wonderful. One after another of the native chiefs has sought, with his people, admission to the privileges of citizenship, agreeing to conform to the laws of the country and abolish inconsistent aboriginal customs. The schools are full of native children, while large numbers are distributed in a sort of apprenticeship among Liberian families for training in the arts of civilized life. The English language has become widely known. More remote tribes, while retaining native customs, have entered into agreements or treaties to abstain from war, to keep open roads and routes of commerce, to protect travellers and missionaries and such Liberians as may settle among them. This is in itself an advance; and in addition various forms of knowledge, improved implements and methods of agriculture must enter in and insensibly raise these tribes to a higher plane.

In reclaiming the natives lies a source of great future power for Liberia. When immigration from the United States shall assume such proportions that numbers of interior settlements can be made which shall be radiating centres of civilization, the enormous potential energy of native intelligence and labor will be brought to bear on the development of the country with marvellous results.

4. _As a Missionary Effort_.

The attempts of the Christian Church to evangelize the western districts of Africa constitute one of the saddest and most discouraging records of history. From the first attempt of the Roman church in 1481, it has been one continuous narrative of a futile struggle against disease and death. A whole army of martyrs has gone bravely to its doom leaving no trace of its sacrifice save unmarked and forgotten graves. It has indeed been a bitter experience that has proved this work can be successfully undertaken only by men of African blood, for whom the climate has no terrors. And the superiority of an established Christian community to a few isolated missionary stations requires no demonstration. From the first the colonists were active in spreading a knowledge of the Gospel among the natives. Lot Cary, one of the earliest emigrants, was an earnest missionary, and besides efficient work at home he established mission stations at Cape Mount and elsewhere.

In 1826 four emissaries of the Basle Missionary College made Monrovia their headquarters, and did some good work; but they soon succumbed to the climate. The American churches of those denominations most largely represented in Liberia--the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist--made strenuous efforts, and sent out a succession of missionaries, most of whom fell victims to the fever. Later, after learning the salutary lesson, they accomplished much through the organization and direction of the work of Liberian missionaries. In this way the gospel is safely and successfully propagated among the natives.



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A foe more stubborn than paganism is to be met in the ranks of Islam. There seems to be something in its teachings which renders the native a ready convert. Its simplicity is readily understood; and it sanctions the practices of polygamy and slave-holding to which he is accustomed. Under the zealous proselytism of the Mandingoes the Mohammedan faith has taken a strong hold on the interior, and is spreading rapidly to the very doors of Liberia. Candor compels the admission that it brings with it a marked improvement in the condition and intelligence of the converts. Intemperance--which in many cases follows in the tracks of the Christian merchant--disappears. A knowledge of Arabic is soon acquired and the Koran is eagerly read and its principles put in practice. The whole life of the convert is transformed, and he becomes in turn zealous in the dissemination of the faith. The efforts of missionaries alone can never stem this torrent; if any impression is to be made upon the Mohammedan tribes it must be by the extension of Christian settlements and civilization.

5. As a Refuge to the Negro from the Pressure of Increasing Competition in America.

It would be unnecessary to bring into review the causes that are operating daily to make the conditions of earning a living in America more difficult. However much or little credence we place in the Malthusian theory of the increase of population, in the doctrine of diminishing returns, or the iron law of wages, all thinking men are agreed that the country is already entering upon a new era. The period of expansion, of the taking up of new territory by the overflowing population of the older districts, is practically ended; future development will be intensive, the country will be more thickly settled, and the sharpness of competition will be immeasurably increased. The possibility of rising in life will be reduced to a minimum; and there will exist a class, as in the older civilizations of Europe, who live, and expect to see their children live, in a subordinate or inferior relation, without the prospect of anything better.

There may be under this new regime a number of occupations in which the Negro, by contentedly accepting a subordinate position, may hold his ground. Or the conditions of life may become so severe that a sharp struggle for existence will leave in possession the race which shall prove fittest to survive. To follow the train of thought would lead into all the unsolved difficulties of the Negro Problem. But surely there will be some among all the millions of the race who will become dissatisfied with their life here. Some will aspire to higher things, some will seek merely a field where their labor will meet an adequate return; many will be moved by self-interest, a few by nobler motives. To all these Liberia eagerly opens her arms. The pressure in America finds an efficient safety-valve in the colonization of Africa.

With such additions to her strength, the resources of Liberia will be brought out and developed. Communication with America will be made easier and cheaper. The toiling masses left behind will have before them the constant example of numbers of their race living in comfort and increasing prosperity under their own government. Many will become eager to secure the same advantages, and gradually a migration will begin that will carry hundreds of thousands from the house of bondage to the promised land.

It is absurd to declaim about “expatriation” and to declare such a movement forced and unnatural. The whole course of history reveals men leaving their homes under pressure of one cause or another, and striking out into new fields. The western course of migration has reached its uttermost limit, and the tide must turn in other directions. One vast and rich continent remains; upon it the eyes of the world are fixed. Already the aggressive Aryan has established himself wherever he can gain a foothold; but the greater part of the country is forever barred to him by a climate which he cannot subdue.

To whom then can this rich territory offer greater inducements than to the colored people of the United States? And what is more natural and rational than that they, when the population of the country approaches the migration point, should follow the line of least resistance and turn their steps to the home of their forefathers.

AUTHORITIES.

The sources of information which proved most useful to the writer are: