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**A DUTY TO AMERICA AND AFRICA:  
A HISTORY OF THE INDEPENDENT AFRICAN  
COLONIZATION MOVEMENT  
IN PENNSYLVANIA**

*"... with the success of the colonization cause is intimately connected the perpetuity of the union of those States, the happiness of the people of this country, the elevation of the colored population to the enjoyment of rational and civil liberty, and the civilization of Africa and her conversion to Christianity. . . ."*<sup>1</sup>

Rev. George M. Bethune  
Philadelphia

*In furthering the great scheme of civilization there [in Africa] where it is so much needed, we redeem in part the discredit which every descendant from a European stock inherits in his paternal share of the fatal wrongs inflicted through a long course of years upon that benighted and injured land.*

*Address of Joseph R. Ingersoll at  
the Annual Meeting of the  
Pennsylvania Colonization Society  
October 25, 1838*

THE African colonization movement of the nineteenth century remains an enigma. The difficulty in discussing colonization centers primarily on whether it was an attempt to "civilize" Africa and rid the nation of slavery, or was an attempt by white America to achieve a racially pure nation. Efforts to answer this question are complicated by the fact that the early nineteenth century was a period of widespread religious ferment and deep conviction. When religion is added to any

volatile issue the confusion is compounded. Northern Ireland is a good contemporary example.

Colonization has been studied by numerous individuals, but a definitive volume on the *entire* movement still has not been compiled. The motivation factor must be placed at the center of such a work. The controversial field of psycho-history could possibly do valuable service in this area. What did Henry Clay, Francis Scott Key, Thomas Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln all have in common so as to make them supportive of colonization? Men of differing religions, economic backgrounds, and sections all backed the Liberia project. Colonization personified would be the sociologists' "marginal man," split between the world of the slaveholder and the world of the abolitionist. It was a house divided that fell into ruin. Racial segregation reached its pinnacle in the colonization crusade. Some have stated that perhaps this endeavor would have been the best solution to the nation's racial woes. Is this a racist thought, or is it a realistic truth?

The colonization movement demonstrated the practical and idealistic, as well as the selfish and racist sides of human nature. Determining the balance among the above is a large part of the purpose of this paper. By examining the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, we can more easily grasp motivation. The sectional factors which gave conflicting views of the movement as a whole are largely removed. A comparison of the work of various state societies would be perhaps the best place to begin an understanding of the national colonization movement. By looking at this movement one can see the differences and similarities of opinion in ante-bellum America. The Civil War displayed the differences in glaring light, but the *similarities* governed the healing. They are important!

When one thinks of the black man of the early nineteenth century, the image of the plantation slave automatically comes to mind. Perhaps it has been motion pictures or epic novels such as *Gone With the Wind* and *Raintree County* which are responsible. In fact, the non-historian would probably believe that slavery never existed north of Maryland. Even racism, until very recently, was assigned to the South as one of its peculiar characteristics. Few books or movies have dealt even in a limited fashion with slavery or free blacks in the North prior to the Civil War.

The image of an equalitarian North with no blacks has been dealt a severe blow by Leon Litwack's *North of Slavery*. Perhaps the image is best exemplified in E. L. Doctorow's recent bestseller, *Ragtime*, where he states that in 1906: "Tennis racquets were hefty and the racquet faces

elliptical. There was a lot of sexual fainting. There were no Negroes. There were no immigrants.”<sup>2</sup> This view of a homogenous Northern society was not true of the North in general, or of Pennsylvania in particular.

Pennsylvania’s slave population was insignificant, especially after 1800, and nonexistent after 1850. In 1820, blacks accounted for only three percent of the total population, the highest proportion reached during our period of study. The black population of Pennsylvania, unlike that of the South, was largely urban. From 1800 to 1860 about forty percent of the state’s blacks lived in Philadelphia. From 1800 to 1840, blacks, on average, accounted for eight and one-half percent of that city’s residents.<sup>3</sup> Between 1830 and 1860, the black population declined to about four percent. Philadelphia was not the only region of the state with blacks, and P. J. Staudenraus notes that “free blacks were flocking to towns in western Pennsylvania. . . .”

Edward R. Turner in his book, *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, states that “the history of the relations between the negro and the white man in Pennsylvania is largely the history of increasing race prejudice.”<sup>4</sup> Indeed, discrimination was manifest in criminal procedures, entertainment, and even in the celebration of Independence Day. Turner notes that in the late 1830s it was constantly stated by “representative men” that blacks “were and must remain an inferior and degraded race.”<sup>5</sup>

To further complicate the racial situation, Pennsylvania was the first state north of the Mason-Dixon line, thus making it the promised land of freedom to thousands of Southern blacks. Ohio played a similar role in the West. Blacks who arrived with little cash on hand were considered a burden to the community. The same difficulty was apparently found in many parts of the state, not just Philadelphia.<sup>6</sup>

These people were not disliked solely due to the negative reasons of crime, poverty, and indolence, but also because of their usefulness as laborers. Blacks, both skilled and unskilled, could undercut the white workers’ wages levels. Thus Philadelphia became the setting for various race riots in the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>7</sup> In 1842 an English Quaker noted that “probably no city exists while ‘dislike, amounting to hatred of the coloured population, prevails more than in the city of brotherly love’ ”<sup>8</sup>

Friction was increased between 1830 and 1860 by the arrival of almost five million immigrants to the U.S. The Irish were especially ostracized, and competed for employment in unskilled jobs with the blacks. These two groups naturally came to blows, and in 1842 Irish and blacks fought in the Philadelphia coal yards. It was probably the Irish

more than anyone else who successfully competed for jobs, thus aiding in their removal from such cities as Philadelphia.<sup>9</sup> *Perhaps* colonization was seen as a solution.

The first major colonization project probably originated in the mind of Thomas Jefferson. As early as 1777 Jefferson proposed an emancipation scheme to the Virginia legislature, which included a provision for colonization. He believed that unlike emancipation among the Romans, the freeing of slaves must also involve their removal so as to prevent race mixing. Jefferson considered blacks, both free and slave, as “‘a blot in this country.’” His appears as largely a racist motive.<sup>10</sup>

Various other colonization proposals developed through the years of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Quakers such as John Parrish and William Thornton were among its early supporters. P. J. Staudenraus writes: “In a manner reminiscent of an earlier Quaker patron—proprietor, William Penn, Thornton combined philanthropy and profit.” Thornton would clear the way for emancipation while enlarging trade operations with Africa. His ideas failed to gain sufficient support to be realized.<sup>11</sup>

Another early colonization attempt was made by half-black, half-Indian Paul Cuffee. Cuffee, also a Quaker, owned a large oceangoing ship, and he too hoped to combine philanthropy with profit. The War of 1812 and Cuffee’s death shortly thereafter put an end to his plans.<sup>12</sup>

The greatest American colonization movement developed in the mind of the Reverend Robert Finley of New Jersey. He noted in 1816 that blacks could not obtain equality in the prejudice-ridden United States. Through religious, personal, and political connections, Finley’s scheme was heard. He not only emphasized the emigration of free blacks, but also the potential this idea would have in aiding emancipation. From his efforts, plans were laid, in December 1816, for the American Colonization Society.<sup>13</sup>

The organization attracted some of the most renowned Americans of the time to its cause. Henry Clay, Francis Scott Key, General Samuel Smith, Andrew Jackson, and William Crawford were all early supporters. George Washington’s nephew, Judge Bushrod Washington was chosen the Society’s first President. War heroes, lawyers, statesmen, and businessmen were all enlisted in the cause. Emancipation, removal of a dangerous class, elevating the free blacks, spreading Christianity, and ending the slave trade were among the stated objectives.<sup>14</sup>

General Robert Goodloe Harper wrote from Baltimore that one benefit of colonization would be the removal of free blacks and thus “prevent the discontent and corruption of our slaves, and to secure them

of better treatment." Yet even more important to him was that colonization "... may powerfully tend, to rid us, gradually and entirely, in the United States, of slaves and slavery: a great moral and political evil. . . ." <sup>15</sup>

Robert Finley noted early in the colonization movement that the aid of the federal government was needed in order to found a colony. Auxiliaries were considered as supplemental to federal aid, and only weak attempts were made to build local organizations. The assorted local and state societies, however, provided thousands of dollars annually to the national treasury.

During its early years the organization toward which the Society worked consisted of the parent body with an auxiliary in every state and with societies in every county subordinate to the state body. The number of such groups grew rapidly from twenty in 1824 to forty-six in 1826. The highest total number of auxiliaries at one time was about one hundred and fifty. "By 1838, it seems auxiliary societies had been organized in every State and Territory in the Union, except Rhode Island, South Carolina, Arkansas, and Michigan." <sup>16</sup>

It should be noted that this structure was not followed. City societies, "Ladies auxiliaries," "Young Men's" organizations, and juvenile groups were formed. It should also be noted that various religious groups had their colonization branches. <sup>17</sup>

It was in 1817 that agent Samuel J. Mills established the first auxiliaries, hoping thereby to raise \$5,000 for his expedition to Africa. Leading citizens of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore were involved in these branch societies, but Mills's monetary goal was not reached. Indeed, the organizations formed must have been extremely weak, for by 1819 New York's and Philadelphia's were almost non-existent. <sup>18</sup>

It was not until 1825, when Ralph Randolph Gurley became the ACS Secretary, that a movement for state appendages began in earnest. In the fall of 1826, Secretary Gurley and Francis Scott Key toured the area from Philadelphia to Montpelier in order to build auxiliaries. In October the Colonization Society of the State of Pennsylvania was formed. Dr. Thomas Chalkley Jones, William B. Davidson, and Gerard Ralston, a director of the Bank of the United States, were the officers. This society promptly sent \$600 to the Society in Washington, and shortly after this a smaller group was founded at West Chester by influential men of various political and religious philosophies. <sup>19</sup>

According to its constitution, the Pennsylvania organization intended

to act as a subordinate of the American Colonization Society. The Pennsylvanians asserted that their plan was not forcibly to remove blacks from the country. Neither were they going to interfere with the various state laws in order to emancipate slaves. The careful wording of this article is indicative of the precarious position of the entire movement. Steps toward interference with state's rights or gestures of favoring the continuance of slavery would alienate the South and the North respectively.<sup>20</sup>

Article three set up a hierarchy of leadership, while articles four and five stated the timing of annual meetings and defined membership. Other sections of the Constitution stipulated that a committee must attend the annual ACS meetings and that certain criteria must be met in order to form an auxiliary.<sup>21</sup>

The early Pennsylvania Society provided some valuable service to the parent organization. For instance, in 1830 the *African Repository*, published by the ACS noted:

Through the aid derived from the liberal citizens of Philadelphia, one vessel (the *Liberia*) has already sailed for the Colony with 58 passengers, 49 of which were liberated slaves, and the entire expenses of this latter number were defrayed by the Society in Philadelphia.<sup>22</sup>

Remarkable progress must have been made in the state during the two years previous to this sailing. In 1828 a Pennsylvania colonizationist wrote Secretary Gurley, "... were are not ripe for thy scheme." He noted that blacks were against the movement, "and their clergy and influential men have imbued them with very strong prejudice on the subject—so much so that I have not made one solitary convert." The difficulty in the state was intensified by the ACS president selling his slaves rather than sending them to Liberia.<sup>23</sup>

This progress in Pennsylvania, at least among the whites, is emphasized by the sailing of the *Montgomery* with seventy passengers, and the *Carolinian* with forty-five manumitted slaves. Another ship chartered and fitted out by the Pennsylvanians transported 128 emigrants from Southampton County, Virginia and parts of North Carolina in 1832, shortly after the Nat Turner revolt. Over the long run, however, the Society was not to have a great impact on Liberia.<sup>24</sup>

The history of Pennsylvania colonization from this point entered a new phase. It was to become virtually a "one-man show." That one man was Elliot (Elliott—he spelled his name both ways) Cresson who was a

county director of schools for blacks. It was he who formed and dominated a Young Men's Society at Philadelphia to promote colonization.<sup>25</sup>

Cresson was born in Philadelphia in 1796, and was raised a Quaker. He made a rather substantial fortune as a merchant, but is better known for how he gave it away. He lived on Sansom Street in Philadelphia with his mother, and he never married. The city directory listed him as a merchant in 1824. From that year until 1850, when he was referred to as the Secretary of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, he was listed as a "gentleman."<sup>26</sup>

The *Dictionary of American Biography* states: "Through the grave exterior of a 'plain' Friend there could be seen in his countenance a character of kindly sympathy. From the teachings of the Society of Friends he had come to have an interest in the oppressed races, the American Indian and the negro. . . ."<sup>27</sup> Early Lee Fox referred to Cresson as "that quaint, queer, irrepressible Quaker . . . who . . . never failed to impress his hearers. . . ."<sup>28</sup>

He was the typical reformer of the period. Like William Lloyd Garrison, he did not take an interest in just one societal improvement but rather spread his benevolence into many areas. When he died he left the following sums to various institutions:

1. American Sunday School Union—\$50,000
2. Philadelphia School of Design for Women—\$10,000
3. Historical Society of Pennsylvania—\$10,000
4. for a William Penn Monument—\$10,000
5. Episcopal missions, schools, colleges at Port Cresson, Liberia—\$10,000
6. University of Pennsylvania for a fine arts professorship—\$5,000
7. Pennsylvania Agriculture Society—\$5,000
8. Protestant Episcopal Seminary of Alexandria, Va.—\$5,000
9. Athenaeum, Philadelphia—\$1,000
10. Widows' Asylum, Philadelphia—\$1,000
11. Deaf and Dumb Asylum—\$1,000
12. House of Refuge—\$1,000
13. Coloured Refuge—\$1,000
14. Refuge for Decayed Merchants—\$1,000
15. Pennsylvania Colonization Society—\$1,000
16. to found "a home for aged, infirm or invalid gentlemen and merchants"—\$30,000 in land.

This is only a *partial* list. He also left various personal bequests and two

other interesting public ones. He left \$5,000 to the city of Philadelphia for the purpose of planting and caring for shade trees, particularly in areas where they were badly needed to protect the citizens from the sun's heat. Finally, before his death he provided for the Elliott Cresson medal, which was awarded annually by the Franklin Institute for achievements in the arts and sciences.<sup>29</sup>

Elliott Cresson was an abolitionist. It may seem ironic, but to Garrison, Cresson was the devil incarnate. Before explaining this enmity, Cresson's position in regard to slavery should be demonstrated—in his own words:

Ap[ro]pos to abolitionists—as their Convention is to be held shortly at Baltimore, I would beg to recommend to your serious attention, the propriety of appointing an able committee to wait on them, and as both are labouring to attain the same end, convince them of the importance of co-operating heartily with us. I think it would be productive of much good . . . for surely a manumitted slave is much better, both for himself and the community, sent to Liberia, than into the already over-numerous blacks in our Cities.<sup>30</sup>

The difference between the two men was in emphasis, not in goals. Both wanted the slaves freed, but Cresson did not believe that blacks could achieve equal rights in a white-dominated society. Garrison was perhaps too idealistic in believing that whites could be forced into accepting blacks. Cresson was not alone among his fellow Quakers. Most American Quakers during the nation's early years believed that both whites and blacks would be better off if they were separated. They did not care if the blacks went to Africa, Haiti, Mexico, the West or anywhere else, as long as they lived among their own kind.<sup>31</sup> Blacks still have not acquired the rights which Garrison envisioned.

The battle between the two men dated from Cresson's trip to England (1831–33) for the purpose of drumming up support for the colonization cause. Garrison went to England in 1833 to promote his brand of abolitionism. The men did not publicly debate the topic, but Garrison kept prodding Cresson to do so. The Quaker, for his part, tried to avoid a meeting with his skillful antagonist. On 4 June 1833, Garrison wrote to Cresson:

Sir:

I affirm that the American Colonization Society, of which you are an agent, is utterly corrupt and proscriptive in its principles; that its tendency is to embarrass the freedom and diminish the



happiness of the coloured population of the United States . . . I invite you to meet me in public debate in this city. . . .<sup>32</sup>

Garrison later referred to Cresson as a coward who sulked away from antagonists.<sup>33</sup>

The fiery New Englander won this battle for Britain by making Cresson truly appear cowardly. The colonizationist, however, won a small victory in "that Garrison pursued Cresson so relentlessly that he attacked not only Cresson, but the United States as well." Thus when Garrison arrived in New York, a mob greeted him as a traitor.<sup>34</sup>

It was on his return from England that Cresson began his work which was destined to lead to independent action by the Pennsylvania colonizationists. There were several reasons for this virtual secession but the issue of finances was clearly the principal one.

As early as the fall of 1829, the American Colonization Society confessed its financial weaknesses to the Pennsylvania auxiliary. On 21 October of that year, Francis Scott Key addressed the colonization meeting at the Franklin Institute. He stated that due to the Society's large-scale endeavors, it had "become involved in pecuniary embarrassments. . . ." These "embarrassments" were very serious in that they would prevent further active operations, i.e., the sending of emigrants, until debts were paid.

Key stated that he feared the temporary discontinuance of emigration might lead those in Liberia to believe that they had been abandoned. He also feared that slaves who were emancipated for the purpose of removal, might be reenslaved by state laws if action was not taken. The Society circulated an appeal to the citizens of Philadelphia which praised the colony, the Society's benevolent work, and also the trade possibilities with Africa. It was this appeal, among others, which caused the sending of the three ships of emigrants mentioned earlier.<sup>35</sup>

In 1830, Cresson went on the attack, and he minced no words. He wrote to the ACS Board of Managers in Washington referring to their "most unparalleled style of managing *all* (their) affairs." Cresson further stated: "Can you expect a methodical, calculating man like W. Short, to make you the depository of his *thousands*, when his disbursement of a paltry \$2 is involved in so much vexation"?<sup>36</sup>

Four days after this letter, he wrote to Secretary Gurley concerning a ship he had been asked to charter. Gurley apparently changed his mind, thus infuriating Cresson, who had given up a trip to the country in order to conclude the deal. ". . . I think it was cruel towards *me*. . .," Cresson wrote. "The bargain had been reduced to writing, after great exertions

to obtain a proper vessel; but as it has only cost me a bit of sickness and disgusted a few of our number here." In addition he communicated to Gurley that "Dr. M. tells me that he called at your office several times for the pamphlets, but obtained *none*."<sup>37</sup> These factors, coupled with the embarrassment of Bushrod Washington selling his slaves, were enough to lead to schism.<sup>38</sup>

After Cresson returned from Great Britain, he wrote to Gurley and the Board of Managers of the ACS about their financial difficulties. In addition, a new crisis had arisen in the spring of 1833. Arthur Tappan, a wealthy New York merchant and colonizationist, denounced the movement and accused the ACS of drenching Africa in liquor, one of the primary articles of trade with the natives. Cresson's letter addressed this problem as well as Tappan's charge that the colony was too militant toward the natives.

The only mode which suggests itself is that the board be collaterally aided by our renewing our efforts to get up (a) new Philadelphia Expedition, soliciting only *pious, temperate* applicants, and settling them in a separate County of the Colony in the *pacific principles* of Penn, whose name or that of "Benezet" might be advantageously given it—to this the generosity of our Citizens would be extended with a knowledge that the funds would be economized, and we could then afford, *ourselves* to hire an official agent to stir up the whole community—to this Ralston and myself will subscribe \$1,000 each.

He stated that by such actions, confidence would be restored in other parts of the country.<sup>39</sup>

At least from Cresson's viewpoint, colonization was basically not racist or vindictive, but benevolent. Cresson and the Pennsylvanians did not advocate the sending of every black to the colony, but only those who were decent, Godfearing, and desirous of going. Evidence of this same voluntary policy can be found throughout the colonization movement, except in those areas where slaves were freed on condition of their emigration.

