

PRESIDENT KING

History of Liberia

By

THOMAS H. B. WALKER

Illustrated



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PREFACE

We have divided this little work into very short chapters, the chief aim of which is to make it convenient for the student to read and commit short portions easily and find it less laborious to discuss than a long chapter. There are occasionally illustrations given.

The work is divided into two parts, ancient and modern.

Dr. John A. Simpson, who wrote the foreword for this work, has spent twenty years in Liberia. He has prayed in the Senate, was pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, of which the president was a member, has been honored with the Ph.D. by the College of Liberia, and is one of the few to receive the coveted degree of K. C.

We are also greatly indebted to Dr. Nathaniel H. B. Cassel, president of the College of Liberia; the late Bishop A. B. Camphor; Bishop I. B. Scott, who spent twelve years there; U. S. Minister Dr. Ernest Lyons; Rev. and Mrs. F. A. Price, who are now in Liberia at work; and the following works: Dr. E. W. Blyden's books and orations, African stories by Bishop Camphor, Dr. Reed's Racial Readjustments, Bishop Scott's Reports and Papers, Bishop Ferguson's work, Starr's Liberia, Mr. H. H. Johnson's work, The Stewart Missionary, splendid

volume, *The Life of Crowther*, Dr. M. N. Work's *Negro Year-Book*, and *Daybreak in the Dark Continent*, for valuable data.

THE AUTHOR.

April, 1920.

Jacksonville, Fla., U. S. A.

FOREWORD

The struggles and achievements of the Negro race have never been accurately and fully recorded; here and there writers of note both white and black have written commendably of the native Africans in Africa and their descendants in America.

The present great centers for educational acquirement, religious devotion, social and political achievements, are geographically located in the United States of America, West Indies Islands and the Republic of Liberia. A great deal of that which has been accomplished by this struggling race in America has been recorded by the scholarly writers of the race and read with enthusiasm, pride and inspiration by the progressive members of the race scattered throughout the world.

The efforts and progress of the race in Hayti, Santo Domingo and the British West Indies are less known and less appreciated, and Liberia as a nation, though the pride of the Negro world, has never been known and esteemed by the other portion of the race as it should.

Now, after the close of the great World's War, when in the titanic struggle Christian civilization has triumphed over the 12th century feudalism, barbarism and autocracy, the so-called superior race of mankind has begun to recognize the invaluable worth of a belated race, and the principles of universal brotherhood.

The members of the African race and the world of mankind are presented with a history recording the struggles of a portion of this race in Africa for civilization with political freedom. This "History of Liberia" comes as a beacon light along the rocky shores of the race's surging sea. It is both racial and national in its scope, ancient and modern in its composition, comprehensive in its treatment of facts, interesting and instructive, tasteful in style, and designed to awaken within the heart of its reader a greater race loyalty and stronger patriotism of every true Liberian.

Having scanned the whole of the book while in manuscript form, and read in detail several of the chapters, it is a pleasure to me to write these words as an introduction to a book filled with so much interesting historical data and many inspiring facts which may be used by the students in school, and read by the parents in the home, and the patriot and statesman in public.

Dr. Walker has done his work well, especially so in view of the conditions under which he had to write. He is the author of several different works, and without hesitation we place this volume, "The History of Liberia," in the forefront of his other books. This is a contribution to Liberia as a nation, and the African race at large.

Dr. Walker has written many books, and some of his best-known works have been on Liberia. Of his work, "Presidents of the Negro Republic," over 15,000 have been sold, and "The Presidents of Liberia" has also had a wide circulation.

He was given the *Divinitatis Doctoris* by the College of West Africa, April 30th, 1907, and when a student at Gammon Theological Seminary won the Stewart Foundation prize by an oration entitled: "Crowther of Sierra Leone, the Heathen, Missionary and Bishop."

We believe that as a text-book this history will meet the long-felt want of Liberian schools and will be a valuable encyclopedia at the fireside of every reading family in America, Europe and Africa.

Yours truly,

J. A. SIMPSON.

March 18, 1920.

Missionary to Liberia, Africa, 1899-1919.

Liberian Address: Monrovia, Liberia, West Africa.

INTRODUCTION

Little brother of my heart,
Come and speak with me.
I hear you shrilling and singing apart
In the waste by the hawthorn tree
Little brother of my heart, I pray you
Come and speak with me.

Or, if you will not come
Where the boughs meet above,
Come to the orchard, the apple orchard,
Where the wild honey-gatherers hum,
And sing to me of love.

—ETHEL TALBOT SCHEFFAUER.

In presenting this work on Liberia, we do not presume to give the public an entirely original work, but it is rather our aim to place before the public and the world an unabridged history made up of many extracts, sayings and travels of others who have studied the country and its people.

We believe, however, that we are presenting many facts that have not been before published.

“The Republic of Liberia is an attempt and an atonement. It is an attempt to establish a civilized Negro estate in the West African Forest; and a somewhat paltry atonement, which has been made by Britain and America, for the wrong-doing of the slave trade. As France shared to some extent this traffic in Negro bondsmen, we may claim her sympathy and participation also, in the Liberian experiment. She holds back her

mighty forces and the tidal wave of her African Empire from the skirts of this small African Republic, wherein the descendants of slaves impressed with European culture may try to devise a new and appropriate civilization for Negro West Africa: preserving all that is good and practical of America's teaching, shedding what is inappropriate, and inventing additional precepts suited to the Negro's mind and body." Sir Henry H. Johnston says, "We believe that the future of those Negroes in the United States who cannot be absorbed into the American community without risk of civil war lies in Liberia and not in portions of the Tropical South."

As the historian above quoted and others might think, there is plenty of room within the 43,000 square miles of the Liberian Republic, to make a good beginning. Room and to spare; for this country, properly tilled and drained, cleared and cultivated, might easily sustain a population of twenty millions.

The Negro of America will have to ultimately do one of three things: (1) amalgamate, (2) form a separate state, or (3) immigrate to Liberia. The first is to many odious and improbable, the second almost impossible and the third the most logical. The tension between the whites and blacks of America is becoming strained, which is seen in the agitation in the mixed churches, as well as in the large number of lynchings. Therefore, the study of Liberia is an absolute need of the race.

Those who pronounce Liberia a failure, pass their sentence on snap judgment alone. It is not conceivable

that fifteen thousand, or even forty thousand, Americanized Negroes could effect in a hundred years as much as France and England could do in other portions of Africa with unlimited resources in men, arms and money during the same period of time. Liberia should, in all justice, be granted another century of trial before the world in congress declares the experiment a success or a failure.

It has been said that the phrase of Robert Louis Stevenson "a footnote to history" applies to Liberia, although to many travellers and historians it appears the most interesting portion of the West African coastlands. Its area is trivial: — forty-three thousand miles, but within these small limits are locked up some of the greatest undiscovered secrets of Africa, besides enormous wealth of vegetable products, and possibly some surprises in minerals. As an example in comparative land area, Bulgaria has ten thousand square miles less than the little Negro Republic.

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HISTORY OF LIBERIA

HISTORY OF LIBERIA

CHAPTER I

LIBERIA, LONGITUDE AND LATITUDE. VISITED
BY HANNO

In regard to its position on the map, Liberia may be styled the end of Northern Guinea, lying between Sierra Leone and the Ivory Coast. The mouth of the Cavalla River, just beyond Cape Palmas and the most easterly point on the coast, is in longitude $7^{\circ}33'$ west. The mouth of the river Mano, which forms the westernmost part of the Republic, lies in about N. latitude $6^{\circ}55'$ and W. longitude $11^{\circ}32'$. Liberian territory extends northwards to about $8^{\circ}50'$ N. latitude in the interior.

From the mouth of the Mano, the trend of the coast is in a southeasterly direction, and at the entrance to the Cavalla, reaches to within $4^{\circ}22'$ of the Equator. Curving to the northeast from this point, the Guinea Coast does not again approach the Equator until the delta of the Niger. Cape Palmas, in the southernmost extremity of Liberia, is mentioned again and again in accounts of early African exploration. On the other hand, the river Mano to the northward probably was the extreme limit seen by Hanno, the Carthaginian admiral, in his voyage along the West Coast of Africa in approximately 500 B. C.

This particular Hanno, who was one of fourteen famous members of that Carthaginian family, no doubt saw the last crumbling ruins of a once great Negro civilization, of which natives paddling down the rivers sang. According to Hanno, they gave accounts of a great empire that had tottered and fallen with the years.

Whatever boundaries, confines or customs were common to that empire have been entirely blotted out by time, for Liberia today is but 43,000 miles in extent, and from time to time its territory has been lessened by French and British inroads upon it. It is bounded on the north and east by French possessions, and on the west by the British Colony of Sierra Leone. To the south is the Atlantic Ocean, on which the steamer track between Europe and South Africa parallels the Liberian seacoast. This long stretch of coastline gives Liberia an enviable strategic position.

Liberian flora and fauna are peculiar to that country and its immediate neighbors of Sierra Leone and the Ivory Coast alone, so that the Republic differs materially in its animal and plant life from the entire remainder of West Africa. This is the more astonishing on account of the fact that on the map the country does not seem to be especially marked off from the other lands of the region.

In respect to its physical geography, Liberia consists of the basin of the St. Paul's River on the one hand, and the more westerly portion of the Cavalla's watershed, together with a section of the rugged hill country which forms the Mandingo Plateau, where the Moya, Mokona

or Sulima River finds its source. This large stream, which is known by its first two names in Liberia, and by the last in Sierra Leone, enters the sea within the confines of that Colony.

The French have drawn the northern frontiers of Liberia in such a fashion as to exclude the entire basin of the Upper Niger from Liberia. The country itself forms the southern section of the region which slopes more or less gently to the sea from the abruptly rising plateaux and ranges, from which the Niger, Senegal and Gambia rivers flow in their respective directions.

On the maps of the ancients, and some of the more modern charts, are found "The Kong Mountains," rising on the northeastern frontiers of Liberia. These peaks were invariably marked on all maps with the portentous word, "gold." Many were the expeditions which sought the range, and many were the legends woven about it. At the present time, it is believed that the Druple Range and the Nimba Mountains are the "Kong Peaks" of history. Altitudes of from six to ten thousand feet are reported by travelers in connection with these ranges, which run northwestwards three hundred miles from the sea to the headwaters of the Upper Senegal. The Niger rises also in these mountains, which are the highest to the west of the Cameroons.

Liberia's seaboard of three hundred and fifty miles is much indented, but in such a manner that no sheltered anchorages or roadsteads are afforded for the protection of coastwise vessels. A site for a good harbor is Mon-

rovia, the capital on Cape Mesurado, where the construction of breakwaters and jetties, together with some dredging work, would serve to establish a port of the first importance in the West African maritime trade. Aside from Monrovia, which is even now the best landing place, there are several spots where disembarkation may be effected more or less easily. Navigation of the rivers by vessels of much draught is made impossible by the enormous sand-bars, which block the entrance to every stream of importance in the region.

CHAPTER II

MONROVIA AND THE LIBERIAN REGION

Monrovia, the capital, is again fortunate in being only ten days out from Southampton, Liverpool and other British ports by English liners maintaining only a fair rate of speed. A good deal of the seaboard is dotted with sharp rocks and reefs, which lie near the surface and render coastwise navigation rather dangerous. Before the World's War of 1914–1918, English and German liners made the direct run to Monrovia every two weeks.

Liberia was formed by its colonists into an independent republic in 1847, and during the next two years, was recognized by most of the great powers except the United States. Until 1857, it consisted virtually of two republics, Liberia and Maryland, which amalgamated in that year.

At various times, Liberia has been involved in disputes with France, England, and the indigenous natives of the region. These latter Negroes, who are uncivilized, number over two millions, and form the bulk of the population. Twelve thousand American-Liberians are the governing class, and the remainder of the voting population consists of thirty or forty thousand civilized Christian Liberians of native origin.

The American colonists may only take residence along parts of the coast line and about the mouths of the St. Paul's and Cavalla rivers. Therefore, except for a narrow belt of cleared land all along the seaboard, Liberia is thickly forested. This is not true of the extreme North of the Republic, for there the dense tropical growths give way to a mountainous country covered with grass and thinly scattered trees. This open growth is more or less caused by the action of the Mohammedan tribes in clearing the forest lands for planting and the importation of cattle and horses.

The densest forest of the region is the Gora, which is regarded as being nearly wholly uninhabited. It extends about six thousand square miles between the British frontier and the Po hills.

It is on account of these forests and tropical jungles, which contain many varieties of palms and bamboos, besides other trees of more rarity, that the hinterland of Liberia is so little explored. The nature of the land itself is rugged and rises abruptly in certain sections to mountains of considerable height.

There is a large salt lake or lagoon lying between Cape Palmas and the Cavalla River, but except for this and a few others, there have been no discoveries made of any sizable lakes. The coast, itself, has few lagoons and marshes compared to the neighboring seaboard of Sierra Leone and the Ivory Coast. In fact, the capes and headlands of the region oftentimes rise abruptly from the sea. Cape Mount towers almost sheer in some

places for 1,050 feet, while Capes Mesurado and Palmas are inferior in actual height.

Liberia's rainfall and climate is equatorial. The mean precipitation is about a hundred inches per annum. More than a hundred miles inland, the climate is not so wet, and the weather is much cooler during the dry season, which extends from November until May. Temperatures near the coast range from around 75° to 105° , while in the interior 56° is a low mark.

CHAPTER III

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF LIBERIA, AND ITS FLORA AND FAUNA. THE "PERIPLUS" OF HANNO

Much of the fauna of Liberia is that of a far-distant period of development; examples of which are found fossil in the caves of certain lands in Europe. Among the mammals, the pigmy hippopotamus and the zebra antelope are common to this region. Several interesting local developments of the Diana monkey are also found in the dense forests, as are several peculiar varieties of reptiles. The brilliantly colored red and blue lizard is common to Eastern Liberia, as is the giant scorpion to the forests. Those common pests of Equatorial Africa, white ants and mosquitoes, are almost entirely absent from the country.

Exploration and development of Liberia has been largely curtailed by the forest growths, which have allowed the inhabitants to remain in a far more backward condition of civilization than have the tribes of other sections of Africa.

Owing to this fact, the mineral resources of Liberia are at present almost entirely unfathomed. The sand of nearly every river of importance contains some proportion of gold, and garnets and mica are common. From the volcanic range of the Finley mountains, some dia-



PRESIDENT D. E. HOWARD

monds have been taken. Iron is present nearly everywhere, and sapphires have been found.

The "Periplus" of Hanno gives a probably authentic account of how and when the first white men visited Liberia. Setting forth from Carthage about 520 B. C. for purposes of exploration and colonization, his ships skirted the North and West coasts of Morocco, until the mouth of the Rio De Oro was reached. Here he began the settlement of Kerne Island.

Passing the inlet of the Senegal, Cape Verde, and what is now Sierra Leone, his vessels apparently followed the coast as far as Cape Palmas, although some accounts say the voyage was ended at Cape Mount.

Sherbro Island was made a stopping place, and here, Hanno says, his seamen captured hairy and grotesque appearing women, whom they called gorillas. Some historians consider that these "women" were merely specimens of the chimpanzees which still range the jungle along the Liberian Coast. Others believe that the account of Hanno is substantially true, and that female savages of an undeveloped and primitive type may have been found.

Luckily for the pages of history, Hanno and his fleet returned safely to Carthage despite adverse winds, and the usual maritime difficulties and delays of those times. After his arrival, he wrote an exhaustive history of his voyage, which was transferred to tablets and set up in the temple of a Carthaginian god. Shortly afterwards, translations into the Greek language were made, and

accounts of the epoch-making voyage were given by several early historians.

Hanno especially mentions the sheets of flame which swept over the grass plains at the end of the rainy season, and was apparently much impressed and startled by the sight of Mount Kakulima wrapped in fire from crest to base. The practice of burning the grass and brush at this time of year is still continued in the West African coast lands.

Great traders and seamen as the Carthaginians were, it is extremely likely that they made other and uncharted voyages to the West African coast, purely for purposes of trade. There is a complete dearth of information regarding these voyages in the works of either Greek or Roman geographers until after 200 A. D.; but without doubt the Liberian tribes traded indirectly with the merchants of the Mediterranean at that time, possibly through the desert tribes.



WARRIORS OF EARLY DAYS



LIBERIAN SOLDIERS

CHAPTER IV

EARLY EXPEDITIONS TO LIBERIA

For a thousand years, intercourse between the Mediterranean peoples and the Negroes of the Equatorial West Coast was apparently broken off. In the tenth century, Senegal was invaded by Arab hordes, who had been sweeping victoriously across the Sahara under the banner of Islam, since 640 A. D., when Kale and his desert tribes surged into Egypt.

Tripoli, Mauritania, and the regions of the Upper Niger had been invaded by 1200, and the tide of Islam then broke down the barriers along the Atlantic Coast, and swirled about Lake Tchad on the one side and the mouth of the Senegal on the other. On the upper half of that river, there is still existent a town named after Kale.

Preceding the march of the desert tribes, there was a great religious movement of Islamized natives from Morocco to the Upper Niger. Some echo of this great Asiatic invasion may have reached Liberia; but the next appearance of white men in the country is told in the presumably legendary account of the journey of a Spanish mendicant friar, and certain members of the Franciscan order in 1230. In his expedition to the Canary Islands, nearly two hundred years later, De

Betencourt is said to have obtained proof of this early journey for exploration and conversion. From Morocco, overland to the Mandingo Plateau, and then towards the Liberian Coast is the supposed route of the Spanish brothers.

Another traditional expedition is that of the Dieppois merchant-adventurers, who may have reached the Liberian seaboard in the fourteenth century. In 1700 the French claimed that these Norman seamen had not only explored the coast-lands, but had established settlements at Grand Basa and Cape Mount, as well as at other points. No absolute proof has yet been offered, however, to prove that the Portuguese were not the first white men to reach the coast. In 1455 and 1456, what is now Portuguese Guinea was visited by Luigi Ca' da Mosto, a Venetian mariner in the service of Prince Henry the Navigator, whose previous explorations had opened up the sea route to the Far East. Ca' da Mosto saw the mouth of the Senegal and discovered Cape Verde and the Cape Verde Islands, but got no farther to the South than the Bisagos group of Islands.

Ca' da Mosto is noted not only for his bold voyage of exploration, but also for his clear and concise account of the tribes and geography of the part of Africa which he visited. Ca' da Mosto seems to have been something of an author as well as a skilful navigator, for he wrote a vivid account of the voyages and travels of a fellow captain of the Portuguese Navy, Pedro de Sintra. De Sintra was sent out by King Alfonso V, and opened his

career by giving the name "Sierra Leone" to what is now the British colony of virtually the same name. The Portuguese rendering of the name is "lion-like mountain range," and da Mosto states that this appellation was due to the roaring of the surf on the coast. Before de Sintra's time there is a record of a voyage made by one Diego Gomez of the same service, but he unfortunately had no historian to chronicle his travels.

Continuing on beyond Sierra Leone, de Sintra reached as far as the River Marshall, called in the ancient accounts "River Junk," which lies between Monrovia and Grand Basa. De Sintra also gave names to the bold headland of Cabo do Monte (Cape Mount) and, near Monrovia, Cape Mesurado. Several reasons have been assigned for the latter name, which appears to mean either "measured," "miserable" or "calm." This latter meaning may have had something to do with the peacefulness of the natives, for da Mosto calls it "Cape Cortese" in his Italian narrative.

During a lapse of seventy years in the French voyages on the Atlantic, the Portuguese obtained a strong foothold on the Gulf of Guinea and asserted their advantage of priority for nearly a hundred years.

With these mariners, Christopher Columbus made several voyages to Guinea, before his epoch making cruise to "The New World." His connection with Liberian history lies in the fact that in all probability he landed on that coast when the caravels touched there for commerce in pepper or to renew their water supply.

In order to maintain their sovereignty over the surrounding territory, the Portuguese erected forts at the mouth of the River Gambia early in the sixteenth century, and toward the close of that era the English entered the field and built settlements for trade near Sierra Leone. As Great Britain's territorial acquisitions grew rapidly, by the seventeenth century she was one of the leading powers on the Gold Coast.

This constant influx of traders, particularly the Portuguese and English, caused a trilingual speech in the natives of the Liberian Coast, who were able to speak the two foreign languages as well as their native tongue. The chiefs and headsmen became particularly conversant with this art, and at Cape Mount some of them could speak Portuguese, Dutch, French and English with great ease. As is today the case in the South Seas, a cosmopolitan or "pidgin" tongue was formed out of the Portuguese and the native dialects, and was greatly used in the territory between Cape Verde and Cape Palmas. With the waning of Portuguese dominion, this tongue became based on "pidgin" English instead of Portuguese.

CHAPTER V

THE PORTUGUESE INFLUENCE ON THE WEST COAST

Seven years before Columbus set sail for America, the Portuguese were filling their water casks in the Congo River, and their hold was in large measure retained down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Portuguese was the established language all through the Liberian coastlands, for the early traders of that country intermarried with native women, and passed the European tongue down to their offspring. Consequently even in the nineteenth century, Portuguese-speaking Christian mulattoes were to be found from the River Senegal to the Gallinhas.

To mark the path of their superb seamanship, for they sailed toy caravels down one of the most dangerous coasts in the world, they named headlands and forelands rivers and inlets and mountain peaks and ranges from Morocco around the coast of Africa to the Red Sea. Not only did they merely name the features of the coast, but insured their dominion by bringing the Christian religion to the natives. In 1491 their priests were saying mass on the Congo, and ten years later the results had been so gratifying as to justify the appointment of a native bishop for the district.

The greater number of the Portuguese colonies are now

gone from the West Coast, but the religion remained in some measure and the place-names given by the sailors from Oporto are still there. The Gallinhas was so named on account of the multitude of domestic fowls in its vicinity, and Cape Mount, Cape Mesurado, and the rivers St. Paul and Junk are all survivals of ancient Portuguese sovereignty. Then comes the Cess or Cestos River, thus named on account of the fish weirs or baskets (cestos) which are to this day placed in the stream.

Cape Baixo and the Sanguin River were also given their names by the Portuguese. The river's name is gleaned from the color of the red clay that floats down it at time of flood, although there is an interesting tale of a native maiden, whose love for a sailor led them both to their death and subsequent burial in the river by a native and his headsmen.

Few of the original native names were left by the Portuguese. One example of these, the Sino settlements, still retain their tribal name. The Dewa River was changed by the Portuguese for obvious reasons to Rio Dos Escravos (River of Slaves), but now has returned to the original appellation. The "Grand Paris" founded by the adventurers from Dieppe is now Grand Sesters, and Cape Palmas also takes its name from the Portuguese. The Cavalla River is so called on account of the superabundance of fish, particularly mackerel, that then and now were found in this stream. Cavalla's Portuguese meaning is "Mackerel."

CHAPTER VI

THE ENGLISH ON THE WEST COAST AND IN LIBERIA

In the fifteenth century, mariners of any race did not sail up and down the treacherous West Coast for pleasure merely nor to bring Christianity to the natives. Trade was their object: trade in gold, in pepper, and later on, in slaves. When the Dieppoise came beating back into their French haven, they brought with them two kinds of "Grains of Paradise" or pepper, which they discovered in use by the Negroes of Sierra Leone and Liberia. These "Grains of Paradise," which have lent their name to the Grain Coast, are sometimes called cardamons, or more often by the Moorish-Castilian name malaguetta. They were first introduced into Europe by the Moors, and almost immediately a thriving trade in pepper sprang up all along the West Coast and greatly increased the number of voyages of exploration to that region.

Although the English mariners were quick enough in following the Spanish explorers to America, they were less enthusiastic about voyages to the African Coast. Indeed, the first Englishman on the West Coast coasted down the seaboard as a sailor on a Portuguese ship. In some manner, for he was travelling in disguise, he

penetrated the mysterious walled city of Benin, and nearly lost his life in consequence. His safe return to England caused British seamen to turn their eyes southward, and in 1553, they had begun an extensive trade in pepper. The first expedition to fly the British flag was composed of the ships *Primrose* and *Lion*, which left Portland on August 12, 1553, under the command of Antonio Anes Pinteado of Oporto, a former captain of high rank in the Portuguese Navy, and a Captain Windham. A pinnace called the *Moon* joined the expedition, and their first landing was made at the Canary and Cape Verde Islands. From these, they set sail for Liberia, and entered the mouth of the Cestos River. Here a division of opinion arose in the little fleet. Pinteado wished to load up with pepper, and Windham was in favor of finding nothing but gold.

Finally, Windham's counsel prevailed, and the ships sailed up the Benin River. Here the king promised a great cargo of pepper, but delayed its arrival so long that the seamen, unused to the climate, began to die from fever at the rate of four and five a day. Windham became totally unbalanced, presumably from fever, engaged in a severe quarrel with Pinteado, and displaced him as commander of the expedition. The latter died on the way home. Thus the first British attempt at discovery ended in disaster.

One year later (1554), Captain John Lok and two "gentlemen adventurers," Sir George Barn and Sir John York, set sail from London in the *Trinity*, the

Bartholomew and the *John Evangelist*. Experiencing many dangers from hidden rocks, they were driven down the coast until they passed Cape Mesurado in Liberia. The next day they put in at the mouth of the Cestos River, which, together with the coast, is carefully described in their log-book. They also called at the "Rio Dulce," and described Cape Palmas as "a fair high land." After a voyage lasting one year, these ships returned safely to England with huge cargoes of gold, ivory and pepper, for which they had traded all along the Gold Coast.

In the year of their return, a third British expedition dropped anchor in the river Cestos. This was commanded by William Towerson, whose two ships, *Harte* and *Hinde*, had left the Isle of Wight late in September. Captain Towerson was much impressed by the Liberian Coast, of which he said: "The land full of woods and great rocks high above the shore, and the billows beating so that the seas brake upon the shore as white as snow, and the water mounted so high that a man might easily discern it four leagues off. On nearing the river St. Vincent we met with divers boats of the country, small, long, and narrow, and in every boat one man and no more. We gave them bread, which they did eat and were very glad. Directly before the mouth of it there lie a ledge of rocks — so that a boat must run in along the shore a good way between the rocks and the shore before it come to the mouth of the river; and being within it, it is a great river, and divers other rivers fall into it:

the going in to it is somewhat ill, because that at the entrance the seas do go somewhat high; but being once within, it is as calm as the St. John's River that is found in Florida."

As to the inhabitants on this coast, "They are mighty big men, and go all naked, except something before their privy parts" (much like the Igrotos of the Philippine Islands), "which is like a clout about quarter of a yard long, made of the bark of trees, and yet it is like cloth. Some of them, also wear the like upon their heads, being painted with divers colors; but the most part of them go bare-headed, and their heads are clipped and shorn; and the most part of them have the skin of their bodies traced with divers works in the manner of a leather jerkin. The men and women go so alike that one cannot know a man from a woman but by their breasts."

Towerson and his men evidently penetrated inland some distance, for he speaks of the making of iron arrow heads, which even then was in practice by the natives. He must have been a scholar of sorts, for his collection of the native words and phrases of that time is still interesting to linguists. He mentions that goats, fowls, and dogs were then found in the various villages, and comments on the fact that there were no horses in that part of the country. The unending forest growths and jungles are also duly described in the interesting account of his travels.

A year later, Towerson returned to Ireland with only

Inauguration Day January 3rd 1912.
President entertains the Native-Chiefs



THE COUNCIL OF CHIEFS AT MONROVIA

one ship. The *Hinde* had gone down in a great tropical tornado off the Guinea coast. Towerson bought two ships in Ireland and sailed into Bristol in the early part of June. The lure of adventure must have been strong in him, for in September of the same year he again left England on an African cruise. Reaching Sierra Leone and the mouth of the Cestos River, they arrived just too late to see the first battle between ships of European nations off this coast. Several French ships had fallen in with a Portuguese squadron, and as the latter nation had just decided to close the Gold Coast to foreign traders, a sea-battle on a small scale resulted. In the encounter, one of the Portuguese ships went down. In spite of this clash of nations, Towerson's second voyage was a comparatively uneventful one. At several Liberian rivers, he replenished his water supply, and finally returned to England safely with a large cargo of ivory. In 1577, he made his third and last voyage to the sea-coast of Liberia.

Other English adventurers, lured from the exploration of the New World by the fabled riches of Africa, visited Liberia immediately after Towerson's voyages. One, Robert Baker, set down his adventures in doggerel rhyme, which is still extant. His jangling rhymes are descriptive of a veritable argosy of adventure, for at the outset, he had the misfortune to be present at the first battle between black and white men on that section of the coast.

The affray occurred after the Krumen, who inhabited

that particular region, had been accused of stealing trade goods from a pinnacle. The English unwisely attempted to invade Kru territory, and were met by a fleet of a hundred war canoes, hurriedly summoned from up and down the neighboring coast. They used only light darts against the arquebuses, arrows, and pikes of the English, but in spite of their crude armament, succeeded in putting the invaders to rout. The English were forced to their boats, and raced down the river to the open sea with the fleet of war canoes hard upon them. The darts of the Krumen had done their work, for seven Englishmen were severely wounded in the struggle. The number of Kru casualties was never computed. So ended the first inter-racial battle on Liberian soil.

Baker and his companions again landed on the coast of Liberia, but engaged in no more affrays with the inhabitants. Theirs was a voyage of almost continual excitement, for it had begun with a successful sea-fight against a French pirate, and ended with their being marooned on Liberian soil, when their ships departed without them. Nine of these Englishmen found themselves on a Liberian river, with no means of escape by sea. After many hardships, they succeeded in reaching the Gold Coast, where the Portuguese received them with the utmost cruelty. They put up a stiff battle against their oppressors, and succeeded in escaping to sea again. Finally, they landed through the mountain-high surf on the shores of an unknown Negro kingdom. Here, in spite of the fact that they were treated with the greatest

kindness, six of the party died of fever. After some time, the three survivors were taken on board a French vessel, and thence to France.

In accordance with the usual custom of that country, they were held in captivity for ransom. In the end the trio, of which Baker was a member, safely returned to England.

CHAPTER VII

AFRICAN PRODUCTS

According to the tales of the Norman traders, whose reported visitation to Liberia may or may not be founded on fact, the "uncivilized" natives were really more "civilized" at that time than at the present.¹ Portuguese records also show that between 1460 and 1560, the condition of the tribes along the Liberian seaboard was better in that day than in the early nineteenth century, when the repeated raids of the slave traders on the coastal tribes did much to brutalize and impoverish them.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, cattle, sheep, goats and fowls were common throughout Liberia and the neighboring territory of Sierra Leone. Agriculture on no mean scale was also practiced by the inhabitants, who seem to have been on a much higher plane of civilization than were the natives of the hinterland of Portuguese Guinea, or the denizens of the Ivory Coast, who were cannibals.

Products which the natives of Liberia had for trade in those tribes consisted chiefly of gold, pepper, and negro slaves, a number of whom came from Senegambia. Other articles which the traders greatly desired were

¹ In 1460.

hides and ivory. The hides were taken from the large colonies of seals, which, at that time, had rookeries along the Sahara coast between Cape Bojador and the Senegal. These were doubtless specimens of *Monachus Albiventer*, and their skins were much in favor with the Portuguese, who used to spend great parts of their voyages of exploration in seal hunting. Indigo and civet perfume were also in demand. The former came from the various rivers of Guinea, and the scent bags of the civet cat were found throughout Liberia as well as in Sierra Leone, and along the course of the Senegal River. Civet perfume was much used for two centuries, and live civet cats were also in much demand. Despite the numbers slaughtered, these animals are still prevalent in Liberia today.

The so-called "Ivory Coast" produced less ivory at that time than did Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Senegal and the Gold Coast. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, the bulk of the ivory brought to the coast for purposes of trade originated in either Sierra Leone or Northern Liberia. At each trading post, native chieftains would quite commonly produce a hundred tusks at a time.

Ostrich feathers, gum, ambergris, and camwood were also common articles of trade. The latter produces vivid crimson dye, and for three centuries was in much demand among the European peoples.

CHAPTER VIII

ARTS AND CRAFTS IN EARLY LIBERIA

Arts and crafts of the Liberian natives during the early explorations consisted of the weaving of cotton fabrics, and work in iron, copper, bronze and brass. The craftsmen in bronze reached their greatest fame in still virtually unknown Benin City, which produced remarkable portraits on bronze. The latter metal was introduced into West Africa by the Portuguese, who used it to supplement the common trade articles of mirrors, beads, bracelets, kettles and blankets. The amazing and interesting sculptural art of Benin is presumed to be entirely Negro, without Egyptian influence.