The halting of transportation worsened the ACS financial crisis. People would much more readily pay to send out colonists than pay to dissolve previous debts.<sup>40</sup> The Pennsylvania Society, at a meeting on 9 December 1833 resolved to raise \$10,000 in Pennsylvania, "to be entrusted to the Managers of the American Colonization Society. . .," requesting that as much money as possible be put toward the founding of an African settlement to be called "Pennsylvania." Earlier in the year

the Albany (N.Y.) Colonization Society made plans to establish a separate temperance colony to be called "Albany." Neither of these plans was put into action.<sup>41</sup>

At the end of 1833, the *African Repository* announced the death of Dr. Aylett Hawes of Rappahannock Co., Virginia. Dr. Hawes left over one hundred slaves to the ACS, as well as \$20 per person for transportation to Liberia. The society was in a quandary, for even if \$20 was enough for passage, it certainly was not enough to support them once they got there, and the ACS lacked the additional funds.<sup>42</sup>

Thus Cresson had a chance to make good his desire to form a separate colony. He organized the Pennsylvania Young Men's Colonization Society at Philadelphia in early 1834. Plans were made to buy territory at Bassa Cove, southeast of Monrovia, and arrange for a transfer of Dr. Hawes's 110 slaves to the Philadelphia organization, as the nucleus of a new colony.<sup>43</sup>

The American Colonization Society opposed such a step toward autonomy. Maryland had already removed itself from the national movement and found an independent colony at Cape Palmas. Maryland's objective was to remove blacks from that state to Africa following Virginia's Nat Turner revolt. Lacking money, the ACS realized that they had little choice but to transfer the Hawes slaves, but they hedged on granting complete freedom to the YMCS.<sup>44</sup>

In the early summer of 1834, the Young Men's Society sent a committee to Washington to negotiate for the control of the Hawes bequest. The ACS Board of Managers confirmed the right of state societies to undertake independent action. They noted that the Massachusetts auxiliary decided that its funds would go primarily to the promotion of education in Africa and mentioned the plan and request of the Albany Society.

The ACS committee appointed to meet with the YMCS committee kept one thread tied to the transfer deal. Its members stated that the YMCS proclamation of subordination to the ACS was shallow, and that they realized the only money the ACS would receive would be those funds collected by the Pennsylvanians which would not be necessary to sustain a Bassa Cove settlement. In short, the committee knew that the ACS would get no funds from Pennsylvania. The same was held to be true for the newly formed New York City Colonization Society, which wanted to establish a colony at Cape Mount.

The Committee stated: "To consent to such separate and independent action then would on the part of this Society, be to yield up its very existence." It would lead to selectionalism and thus to the destruction of

the national movement. They therefore cleverly resolved that the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, as an auxiliary, be given the slaves of Dr. Hawes to be settled in a *separate settlement* (they did not use the wording "separate colony"), under an Agent appointed by the Pennsylvanians, and under local laws adopted by the YMCS. But both the agent and the laws had to be approved by the ACS Board of Managers, and the community was to be considered as part of Liberia, and under that colony's *general laws*.

The delegates from the YMCS maintained that they were auxiliary to the ACS, but they wanted real independence in governing their colony. The separateness of their movement, they believed, would help them gain considerable support in Pennsylvania, perhaps aid from the legislature. They stated:

We look to the separate action of our colony, preserving, however, a conformity with the Constitution and general laws of Liberia, as but temporary; and shall rejoice when we may be enabled to surrender our trust, and permit the two colonies to blend in one harmonious whole.<sup>45</sup>

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the YMCS on 17 July 1834, the general conditions of transfer proposed by the ACS were agreed upon. The Pennsylvanians made it clear however, that their relation with the parent society was only to be nominal. They also noted the advantages of a separate organization. They had "the readiness of a direct appeal to a large and wealthy population . . . an appeal which moreover would be perhaps coldly responded to if made by any Society whatever at a distance." They also claimed the advantage of being located in a commercial city, where they would have "greater economy and dispatch" in outfitting and transporting emigrants. Finally, the fact that some of the YMCS members were merchants and businessmen would enable the Philadelphia group to make wiser purchases.<sup>46</sup>

The Pennsylvanians and the New Yorkers were given control over collections within their respective states, and the ACS agent in those states was transferred to Delaware and Maryland.<sup>47</sup> The YMCS hired its own agents to canvass different sections of the state, to gain legislative financing, and to garner the support of the German population. Often the agents' main duty was to obtain subscribers to the Society's newspaper, the *Colonization Herald*. Other agents' duties included collecting signatures on memorials to the legislature. The colonization advocates were paid either a portion of the money they collected, a fixed salary, or a combination of the two. One agent was paid \$1.50 per day

for collecting names on a memorial, and \$.25 for each subscriber to the *Herald*. The actual duty of meeting with state representatives fell upon the hierarchy of the organization.<sup>48</sup>

Agents included preachers such as J. B. Pinney, a Presbyterian who had served as a missionary for the Foreign Missionary Society of Pittsburgh. He was placed in command of the Monrovia settlement in 1833, and during the late 1830s, served for a time as an agent in western Pennsylvania.<sup>49</sup>

The Pennsylvania colonizationists attempted to gain non-Quaker support. In 1830, one ACS agent stated that he succeeded in gaining support for the cause throughout the state with the exception of the Pennsylvania Dutch. In December 1837, the Society considered the possibility of printing colonization tracts in German. During the next month they contacted Rev. Dr. Schmucker, President of Gettysburg Theological Seminary, and requested him to suggest possible persons to work as agents among the Germans. In 1840 there was a specific appeal made to Episcopalians, probably due to their wealth.<sup>50</sup>

As noted, the agents were not the only source of publicity which the Society possessed. They had their newspaper, they distributed circulars, they urged other newspaper editors and clergymen to promote the cause, and they took out ads in the papers.<sup>51</sup>

As previously noted, the settlement which Elliot Cresson desired to build would be one of temperance and Quaker pacifism. The early Pennsylvania society had been very successful in enlisting Quakers into its ranks. Included among these were Sarah M. Grimké, Roberts Vaux, and Cresson. ACS Secretary Ralph Randolph Gurley worked hard to get Quakers into the Pennsylvania auxiliary, and in 1828 he sent his assistant, John H. Kennedy, to Philadelphia to persuade them to support the movement, via the usage of abolitionist ideas. In 1829 Francis Scott Key returned to Philadelphia to perform the same task. Quaker dominance in the Young Men's Society was probably also due to Cresson and was reflected in the policies the organization pursued.<sup>52</sup>

In the *African Repository* for January 1832, it was reported that the natives of the coast were desirous of having settlements at different points from Cape Mount to below Trade Town. This area includes the mouth of the St. John's River—the future site of the Bassa Cove colony.<sup>53</sup>

Quaker pacifism was challenged in this same issue of the *Repository* by colonial agent Joseph Mechlin Jr. who notified Secretary Gurley that “. . . there is no great reliance to be placed on the good faith of the natives. . . .” He further stated that the colony of Liberia needed “two

six-pounder field pieces, 300 muskets, with plenty of fixed ammunition for each; also several barrels of good powder, such as is issued in the army or navy. . . ." This letter is even more interesting in that it reveals the extent of Elliot Cresson's Quakerism. It seems that Cresson was authorized to purchase gunpowder for the colony, which he did. Dr. Mechlin noted, however, that the powder which Cresson purchased would "scarcely drive a shot twenty yards." It seems possible that Early Lee Fox's assertion that Bassa Cove was founded on Quaker principles is somewhat weakened by the fact that the head of the Pennsylvania organization was not opposed to purchasing military supplies. They founded the colony without weapons, but this may have been primarily due to Arthur Tappan's attack on colonial militarism.<sup>54</sup>

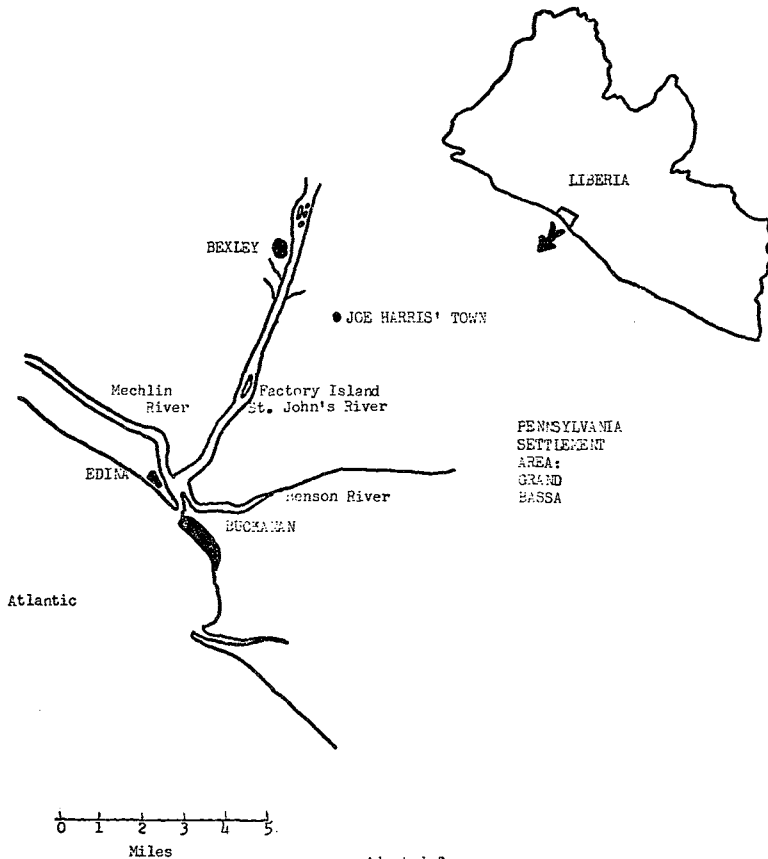
Mechlin mentioned his intention to go to Grand Bassa and purchase part of that territory. He stated that the king of the area truly desired to have a settlement there, and it would be best not to disappoint him. He ended his letter with the rather remarkable statement that "the country must and shall be ours," an indication that at least some of the Americans involved in the colonization scheme were promoting an African manifest destiny. There was constant talk about spreading along the entire coast and inland, planting Christianity everywhere.<sup>55</sup>

By early 1832, territory had been purchased in Grand Bassa. Around the same time a small war had been fought between the Liberians and the Dey people. Joseph Mechlin wrote to Secretary Gurley:

Our resolving to strike at once . . . has produced the utmost consternation throughout the Dey and Gurrah countries and will not only deter the tribes in our immediate vicinity from again molesting us, but will also prevent others, more remote, from injuring the settlements we are about to establish at Cape Mount and Grand Bassa; as the news of our victory has spread. . . .<sup>56</sup>

Several months later, Mechlin wrote that the establishment of a settlement at Grand Bassa was proceeding slowly due to the necessity of fortifying the area first, and the lack of needed supplies. They did, however, maintain a trading factory there in order to keep the natives from dealing with the slavers. Also, one of the local chiefs, Bob Grey, cleared and planted a large area with cassada and sweet potatoes for the settlers. He also contracted to build three large native-style houses for the colonists.<sup>57</sup>

On 19 November 1832, the first settlers arrived on the north shore of the St. John's River, and founded the settlement of Edina. The natives were generally friendly, and those who discountenanced the settlement,



Adapted from:  
 Sir Harry Johnston, *Liberia*, 2 vols.  
 (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1906), 1:31.