Astonishing as it may seem, it was not the European nations who sent cotton to Liberia at that time, for the Africans actually exported their cotton fabrics to Portugal. To Islam is due the credit for introducing the art of spinning and weaving to Africa, for as the Moham-medan tide of invasion swept steadily southward, the Arabs divulged the secret of cloth manufacture, which they had learned in India or other countries of the Far East. From the banks of the Niger, the knowledge of cotton fabrication spread to the regions about the Senegal, and then into Guinea. Several species of the genus *Gossypium* (cotton) are common to almost all

parts of Liberia, and in cultivated form are much like the varieties grown by the American Indians before the white men arrived. Small quantities of American cotton were brought home by Columbus in 1493, when in Africa, the kings, chiefs and headmen of Liberia were wearing short robes of colored cloth.

At the present time, spinning and weaving in Liberia has been greatly curtailed by the importation of print goods from England and Spain. Copper is today found in the rocks of Liberia, but the natives have never shown a disposition to work it, as other tribes in different regions of the Dark Continent have done.

Iron, however, had been worked by the natives for centuries before the white men came, as the various tribes were obliged to fabricate their war spears as well as more peaceful implements.

In the northern and western regions of Liberia the Mohammedans introduced horses to the country, the terrain in the plateau country being especially suited to stock raising. On the seaboard, horses from Portugal were brought on some of the first expeditions. Various early explorers, however, comment on the fact that the Liberians had an indigenous breed of their own.

Pigs were also imported by the Portuguese, for aside from Abyssinia and Sennar, there are no species of wild pig in Tropical Africa. The *Potamochoerus*, the red bush or river pig of Central Africa, is in some degree akin to the English domestic pig, and has been interbred with the latter by the natives. This interbreeding has

been most successful, for the red river pigs are easily domesticated, sometimes even to the extent of being regarded as pets in native households.

The question of sugar is a rather complicated one. The cane is supposedly not indigenous to Liberia, and was first introduced either by the Mohammedan tribes, who brought horses and rice into the country, or by the Portuguese.

Before their trading expeditions to West Africa had been continued for a century their caravels imported the sugar-cane from Brazil. Several other and authenticated accounts state that sugar-cane was indigenous to at least some portion of northwest Africa, and that the Spaniards came to the Dark Continent for sugar-cane to introduce in Hayti during the sixteenth century. But from whatever source it came, the cane was growing in Liberia by the seventeenth century.

It seems that European trade with the Liberian coast was not an unmixed blessing, for the white men not only introduced to West Africa all the diseases of Europe, but kidnapped, cheated and corrupted the blacks all along the sea coast. They taught nothing of the industrial arts, and the influence of the missionaries was weak. The Portuguese fathers apparently taught neither reading nor writing, but it is everlastingly to their credit that they protested against the slave trade.

On the credit side of the ledger is the stimulus given to native agriculture by the bringing of cultivated plants to the Negro, and also the introduction of various domes-

tic animals of value for interbreeding and stock-raising purposes.

The traders, sailors, soldiers, and captains, who daringly sailed up and down one of the worst coasts in the world in tiny vessels, were obviously all adventurers, and quick-thinking, and often quick-tempered men. They are also described as being intensely religious in their speech, though not in all their principles or actions.

CHAPTER IX

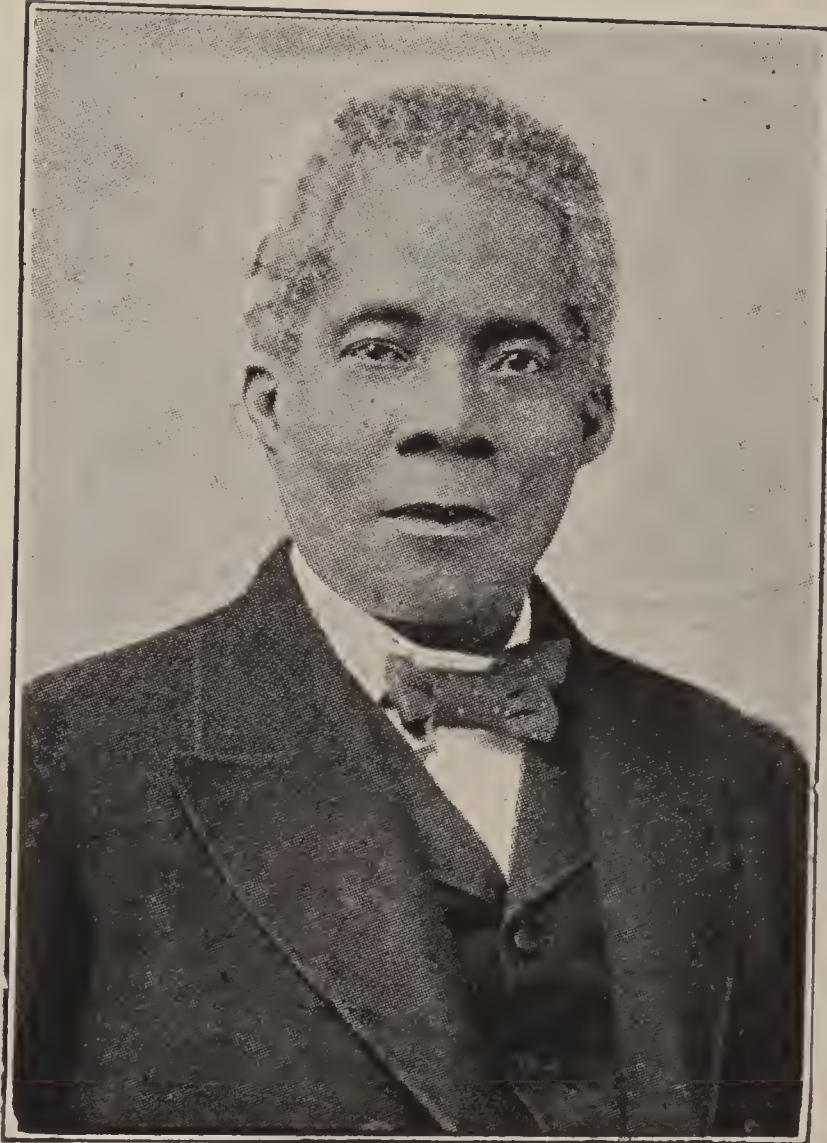
THE DUTCH IN LIBERIA

In that day, the Dutch were rated as seamen second only to the English, and therefore, while the British mariners were coasting down the Liberian seaboard, the Dutch had snatched Arguin Island and another islet near Cape Verde from the French. Seventy-seven years later the French came back into power, and recaptured and renamed their lost possessions, but during those seventy-seven years, the Dutch were no mean factors in the West African trade.

Gold was, of course, the lure of first importance to the Hollanders, although their tall ships periodically visited the Grain Coast to obtain pepper. Indeed the coast probably took its name from the Dutch word "grain," which has the same meaning as its English equivalent.

Two voyages of note were made in 1611 and 1614 by one Samuel Braun, a Swiss in the Dutch service. Braun's initial trip to the Cameroons, the Congo and Angola was so successful that he brought back to Holland a thousand pounds of gold and two tons of ivory.

This success called for another trip, so in 1616, he again left Holland for the Ivory or "Qua Qua" coast and called at Cape Mount, the Cestos River, and the Kru coast in Liberia. His opinion of the Liberian na-



DR. EDWARD W. BLYDEN

tives may have been prejudiced by some treatment he received, for he says concerning them:

“The natives are cruel and bad people, though in some places better than others, according to the way in which foreign nations coming there to trade have treated them.

Yet one nation is agreeable to them and beloved more than others, — the French — who for such a long time have frequented and travelled in this district. The Portuguese in these present times come here but seldom. Our Dutch nation is at one place more agreeable than others; but from time to time, we have made ourselves disliked by our rough ways, so that the Moors often try to take their revenge on us.”

Braun bought much rice in the Grain Coast, and bartered coral beads for pepper. His two voyages were admirably described by Hulsius, the historian, in 1620.

While the Dutch came for trade purposes, they apparently were more interested in the different tribes of the country than were either the French or Portuguese. A most comprehensive work on this subject by Dr. O. Dapper, a Hollander, was published in Amsterdam in 1686. It proved an African geography of no small value, and was printed in both Flemish and French. Dapper tells us that then, as now, the Vai tribe was among the most powerful, and at that time formed the ruling class of Liberia.

The language of the coast tribes was that of the Folgia people, and its dialects included the Quoja, Gebbe and

Gola or Gora tongues. The Folgia, who seem to have had some connection with the Kru tribe, were extremely war-like, and fights between them and the Vai people were continuously going on.

Throughout his geography, Dapper adheres strictly to native place names, of which the Mafu River and the Kondo tribe are modern survivals. In the south, as today, lived the various Kru tribes: The Dē, Basa, Gibi Grebo, etc.

The researches of Benjamin Anderson in 1868 disclose that even at that late date the tribal regions had not changed notably. He regards the "Folgia" race as having been akin to the Kru people, and the Mambas also to the Kru, through the Dē and Basa tribes. The Gora tribe are the indigenes. Of the present tribes, the Vai, Mende, and Mandingo are Mohammedans. The Mandingoes have an almost European cast of feature, and as a rule, the indigenes of Liberia are handsome and well-proportioned Negroes.

Ivory has succeeded pepper as the leading article of trade at the Cestos River, which seems to have been a calling station for the Dutch vessels. A now unknown town or trading-post mentioned many times in Dapper's account is Petit Dieppe, the location of which was near the present Grand Basa. It was apparently of inferior importance to the river Cestos, which was the headquarters and leading port for the entire pepper trade.

The Dutch sailors were amazed at the stature of the Grebo and Mandingo men and classed them as "giants."

Dapper enumerates many of their feats of strength and devotes some space to the history of the Karou, or modern Kru peoples, who conquered the warlike and powerful Vai tribes under the leadership of their chiefs, Sokwalla and Sonikerri. First the Folgia went down before the all-conquering Kru chieftains, and then the Gora and Kwoya peoples were conquered.

The almost whirlwind advance of the Krus continued into Sierra Leone, and ended with the victory over the Dogo and Gibi tribes of the interior. Today, the Krus are the seamen, not only of Liberia, but of the entire West Coast, and form a large proportion of the sailors employed on vessels in tropic waters.

The next authentic account of Liberian natives is given by John Snoek, who sailed past the Grain Coast in a yacht. According to him, ivory was already becoming less abundant along the coast. Snoek also says that at that time the coast women were "nearly and sometimes quite naked," although the natives around Cape Mount wore the Mohammedan garments of the Mandingoes. He describes the inhabitants as being most hospitable, and writes that near the present site of Monrovia the natives lived fifty or sixty in one large house, divided into two or three apartments. In spite of these rather crowded conditions, guests were welcomed in these "hotels," as the majority of the coast peoples were extremely friendly to whoever visited their country.

The slave trade had just commenced, and its primary cause is described as having been the almost incessant

warfare between the coast and interior tribes. Whichever party was victorious, was always ready to sell the prizes of war to white traders.

At this time, however, the slave trade, and incidentally the warfare, was stopped of necessity, when the great plague of 1626 swept over the country. That particular epidemic was caused by dysentery, which was introduced into Sierra Leone by a Dutch trading vessel, and ravaged that country and Northern Liberia for three years.

Smallpox had already become common in the country, and attained epidemic proportions at various times.

During Snoek's voyage, the most powerful king in the country was Mendi Manou, a Mandingo chief, who had not adopted the practice of being called by a European name. This was so common that Peters, Johns and James were found all over the coast. The "court" language was a mixed dialect of Portuguese and English.



Yours for Liberia
J. A. Simpson

J. A. SIMPSON



PRESIDENT JOSEPH J. ROBERTS

CHAPTER X

SNOEK'S DESCRIPTION OF LIBERIA. THE CHEVALIER DES MARCHAIS

So high were the houses built about the trading-post at the mouth of the Cestos, that they could be seen from three miles out at sea. These were built with three or four stories, and were higher than any others along the coast.

In those days the Cavalla River formed the boundary line of civilization. On the Cape Palmas side lived the partially-civilized Krumen, and on the other, the cannibal tribes of the Ivory Coast. To the East of the river, the natives adopted the custom of sharpening their front teeth to a point, probably to give an appearance of great ferocity.

At the time of Snoek's visit, the Liberian throne was held by one of a long line of Captain Peters; as that name was for some time common to the regents of Mesurado. Trading in those days was fraught with considerable danger when dealing with the Dutch and English. Both the Europeans and the natives were armed and hostages were exchanged.

Exactly opposite methods were used by the French, who renewed their commerce with Liberia in the seventeenth century. The trading was done with no precau-

tions on the part of the French, and on the other hand, the natives visited French vessels without hesitation, and there was a feeling of trustfulness on each side.

By this practice of dealing with the tribes, and treating the natives as valued friends, the French obtained a mighty and far-reaching hold over the West Coast.

In the eighteenth century, the colonial policies of France and Holland were almost allied, and French vessels began to call at the Dutch trading-posts. To ascertain whether or not it would be profitable to colonize the interior of Senegambia, France sent out the Chevalier des Marchais in 1725. He brought back to France a very complete description not only of the conditions for colonization and trade, but also an interesting and valuable account of the customs of the natives of Liberia and Sierra Leone.

He says: "The religion of the natives of Mesurado is a kind of idolatry, ill understood, and blended with a number of superstitions, to which, however, few of them tenaciously cling. They easily change the object of their worship and consider their fetishes only as a kind of household furniture. The sun is the most general object of their adoration; but it is a voluntary worship, and attended with no magnificent ceremonies, as was the case of the Aztecs in Mexico.

"In the space of a few leagues are many villages swarming with children. They practice polygamy, and their women are very prolific. Besides, as those people deal no further in slaves than by selling their convicted

criminals to the Europeans, the country is not depopulated like those in which princes continually traffic in their subjects. The purity of the air, the goodness of the water, and the abundance of every necessary of life all contribute to people this country.

“The natives are of large size, strong, and well proportioned. Their men are bold and martial, and their neighbors have often experienced their intrepidity, as well as those Europeans who attempted to injure them. They possess genius, think justly, speak correctly, know their own interests, and, like their ancient friends the Normans, recommend themselves with address and even with politeness. Their lands are carefully cultivated, they do everything with order and regularity, and they labor vigorously when they choose.

“Their friendship is constant; yet their friends must beware of making free with their wives, of whom they are very jealous. But they are not so jealous with respect to their daughters, who have an unbounded liberty, which is so far from impeding their marriage that a man is pleased at finding that a woman has some independence. Her lover is obliged to give her parents a present when he marries her. They tenderly love their children, and a sure and quick way to gain their friendship is to caress their little ones and to make them trifling presents.

“Their houses are very neat. The kitchens are somewhat elevated above the ground, and of a square or oblong figure; three sides are walled up, and the fourth

side is left open, being that from which the wind does not commonly blow. They place their posts in a row, and cement them together with a kind of fat, red clay, which without any mixture of lime makes a strong and durable mortar. Their bed chambers are raised three feet above the ground. This would seem to indicate that the country is marshy or sometimes inundated, but this is by no means the case. The soil is dry, and they take care to build their houses beyond the reach of the greatest floods, but experience has taught them that this elevation contributes to health, by securing them from the damps caused by the copious dews.

“ The women work in the fields, and kindly assist one another. They bring up their children with great care, and have no other object but to please their husbands. The men, much like most men of the orient, work but little.

“ The extent of King Peter’s dominions towards the north and northeast is not well known; but from the number of his soldiers, there is reason to believe it is considerable. The eastern boundary is the river Junco, about twenty leagues from Cape Mesurado, and the western is a little river, about half way from Cape Mount.

“ The country is extremely fertile. The natives have gold among them; but whether found in this country or brought thither in the course of trade is not precisely known. The country produces fine redwood, and a quantity of other beautiful and valuable woods. Sugar cane, Indigo, and cotton grow without cultivation.

The tobacco would be excellent if the people were skilful in curing it. Elephants, and consequently ivory, are more numerous than the natives wish; for these cumbersome animals very much injure their corn fields, notwithstanding the hedges and ditches with which they so carefully fence them. The frequent attacks of lions and tigers hinder not their cattle from multiplying rapidly; and their trees are laden with fruit, in spite of the mischief done to them by the monkey tribe. In a word, it is a rich and plentiful country, and well situated for commerce, which might be carried on here to any extent by a nation beloved like the French; for no nation must think of establishing themselves here by force."