Figure 1

because it would interfere with the slave trade, had ceased their opposition. The aborigines in the area even helped erect the Edina fortifications. Mechlin noted that things had gone so favourably that the chiefs on the other side of the river offered to sell their fertile lands in order that another town could be started at that location.<sup>58</sup>

Some 150–200 square miles of territory were subsequently purchased from King Joe Harris on the southern side of the St. John's River. The King's town was included in the transaction, for he wanted to be part of a future settlement. Mechlin noted that this area contained two fine mill seats, and would one day become one of the superior settlements in Liberia. The area also had a good landing site.<sup>59</sup>

Once the Hawes slaves were under their jurisdiction, the Young Men's Society took on their duties with a remarkable fervor. At their meeting of 10 June 1834, a committee was appointed to draw up a code of laws for the new colony. On 19 June, Cresson presented a list of items necessary for the emigrants. The inventory was rather lengthy and included items not usually associated with pioneers. Two tons of English flat iron, kettles, ovens, skillets, one-half ton of nails, trowels, shovels, spades, hoes, axes, hatchets, and various other tools were included. Five hogsheads of tobacco, crates of bowls, jugs, mugs, pitchers, basins, plates, pipes and beads, 100 pounds of soap, and 100 pounds of spermaceti candles were on the list. Then there were glassware tumblers, cotton goods, calicos, checks, muslins, flannels, shoes, hats, shingles, pork, flour, tea, sugar, vinegar, salt, medicine, and lumber. At this same meeting, the executive committee was empowered to charter a ship at a maximum price of \$7,500. Thus it can be seen that the Society had no intention of dumping the blacks on the coast without material support.<sup>60</sup>

The Young Men's organization desired "men of character, energy, ability, and piety, especially valuable mechanics and persons skilled in the culture of rice, cotton, sugar and indigo, and [planned] to offer them ample grants of land for the cultivation of these articles." The former slaves of Dr. Hawes fitted this criteria remarkably well.<sup>61</sup> They were almost all Baptists, and twenty could read and write. There were three preachers among them, and many of the group had valuable mechanical skills. They were said to be above average in energy and intelligence, and none was "superannuated."<sup>62</sup>

That the Society had very high standards for the colony, is reflected in the code of regulations for Bassa Cove, which was adopted on September 26, 1834. The government was vaguely proposed to consist of an "Agent, Vice Agent and Council of members." Desires of the Society were spelled out very clearly. Under the code "Slavery and Slave trade; and the importation, manufacture or sale of Ardent Spirits to be prohibited under the heaviest penalties." The definition of relations with the natives was equally explicit!

Natives to be treated with justice and kindness and efforts made to win them to civilized pursuits to be paid fairly for their labor and fines inflicted when wages are unjustly withheld—their children to participate freely in the benefit of schools; and they to be encouraged to settle on farms within the territorial limit.

This policy, along with the prohibition of weapons, was very idealistic,



as well as unrealistic. They apparently hoped to change the living patterns of natives who only wanted settlers there for trading purposes, and to have the same kind of rapport that William Penn had established in Pennsylvania with the Indians.

The society may have learned from the problems of the independent Maryland colony. It confined trade, at least in the early stages, to the government factory, and prohibited peddling. It was by no means coincidental that this regulation was followed by the words "Agriculture to be fostered. . . ." In the Cape Palmas settlement, agriculture had been neglected for the more lucrative pursuit of trading with the natives. The society hoped to grow corn and a bananalike fruit called plantain, and it was to offer premiums for the raising of coffee and cotton.

The settlement pattern was also established on paper. Farms were to be thirty acres in the interior. One hundred acres were to be granted where coffee, cotton, and sugar would be planted for export purposes. Town lots were to be 50 by 100 feet, while rural plots were to be five to ten acres, depending on family size. Houses were to be occupied by the first emigrants, who would be responsible for making improvements on adjoining lots. For this they would be paid in fee simple. They were also expected to build a colonial warehouse as well as houses for the next expedition.

The colonists were to be maintained in their new environment for six months, or longer if the agent thought it necessary. Each immigrant would have to provide a certain amount of physical labor to the colony in return for his passage and maintenance. The amount of labor would be determined by the agent and council.

The Y.M.C.S. was particularly concerned with the health of the colonists, and was determined to keep a register of all settlers which would include their "ages, origin, pursuits and a record of deaths with the causes, etc . . . to secure an accurate census and to shew [*sic*] the effect of climate on emigrants." Judging from other sources, the Society probably expected their records to show that climate *was not* a major factor in the deaths of blacks, and that the race actually thrived in that climate.<sup>63</sup>

The intention of the founders to be independent of Monrovia is best demonstrated by the words: "Capital to be located with reference to the great cardinal interests of the present colonists and future state." Notice that the words "administrative center" are not used, but rather the word "capital." Bassa Cove was to be independent, in spite of rhetoric to the contrary.

Townships, two miles square, were to be established along the lines of American townships, with space for schools, churches, and other public purposes being reserved in the center. These subdivisions were to have at least one school each, as well as a "manual labor seminary." Counties were to be ten miles square where possible. A public farm was also planned in order to prevent indolence and vagrancy, and also to promote the growing of "valuable plants."

Finally, heavy emphasis was placed on exports. Coffee, rice, cotton, sugar, pepper, camwood, gold dust, timber, ivory, hides, wax, goat skins, palm oil, tortoise shells, drugs, gums . . . : were all to be exported. To awaken "an extended interest in the cause of Africa," her products and manufactures generally were to be shipped. No wonder there was such an interest manifested in the African venture among businessmen. This indeed could prove to be very lucrative.<sup>64</sup>

On September third, Elliot Cresson and William Davidson were appointed a sub-committee to charter a vessel for the African journey. These two men, along with another colonizationist, formed the committee to purchase supplies. Shortly thereafter, they procured the services of the ship "Ninus" for the reasonable price of \$2,500, and they had also either purchased or received by gift all the necessary articles, except for the tobacco which was acquired when the ship reached Virginia.

It was on William Penn's birthday, October 13, 1834, that the *Ninus* left Philadelphia for Norfolk where the former slaves were brought on board. Cresson and Solomon Caldwell had been designated a committee to take charge of the Norfolk embarkation.

In addition to the blacks themselves, Edward Y. Hankinson and his wife were sent to the colony by the Ladies' auxiliary in Philadelphia, apparently as teachers, but Mr. Hankinson was also to assume the position of Governor pro tempore. In addition:

The climate of Africa having been prescribed as the last resort in the case of Stephen Barnes, late a student in the Theological Seminary of Virginia, a passage in the *Ninus* was proffered, and gratefully accepted. Should he survive, we anticipate much from his devoted Missionary spirit, and his mechanical abilities. In the more probable event of his death, candor will surely not charge it to his removal from a more salubrious atmosphere. . . .

Special bon voyage religious services were held on October 24th, the anniversary of Penn's landing on the Delaware, and the ship sailed on the 26th. The total cost of the enterprise was \$8,300.82.<sup>65</sup>

The settlers arrived in Africa in December, and on the sixth of that month, 700 acres of land for the colony was purchased from King Joe Harris. This land lay on the opposite shore from Edina. The new Liberian governor, John Pinney, wrote to Gurley on January 7, 1835 that the news from the new settlement was good. Many were sick, but the usually severe fever, which greeted almost all new arrivals, had been light. He also wrote the curious words: "Several articles due for the purchase of Bassa Cove, are warlike—and I am requested by Mr. Hankinson to procure them." Apparently part of the real estate deal involved giving the natives weapons. Another part of the agreement called for the educating of King Joe Harris's son in America.<sup>66</sup>

Shortly after the establishment of the Bassa Cove settlement, the New York City Colonization Society joined the Pennsylvanians in their endeavor. The Young Men's Society realized that it could not sustain a colony without such a union. Thus the two organizations decided to send 130 available emigrants from Savannah to the "Port Cresson" settlement at Bassa Cove. Once again the potential settlers were "all people of information and character." They included artisans, clergymen, and teachers. It turned out that only about sixty-five emigrants left Savannah, June 29th, on board the *Indiana*.<sup>67</sup>

It was ten days previous to this voyage's beginning that tragedy struck Bassa Cove. News of the event did not arrive until the Fall of 1835. There was no thought given to the possibility of native disturbances. King Joe Harris had professed friendship, and his son was in the hands of the Americans. If there was any tendency toward violence on the part of King Joe and his people; the occasional presence of American warships off the coast, as well as the nearness of other settlements was deemed sufficient to discourage such activity.

There is some controversy as to why it happened, and how it occurred. Apparently the slavers in the area contributed to the massacre. This territory had had a major slave factory. An island off Grand Bassa was known as Factory Island. One story says that a slaver landed in the vicinity a few days previous, and told King Joe that he could not trade while Americans were present. The King then promised that he would remove the colonists.

King Joe apparently knew the settlement was unarmed, but he must have sent out scouts to confirm this and:

It is remarkable . . . that the houses and persons of two of the emigrants, Benjamin Johnson and Charles Gray, were unmolested during the outrage; and that their safety proceeded from the fact

that Johnson possessed a gun, and Gray had occasionally the loan of it.

Twenty-one of the Port Cresson colonists were massacred, and had it not been for the aid of King Bob Gray, a similar disaster may have occurred at Edina. "This friendly chief beat back the enemy. . . ." Mr. and Mrs. Hankinson were saved by a friendly Kruman.

The story gets rather confused in the various accounts. Apparently Edina offered to aid Bassa Cove, since they had weapons, but the agent at Bassa suspected their motives. A truly independent spirit was constantly manifested by the Pennsylvania settlement. The Liberian militia finally came to the rescue, burned Joe Harris' town, and subsequently Harris asked for negotiations.

The remaining Bassa settlers were taken to Monrovia, in large part by one John Harris of Philadelphia, via his ship. "For several weeks his brig, . . . at heavy expense was continually in the service of the fugitives, voyaging between Monrovia and Edina." The brig *Indiana* was diverted to Monrovia.

The settlement was destroyed and a new beginning would have to be made. Joe Harris promised to give more territory to Bassa Cove, restore stolen property, and make indemnification for what had been destroyed. He also agreed to abandon the slave trade.

The real blame for the disaster fell upon the Young Men's Society. Their policy of not arming the settlers, despite printed warnings not to trust the natives, was inexcusable.

The experiment of placing the unarmed stranger in the vicinity of the ruthless barbarian, with no shield except moral influences, has been tried, and it has ended in blood and death.

They had either lost their idealism, or decided to ignore Tappan's criticism. The next settlement would be fortified.<sup>68</sup>

When word of the disaster reached America, it was resolved that work must begin anew. Thus on October 18, 1835, the Y.M.C.S. voted to send the colony one hundred stand of arms, along with sufficient powder. Other relief supplies were to be sent with Thomas Buchanan, a Quaker whom the Pennsylvanians chose as colonial agent. The ship *Independence* thus left Philadelphia on November 22, 1835.

Before Buchanan arrived, the acting A.C.S. agent, Dr. E. Skinner, chose a better site for the Bassa settlement. He wrote to the New York Society that he had laid out a town in squares of sixteen rods, with four lots and a highway. The streets were established on the grid pattern so

typical of most American cities. Fifteen town lots had been cleared, and one large thatched house had been built.

Dr. Skinner proclaimed the location unsurpassed as far as health and air were concerned. He also said, "... I expect the time will shortly come, when perhaps the town I have now lain out, will be the capital of great empire. Shall it be called Port Cresson, Philadelphia, or New York?"<sup>69</sup> Take note that this choice of a name for the new town reflects the urban competition in America. The question as to which of these great American cities was to be the cultural capital of the United States' emerging "empire" was still in the air.

By January first, when Buchanan arrived, most of the original settlers had re-established themselves. Another ship, the *Luna*, left New York with eighty or ninety emancipated slaves on February 5, 1836. Included among these was a black Methodist missionary named Herring who had spent two years at the Wesleyan Academy in Wilbraham, Massachusetts. There were also black preachers of the Baptist, Presbyterian, and Methodist faiths.

One interesting emigrant on this ship was a blind woman from Tennessee, who was said to be 110 years old. Asked how she got to the ship she replied:

God only knows . . . the white folks were kind, and God Almighty was kind, and I was picked up from one steamboat and handed over to another, and God only knows how I got here.

This woman, who had been a Baptist for over fifty years, was determined to go with her children and grandchildren to Africa. She had no fear of dying on the voyage, or in Africa, for she stated that the distance to heaven was the same from both places. "I want to die a free nigger," she proclaimed.<sup>70</sup>

Six months after Buchanan arrived, eighteen houses were in use, ten others were awaiting new emigrants, a 20' x 50' government house had been started, a smith's shop and a kiln were in use, and at least forty acres had been cleared. In addition, and most importantly, nobody had died from the fever, even though many, including Buchanan, had been sick.<sup>71</sup>

Back in the United States, relations between the New Yorkers and Pennsylvanians, as well as between both societies and the A.C.S. were somewhat unsteady. It was agreed that the name Bassa Cove would be the only name given to the colony. One disagreement between the New York and the Young Men's Societies involved the relief expedition sent to the colony. The Y.M.C.S. had dispatched the *Independence* with

what it believed to be the proper variety and quantity of necessary supplies. The New Yorkers had agreed at that time to pay their share, but by early 1836 they were arguing that the Pennsylvanians had sent too much.<sup>72</sup>

Meetings to raise funds for the relief of the colony had been held in both Philadelphia and New York during the fall of 1835. The New York Society's president noted that the Bassa Cove attack was not as catastrophic as early Indian raids in Virginia and New England.<sup>73</sup>

Disagreements between the A.C.S. and the two united "auxiliaries" also continued. The "parent" organization complained that the New York and Pennsylvania bodies were collecting funds outside of their jurisdictional area of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. The A.C.S. continued to beg for money, and the united societies agreed to pay 30% of the money they would collect between January 5, 1835 and January 1, 1837 to the national treasury. Following January 1, 1837 they would pay 10% of the money they obtained.<sup>74</sup>

Another disagreement involved the aftermath of the Port Cresson massacre. It seems that the Pennsylvanians accused A.C.S. agent Skinner of expropriating supplies sent out on the *Indiana* for the Bassa Cove settlers. The Pennsylvanians were claiming that the A.C.S. owed them \$3,529.95. Buchanan and Skinner resolved the *Indiana* dispute in September, 1836, agreeing that Bassa Cove was due \$297.38.<sup>75</sup>

By 1837 it seems that relations were improving. The Y.M.C.S. had united with the Pennsylvania Colonization Society (which had apparently been moribund all this time). Edina, and other areas along the St. John's River had been ceded to Bassa Cove. The A.C.S. also devised a "Plan of Federal Government for the Colonies of Liberia." The New York and Pennsylvania organizations both agreed to it, but the Maryland Society remained independent. The A.C.S. stated that union was necessary for the "security, freedom, and happiness of the colonists. . . ."<sup>76</sup>

The specific union was federal, but with a perpetual dominance over the legislative branch by the Monrovia settlement. In addition, no auxiliary of the A.C.S. could acquire new territory in Liberia without the consent of the parent society. Auxiliaries were also required to report to the A.C.S. Board of Managers on a quarterly basis, and those with colonies in Africa were required to pay ten percent of their collections to the parent body. The disputes between the two auxiliaries and the American Colonization Society were arbitrated rather noncommittally by Judge Samuel Wilkeson.

The new Constitution of the A.C.S. was also federal in style:

Each society contributing not less than one thousand dollars annually into the common treasury shall be entitled to two delegates; each Society having under its care a colony shall be entitled to three delegates; and any two or more Societies uniting in the support of a colony, composing at least three hundred souls, to three delegates each.

Thus Pennsylvania and New York were represented by six members.<sup>77</sup>

The early avowal of the Y.M.C.S. to reunite with the A.C.S. was a reality. Union clearly was necessary for colonial survival, and with the financial crisis of 1837 it probably was deemed necessary for survival at home. In addition to this the Young Men's organization had proved itself to be rather financially inept. It had to ask a loan of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society in October, 1836. Ironically it had run into debt in establishing its colony. This was the very colony founded in protest over A.C.S. debts. The financial obligation was paid by 1841, and the Society appropriated \$1,000 to a proposed February expedition.<sup>78</sup>

The years of independent action, 1834-1839, had cost both the New York and the Pennsylvania Societies about \$50,000 each. During this period, these bodies had established a colony, dabbled in foreign affairs, printed pamphlets, and established a newspaper.<sup>79</sup> Indeed, printing costs alone must have consumed a considerable amount of the Pennsylvanians' treasury. In 1834 they resolved to print 2,500 copies of a colonization address by J. R. Tyson. In February, 1835, it was decided that the Society begin to raise funds for a newspaper. The first issue of this *Colonization Herald* was "limited" to 12,000 copies. Needless to say, the second issue was only one fourth that number.<sup>80</sup>

The circulation of the *Herald* was not to be limited to Pennsylvania and New York. In October, 1835 the Y.M.C.S. acceded to the offer of one Rev. Mr. Gilder to distribute the paper on a journey through the South. President Gurley, apparently fearing the competition with the *Repository*, proposed that a new national journal be started, and the *Herald* be abandoned. This offer the Y.M.C.S. declined. The next year the New York Society joined in the newspaper venture.<sup>81</sup>

The number of copies that were issued was apparently never stabilized: For instance in March, 1838, it was resolved that 8,000 copies of the next issue be printed, due to the great quantity of colonization material in it. Occasionally individual articles were ordered reprinted and distributed. Ten thousand copies of an article called "Liberia Colonization" were printed.<sup>82</sup>

The *Herald* contained not only news on colonization but all kinds of items which would contribute "to render the *Herald* an acceptable and instructive family paper." No article, however, could be printed without the approval of the Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Y.M.C.S. or a person authorized by him. In March, 1837 the heading of the paper replaced the name of the Y.M.C.S. with that of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, ostensibly because the Pennsylvania Society had "taken a box in the post office. . . ."<sup>83</sup>

The *Herald* caused some hard feelings between the New York and Pennsylvania Societies. In May, 1838 the Pennsylvanians protested New York's reneging on its promise to purchase 1,000 copies. The financial structure of the paper was always weak, and such a blow could seriously cripple it. Thus it was the heavy expense of printing the paper on a weekly basis that caused the *Herald* to be changed from a weekly to a monthly in 1839.<sup>84</sup>

In January, 1839 it was decided that the A.C.S. should be asked for its approval of a union between the *Colonization Herald* and the *African Repository*. This was probably done for financial reasons, but also because of the reunion of the state auxiliary with the parent body. The offer to unite the papers was declined until the summer of 1839. This delay was most likely caused by the request of the Pennsylvanians that the paper be published in Philadelphia.<sup>85</sup>

This did not signal the end of the *Herald*. In December, 1842, the Pennsylvania Society cancelled its subscription to the *Liberia Herald*, the Monrovia newspaper, due to articles which gave a bad impression of colonization. The Pennsylvania colonizationists undoubtedly felt that they needed a voice of their own in order to demonstrate their beliefs. Thus in February, 1843 they commenced exploring the possibility of re-establishing a newspaper. In March they decided on a small size, semi-monthly, costing fifty cents per year. This was subsequently changed to a monthly in October.<sup>86</sup>