The result of King Peter's having given Bushrod Island, in the estuary of the St. Paul's, to the Chevalier des Marchais was that he formulated a scheme for the establishment of a French colony at Cape Mesurado. This was laid before the Senegal Company, and if it had been carried out, a French settlement might have completely anticipated Liberia. The Chevalier, after careful consideration of the actual plateau on which Monrovia is now built, wrote: "Clay fit for bricks abounds everywhere, and even stone proper for ashlar work. Building timber grows on the spot, and the common country provisions are extremely cheap. Except wine, brandy, and wheat flour, which the company must supply, everything else is to be had on the spot. Beef, mutton, goats, and hogs cost little, and game abounds.

Antelopes and deer graze quietly with the tame cattle in the meadows. There are many species of birds. The basin (i. e. the lagoon), the rivers, and the sea afford plenty of fish and turtles. No river on the coast is as much frequented by the sea-horses as the Mesurado. The flesh of these animals is good, and their teeth are whiter and harder than those of the elephant.”

Unfortunately for France, the Chevalier's scheme of colonization was frowned upon.

From the very first, French travellers showed more interest in the condition of the natives than did the other trading nations. Grandpierre was so impressed by his exploration of the River Cestos in 1726, that he wrote concerning it:

“ My ambition is to be powerful and rich enough to fit out a large fleet, filled with able and intelligent people, to make a conquest of this fine country, and change its nature by introducing the best social laws and knowledge.”

Evidently the system of Grandpierre as regards treatment of the natives was not followed out, for in 1730, English slave-traders reported that there was not a single European trader left on the Northern Coast of Liberia. The cause of this was the practice of kidnapping by Dutch and English, which had left the natives so hostile that the coast was unsafe for any white man.

For twenty years in the early part of the eighteenth century, these northern shores of Liberia were nests of pirates. Both Spanish and English buccaneers preyed

about equally on the commerce by sea and the natives by land.

The slave trade brought countless European expeditions to the West Coast throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and while the Dutch built up a large and profitable trade in slaves, they oddly enough preferred dealing for natives on the Gold Coast, leaving the Grain Coast entirely to the French, English and Spaniards. It was long after the slave trade was over, and indeed but a few years after the establishment of Liberia as a Republic that the Hollanders came back. At present the Dutch commercial houses are among the most respected in the country.

Natives of two European countries, Sweden and Denmark, at different times, advocated settlements on Capes Mesurado and Mount. The Swede, Ulrik Norden-skiöld, wished to develop sugar plantations, and the Dane, J. Rask, declared that there was an abundance of gold in the country between the two capes.

At this time, however, the slave trade was the leading consideration of the four great trading countries, and neither of their schemes bore fruit. For several reasons, Liberia felt the slave trade only lightly. In the first place, the natives of the Kru coast did not prosper in slavery, and refused to work under such conditions. Therefore, they and their savage neighbors on the Ivory Coast were largely left alone. Northern Liberia was much more infested with slavers.

CHAPTER XI

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE SLAVE TRADE

As the slave trade was largely instrumental in the formation of the Liberian Republic, it should be considered at least in its relation to the countries of northwest Africa. Oddly enough, the church was in large measure responsible for the action of the slavers in bringing Negroes from Africa to America.

Since the natives of the Antilles did not prosper under the treatment of the Spaniards, the Bishop of Chiapa in Hispaniola (Haiti), Bartholomew de las Casas, came to Spain in 1517, and protested to the Emperor Charles V against the cruel methods taken to subjugate the West Indian indigenes.

He proposed that the West African coast Negroes should be imported directly into the West Indies as slaves. As this was in thorough agreement with the previous plans of the young emperor, he very graciously agreed to the proposition. He could well do so, for a year before he had "licensed" certain Flemish courtiers to ravage the West African coast for slaves.

One of the largest contracts entered into was with a follower of the court, Lebrassa, who was to supply each year four thousand Negroes to the Spanish Islands in the West Indies. Lebrassa sold his rights to a merchant



AFRICAN MUSICIANS



WASH DAY OF THE ABORIGINES

of Genoa, who in turn contracted with the Portuguese for the supply of blacks.

On account of the Papal Bull of Pope Alexander VI, issued in 1493, and described as an order of "Demarcation," the Spaniards were prevented from invading Portuguese territory on the West Coast, and were thus obliged to secure their slaves through the Portuguese traders.

As the time went on, they required more and more slaves for work in the mines of Haiti, but the trade did not attain much proportion until the last of the sixteenth century. This was in spite of the fact that as early as 1510, King Ferdinand of Spain was buying slaves from the Portuguese, who obtained them on the Liberian seaboard. They were sent to San Domingo, where even in 1502 African slaves were hard at work. Most of these early arrivals had been converted to Christianity.

Soon after the trade began, the English became the worst offenders in slavery. The first British concession for Negro slaves to be exported to the West Indies was taken up by Sir John Hawkins in 1562. Hawkins, who was a famous seaman, besides being a privateer and something of a pirate, made three voyages to the region between the Gambia and Northern Liberia. He obtained many slaves from Sierra Leone.

On the third and last of these voyages, the man who became the most famous admiral England ever had, Francis Drake, who was then about twenty years of

age, was included in the ship's company. Drake had virtually been adopted by his kinsman, Hawkins, and this was the first of several voyages they made together. Liberia was largely spared by Hawkins, who, on one voyage, collected more than two hundred slaves at Elmina by joining in a tribal war.

Other British traders periodically descended on the Liberian seaboard, and made slaves of whatever natives they could find. Indeed in the eighteenth century, the English were so hated all up and down the Gold Coast, that one man was obliged to represent himself as a Frenchman, when his expedition visited Liberia.

In his writings concerning the Grain Coast, the aforementioned Chevalier des Marchais states that, in this region, the natives readily turned from human sacrifices to selling their captives into slavery, when they discovered the profit which could be made.

After the year 1730, not one European dared remain in any part of Liberia, so hostile were the natives. Added to all the ravagers of the Liberian coast, rivers and marches, were the English and Spanish pirates, who again and again scudded to and from their landing places in the search for slaves.

After a time in the early part of the eighteenth century, the risks taken by these buccaneers in penetrating the Liberian hinterland became so great, that they entirely abandoned the Grain Coast, and turned their attentions to Sierra Leone, the Dahomey Coast (also known as the Slave), the Niger delta, Old Calabar, Loango

and the Congo District. The latter region and the mouth of the Niger suffered the most from the ravages of the slavers.

In addition to the risks involved in landing on the Liberian Coast, the slaves secured in this section never brought high prices in the slave market. The Vais were Mohammedans, and were too proud to labor under a slave-driver, while the Des and Basa did not flourish in captivity, and frequently died on the voyages. On the other hand, the Krus, while excellent fighters and well content to carry on a slave trade of their own, violently objected to personal slavery, and, indeed, preferred suicide to enforced labor in the West Indies or America.

From the very first, European advocates of the slave trade were prolific in arguments as to how slavery benefited its victims. The contention of many English and Continental writers of the seventeenth century, that servitude gave the blacks an excellent opportunity to become civilized as well as to embrace the Christian religion, does not hold water.

Strange as it may seem, the sanitary arrangements in the various West African coast towns were equal to those of Europe. Their cooking was even more appetizing than that prevailing on the Continent, and in respect to clothing (taking the climate into consideration), they were quite on a level with the people of England and Europe. Their apparently inherent good taste in dress was even more pronounced than it now is, and agricul-

ture, in like manner, seems to have been much more advanced and extended than at the present time. Live stock raising was also more developed than now.

One nation alone furnished no apologists for its slave-trading activities. It is to the credit of the Dutch that they indulged in no sanctimonious humbug about civilizing or "Christianizing" the slaves. They regarded the whole affair as a mere commercial transaction, and indulged in no religious or moral propaganda whatever.

They were far superior to all the other nations in the methods and conditions of their overseas transport, though they seem to have had little regard for their charges afterward. On the other hand, the Portuguese who are reputed to have given the best all-around treatment to their slaves, began by kidnapping the Negroes from coast villages instead of buying them, and transported them under extremely bad conditions.

However, once in the Portuguese possessions, the captives were made into Roman Catholics, and were well treated to a fault. No ignominious servitude nor cruel treatment was accorded them. Despite their reputation for exacting hard labor from their Negroes, the almost fanatical religious sense that animated the Spaniards assured the slaves in their colonies of at least fair treatment. Third in respect of kindness to slaves were the Danes, whose trading was done in a comparatively small way.

The French and English footed the list, and yet it was English-speaking people who began the campaign

against slavery and the slave trade. This, at first highly unpopular movement, was sponsored by the Quakers. Their first move towards abolition was contained in an anti-slavery address of George Fox in Barbadoes.

The Protestants, and more particularly the Non-conformists, next fell into line, and feeling grew so high among the Lutherans of Germany, Denmark, and Sweden, that in 1792 the Danes officially renounced the slave trade. Their stand was followed by similar action by the United States two years later, by Great Britain in 1807, Sweden in 1813, Holland in 1814, and France in 1815-18.

Carl Berns Wadstrom, a citizen of Sweden, in 1787, wrote in his *Essay on Colonization*, an excellent and truthful account of one Ormond, who may be taken as a fair example of the slave trader of 1790. He says:

“The following is a sketch of the origin, progress, and end of a European slave trader who lately died at an island near Sierra Leone, and who seems to have attained to a degree of ferocity and hardness of heart proportionate to his success in that bloody traffic.

“He went from England about thirty-five years ago (i. e. about 1758) as a cabin boy to a slave ship, and was retained as an assistant at a slave factory at Sierra Leone River. There he acquired a knowledge which qualified him for setting up a slave factory afterwards for himself in a neighboring part towards the north (Rio Pongo), and though unable to write or read, he became an expert slave trader, so much so that he realized about \$150,000.

His cruelties were almost incredible. Two persons who seem to have had good means of information give the following account of them. One of them, who lived for a time near Ormond said he knew it to be a fact that he used to tie stones to the necks of his unsaleable slaves, and drown them in the river during the night; and that his cruelty was not confined to blacks, for, being offended by a white agent one Christmas day, when drinking freely with some company, he made his slaves tie up the European, and gave him, with his own hands, four hundred lashes, from which he died in a few days."

Finally, his destruction of a town of the Bagos, a warlike tribe who lived near his factory, caused a native war to be proclaimed against him. His establishment was burned to the ground, and his son and adherents were put to death. Ormond was at Isle de Los at the time, and so escaped. He died about a month later.

CHAPTER XII

THE FOUNDING OF SIERRA LEONE

In the year 1786, about four hundred Negro ex-slaves from Nova Scotia were sent together with sixty irreclaimable London prostitutes to Sierra Leone. This rather peculiar combination was to begin a new life in, and incidentally form, the British colony of Sierra Leone.

Five years later eleven hundred and thirty-one more Nova Scotia blacks were sent out, so successful had the British Sierra Leone Company's sagacious mixture of pure philanthropy and shrewd business acumen proved. Two years later a French squadron bombarded the settlement and destroyed much of it, and in 1807 the British rather tardily began to appreciate the strategic value of Sierra Leone Harbor, and formed the whole into a Crown Colony with a Governor at its head.

After 1833, when British men-of-war began to swoop down on the slavers in an attempt to destroy the entire trade, whole ship-loads of freed slaves were literally dumped in Sierra Leone, regardless of whatever their native country might be. Consequently, about every tribe of every country on the West Coast is represented among its inhabitants, and from Nyasaland, the Upper Congo, the Lower Congo, Bornu, Wadai, Shari, Benue, and the Niger, the suddenly freed slaves were deposited

in Sierra Leone. They for years manifested a very clannish disposition, and Congos and Ibos hated each other far more than they ever did the white men.

Add to this fact that the abundant native population of the colony in turn hated almost all the colonists, and you have the reason why wars and rumors of wars agitated Sierra Leone for a full hundred years.

Today the hinterland of Sierra Leone is described as "a country every whit as undeveloped as the Congo swamps of Central Africa." This is not the statement of a casual traveller, but is contained in the report of a British governor.

Aside from the Sierra Leone Government railway, which is two and a half feet wide and two hundred and seventy-seven miles long, there is not much progress shown for a century of colonization.

The railway is the pride of the West Coast, and Freetown is said to have the best harbor on the entire Guinea seaboard, but the constant friction of the various tribes has prevented that development which would naturally be expected of such a country.



JEHUDI ASHMUN

CHAPTER XIII

ORIGIN AND FOUNDING OF THE LIBERIAN REPUBLIC

However, the founding of Sierra Leone was in large part responsible for the formation of the Liberian Republic. Much interest was felt in America concerning the work of the British philanthropists during 1794, and this interest led for the founding of the American Colonization Society in 1816.

At the end of the eighteenth century slavery was becoming less favored in the United States; Vermont abolishing the practise in 1777, and most of the Northern states following suit. By an act of Congress in 1794, American ships were forbidden to participate in the slave trade, and in 1808 the importation of African slaves into any state was prohibited.

Washington had freed his slaves, and this created a precedent. Many American planters followed his lead, and in a short while the problem of what to do with the "free" black man was looming up before the country. Alleging that mere freedom in an alien land was hardly a great privilege for the African slaves, various philanthropists in the United States urged that a system of repatriation be adopted.

It was put forward that not only would this be ade-

quate reparation for the injuries done the black race, but that inestimable benefits would be conferred on Africa by establishing a small nucleus of Christian and civilized natives on that continent.

For these ends the American Colonization Society was created in 1816. Both the North and South were largely represented; for Elijah Caldwell and Robert Finley, whose name has been given to a Liberian mountain range, had proposed the society at a meeting held in the Capitol at Washington, and attended by President Clay.

Finley was elected vice-president and Caldwell secretary when the Society was formally constituted. Bushrod Washington occupied the position of president, and Francis Key was second vice-president.

The initial meeting took place one year after Richard Allen organized the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which ever since that time has been interested in Liberian colonization.

Sierra Leone was first considered as a suitable region for Negro emigrants, but the British, who controlled the country, did not share in the enthusiasm. In 1818, a commission under Mill and Burgess went to Sierra Leone and found conditions most favorable. Their report impelled three white Americans, Rev. Samuel Bacon, John P. Bankson, and Dr. S. Crozer, to start for Sierra Leone with eighty-eight Negroes in 1820.

Upon the arrival of the party on the ship *Elizabeth*, the Governor of Sierra Leone became suspicious that

some ulterior motive actuated the colonizing scheme. Possibly he may have feared an attempt to raise the Stars and Stripes over His Imperial Majesty's Dominions. At any rate, the reception met by the colonists was the forerunner of many succeeding bickerings between Liberia and Great Britain.

Macarthy refused to let the emigrants land, claiming that there was no room on the Sierra Leone peninsula for Bacon's ex-slaves. Therefore, the *Elizabeth* sailed off to find another spot as favorable for inaugurating the experiment of colonization.

She took a southward course, and a landing was effected on Sherbro Island. Here an attempt was made to start a settlement or trading post, but the land proved so unhealthy that in a few weeks all the whites and twenty-two of the black settlers had succumbed to tropical fever of a most virulent type. As the leaders were dead, Daniel Coker and Rev. Elijah Johnson took entire command of the diminished party and returned to Fura Bay in Sierra Leone to wait for assistance.

In a short period of time the United States brig, *Nautilus*, scudded into Fura Bay and dropped anchor. On board were Rev. Ephraim Bacon and his wife, and Joseph Andrus, J. B. Winn and Christian Wiltberger. A small number of Negro colonists were included in the ship's company, and stores and provisions were also brought. These proved more than welcome to the first expedition, which was still marooned in Fura Bay.

Then the question again arose as to a proper spot for

colonization. Cape Mesurado was, of course, regarded as the best site, but the local chiefs did not at all welcome the idea. After that project was given up, a landing was made at Grand Basa, where the natives proved more friendly.

The climate was poor, however, and Bacon, Winn and Andrus were forced to return to America after a bout with fever. Back again came Captain Stockton, who commanded the *Elizabeth*, with Dr. Eli Ayres. After the latter's arrival, Wiltberger took command of the expedition, while Ayres and Stockton returned to Cape Mesurado.

Andrus was already there, and was busily dickering with the native chiefs concerning land purchases. He had no success, but the intercession of John Mill, a mulatto trader, materially assisted Ayres and Stockton in their negotiations with the Dē chief.

For an astounding price, one hundred and thirty miles of seacoast was purchased. This strip of land was to be everywhere forty miles broad, and was forever reserved for the settlement of American freed slaves.

On December 15th, 1821, the bargain was struck. The future site of Monrovia was also included in the transaction, and it must be admitted that the Dē and Mamba chiefs, Peter, George, Yoda, and Long Peter, got the worst end of an extremely bad bargain. For this large tract of land Ayres paid to the chiefs about fifty dollars' worth of trade goods. They were as follows: Six muskets, one small barrel of powder, six iron bars,

ten iron pots, one barrel of beads, two casks of tobacco, twelve knives, twelve forks and twelve spoons, one small barrel of nails, one box of tobacco pipes, three looking-glasses, four umbrellas, three walking-sticks, one box of soap, one barrel of rum, four hats, three pairs of shoes, six pieces of blue baft, three pieces of white calico. In addition, the purchasers bound themselves to pay when they could: six iron bars, twelve guns, three barrels of powder, twelve plates, twelve knives, twelve forks, twenty hats, five barrels of salt beef, five barrels of salt pork, twelve barrels of ships' biscuit, twelve glass decanters, twelve wineglasses, and fifty pairs of boots.

This promised payment, was, however, never made, and the Mesurado chiefs complained long and loudly. Some of their complaints took the shape of spears and poisoned darts. Whatever they thought they were bargaining for, they certainly did not realize that they were selling their country.

Probably the colonists justified the ridiculous bargain by the thought that they would never expel the natives from their holdings. As might be expected from such a one-sided transaction, trouble at once began. Bushrod Island was the bone of contention, and here the natives gained the first victory.

This small tract of fertile land lying between the St. Paul's River, Stockton Creek and Mesurado Bay was much desired as a place for settlement by the colonists. The natives objected and fiercely prevented the Afro-Americans from landing. After this initial disappoint-

ment and defeat, the eighty Negro and two white colonists set up a small settlement on Perseverance Island. This was an islet, low and unhealthy, in Mesurado Lagoon. The one settlement on the island, Kingstown, was formed by the factory of John Mill, the mulatto slaver. Again he aided the colonists in various ways, and thereby perpetuated his name, which is found in Millsburg, a town on the St. Paul's River.

Disheartened by the repeated failures attending the expedition, Ayres proposed to again attempt a settlement at Sierra Leone. Fortunately for Liberia, Wiltberger favored building on the high land of the Mesurado Cape. His project was strongly supported by Elijah Johnson, whose impassioned speech in answer to Ayres, "Two years long have I sought a home; here I have found one, here I remain!" is famous in the annals of Liberia.

Faithful to his plan, Ayres left for Sierra Leone, and the energetic Wiltberger assumed sole command of the party. He daringly led his handful of colonists into the Mesurado Cape, and hurriedly felled trees and made slight fortifications. In a short time, his exertions brought on fever, which forced him to return home. Then it was Johnson's turn to assume leadership. Eighty men, women and children formed the party. Of that number only half were capable of bearing arms. Yet Johnson was a born commander and master strategist. He knew that it was impossible for his companions to spend the rainy season in the marshes of Perseverance Island, and so adopted Wiltberger's idea.

With armed men guarding the workers a site for the future Monrovia was swiftly cleared, while the natives again and again "sniped" with light spears and darts from the cover of the jungle. Each day their attacks grew more fierce, and finally became extremely serious. At this juncture, a British frigate appeared off the coast.

The commander of this vessel had been attracted by the spasmodic fighting, and offered to help Johnson repel the natives — at a price. The condition was that a small piece of land should be ceded to Great Britain, on which the British flag should be raised. Forced to choose between the aggressions of the natives and the aggressions of England, Johnson refused pointblank. At once the frigate spread canvas and sailed away, leaving the natives and the colonists still fiercely skirmishing.

A lull in the fighting came in the rainy season, which also brought the American brig *Strong* from Baltimore with fifty-three new colonists, sorely needed stores, and, best of all, a new director for the colony. He was a white man whose name was destined to become famous, Jehudi Ashmun of Champlain, New York State. He was first and last a man of action, and the American Colonization Society had hit upon him in their search for a man to take charge of their so far unsuccessful settlements on Cape Mesurado.

Jehudi Ashmun came of New England Puritan stock. His father was Samuel Ashmun, a well-to-do settler. Jehudi was the third son out of ten children, and was

born April 21st, 1794. He grew up at the time and in surroundings when Methodist Christianity in the United States was at its height.

After his conversion at the age of seventeen, Ashmun trained himself for the ministry in the Episcopal Church. But when not much over twenty he accepted the position of professor at a college. About this time he made the acquaintance of a young woman, also a teacher, for whom he conceived a certain attachment.

They were soon afterwards married. He was ordained, and offered himself as a missionary.

Among the fifty-two Negro settlers who accompanied Ashmun, one Rev. Lott Carey was one of the right-hand men and foremost founders of the Liberian Republic.

Carey was a pure-blooded Negro, short, thick set, ugly of features, but a man of remarkable natural ability and dogged determination. He was a slave employed by his owner in Virginia to manage a large store where the tobacco of the plantation was kept for sale. He married early, and had several children. Between his hours of work, he got a little elementary education, so that he could read and write. He possessed business ability and a remarkable memory, and was so clever and upright in his commercial transactions that his master again and again rewarded him. Gradually in this way he accumulated a sum of money with which to purchase his freedom and that of his wife and children.

Aided by friends he secured his freedom and that of his family for eight hundred and fifty dollars in 1815.



ASHMUN STREET, MONROVIA

From his originally scanty education, he succeeded in qualifying himself for the ministry. Repatriation intensely interested him from the start, and it was only natural that he should be chosen to assist Ashmun.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SETTLEMENT OF MONROVIA

For several months twenty out of the thirty-five who composed Liberia's first army had to remain on guard every night. Ashmun was as prompt in organization as in action, and only a fortnight after his arrival, issued a proclamation concerning the status of the population. This is here reproduced in its entirety, as it was virtually the first "state document" issued by the Liberians.

It is as follows:

- (1) The Settlement is under military law.
- (2) Elijah Johnson is Commissary of Stores.
- (3) R. Sampson is Commissary of Ordnance.
- (4) Lott Carey is Health Officer and Government Inspector.
- (5) F. James is Captain of the brass mounted field-piece, and has assigned to his command R. Newport, M. S. Draper, William Meade, and J. Adams.
- (6) A. James is Captain of the Long 18, and has under his command J. Benson, E. Smith, William Hollings, D. Hawkins, John and Thomas Spencer.
- (7) J. Shaw is Captain of the Southern Picket Station, mounting two iron guns. To his command are attached

S. Campbell, E. Jackson, J. Lawrence, L. Crook, and George Washington.

(8) D. George is Captain of the Eastern Station, mounting two iron guns. Attached to him are A. Edmondson, Joseph Gardiner, Josiah Webster, and J. Carey.

(9) C. Brander is Captain of a carriage mounting two swivels to act in concert with brass pieces, and move from station to station as the occasion may require; attached are T. Tines, L. Butler.

(10) Every man to have his musket and ammunition with him, even when at the large guns.

(11) Every officer is responsible for the conduct of the men placed under him, who are to obey him at their peril.

(12) The guns are all to be gotten ready for action immediately, and every effective man is to be employed at the pickets.

(13) Five stations to be occupied by guards at night till other orders shall be given.

(14) No useless firing permitted.

(15) In case of alarm, every man is to repair instantly to his post and do his duty.

Rain in torrents greatly added to the suffering of the colonists, and on September 15, 1822, Mrs. Ashmun died of fever. Many colonists also succumbed to that malady, which was contracted through the floods of rain penetrating their huts. For two months it rained daily, and the condition of the colonists grew worse and

worse. They were situated on a bit of cleared rocky ground, and were hemmed in on one side by dense jungle growths, and on the other by the sea. Not only was this dismal in the extreme, but it was also unhealthy.

With the lifting of the rains, still worse fate befell the colonists. On November 11th, the combined forces of the Dē, Mamba and Vai tribes began a furious assault on the stockade as day broke. The first surge of the natives overwhelmed some of the outer defences, and many of the colonists fled into the woods.

Had the savages realized their advantage, they would have rushed the palisade in force. As it was, they stopped to ransack and plunder the huts and to kill the wounded. Ashmun's strategy caused him to load the five guns with common shot, and to fire them pointblank into the struggling mass of attackers.

As Ashmun writes in his diary: "Eight hundred men were here pressed shoulder to shoulder in so compact a force that a child might easily walk upon their heads from one end of the mass to the other. They presented, in their rear, breadth of rank equal to twenty or thirty men, and all exposed to a gun of great power, raised on a platform at only thirty to sixty yards' distance. Every shot literally spent its force in a solid mass of human flesh."

To celebrate the victory over the Dē tribe, Liberia has set apart a national holiday which is called "New Port day," named in honor of Mary New Port who on the day of the battle with the Dēs, when all was

lost and Ashmun's men were about to flee, Mary New Port with a live coal from her pipe touched off a cannon that fired pointblank into the human mass. The others gained heart and in quick succession the five cannon were loaded by Ashmun's men as related above.

Such slaughter at close quarters terrified the natives and the entire force fled to the beach and their war canoes.

Although Ashmun ordered a day of thanksgiving, he realized that this initial victory was not in the least decisive. Despairing of triumph by storming the palisade, the natives laid siege to the little colony, which day by day grew smaller in area. Gunpowder, shot, and all manner of provisions began to run low, and the situation seemed more desperate than ever. Finally, just as tragedy stared the settlers in the face, a Liverpool trader arrived in the anchorage on November 29th. Its commander, Captain H. Brassey, saved the situation, and incidentally Liberia, by giving the distraught colonists all the supplies that could be spared from the ship.

Again on December 1st, the British came to the aid of the struggling little colony. On the last day of November, the Dē tribe reappeared at the apex of the peninsula, and the next day two thousand picked warriors charged the stockade. The steady fire of the colonists kept them at bay for several hours. This was not accomplished without some casualties. T. Tines was killed in the fight, and Gardiner and Crook were

severely wounded. Ashmun himself received three bullets through his coat, but was uninjured.

Towards sunset, a British man-of-war swept into the harbor. At once the Dēs fled inland. Startled by the noise of gun-firing, the officers of the *Prince Regent* had diverted the ship from its course from Sierra Leone to Cape Coast Castle. The captain of this vessel not only sent ashore a detachment to ascertain the cause of the excitement, but upon hearing of the perils the colony was undergoing, sent a Scotch midshipman named Gordon and eleven bluejackets to aid the settlers. This ended the most critical period in all the history of Liberia. Gordon brought many supplies of food and munitions of war, which were more than welcome.

Even greater aid was conveyed by Major Laing, the famous African explorer. After a short parley with the native chiefs, he made peace between the Americans and both the Dē and Mamba tribes. After this success, the *Prince Regent* shook out canvas and sailed away for the Gold Coast. Gordon and the eleven sailors were left behind. One by one, eight of the seamen died from fever, and finally Gordon himself succumbed. His memory is perpetuated in a proposed Gordon Scholarship in Liberia College.

Undismayed by deaths or by fever, Ashmun ordered the houses to be rebuilt outside the palisade. Examples of their type of Architecture are today found in the poorer sections of Monrovia. They were raised from the ground on wooden or stone supports, and had the appearance of



PRESIDENT GIBSON AND PROMINENT STATESMEN

Handwritten scribbles or faint markings in the upper left corner.

being on stilts. This style of building was a distinct novelty to the African Coast, and was probably conceived by either Carey or Johnson.

To further amicable relations with the natives, a trading station was opened. Meanwhile, Ashmun's courage and decision were being made apparent to the native chiefs, who called him "the white American devil of Cape Mesurado." He was greatly aided in 1823 by Lieutenant Dashiell of the American warship *Cyane*. Dashiell supervised and assisted the erection of a much stronger fort of stone, on which six cannon were mounted.

Not satisfied with this provision for the safety of the colonists, he went to Sierra Leone, found the schooner *Augusta*, which had been used on an early voyage to Liberia, and put it into seaworthy condition. A crew of twelve men was installed and the Liberian merchant marine was begun. Dashiell, like many other white men who dared the climate, soon afterwards died of fever.

CHAPTER XV

LIBERIA NAMED

Inside the little colony several squabbles over the division of land were in full sway, when on May 24th, 1825, Dr. Eli Ayres returned to Cape Mesurado, fully vested with the powers of agent for the American Colonization Society. Ayres attempted to make a more equal allotment of land, but his efforts led to more quarrels than before. Finding that he could do practically nothing for the little colony, he returned to America and Ashmun resumed his position as Director of the Colony.

From Virginia on board the good ship *Cyrus* one hundred and five fresh colonists came in 1824. With this reinforcement, Ashmun felt that he could safely leave the little settlement, and so went to Cape Verde Island for a rest from his labors.

The American Government and the Colonization Society had recently appointed the Rev. Robert Gurley to draw up a provisional constitution for the Mesurado colony. While proceeding to the Grain Coast on the war vessel *Porpoise*, he met Ashmun, and the definite result was the establishing of the plucky leader both as virtual governor of the settlement and as principal agent of the American Colonization Society. Gurley afterwards wrote an extended biography of Ashmun, of whom he became a great admirer.

Gurley not only drew up a constitution, but on August 15th adopted the suggestion of Robert Goodowe Harper of Baltimore, and named the colony, Liberia, and the Mesurado settlement, Monrovia. In true religious fervor, Ashmun had tentatively named the little settlement "Christopolis," but readily consented to the change. Monrovia was of course named after Monroe, then president of the United States. Harper was greatly interested in the colonization project, and had suggested both his names in the United States Senate. His own name was afterwards given to the largest settlement in Maryland on Cape Palmas.

After Gurley's return to America on August 22, 1824, his measures were almost at once approved and ratified both by the Colonization Society and the United States Government. This ratification was conveyed to Liberia by the *U. S. S. Hunter*, which dropped anchor off Monrovia, March 14, 1825. This ship also increased the population of the Mesurado Plateau by sixty colonists.

After this success, Ashmun perceived the growth of population that would inevitably follow, and began buying up strips of land about the seacoast. Bushrod Island, that much contested piece of ground, was either bought from Old King Peter or from a certain Mary Mackenzie, who is said to have been its "native" owner. Doubtless, she was the mulatto daughter of a Scotch trader.

At any rate Bushrod Island was purchased, but up

to the present time the Liberians have found very little use for it.

By a treaty and alliance with the chiefs Peter, Long Peter, Gouverneur, Yoda and Jimmy, on May 11, 1825, Ashmun secured the right to colonize along the St. Paul's River up to about twenty miles of its mouth, or to the head of navigation. Two settlements were immediately founded near the junction of Stockton Creek and the St. Paul's River. One was named Caldwell in honor of Elijah Caldwell of the American Colonization Society, and the other, a station called New Georgia, set apart for the colonization of freed slaves, who might come as refugees.

This skilful diplomacy much heightened Ashmun's reputation, both in Liberia and in the United States. He had not paid all his attention to securing territory, however, for it is recorded in the annals of the Colony that the Liberian volunteers gave a Fourth of July dinner, wholly of native products in 1825.

Some of the native products must have been rather heady, for two of the fifty diners were dragged before the justice the next day to answer charges of drunkenness preferred against them. Many American and British guests were present, among the most noted, Captain Ferbin, a West Coast trader, who afterward got into hot water through minor participation in the slave trade.

Thus in three years, Ashmun had as vigorously developed agriculture as he had defenses. A very good

and abundant food supply had been obtained locally. One Sarah Draper, an American colored woman, was the horticultural pioneer, and it is recorded that her garden produced vegetables the whole year round.

CHAPTER XVI

LIBERIA'S TERRITORIAL ACQUISITIONS

The colony having been definitely established, Ashmun turned his attention to stamping out the slave trade, which even in 1825 was much in practice along the lower St. Paul's River. He first concentrated his efforts on the Grain Coast, and carefully made treaties with the different chiefs, by which he secured rights over various pieces of land. His first large purchase was made on October 27th, 1825, when the chief Freeman ceded some territory about the New Cess River. This later became the headquarters of Theodore Canot, one of the most noted slave traders.

Around Cape Mount, Ashmun secured the land where powerful Spanish slave trading-stations were established. A provision of this treaty, signed on April 12, 1826, was that no part of Cape Mount should ever be re-sold to any foreign nation.

Another large purchase was made October 11th of the same year, when Chiefs Will, Tom and Peter Harris of the Mamba tribe transferred their rights over the territory about the Junk River and between the Dukwia and Farmington to the Liberians.