By 1845 there was renewed talk of merger with the *Colonization Herald*. In March, 1845 the A.C.S. offered to furnish the *African Repository* to those who subscribed to the *Herald*, if that paper was discontinued. The Pennsylvania Society decided to continue its newspaper at \$1.00 per year in a monthly form.<sup>87</sup>

In September, 1846 the paper was once again reaching a financial crisis. The Society had diligently attempted to procure subscribers. Further difficulties involved the postal service. The delivery of the paper was so poor that the Pennsylvania Society appointed a committee to prosecute the postmasters of the state for losses caused by their neglect of



duty. Six months after their initial discussion on this situation, the Society decided that further attempts to communicate with the Postmaster General about the problems would be to no avail.<sup>88</sup>

One final item of interest concerning the newspaper involves its editor, Dr. John Bell. In 1849, Bell was reprimanded by the Society. Part of the reason was Bell's use of "abolitionist" language. Another complaint was that Bell relegated colonization items to the back pages of the paper. This he denied. In his defense he remarked that he had "never manifested any sympathy or affinity for certain tenets of Abolitionism—its intemperance, its injustice under the plea of justice and its tyranny while professing to advocate freedom." He did not deny that he had used abolitionist terminology, but he remarked that its use varied with his theme. He noted that some anti-slavery language was necessary, reminding the Society that it was under no obligation to bend to the will of tyrannical slaveholders. He also explained that his literary talents were hampered by the newspaper. Thus, Dr. Bell resigned as editor. Six months later the thought of abandoning the *Herald* was contemplated once again, but the paper continued to exist into the 1860s.<sup>89</sup>

During their period of independent action, and also during the years following the reunion with the A.C.S., the Pennsylvanians kept in contact with both the U.S. government and foreign citizens. They gathered governmental reports on Liberia, especially from the Navy Department, and they also urged Washington to push harder against the slave trade.<sup>90</sup>

In 1836, the British African Colonization Society appropriated £100 in goods for Bassa Cove. Relations with the French demonstrated the most extreme example of the Pennsylvanians' participation in foreign affairs. In 1835 Elliot Cresson drafted a letter to the Duc de Bruglie of Paris, urging him to use his influence with the French government to insure the neutrality of the colonies in the event of a Franco-American war.<sup>91</sup>

The relationship of the Liberian colonies to the United States and the rest of the world had long been questioned. Once Liberia was declared independent the Pennsylvania Society urged the U.S. to recognize that nation's new status.<sup>92</sup>

One group of participants in the Pennsylvania colonization drive has so far been ignored—women. Women, as was typical in most nineteenth century endeavours, played a subordinate role to men in the organization. They were mainly concerned with providing money, clothing, and other articles to the emigrants, and also in promoting education in

Africa. They were usually organized in female auxiliaries or in interested church groups.<sup>93</sup>

Probably the most important women's assemblage was the "Ladies' Liberia School Association of Philadelphia," formed in July, 1832. In 1831, Beulah Sansom, a Philadelphia Quaker, founded two schools for women in Liberia—one at Monrovia, and one at Caldwell—but she only intended to finance them for one year. Thus in 1832 the Ladies' Association was formed with the intention of supporting the schools. At that time these educational facilities contained one hundred pupils. In 1833 they founded another school at New Georgia for Africans who had been "recaptured," i.e., saved from the slave traders. This school was open to both sexes, children as well as adults. The goal of these schools was to provide the rudiments "of a civilized and Christian education."

With the increase of the Methodist primary schools in the colony, the Society turned toward building a high school to educate the boys of Liberia. This school was to provide an education for the leaders of the country. They were to be taught mathematics, bookkeeping, surveying, and navigation as well as various other subjects.

With the aid of Governor Buchanan, the school was established on Factory Island, after being begun at Edina in 1841. One Dr. Wesley Johnson was the instructor. The school building was made of brick, and the whole project cost about \$3,000. Johnson ran the school in a rigid manner. He noted:

We rise at 5½ o'clock, (by the bell,) work from 6 to 8, breakfast from 8 to 9, study from 9 to 12, dine and recreate from 12 to 2, study from 2 to 4, work from 4 to 6, (sunset,) sup from 6 to 7, get a lesson for the morning recitation, and go to bed at 9. Our times for studying natural history are at noon, and when we go to the settlements in a canoe, we take one of the presses along and collect on the margins of the river.

The students took a surprising amount of interest in natural science.

Johnson's health failed, and he returned to the U.S. where he died on July 1, 1843 at thirty-two years of age. The school was temporarily closed when he left, and the Ladies' Society was still searching for a replacement, and also for funds, in late 1844. The property was turned over to the Pennsylvania Society in 1848 on condition that it be used for educational purposes.<sup>94</sup>

The reunion was the first indication that the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, as well as its colony, was in a period of decline. It had given up its independence. In deference to the Pennsylvanians, and due to his

previous African experience, Thomas Buchanan was appointed Governor of Liberia in late 1838. In May, 1839 the joint Pennsylvania and New York organizations (which were to remain associated) surrendered their remaining interests in Bassa Cove to the A.C.S. The A.C.S. assumed the P.C.S. debt, and they pledged to pay all funds collected to the A.C.S., except those needed to run the Society. They stipulated that the money must go toward active operations, not to the "contingent expenses" of the home society.<sup>95</sup>

The Society faced problems. In 1840 they had trouble with two individuals who were collecting funds in the Society's name. They had continual arguments with the A.C.S. over borrowing and payment of debts. Both the state and national bodies were burdened with financial problems. The amount of funds in the P.C.S. treasury dwindled. It provided the A.C.S. with only \$4,082.12 in 1853, and its contribution was only a paltry \$193.48 in 1857. They still sent emigrants to Africa, but not at anywhere near the previous rate.<sup>96</sup>

Despite this decline in Pennsylvania funding, the P.C.S. expected the A.C.S. to look out for the Bassa Cove settlements. In late 1849 they passed various resolutions stating they would not provide more money to the A.C.S. until more people were sent to Bassa Cove. They were needed to develop the area's resources, and to occupy the "deserted harbor." Emigrants were also needed to aid in the protection of the settlement against their faithless neighbors—the Fishmen.

The American Colonization Society replied that it had already planned to send the next company of 155 emigrants to Bassa Cove. They stressed, however, that emigrants with relatives in other settlements would not be forced to go to Bassa, but could go to their relatives. They also noted that more money had been expended on the Bassa Cove settlements than had been received from Pennsylvania. The A.C.S. stated that they intended to build up that portion of Liberia, not because of pressure from Pennsylvania, but because they saw that it was in the interest of all the settlements. Finally, the national society reprimanded the Pennsylvanians for not considering the needs of Liberia as a whole. They asserted that the parent and state societies all had one interest and organization in which no distinction existed, and there were no separate ends to be served. The A.C.S. Board of Managers represented the various state societies. Liberia, the national body exclaimed, had to stand or fall by the union and prosperity of its various parts. The Pennsylvanians accepted the A.C.S. replay, thus ending three years of complaints.<sup>97</sup>

It should be clear that the later national vs. state societal difficulties

were connected with finances. The colonization movement did receive one rather interesting gift. In 1854, one Judge Helfenstein decided upon the donation of some coal estates near Shamokin for various purposes. One mine was for the benefit of the destitute poor of numerous cities. The other was half for the founding of a "Free College" at Shamokin, and half for African colonization. This estate was stated to be underlain with "almost inexhaustible quantities of the best coal, and is capable of producing annually, *one hundred and fifty thousand tons. . .*"<sup>98</sup>

The Society, it seems, became preoccupied with trivial matters. They collected portraits of members and patrons, some of them done by Thomas Sully. Even such simple matters as acquiring a monument for Thomas Buchanan's grave (he died in Liberia in September, 1841) took years to accomplish. A letter was received from the women of Bassa Cove and Edina in 1843, requesting a suitable monument, and a committee was still working on this matter in 1846. In 1851 the American Colonization Society appropriated \$100 toward this project. Indeed, lethargy and poverty were the dominant aspects of the movement during the 1840s and 1850s.<sup>99</sup>

The situation in the African settlement was also on a downhill slide. As previously noted, by the late 1840s the Bassa territory was in need of settlers. It seems that the colonizationists' attempt to found an empire had failed. Without money such dreams were shattered.

In 1839, Governor Buchanan had written that clearing and planting was going on with astonishing vigor. Bassa was asserted to have the finest soil in the world, and plans were made for a new port settlement. There was a good natural harbor to be exploited, and a settlement there would separate the natives from the slavers.<sup>100</sup>

During the next few years settlement spread along the St. John's River, where a new town called Bexley was established. Trade was said to be improving, and shipbuilding was being carried on at Edina and Bassa Cove. It is possible, even probable, that trade was improving while buildings deteriorated. In 1842 the roof of the government house at Bassa Cove was in such disrepair that the furniture within was almost completely ruined.<sup>101</sup>

One Pennsylvanian who opposed the movement gives what may be a fair view of the Bassa area around 1855:

Bassa county embraces four little settlements immediately on the beach, containing altogether, less than eight hundred of a population. The largest of them was formerly called Bassa, but is now known by the dignified title of City of Buchanan, and is chiefly

distinguished for the bushes growing in its streets, and the long list of offices in its municipal government. They have a Mayor, Select and Common Council, Policemen, Alderman, Watchmen, and in fact, they have monopolized every name in the vocabulary of municipal, civil, and military offices—hence, it is not uncommon for one man to have vested in him, in a small way, the honors and responsibilities of a number of those stations. Here reside some of those great men who write windy letters to the Colonization papers, about the progress they have made in agriculture etc., at the very time that they are dependent on the uncultivated natives for the rice and cassada they eat.

From reading their bombastic reports, one would suppose that it was a place of some consequence, while it really is a starved-up little village, too poor to have even an apology for a court house or jail. Fishtown is the next in importance, and with Edina and Bexley, make up the entire settled portions of Bassa county, remarkable only for the bombast and ignorance of its inhabitants.<sup>102</sup>

Even the American Colonization Society, from which one would expect flattering reports on their settlements, noted in 1852 that the buildings in Bassa Cove and Edina were not as good as those in Monrovia, but they were sufficiently comfortable. The next year an Episcopal missionary stated that he had a good impression of the general appearance of the settlement, and in 1855 building improvements began to take place.<sup>103</sup>

There was some apparent dissatisfaction displayed by the citizens of Bassa during the late 1830s and early 1840s. In 1838, the Lt. Governor of Liberia noted that Bassa Cove and Edina were hostile to the “old colony.” In 1839, however, Governor Buchanan wrote that the citizens of these two settlements unanimously adopted the Constitution. There was also some slight difficulty in 1840 over the amount of independence granted to Methodist missionaries in the colony. In addition, there was some difficulty with the natives which was settled favorably.<sup>104</sup>

In spite of difficulties, progress was taking place. Missionary work had expanded. In 1845 there were seven missions among the towns of Bexley, Bassa Cove, and Edina, representing the Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian religions. In 1855 the Episcopalians had established a seminary there. In addition, a Bassa alphabet had been worked out in 1835, and by 1842 two books—*Easy Lessons* and *The Bassa Reader* had

been printed in that language. It should also be noted that by 1843 Liberia had passed a series of education laws stipulating that one public school must be established in each settlement. Money for such projects was not available, therefore most schools were supported by religious and philanthropic organizations.<sup>105</sup>

A steam saw mill had been established at Grand Bassa in 1850, and two years later, the American Colonization Society reported that good iron ore had been discovered thirty miles inland. This iron ore proved to be a source of future wealth, and helped Buchanan to grow to be Liberia's second most important city.<sup>106</sup>

The establishment of a colony is a difficult task, especially when the project is opposed by various groups, including those whom one is attempting to colonize. Blacks, it seems, were never enamored of the plans of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society. Some blacks who opposed African colonization, however, did support emigration moves to Haiti and Canada.<sup>107</sup>

From the beginning of the American Colonization Society, through the end of 1859, only 218 black Pennsylvanians had been sent to Africa, and only 12 of these were sent while Pennsylvania's organization was independent of the national body. This clearly demonstrates that the state society was not geared to removing an unwanted race from their midst. It was there to aid what it considered to be the oppressed, especially former slaves. It felt that their only means to the good life was emigration to Africa. It desired to stop the slave trade through such a colony. It also hoped that through missionaries it could Christianize and civilize the continent.<sup>108</sup>

Naturally there were ulterior motives. A desire for wealth through the enlargement of commerce was one. Indeed, emphasizing commerce was seen as one way of gaining state support. In January, 1836 the Executive Committee of the Y.M.C.S. noted that due to retrenchment, the legislature would not appropriate funds unless "they can be convinced that the outlay will result in great future good to their constituents by affording a new channel for the farmer, the iron master, and the merchant to find a profitable market." The Society must have been unsuccessful at soliciting such funds for they received very little state aid. In 1852 the legislature did appropriate \$2,000 to defray the costs of sending emigrants from Pennsylvania. This was considerably less than the first \$10,000 annual appropriation passed in 1852 by the Maryland General Assembly for the purpose of removing Maryland blacks.<sup>109</sup> Indeed, one reason for the union of the Liberian settlements

under their 1839 Constitution was to facilitate commerce among them. This is remarkably parallel to the establishment of the United States Constitution.<sup>110</sup>

The perpetuation of the names of states, e.g., Mississippi, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, as well as of individuals was also desired by the colonizationists. Among the Pennsylvanians there was also some desire to promote science and geography as well as extend Quaker principles. The anti-military stance broke down early, and by 1844 it seemed to the P.C.S. that there was an alarming amount of liquor at Bassa Cove. By the late 1840s liquor was the third leading export to Africa from the U.S., while gunpowder ranked fourth.<sup>111</sup>

In conclusion, the motives of these Pennsylvania colonizationists were basically benevolent. Some naturally had occasional lapses into racism, but generally they had a very liberal attitude toward the blacks. Some of these men and women risked, and some e.g., Buchanan, lost their lives in this venture. They never forced unwilling blacks to go to Africa, and they provided for those who did. They never, at least in their writings, appealed to racist sentiment. They did make forward strides in education, and the town of Buchanan grew into a major port. By showing that blacks could hold together a community in Africa they demonstrated to white America that these were capable people. Thus what may seem a failure was only partially so. Most blacks opposed the project and did not go to Liberia. The Society did, however, transfer some of America to Africa in its attempt to right the injustices which slavery had caused on both continents.<sup>112</sup>

#### NOTES

1. *United States Gazette* (Philadelphia), 10 May 1836.
2. E. L. Doctorow, *Ragtime* (New York: Random House, Bantam, 1976), p. 4.
3. Edward Raymond Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania: Slavery-Servitude-Freedom, 1639-1861* (Washington: American Historical Association, 1911; reprint ed., New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), p. 253.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 143; P. J. Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), pp. 136-137.
5. Turner, *Negro in Pennsylvania*, pp. 145-147.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 150-156; Leon Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 100-101.
7. Turner, *Negro in Pennsylvania*, pp. 151-152.
8. Litwack, *North of Slavery*, p. 102.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 159-166.
10. P. J. Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865* (New York:

- Columbia University Press, 1961), pp. 1–2; Frederick Starr, *Liberia: Description, History, Problems* (Chicago, 1913), p. 251.
11. Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement*, pp. 4–8.
  12. *Ibid.*, pp. 9–11.
  13. *Ibid.*, pp. 15–27.
  14. Early Lee Fox, *The American Colonization Society, 1817–1840*, Vol. 37: *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1919), pp. 50–54.
  15. *The Annual Reports of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States, First Annual Report, 1818* (Washington: American Colonization Society, 1818–1910; reprint ed., New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), p. 17. Hereafter these reports will be referred to as *ACS Annual Reports*.
  16. Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement*, pp. 20–21; Fox, *American Colonization Society*, pp. 47, 60–61.
  17. See any of the *ACS Annual Reports*.
  18. Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement*, pp. 69–72.
  19. *Ibid.*, pp. 39–40, 124–125.
  20. Constitution of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
  21. *Ibid.*
  22. *African Repository and Colonial Journal*, 6 (1830): 27. Hereafter referred to as the *African Repository*.
  23. American Colonization Society Papers, Letter from E. Cresson to R. R. Gurley, 23 August 1828, Library of Congress.
  24. *African Repository*, 6 (1830): 138–139; 7 (1831): 45; 8 (1832): 297.
  25. Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement*, p. 125.
  26. Joseph S. Hepburn, “The Life and Works of Elliott Cresson,” *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, 281 (1966): 263–264.
  27. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1930, S. V. “Cresson, Elliot.”
  28. Fox, *American Colonization Society*, p. 61.
  29. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1930, S. V. “Cresson, Elliot.”; Hepburn, “Elliott Cresson,” pp. 263–271.
  30. ACS Papers, Letter from E. Cresson to R. R. Gurley, 23 August 1828.
  31. Thomas E. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950; reprint ed., Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1965), p. 121.
  32. Walter M. Merrill, ed., *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison, vol. 1: I Will Be Heard!, 1822–1835* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 235–236.
  33. *Ibid.*, p. 270. Perhaps Cresson’s unwillingness to debate stems not only from fear of Garrison, but also from the general taciturn nature of his Quaker religion.
  34. *Ibid.*, pp. 203–204; Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement*, pp. 216–218; Wendell Phillips Garrison *William Lloyd Garrison, 1805–1879: The Story of His Life Told by His Children*, vol. 1: 1805–1835 (New York: Century Co., 1885; reprint ed., New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), pp. 38, 301, 303, 328, 352–353, 369.
  35. “Report of the Board of Managers of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society,” 1830, pp. 3–13, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.



36. ACS Papers, Letter from E. Cresson to the Board of Managers of the ACS, 6 September 1830.
37. ACS Papers, Letter from E. Cresson to R. R. Gurley, 10 September 1830.
38. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, and a Roman Catholic, was chosen to succeed President Bushrod Washington in 1829.
39. ACS Papers, Letter from E. Cresson to R. R. Gurley and the Board of Managers of the ACS, 20 November 1833; *African Repository*, 11 (1835): 321–323; Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement*, p. 212.
40. *ACS Annual Reports*, 18th annual report (1834), p. 25.
41. *African Repository*, 9 (1833): 248–249, 315.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 284.
43. *African Repository*, 10 (1834): 126.
44. Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement*, p. 232; Penolope Campbell, *Maryland in Africa: The Maryland State Colonization Society, 1831–1857* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1971), pp. 59–62.
45. ACS Papers, Meeting of the Board of Managers, 3 July 1834; Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania Papers, Minutes of the Executive Committee, Lincoln University, Pa., 17 July 1834. Hereafter these Executive Committee meetings shall be referred to as YMCS Papers.
46. *Ibid.*
47. ACS Papers, Meeting of the Board of Managers, 3 July 1834.
48. YMCS Papers, 5 September 1835, 14 January 1836, 30 January 1836, 11 February 1836, 13 October 1836, 5 January 1837, 16 March 1837, 14 December 1837, 1 February 1838.
49. Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement*, p. 167; YMCS Papers, 9 July 1838; Pennsylvania Colonization Society Papers, Minutes of the Board of Managers, Lincoln University, Pa., 7 May 1839. Hereafter referred to as PCS Papers.
50. YMCS Papers, 28 December 1837, 4 January 1838; PCS Papers, 30 December 1840.
51. YMCS Papers, 10 June 1834, 6 January 1835; PCS Papers, 5 July 1839.
52. Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement*, pp. 125–126, 155.
53. *African Repository*, 8 (1832): 28.
54. Fox, *American Colonization Society*, pp. 95–96, “the Pennsylvania society, mindful of the origin of the Keystone colony, established a settlement on peace principles, forbidding the possession or use of arms therein.” See also: *African Repository*, 8 (1832): 33–37.
55. *African Repository*, 8 (1832): 37; “Central Africa,” *Colonization Herald and General Register* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Colonization Society; Louisville: Lost Cause Press, 1962), Oberlin College Library, vol. 1, Jan. 1839.
56. *African Repository*, 8 (1832): 45–46, 129–136.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 201–203.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 301, 379–381.
59. *Ibid.*, 9 (1833): 17, 119–121, 159.
60. Y.M.C.S. Papers, 10 June 1834, 19 June 1834.
61. *Ibid.*, 3 September 1834.
62. *African Repository*, 10 (1834): 266–267.