Almost exactly a year later, the town of Marshall was founded, near the mouth of the Junk. This was named

after the chief justice of the United States. Later in the same year, the King of Grand Basa, Joe Harris, sold to the Liberian colonists the plot of land lying about the St. John River and extending southward to the Biso River near Point Basa.

By the accession of all this territory, Liberia now possessed indisputable political control to the Grain Coast between Cape Mount and Grand Basa, not including the territory along the St. Paul's River.

Ashmun's success had been so pronounced that King Boatswain, a chief of the Mandingos, hastened to enter into alliance with the American settlers. On March 14, 1828, his envoys concluded a treaty with Ashmun. This alliance was of no mean importance, for King Boatswain reigned over six different tribes gathered into the Kondo federation. From his capital at Boporo, he directed many of the affairs of the West African Coast, and his cession of a part of the hinterland north of Cape Mount was a great achievement in Ashmun's diplomacy. Whether the king was able to read his own treaty is doubtful, but at any rate, alliance with his powerful confederation benefited the colonists to a large extent.

Near the mouth of the New Cess River, the Spanish slave-traders had established a thriving trading-post, and against this Ashmun sent an expedition. Three American frigates participated in the attack on the settlement which was aptly enough named Trade Town. Naturally the Spaniards were not desirous of losing their flourishing commerce, and put up a most determined

resistance to the invaders. As Ashmun and an armed party of marines landed on the beach, the frigates bombarded the town. In a short time the whole settlement caught fire, and the flames spread to a great powder magazine.

Immediately a great explosion occurred, and the blast razed nearly every building by its force. For some moments the air was full of fragments of houses and human beings.

Notwithstanding this wholesale destruction, all the slaving stations were rebuilt, and were again destroyed by a British-Liberian expedition in 1842.

Turning like Cincinnatus from war to peace, Ashmun began the development of agriculture in Liberia. He introduced and raised new breeds of cattle, sheep, pigs, goats, ducks, geese and fowls. Cotton-planting was widely encouraged, as was the growing of coffee.

Sorghum, indigo, sugar-cane, rice and maize were also planted in and about Cape Mesurado.

Fever ravaged the colony periodically, the settlements were flooded by torrents of rain in the wet season, and certain of the settlers loudly complained of their lot, and yet the colony prospered almost miraculously.

So fast had been its growth in respect to territory, that in 1827, the colored people of America were again urged to come to Liberia. Evidently their response was enthusiastic, for one year later the population of the colony was more than twelve hundred.

This figure did not include the many freed slaves and

natives of the country, who were becoming assimilated by the American-Liberians. For about the first time since its founding, Liberia seemed to be a success.

Laws were drawn up in 1824 and, though they were rather primitive in construction, they answered every purpose of the colonists. In 1824 there also appeared the first newspaper, *The Liberian Herald*, edited by a mulatto, John Baptist Russwurm.

To keep the peace, four companies of militia were formed, and numerous churches and schools were erected.

In 1828 Ashmun's health, which had long shown signs of breaking, gave way, and he left the colony for America on the ship *Doris*. So ill was he that he had to be landed at one of the British West Indies, as it was feared he would die before America was reached. Late in the summer his health had sufficiently improved so that he was able to leave St. Bartholomew Island for the United States. There his health again broke down, and he died at New Haven, Conn., on August 25th, 1828. When delirious, he described the struggles of the colony, and his last words, "I die, but the Negro will some day be great," were as closely interwoven with the fortunes of the colored race as his life had been.

Before his death, he succeeded in persuading the officials of the American Colonization Society to give more independence to Liberia. He also asked, and was accorded, a greater measure of self-government for the little colony on the West Coast of Africa.

In the fall of 1828 the fruits of his last work became apparent in a new arrangement, by which the American Colonization Society merely appointed an agent and vice-agent to take over the direction of the colony. Every other official was to be elected directly by the colonists themselves, and then to receive his appointment from the agent, if the latter approved of the selection. The vote was given to every adult colored man in Liberia who had taken an oath to the constitution.

Upon Ashmun's departure from the colony, there had been no other white man in Liberia. Therefore he selected Lott Carey to succeed him as Director of the colony. Lott, however, did not long survive his chief, but was killed by an explosion of gun-powder while preparing munitions for a fight against a native chief in December, 1828.

At Ashmun's death the American Colonization Society had appointed another white American, Dr. Richard Randall, to be agent. Almost his first notable act on arriving in the colony was to found the station of Careysburg in memory of Lott Carey. This town is situated to the east of Millsburg, and like many other settlements was intended to be a place where freed slaves might find refuge.

Like many of his predecessors Dr. Randall died of fever in April, 1829, while important negotiations with King Boatswain were going on. A young American doctor, Mechlin, who had accompanied him to Liberia, succeeded to the position of agent.

Mechlin seems to have been a very strong and diplomatic man, for among his friends were numbered Long Peter, chief of Cape Mount, and Bob Gray, king of Grand Basa. Mechlin attempted to strengthen the hold of the Liberians on the banks of the St. Paul's River, and attained much success in his negotiations. He developed the settlement of Marshall at the outlet of the River Junk, which is the main estuary of the Dukwia and Farmington streams.

He had, in common with Ashmun, a hatred for slave traders, and continued all the policies of the latter. Under his direction, the fort which overlooked and commanded the peninsula of Cape Mount was improved and strengthened.

The first real test of his ability came in 1832, when a number of slaves being sent down the St. Paul's River and destined for the Gallinhas territory and the Cuban slave trader, Pedro Blanco, escaped from their guards and fled to Monrovia as refugees. This precipitated an international complication, for the Sultan of Brumley, who owned the slaves, was far from being pleased. He immediately dispatched his son, Kaipa, to Monrovia to demand the return of his property.

Needless to say, the demand was summarily refused. At once, the indignant Sultan procured some assistance from the slave traders and marched at the head of his army to the Liberian settlements about the St. Paul's River. Mechlin acted even more promptly than had the Sultan, and despatched General Elijah Johnson, a field

piece, and one hundred and seventy militiamen to the scene. Guarded by one hundred and twenty freed slaves, who acted as scouts, Johnson ascended the banks of the St. Paul's River to above the first rapids, and seized the villages of Brumley and Gurrats.

Discouraged by this sudden turn of affairs, the chief sued for peace, and was accorded favorable terms by Mechlin. By the conditions of the treaty, the chiefs, were, however, forced to desist from interrupting the trade between Monrovia and the natives of the hinterland. Formerly the caravans of the latter had been plundered time and time again as they made their way towards the seacoast.

CHAPTER XVII

THE COLONIES OF MARYLAND AND MISSISSIPPI

Two more attempts to repatriate free Negroes to the West Coast of Africa were inaugurated about 1830. These were the Maryland and Mississippi State Societies. Both societies made landings on the coast, but the Maryland colonists met with a cool reception, not only from the natives, but from Mechlin, who could not come to terms with the commander of this expedition, James Hall, regarding the allotment of land.

In the end Mechlin refused to cede the territory Hall desired. Consequently the former was obliged to return to America for fresh instructions, leaving his thirty-one colonists in Liberia. The State of Maryland had subsidized this project of expatriation heavily, and had done so mainly in the interests of prohibition among the African colonists.

This was greatly against the desires of the Dē and Basa chiefs, who did not care to be deprived of their whiskey, and the Maryland project nearly came to an untimely end on account of the "dry" question. Landing in the Dē and Basa country on his return, Hall got into a violent dispute with the different kings, and in particular, Chief Joe Harris.

During the excitement, Governor Finley of the Missis-

Mississippi Colonization Society of Sino was killed, possibly through the collusion of Theodore Canot, the slave trader, whose part in the fight seems to have been a rather shady one.

Harris's warriors attacked the Marylanders, and aid was hastily sent from Monrovia. Again Elijah Johnson and his sturdy militiamen arrived on the scene, drove the tribesmen back, and captured the principal Basa villages. This success drew a grudging consent to the colonization of the Marylanders from Joe Harris. Up to the present time, however, the efforts of prohibition leaders to bar liquor from the West Coast of Africa have not been successful.

The Mississippi Colonization Society had a far more peaceful time of it than did the Maryland group. In 1833, the colonists sent by this society founded the town of Greenville at the mouth of the Sino River. This settlement, which is still the largest in the neighborhood of the Sino, was named after James Green, one of the first advocates of emancipation.

During all this time, Liberia had not abandoned its territorial growth. In 1835, more land along the coast was purchased from the natives. These acquisitions extended Liberian dominions to the mouth of the Sino River, and included the outlet of the Sanguin.

Mechlin died of fever, and was succeeded by Dr. Skinner, who spent only part of one year in Liberia. In 1837, Anthony D. Williams was appointed agent.

During Skinner's brief term of office, Thomas Bu-

chanan, a cousin of President Buchanan of the United States, was selected by the colonization societies of New York and Pennsylvania to report on the condition of Liberia. His services to the colony, which were many, included the building of the first lighthouse on Cape Mesurado. The Liberian settlements of Upper and Lower Buchanan at Grand Basa are named after him.

In 1838 the first census of Liberia was taken. It gave the entire population of American origin as 2,281. This, of course, did not include the colony of Maryland, which was then regarded as a separate state. Doubtless the account which states that four thousand emigrants had been sent from America to Liberia and Maryland was an exaggeration.

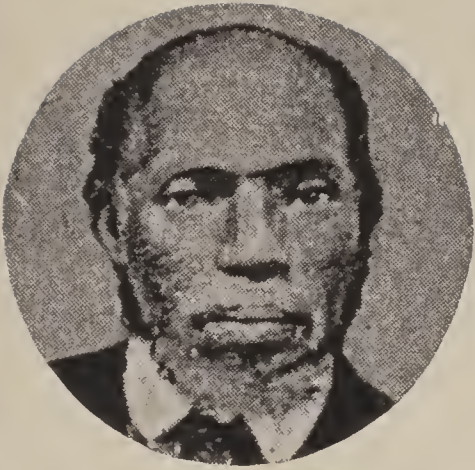
Even the death rate among the Americo-Liberians, which was of course high, would hardly account for this discrepancy in figures, while the number of emigrants who went to Sierra Leone or returned to America was infinitesimal.

As a matter of fact, a hundred thousand Negroes could have been sent over of the three million in the United States at that time. However, it is hardly necessary to point out that the primary object of the several American Colonization Societies was not to abolish slavery as an institution, but to deport free Negroes.

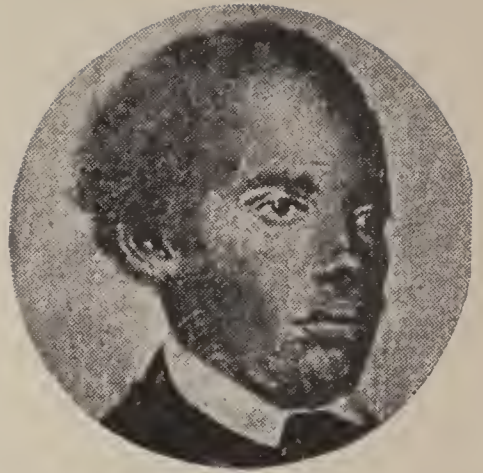
Slavery was then firmly established in America, and it was considered that its abolition was a very far distant event. The free Negro was not welcomed in the South, for he presented a problem of the equality of the

white and black races. Indeed, in many sections, these Negroes were considered a menace to society, and an attempt at a general black man's uprising was feared. For this reason, some authorities consider that the work of the colonization societies was not only a work of philanthropy, but also of precaution.

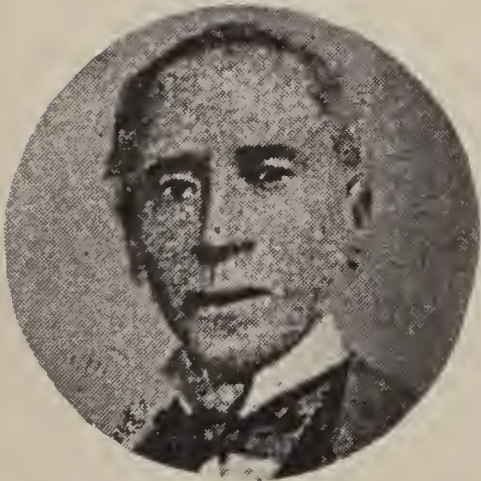
Liberia now had its first governor. In 1838 fresh attention was given to the government of the colony, and to the persons in whom authority should be vested. An entirely new constitution, peculiar to the needs of Liberia, was drawn up by Professor Greenlof, of Harvard College. By this time the Colony of Maryland which had been built up round Cape Palmas was an independent state. The rest of what we now know as Liberia was divided into the two counties of Montserrado and Grand Basa, and stretched from somewhere about Cape Mount on the west to beyond the Sino River on the east. It was placed under a Governor and a Vice-Governor. To these was added a Council of Liberians, who under the direction of the Governor were constituted as a legislative body. The Governor and Vice-Governor were virtually appointed by the committee of the American Colonization Society, which also retained the right of veto on any laws promulgated by the Governor and Council. The members of this Council were to be elected by the people. As in the United States a suffrage was granted to every male citizen of twenty-one years and upwards, without property qualification. The Council consisted of ten members, of whom six sat for



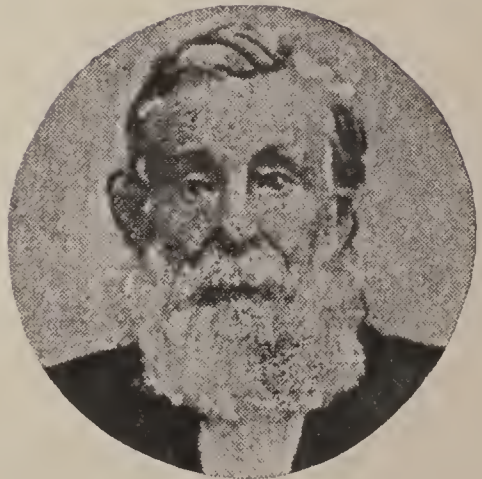
PRESIDENT WARNER



PRESIDENT BENSON



PRESIDENT PAYNE



PRESIDENT RUSSELL

the county of Montserrado and four for the county of Basa. The administration of justice was vested in a High Court of which the Governor was President.

CHAPTER XVIII

LIBERIAN PROGRESS AND THE BEGINNING OF THE END OF THE SLAVE TRADE

The first decisive blow against the slave trade was struck when Liberia declared slavery or the sale or barter of slaves illegal within the limits of the colony. Fear of slave traders being allowed a voice in Liberian politics was largely instrumental in confining citizenship to persons of color or Africans. The question of this limitation of citizenship was much discussed until Elisha Whittlesey, a member of the commission to discuss the constitution, succeeded in having his "color line" measure adopted.

The term "African," which was used in the Liberian Constitution, was taken advantage of some years later by one Attia, a Moorish trader. This Moroccan Jew, though as fair complexioned as an European, claimed his right to Liberian citizenship, as an African, and boldly and openly carried on trade outside the limits of the ports of entry. He also established factories on the coast and up the rivers of Liberia, and was entirely protected by the wording of the Constitution.

At first glance, this racial distinction might seem to be illiberal or even unjust, but from first to last, the colony

was for people of color, and at that time the admission of whites to citizenship might have given protection to the slavers, besides allowing the participation of unprincipled Europeans in the affairs of Government.

The year 1838 found Liberia making great progress as a state. Large bands of freed slaves and many friendly natives supplemented the 2,247 American Negroes, and materially swelled the population. The number of Negroes of American origin in the colony had been materially reduced by deaths from fever and kindred diseases.

The effects of civilization were already being felt. Cape Mesurado boasted a lighthouse, and along the St. Paul's River, the Basa and Kru coasts, the slave trade was a dead letter. On Cape Mount and in the territory of the Vai tribe, the slavers were becoming less and less evident. Some twenty churches, ten schools and four printing-presses had been built.

Russwurm, the future Governor of Maryland, was editing the one newspaper, the *Liberian Herald*, which was shortly afterwards rivalled by the *African Luminary*. To facilitate trade with the natives and obviate the clumsy methods of barter, a Liberian currency of paper money was in use. The paper bank notes were novel, inasmuch as they were ornamented with pictures of natural objects akin to the value of the note, which was also transcribed in figures.

Despite the withdrawal of the United States from the slave trade in 1808, the development of the plantations

in Cuba, Porto Rico and Brazil gave rise to a large demand for slaves from the African Coasts.

Don Pedro Blanco, a native of Malaga, and Theodore Canot, the former mate of a Boston trading ship, were the two best known slavers of this time, and it is to Canot's account that we are much indebted for information about the trade itself. Prices paid for the slaves were low, adult Negroes in good condition being worth only about ten dollars apiece.