63. *YMCS Papers*, Sept. 26, 1834; "Report of Committee. The Committee appointed by the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, to superintend the sailing of their First Expedition . . .," *A Discourse Before The Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania . . . by J. R. Tyson* (Philadelphia: Young Men's Colonization Society, 1834), p. 57.

64. *Y.M.C.S. Papers*, Sept. 26, 1834.

65. One slave was purchased for the purpose of joining his wife. A little girl was bought for \$300.00, and the Society took out 14 slaves for the A.C.S., thus saving them money.

There was some complaint concerning the filing of a financial report by the Pennsylvania embarkation committee, but this was subsequently resolved. The Society would naturally be concerned about finances since that was one of the reasons for their separation from the A.C.S.

Take notice of the patriotic and historical significance of the dates mentioned. July fourth was an especially important date for making collections.

*Y.M.C.S. Papers*, Sept. 3, 1834, Aug. 1, 1835, May 30, 1839, June 1, 1840; *P.C.S. Papers*, Apr. 9, 1841; Tyson, *Discourse . . .*, pp. 55–59.

66. *African Repository*, vol. 11 (1835), pp. 85, 167–169, 179–180, 206; *Y.M.C.S. Papers*, May 23, 1835, Nov. 16, 1837, Nov. 1, 1838, Nov. 29, 1838; This move to have Joe Harris's son educated in America was basically a desire for a hostage as insurance against a native uprising. Maryland did the same thing at Cape Palmas. Prince Peter Harris remained in America at least until May, 1839. It was resolved that month that he be sent back to Africa as soon as possible, probably due to the expense of his upkeep. *P.C.S. Papers*, May 7, 1839.

67. *African Repository*, vol. 11 (1835), pp. 14–19; vol. 12 (1836), p. 16.

68. *African Repository*, vol. 11 (1835), pp. 321–323, 337–339; vol. 12 (1836), pp. 16, 23–25, 175; *Y.M.C.S. Papers*, Oct. 18, 1835.

69. *Y.M.C.S. Papers*, Oct. 18, 1835; *African Repository*, vol. 12 (1836), pp. 94–95; Archibald Alexander, *A History of Colonization on the Western Coast of Africa* (Philadelphia: William S. Martien, 1846; reprinted, New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), p. 470.

For more information on Buchanan, see:

Benjamin Brawley, *A Social History of the American Negro: Being A History of the Negro Problem in the United States, Including A History of the Republic of Liberia* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1921), p. 188; Charles Morrow Wilson, *Liberia: Black Africa in Microcosm*, with an introduction by J. William Fulbright (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), pp. 51, 53.

70. *African Repository*, vol. 12 (1836), pp. 94–95, 226.

71. *Ibid.*, pp. 125–126, 175.

72. *Y.M.C.S. Papers*, Mar. 3, 1836, Mar. 10, 1836. I was not able to discover the resolution of this dispute.

73. *African Repository*, vol. 11 (1835), pp. 371–372.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 92; *Y.M.C.S. Papers*, Dec. 22, 1836; *A.C.S. Papers*, Meeting of the Board of Managers, May 12, 1836, Dec. 11, 1836, Dec. 15, 1836, Dec. 17, 1836.

75. *A.C.S. Papers*, Meeting of the Board of Managers, Apr. 6, 1837.

76. *A.C.S. Annual Reports*, 20th annual report (1836), pp. 51–60; 21st annual report (1837), pp. 13–14, 16–17.

77. *A.C.S. Annual Reports*, 22nd annual report (1838), pp. 29–30.

78. *Ibid.*, 24th annual report (1840), p. 6; *Y.M.C.S. Papers*, Oct. 31, 1836.

79. *A.C.S. Annual Reports*, 34th annual report (1851), p. 82.

80. Y.M.C.S. Papers, Nov. 17, 1834, Feb. 10, 1835, Mar. 31, 1835, Apr. 14, 1835.
  81. Y.M.C.S. Papers, May 16, 1835, Oct. 18, 1835, Dec. 5, 1835, July 7, 1836, Jan. 4, 1838.
  82. Ibid., Mar. 8, 1838, June 7, 1838, Dec. 13, 1838.
  83. Ibid., Oct. 24, 1835, Mar. 7, 1837, Nov. 30, 1837.
  84. Ibid., May 10, 1838, Dec. 20, 1838.
  85. Ibid., Jan. 9, 1839, Feb. 21, 1839; P.C.S. Papers, July 5, 1839; *African Repository*, vol. 15 (1839), pp. 225-226.
  86. P.C.S. Papers, Dec. 5, 1842, Feb. 23, 1843, Mar. 7, 1843, Dec. 9, 1843.
  87. Ibid., Apr. 6, 1843, Oct. 4, 1843, Jan. 13, 1843, Feb. 1, 1845.
  88. Ibid., Mar. 17, 1845, June 8, 1847, Sept. 14, 1847, Oct. 12, 1847, Dec. 14, 1847.
  89. Ibid., Mar. 13, 1849, Apr. 10, 1849, Oct. 14, 1849; Y.M.C.S. Papers, *Colonization Herald* Files, Mar. 1, 1862.
  90. Y.M.C.S. Papers, Feb. 16, 1837, Mar. 16, 1837, June 8, 1840; P.C.S. Papers, Dec. 5, 1839.
  91. Y.M.C.S. Papers, Feb. 10, 1835, Oct. 13, 1836.
  92. Ibid., Jan. 5, 1837; P.C.S. Papers, Jan. 12, 1846, May 11, 1846, Nov. 11, 1848.
  93. Y.M.C.S. Papers, Nov. 3, 1836, Nov. 10, 1836, Mar. 22, 1838.
  94. *Twelfth Annual Reports of the Board of Managers of the Ladies' Liberia School Association* (Philadelphia: Lydia R. Bailey, 1844), pp. 1-10; P.C.S. Papers, Apr. 2, 1839; *Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society* (1838), p. 28.
  95. P.C.S. Papers, Dec. 27, 1838, May 9, 1839.
  96. Ibid., July 2, 1839, Feb. 15, 1840, Oct. 6, 1840, Dec. 1, 1840, Aug. 11, 1842, Oct. 28, 1843, Apr. 25, 1844, July 3, 1844, Dec. 4, 1844, May 12, 1845, Oct. 20, 1845, Feb. 9, 1846, Apr. 12, 1847, May 11, 1847, Dec. 11, 1849.
  97. *A.C.S. Annual Reports*, 37th annual report (1854), p. 5; 41st annual report (1858), p. 22.
  98. P.C.S. Papers, Sept. 14, 1846, Nov. 13, 1849, Dec. 11, 1849.
  99. "Report of the Proceedings and Speeches at the Dedication of Coal Estates for the Benefit of the Poor; A Free College and African Colonization, At Shamokin, Northumberland County, Pa.," Dec. 22, 1854 (Philadelphia: McLaughlin Brothers, 1855), pp. 3-5.
  100. P.C.S. Papers, Sept. 10, 1839, Jan. 4, 1843, Oct. 11, 1843, Feb. 11, 1844, Jan. 2, 1846; *A.C.S. Annual Reports*, 34th annual report (1851), pp. 29-30; Wilson, *Liberia*, p. 53; Edward Biddle and Mantle Fielding, *The Life and Works of Thomas Sully, 1783-1872* (Philadelphia: Wickersham Press, 1921), pp. 123, 129.
  101. *A.C.S. Annual Reports*, 23rd annual report (1839), p. 6.
  102. Ibid., 24th annual report (1840), pp. 37-39; 26th annual report (1842), p. 13; 17th annual report (1843), p. 35; *African Repository*, vol. 18 (1842), pp. 253-256.
  103. William Nesbit (of Hollidaysburg), *Four Months In Liberia or African Colonization Exposed* (Pittsburgh: J. T. Shryock, 1855), pp. 19-20.
  104. *A.C.S. Annual Reports*, 35th annual report (1852), p. 46; 37th annual report (1854), pp. 8-9; 39th annual report, p. 8.
- Also see:  
 Alexander, *History of Colonization*, pp. 510, 530; Y.M.C.S. Papers, Dec. 14, 1840; Appendix.

104. *African Repository*, vol. 14 (1838), pp. 161–166; vol. 16 (1840), p. 34; *A.C.S. Annual Reports*, 37th annual report (1854), pp. 8–9; Y.M.C.S. Papers, May 17, 1838; P.C.S. Papers, Jan. 11, 1841, Jan. 16, 1841.

105. *African Repository*, vol. 12 (1836), p. 170; vol. 19 (1843), pp. 215–216; *A.C.S. Annual Reports*, 38th annual report (1855), p. 8; John Tyler, “Message from the President of the United States Communicating Information Relative to the Operations of the United States Squadron on the West Coast of Africa, the Condition of the American Colonies There, and the Commerce of the United States Therewith” (Washington: U.S. Senate, 1845), pp. 403–405; *U.S. Army Area Handbook for Liberia, July, 1964* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), p. 116.

106. *A.C.S. Annual Reports*, 35th annual report (1852), p. 7; 37th annual report (1854), p. 8; *Army Area Handbook*, p. 42.

107. Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement*, pp. 32, 83–86, 159, 188–195; Robert C. Dick, *Black Protest: Issues and Tactics*, Contributions in American Studies, no. 14 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974), pp. 20–21.

108. *A.C.S. Annual Reports*, 42nd annual report (1859), pp. 53–56; 43rd annual report (1860), p. 72; P.C.S. Papers, Oct. 1, 1839, Jan. 27, 1840.

109. *A.C.S. Annual Reports*, 36th annual report (1853), p. 10; Y.M.C.S. Papers, Jan. 14, 1836, Mar. 14, 1839; Campbell, *Maryland in Africa*, p. 199.

110. Y.M.C.S. Papers, Sept. 20, 1838.

Also see:

*A.C.S. Annual Reports*, 23rd annual report (1839), p. 29.

111. P.C.S. Papers, Jan. 24, 1844; *A.C.S. Annual Reports*, 34th annual report (1851), p. 81.

112. See: P.C.S. Papers, June 4, 1844; Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement*, pp. 193, 216–217; Donald G. Matthews, *Slavery and Methodism: A Chapter in American Morality, 1780–1845* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 57.