Children or inferior slaves were bought at from three to eight dollars. Slaves of the Mandingo or Fula race were more valuable, owing to their lighter skin and more handsome appearance. Mandingos were very much in demand in Cuba as the smartest type of domestic servant. But speed and economy of space in the oversea transport being essential considerations, after the British interference with the slave trade had commenced, not so much attention was paid as in the eighteenth century to the comfort of the slaves on board. In his account, Canot says:

“Sometimes on slave ships the height between the decks where the slaves were chained was only eighteen inches, so that the slaves could not turn around, the space being less than the breadth of their shoulders. They were chained by the neck and the legs. They had not the room of a man in a coffin. They frequently died of thirst, for the fresh water would often run short.”

The establishment of the Liberian colony contributed remarkably to the driving out of the slave trade from the

regions east of Sierra Leone; but the greatest work in the suppression of this traffic in Negro slaves in West Africa was done by Great Britain sending her cruisers to patrol the Atlantic and the Gulf of Guinea, and abolishing slavery in the West Indies, as in South Africa, at a cost of the immense sum of \$150,000,000. When the British West Indies market was closed, half the inducements were removed. In the meantime the United States of America seemed a seething pot, many churches drew the bands tighter about the admission of members and the Methodist Episcopal Church was ruptured by one of its bishops marrying a woman who held slaves. The church, as did the nation a few years later, divided in half, which placed Liberia more and more in the lime-light of the world as the future home of the liberated slave.

CHAPTER XIX

THOMAS BUCHANAN, THE FIRST GOVERNOR OF LIBERIA

Liberia's first governor under the new Constitution was Thomas Buchanan of Philadelphia, a white American, who has been mentioned elsewhere in this history. In 1836 he had come out to Liberia as the envoy of two colonization societies, and had constructed one of the first lighthouses on the West Coast of Africa.

In 1839 he became governor, and almost at once began an eventful career which finally won him the native nickname of "Big Cannon." Under the rather weak and ineffectual administration of Anthony D. Williams, the Gora and Dē tribes had been continuously and furiously battling in the country back of Monrovia.

For some time victory lay in the balance, but the Gora tribesmen finally destroyed all the power that had been the Dēs'. Inevitably all this warfare and bloodshed did considerable damage to the colony, and Williams betrayed no inclination to right matters by force of arms.

Hardly had Buchanan entered upon his new duties, when Gatumba, a chief of Boporo, linked his fortunes with those of the Gora people, and led his warriors in a furious onslaught against the Dēs. Whether by accident or by intention, those Liberians who lived along

the course of the St. Paul's River were also attacked by Gatumba's followers.

At the time of this infringement on the rights of the little Republic, Buchanan was suffering from a violent attack of fever. Even in illness, however, he was far stronger in action than his predecessor. He at once sent a peremptory message to Gatumba, ordering him to withdraw from Liberian territory.

Almost coincident with the sending of an insulting reply by the chieftain, the settlement of Millsburg was destroyed by the Gora. Buchanan was still very unwell, but immediately appointed a young octoroon trader, Joseph Jenkins Roberts, to command an expedition of three hundred Liberian militiamen and several field-guns. Roberts was afterwards the first president of the Liberian Republic.

Meanwhile, Gatumba was still following up his earlier successes. He had a notorious ally, one Gotorá, who was locally supposed to be a cannibal. To initiate a real invasion of Liberia, Gotorá and seven hundred men were sent to attack the little mission station of Heddington on the St. Paul's River. Here the invasion sustained a severe check, for in spite of the smallness of the body of defenders, so well were they armed and so good was their discipline, that after a short-lived attack Gotorá was killed, and his men at once fled.

Close on their heels came not only General Roberts with his militiamen and guns, but Governor Buchanan himself, who had arisen from a sick bed to carry the war

into the enemy's territory. Leaving their cannon behind them on account of the density of the undergrowth, and the impossibility of their transportation across the swamps, the three hundred Liberians marched through the jungle on Gatumba's stronghold.

This was a walled town some twenty miles from Millsburg, and supposedly amply protected by the dense jungle which surrounded it. In a short time, however, the Liberian force had surrounded it, and their aim was so good, that after a first fierce struggle the soldiers of Gatumba laid down their arms and fled to cover.

Gatumba's town was finally burned to the ground, after the Liberians had occupied it for twenty-four hours. The chief, himself, became an outcast and entirely lost all his considerable power. This incident, and the success of Governor Buchanan's prompt action, raised the prestige of the Liberian Government considerably in the esteem of the natives. The chiefs of Boporo hastened to effect a new treaty, and peace was again restored to the hinterland.

Despite the fact that all warfare was abandoned, the land on both banks of the St. Paul's River remained undeveloped for some time, owing to the unsettled state of the adjacent country. Its agricultural development, which had been proceeding very satisfactorily up to 1830, thus received a severe set back.

While Buchanan's main contribution to the welfare of the colony was his suppression of the slave trade, he also took advantage of his war-like reputation to con-

clude several treaties and alliances with the native chiefs. He was also instrumental in preventing much inter-tribal warfare, and in abolishing barbarous customs, such as the poison ordeal.

The United States had long since prohibited its subjects from engaging in the slave trade, but until 1842 did not back up the law with force. Therefore the Stars and Stripes fluttered from the stern of many a slaver which scudded past the Liberian Coast. At that time, the British Government had not the oft-disputed right to search American vessels, but the English cruisers prevented the establishing of slave exporting stations at Cape Mount and the Basa Coast.

Writing of the British naval officers, Buchanan says:

“Whilst making various complaints against English traders, I cannot forbear placing in distinguished contrast the honorable and gentlemanly conduct of the naval officers of that nation. They invariably manifest a warm interest in the prosperity of the colony, and often lay me under obligations by their kind offers of service.”

Already the trade in palm oil was beginning to outrank the slave traffic as the first consideration of traders. Great Britain, at that time and for many years, was the principal purchaser of palm oil, which was greatly in demand by the Liverpool shipping interests.

As Liberia was rich in oil-bearing palms, British traders from Sierra Leone began to encroach upon the Liberian

Coast. These settlers were very anxious to have the Union Jack flying over them, and were openly scornful of the United States, which, as they said, enslaved Negroes in one country, and advocated their freedom in another.

Buchanan looked with great suspicion on these British settlements, and in 1840 sent an agent to England to obtain assurance that no English colonization society would trespass upon Liberian territory. The British Anti-slavery Society was viewed with suspicion by the colonists, who feared that ulterior motives lay beneath its philanthropy.

An All-British domain from Sierra Leone to the Gold Coast was the spectre which confronted Liberians at that time. Many Americans interested in Liberia urged the United States to buy the Dutch and Danish settlements; but American interests at that time were chiefly concerned with domestic problems.

The census of 1840 disclosed that Liberia, not including Maryland, had a population of 2,221 American settlers and thirty thousand freed slaves and natives, who were loyal to Liberian rule.

Buchanan oftentimes professed himself acutely dissatisfied by the attitude of the colonists, who were for the most part townsmen and not farmers. From time to time, he addressed drastic remarks to the settlers, urging them to become self-supporting. This must have had some result, for, writing in May, 1839, he says:

“The right bank of the river St. Paul presents an almost continuous line of cultivated farms.”

He was greatly in favor of intelligent cooperation in the smaller communities, and urged them to raise money for schools, etc., by clubbing together.

Commerce between Liberia and the United States began to diminish during this period on account of the many sailing vessels lost on the coast. A few years later, Britain's trade with Liberia really began when the *Macgregor Laird*, the first British steam vessel on the West Coast, came out from Liverpool.

Gradually the current of trade drifted to Great Britain, because the voyage to England was easier and quicker than that to the United States. From 1840 a more or less continuous friendship began between Great Britain and Liberia, which is still in existence.

The last years of Governor Buchanan's administration were marred by the intrigues of the Rev. Seyes, a well-known Baptist missionary. Seyes attempted to become a sort of religious dictator or Grand Elector who would rule over Liberia and defy the American Colonization Society.

In this attempt he entirely failed a few days before the death of Governor Buchanan. The latter suffered a relapse from fever contracted in the surf at the mouth of the Junk River, and died at Governor House, Basa Cove, on Sept. 3, 1841.

He was mourned alike by natives and colonists all along the Liberian Coasts. His administration stands

as one of the strongest and best directed in the whole history of the colony. Incidentally he was the last white administrator in power on the West African littoral eastwards of Senegal.

CHAPTER XX

GOVERNOR ROBERTS

Governor Joseph Jenkins Roberts, who had commanded the expedition against Gatumba, succeeded Buchanan as the head of the Liberian colony. He was immediately plunged into the vortex of international complications by the action of France in purchasing from the native chiefs Cape Mount, the site of Great Dieppe at Basa Cove, Great and Little Butu and Garawe, near the State of Maryland.

The French flag was run up at the latter place, and it was asserted on royal authority that a considerable portion of the Kru coast had been purchased from the natives. Naturally, the latter were only too glad to sell their lands over and over again.

In 1840, French possessions on the Grain Coast were found only along the course of the river Senegal on the Cape Verde Peninsula, and the little island of Goree, which had originally been French, but had reverted to Holland and England. To these colonies and protectorates were added Grand Basa and several other parts of the Ivory Coast, some land at Porto Novo, near Lagos, and territory about the mouth of the Gabun River, from which her vast Congo Possessions came into being.

Apparently these territorial acquisitions took up all her time, for after a protest was registered by Governor Roberts, no attempts were made by the French to follow up their purchases in Liberia. After a long time, the claims were renewed, but merely for purposes of negotiation.

Governor Roberts was no less active than Buchanan and Mechlin had been in adding to the Liberian sphere of influence. On February 22, 1843, he concluded a treaty with King Yoda of the Gora tribe, by which Liberia obtained much territory along the upper waters of the St. Paul's River. The Goras likewise pledged themselves to abolish slavery and trial by poison.

So successful were Roberts' efforts in the way of treaty making that by 1845, Liberian territory extended over the whole coastline between the Mafa River on the West and Grand Sesters River on the East. Considerable money had been paid for these lands; the American and other colonization societies frequently financing the transactions.

Most of the territory so acquired was purchased in the years of 1843, 1844, and 1845. The position of Liberia on and along the Junk River, at Grand Basa, at Sino, on the Sanguin, and west of Cape Mount in the general direction of the Mano River was greatly strengthened by these treaties.

An agreement was made between Roberts on the one hand and John B. Russwurm, President of Maryland, on the other, that the states of Maryland and Liberia



PRESIDENT'S MANSION, MONROVIA



U. S. LEGATION, MONROVIA

should practically unite against aggression by foreign powers, and as far as possible pursue a common domestic policy, particularly in the matter of customs and tariff. In both countries a uniform import duty of six per cent *ad valorem* was fixed, which it was hoped, would provide sufficient funds to meet the cost of administering each colony, and also render them independent of financial support from the various American Colonization Societies.

Perhaps a word should be said here about the colony of Maryland, which had so far insisted on maintaining an existence independent of her larger neighbor, Liberia. Founded in 1831, it grew but slowly, and numbered about four hundred colonists nine years later. Ten miles west of Cape Palmas was the extent of its coastline in 1843, but in 1846 various treaties were concluded with chiefs of the Kru tribes on either side of Cape Palmas.

These lands extended the State of Maryland from the Liberian Frontier at the Grand Sesters River on the west to the River San Pedro on the east, sixty miles east of the cape. This gave the state a coastline of approximately one hundred and twenty miles.

At the present time, the existing county of Maryland is but a small portion of the original state, for in 1892 the French Government annexed fifty miles of coast between the San Pedro and the Cavalla rivers, and at the same time took over several square miles of the hinterland.

The administrative capital of Maryland was the town of Harper situated at Cape Palmas and named after Robert Goodloe Harper of Baltimore, one of the most active and most prominent members of the American Colonization Society.

Russwurm was the first governor of Maryland. Like many prominent citizens of Liberia he was a native of the West Indies, coming from the Danish Island of St. Thomas. He was an octoroon, as was Roberts, and resembled the Governor of Liberia in energy and capability.

Under his supervision and that of Roberts, a census was taken in 1843. It placed the combined American Negro population at 2,790.

Governor Roberts made a flying visit to the United States in 1844 to consult with officials of the colonization societies concerning the slave trade and other problems. Later in the same year an American fleet of warships visited the Liberian coast. It was in this year also that the Methodist Episcopal Church became divided on account of the slave question.

Roberts shortly returned from America to conclude an important treaty with chief Bob Gray, one of the most important "kings" of the Grand Basa district. By this agreement, which was signed on April 5, 1845, the entire strip of seacoast between Marshall on the Junk River and the Grand Basa settlements was ceded to Liberia.

In the same year, Liberian territory was much ex-

tended by agreements with natives on the Sino River and the Kru Coast, and the affairs of the colony seemed in excellent shape, until an unexpected complication was precipitated by the authorities at Sierra Leone.

Officials of that colony decided that the Liberian Administration had no right to collect custom duties anywhere along the Liberian Coast, and guaranteed the British merchants against acts of aggression which might be committed if the dues were not paid.

The first collision between British and Liberian authorities occurred at Basa Cove, where the Liberians attempted to collect harbor and import dues from Captain Dring, a British trader. Commander Jones of the British West African Squadron was ordered to Monrovia from Sierra Leone with a letter from the British Government, which flatly informed Governor Roberts that "Great Britain could not recognize the right of private persons to constitute themselves a Government, and amongst other acts of sovereignty to levy custom duties."

Soon after, the Liberians retaliated by seizing in Basa anchorage a vessel known as the *Little Ben* for non-payment of harbor dues by a certain Captain Davidson of Sierra Leone. Commander Jones and an English gunboat arrived on the scene, and effectively turned the tables by seizing a ship, the *John Seyes*, owned by one Benson, a loyal subject of Liberia. Very flimsy and transparent excuses were put forward by the British

for this act, against which the United States Government protested to Britain.

The reply was made that "Great Britain could not recognize the sovereign powers of Liberia, which it regarded merely as the commercial experiment of a philanthropic society."

It was also put forward that by time of residence, Captain Dring had prior rights at Basa Cove to those of the Liberians. Lord Aberdeen, the foreign minister, took up the case, and wrote to Everett, the American ambassador at the Court of St. James, that, "Her Majesty's naval commanders would afford efficient protection to British trade against improper assumption of power on the part of the Liberian authorities." Doubtless this last phrase referred to the levying of custom duties and harbor dues.

The United States appears to have abandoned all intention of intervention for the little Republic at that time, for the minister in Great Britain replied that the United States had no thought of "presuming to settle differences arising between Liberian and British subjects; the Liberians being responsible for their own acts."

From these diplomatic interchanges it became apparent that the United States entirely disclaimed any protection of Liberia, and did not claim for it the status of an American colony.

The American Colonization Society immediately followed the lead of the United States Government in standing aloof from the responsibilities of creating the

Negro colony, and in January, 1846, resolved through its board of directors that "the time had arrived when it was expedient for the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia to take into their own hands the whole work of self-government, including the management of all their foreign relations."

Thus Liberia was entirely thrown upon her own resources, and deprived of all aid, financial or otherwise, from either the United States or the colonization societies, which were jointly responsible for its creation as a colony.

A few thousand ex-slaves and freed Negroes were left to fight, on one hand, the savages and the jungles, and on the other, the determined and almost constant aggressions of foreign nations upon their territory. That they met the crisis wisely and bravely is forever to their credit.

CHAPTER XXI

THE FOUNDING OF THE REPUBLIC

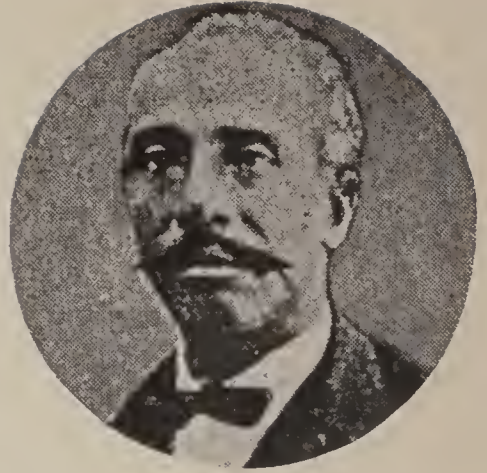
Fortunately for Liberia, the British Government at that time was rather overburdened by its territorial responsibilities in Africa, and did not care to add more lands on the West Coast to its already long list of colonies. If Britain had desired to annex Liberia in 1846, it is hardly likely that the United States would have offered any considerable opposition.

In those days there was no steamship service between England and the West Coast, and the Liberian trade was not of much importance. Consequently the British Government was in no hurry to act, and during this time Governor Roberts had the foresight to materially strengthen the Liberian hold on the Grain Coast by additional purchases from the native chiefs. He secured eighty miles of the Kru coast and also the Kru towns of Sestra Kru and Grand Sesters in this year. He was also occupied in a determined attack on the slave trade, which was almost wiped out in the vicinity of Cape Mount.

Whether or not England approved of this territorial growth of the little colony, it did not venture to further interfere with the foreign policies of Liberia, and in January, 1846, Roberts decided that the only solution of the difficulties of Liberia was to declare it an inde-



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pendent Negro Republic. It was not difficult to obtain the assent of the American Colonization Society to this scheme, for the Society had for some time wished itself rid of its responsibilities on the West Coast.

The British seemed to favor the plan, provided Liberia constituted itself a State with definite responsibilities, and the government was assured that it would receive full recognition from the British Government. During the spring and early summer of 1847, the Liberians continued to discuss the question of independence. On May 18, an ordinance for administering justice in the State of Maryland was passed, and preparation was made to declare Maryland an independent state simultaneously with Liberia. *July 8th, 1847, was declared a day of public thanksgiving in Liberia, to mark the conclusion of the efforts which had been made to draw up the terms of the Declaration of Independence and the future constitution of the Liberian Republic.*

On October 7th of the previous year, a council of Liberians had almost unanimously approved of the measure providing for a Republic, and all the tribes favored it, except the people of Grand Basa.

On July 2nd a solemn Declaration of Independence on the part of the Liberian nation was made in convention. Roberts seems to have been absent from Monrovia at the time; Samuel Benedict, the Chief of Liberia, was elected President of the Convention which made this declaration. The other members were H. Teage, General Elijah Johnson, J. N. Lewis, Beerly Wilson, and

J. B. Gipson (representatives of the Montserrado County), John Day, Amos Herring, A. W. Gardner, Ephraim Titler (representatives from Grand Basa); and R. E. Murray, representative from Sino. Mr. Jacob W. Prout was the Secretary of the Convention. The Constitution was adopted by a unanimous vote.

The Liberian seal: "A dove on the water, representing peace, with an open scroll in its claws, representing a thirst for the pen and the knowledge so long denied them," was also adopted. On the seal is also the promontory of Mesurado, a lighthouse, ships under full sail, and a plough. Oftentimes the dove is represented as carrying a document in its beak, which is emblematic of a rising republic.

A somewhat peculiar state of affairs existed at this time regarding the status of Maryland State. Despite the fact that it was not formally annexed until 1857, three members from Maryland sat in the Lower House at Monrovia, and it was represented by two senators in the Liberian Senate. Its constitution was largely modelled on that of the larger republic, although it continued under its own governor.

The Sino district was represented by two members in the Upper House and three in the Lower House of Liberia.

The hoisting of the new flag of the Republic on August 24th was the signal for the recognition of the new Republic as an independent state by Great Britain. An English man-of-war proceeded to Monrovia and there

saluted the new ensign with a salvo of twenty-one guns.

On the first Tuesday in October, 1847, Joseph Jenkins Roberts was elected the first President of the Republic, and on January 3d, 1848, he was inaugurated. The President was well liked by many of the native chiefs, and several hundred tribesmen flocked to Liberia to see the ceremonies of his installation.

Soon after taking office, President Roberts left for Europe with his wife, who was an octoroon like himself. Arriving in England, Roberts succeeded in completing a commercial treaty with the British Government which thoroughly assured the status of the Liberian Republic as an independent nation.

Great Britain acknowledged the right of Liberians to levy duties and taxes, and ordered her merchant vessels not to enter certain specified ports without the permission of the Liberian authorities. In return, Liberia allowed the British to reside wherever they pleased in the country.

The treaty was signed for England by Viscount Palmerston and the Right Hon. Henry Labouchere, and was ratified by the Liberian Senate on February 26, 1849. Labouchere was then Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, and afterward became Lord Taunton.

From England Roberts proceeded to France, where he was received by Napoleon III, and thence to Belgium, where Leopold I gave him a most cordial reception. In Holland he was likewise welcomed, and on his visit

to Berlin, the Government of Prussia took the opportunity to formally recognize the existence of the Liberian Republic. This recognition closely followed that of France and England.

The Ambassador of Prussia to England, the Chevalier de Bunsen, gave a dinner in Roberts' honor upon the return of the latter to England. Among the guests at this banquet were Lord Ashley, who was soon to become Earl of Shaftesbury, the Rev. Ralph Randolph Gurley (the biographer of Ashmun and one of the best-known American promoters of Liberia), and Blomfield, the Bishop of London.

The Bishop was much interested in the slave trade in the Gallinhas country, and listened with amazement to Roberts' graphic description of the ravages of Pedro Blanco and the other Cuban and American slavers in that region.

Roberts declared that in his opinion the only way in which the slave trade in this region might be effectively suppressed would be to purchase the lands between Sherbro Island and Cape Mount from the native chiefs, and then use the entire authority and force of Liberia to break up the commerce in slaves.

The Bishop promptly asked how great a sum would be necessary to purchase the rights to this land, and Roberts estimated it at two thousand pounds (\$10,000).

Lord Ashley immediately volunteered to raise this sum if Mr. Gurley approved of the expenditure. Gurley expressed the utmost satisfaction in regard to the proj-

ect, and the next day Lord Ashley obtained a thousand pounds in a Lombard Street bank and gave it to Roberts. Arrangements were made for raising the other thousand pounds, and on his return Roberts was able to finance treaties with the chiefs of Mattru, Gumbo, Basa, Gallinhas, Manna and Manna Rock, although these territories were not actually purchased until the year 1856.

Of all the European potentates, Queen Victoria gave the most kindly welcome to President Roberts, and it was in England that he received the greatest assistance for the new Republic. Every honor was paid the President, and a salute of seventeen guns was accorded him at a reception on board the Royal yacht. Not only Roberts but his whole official staff were sent back to Liberia on board the British warship, *Amazon*; and in addition to these courtesies, the British admiralty presented the Liberian Republic with a transport, the *Lark*, and a small four-gun sloop, the *Quail*. The latter was of much use as a revenue cutter, and proved most efficacious in the prevention of smuggling and the slave trade. Upon the presentation of these vessels, the Liberian Senate and Congress passed unanimous resolutions of thanks.

Roberts returned to Liberia, delighted above all with his reception in England, and also gratified at the kindness with which other foreign courts had received him, and the readiness with which they recognized the Liberian Republic. Soon after his return to Monrovia, France sent a gunboat, the *Penelope*, to salute at Monrovia,

with twenty-one guns, the flag of the Liberian Republic. The American corvette *Yorktown* and the English gun-vessel *Kingfisher* also visited Liberia in the early part of 1849 and assisted Roberts in a final attack on the obstinate Spanish slave-trade settlements at New Cess River, just beyond Basa, which were destroyed and 3,500 slaves released.

In the year 1849, Portugal, Sardinia, Austria, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, Brazil, Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck, and Haiti followed the powers of Western and Central Europe in formally recognizing the Liberian State. The United States withheld its act of formal recognition, for the reason that it feared if Liberia was recognized as an independent State, the United States would have to receive at Washington a "man of color." Such was the color prejudice then in vogue in the United States. In 1862 the United States formally acknowledged the independence of this little State created by American philanthropy.

CHAPTER XXII

THE REPUBLIC IN 1850. ROBERTS' SECOND TERM AS PRESIDENT

At this time, when its status as a sovereign state had been recognized throughout Europe, Liberia had a sea-coast of 286 miles. It was estimated to extend between $4^{\circ}41'$ and $6^{\circ}48'$ north latitude and between $8^{\circ}8'$ and $11^{\circ}20'$ west longitude. From Cape Mount on the north to Grand Sesters on the south, the average width of the country was forty-five miles, while its approximate area was 12,830 square miles.

There were 6,100 Liberians of American origin resident in the Republic, and the export trade had so grown that it amounted to \$50,000 yearly. In 1850 the population of Monrovia is said to have been 1,300. The country's public debt at the beginning of that year was but eight thousand dollars.

The settlement of Robertsport was founded at Cape Mount in 1849, and in the same year, the Rev. Ralph Gurley came to Liberia as the joint representative of the Liberian Government and the American Colonization Society, in order to report on the progress made by the country since its declaration of independence.

Gurley left Baltimore on August 1, 1849, and reached Cape Mount on September 18. From the moment of his

approach to the West African Coast, when he said of the gorgeous sunsets and sunrises of this region: "It seemed as though all the purple of Rome's consuls and Cæsars were spread out under the last footsteps of the God of Day," to his return after a month in the Republic, his impressions of Liberia were most favorable. His very enthusiastic account of the country and its possibilities was printed as a State Document in 1850 by the United States Congress. With this act may be said to have ended the direct patronage of the United States and the American colonization societies, though in 1877 a number of Negroes were sent from the southern states as colonists. But in various philanthropic circles the interest in the Liberian experiment died.

The American Colonization Society, which for so long fostered the colony of Liberia, still exists, and still publishes its journal, *The African Repository*. This review was founded in 1832, and to the present day continues to give regular and authentic reports on Liberia. Its name was changed to Liberia in 1892, and it now has an active and well-edited contemporary in Liberia, West Africa, which is also published in Monrovia.

The president elected in 1905 was the Rev. Judson Smith, D.D. Among the vice-presidents is the familiar name of Crozer, in remembrance of whom Crozerville was founded in Liberia.

The late professor Edward W. Blyden, and Bishop Isaiah B. Scott, and Bishop J. C. Camphor, Methodist Bishops of Africa, were great workers worthy of note.

The Chairman of the Executive Committee bears the honored name of Gurley, and is no doubt a son of Ashmun's biographer.

The Liberian Republic resembles the United States in its flag, its political distinctions and a system of party government, bearing among the conservative-minded Liberian voters the name of Whigs or Old Whigs, while the more radical or progressive section of the people called themselves the "True Liberian Party," and "Republicans." The term "Whig," like "Tory," came, as a political nickname, from England to the United States, and from America back to Liberia, where it is in use at the present day.

The Whigs in later days have been further differentiated as "True Whigs," and "Old Whigs." As a party, they desire to limit and restrain the rights of foreigners in Liberia, and to preserve the commerce and land-settlement as much as possible for Negroes. The True Liberian, called later on the Republican Party, on the other hand, advocate a far more liberal policy, which should admit strangers to nearly all the advantages of Liberia. To this last party belonged President Roberts, and also Stephen Allen Benson for the first part of his career. But Benson afterwards went over to the Whig party, and since 1860 this has been the dominant faction.

So successful had the administration of President Roberts been, that in May, 1849, he was elected for a second term, beginning January 1, 1850. He was again

chosen to head the Republic between 1851 and 1853, and held office until December 31, 1855, a tenure of more than six years.

Under Roberts' capable guidance, Liberia began to grow in importance and in commerce.

In 1850 German interests entered the Liberian field, and two Hamburg trading-houses were established in the Republic. One year later the British Government appointed as its first consul at Monrovia, the Rev. Mr. Hanson. Hanson's tenure of the post was not altogether successful, and he left in a year, complaining of disrespectful treatment by the Liberians. He was a native of Cape Coast Castle and a man of African birth, but does not seem to have attracted much attention as a diplomat.

In 1850 also the "sleep sickness" or "sleep disease" was found to exist in Liberia. A missionary, Koelle, and a physician, Lugenbeel, both reported the malady, which has lately appeared to a small extent in the United States. Doala Bukere, inventor of the Vai alphabet, was one of the most prominent victims of this disease, which has been fully described by Lugenbeel on conditions as he found them in Liberia.

During the next year, Edward Wilmot Blyden, a Negro from the Danish Island of St. Thomas, who was destined to become one of the most famous Liberians, arrived in the Republic. At that time he was only nineteen years of age, but was already an excellent Latin and Greek scholar, and was also conversant with many



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European languages. He soon became a person of note in the Republic, and was the author of many books of interest. His best known, "Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Race," is regarded as being one of the most authoritative works on African subjects. He was versed in Arabic, and it is said that his policy on African Colonization is the only method that will meet with success. He was a resident of Liberia until his death there in 1913.

At this time friction with the natives again occasioned trouble in Liberia. In 1850, the natives of Boporo had again stopped all trade between the Mandingos in the hinterland and the Liberians on the coast by plundering the caravans.

Commerce all along the coast was considerably disturbed by this interior outbreak, which occurred shortly after President Roberts had concluded a treaty of peace between the Vai, Gora and Buzi tribes in an effort to stimulate trade development. Grando, a native chief, led a horde of tribesmen against the little town of Lower Buchanan, and practically destroyed it. Ten Liberians were killed in the battle.

Rendered over-confident by this victory, he attacked Basa Cove, which proved a far harder nut to crack. The settlers displayed unexpected resistance, and utterly defeated Grando's army with great loss to the latter.

Meanwhile, Maryland was having its share of native troubles and insurrections, and the governor, John Baptist Russwurm, died of overstrain and overwork.

Roberts had completed the acquisition of territory between Cape Mount and the Bulo country behind Sherbro Island, and returned to Europe in 1852. In October of the same year he had an interview with the Prince-President of the French Republic, Louis Napoleon, who was not yet Emperor. Roberts' visit to England was to secure recognition from the British Government of Liberian sovereignty over the Gallinhas country. He was again highly honored and was sent back to Liberia on a British warship.

CHAPTER XXIII

POPULATION IN 1853. BORDER TROUBLES AND ANNEXATION OF MARYLAND

It was estimated that in 1853 the civilized population of Liberia was more than ten thousand.

Maryland had been having no such prosperous time as that experienced by Liberia, and was, on the contrary, embroiled in troubles with the native tribes. Governor Russwurm had been succeeded as head of the colony by S. M. McGill, and a fine town was being founded at Cape Palmas. Constant trouble was the rule in dealing with the natives, and the friction was particularly marked between the American colonial administrators and the warlike coast tribes of the Grebos and Krus. The allied races of the Lower Cavalla River also frequently warred on the colonists.

In 1854 William A. Prout succeeded McGill as Governor, and Maryland was then declared to be not a colony but an independent Republic. Any advice from Monrovia on domestic questions was resented as infringing on the independence of Maryland, whose existence as a Republic was not recognized by any of the European Powers.

In 1856 the long-smouldering embers of native insurrection broke into flame, when on December 22, warriors

of the Grebo and allied tribes battled at Cape Palmas. They were driven off; but on January 18, 1857, a body of Marylanders, who were endeavoring to retaliate upon the Grebos, met with disaster on the shores of Sheppard Lake.

In a fierce battle near this lagoon, which lies between Cape Palmas and the river Cavalla, the Maryland State troops lost a considerable number of men and guns. At that time, Roberts was no longer President, but bore his old title of general. With two hundred and fifty Liberian militiamen, he came to the aid of Maryland.

On February 18th, a treaty of friendship between the two Republics was signed by the Hon. J. T. Gibson for Maryland, and by Roberts for Liberia. Shortly afterwards, peace was declared between Maryland and the Grebos.

J. B. Drayton had succeeded William Prout as governor at the latter's death in 1856. Drayton's policy was in accord with that of Liberia, and it was felt on both sides that two such Republics as Maryland and Liberia should become one.

This union was effected on February 28, 1857, when Maryland was formally annexed by the larger Republic. The office of "superintendent" of Maryland superseded that of governor, and the former republic became a county of Liberia. Its first superintendent was the Hon. J. T. Gibson, who had been instrumental in bringing about annexation. Maryland now sent two senators and three representatives to the Liberian Congress.

During his last year of office (1854), President Roberts went to Europe for a third time, reaching England in October. So great had been the encouragement afforded by Great Britain, that Roberts confidently asked Lord Clarendon, then foreign minister, to consent to the annexation of Sierra Leone to Liberia for the reason that the latter country desired a good harbor. This proposition was received with little favor by the British diplomats, and it probably was just as well for Liberia not to assume more territorial responsibilities at that time.

Liberian coins were first struck off in this year with the financial assistance of Samuel Gurley. In denominations of one cent, two cents, ten cents, twenty-five cents, fifty cents, etc., they were cast in England. Roberts returned to Liberia in December to find some degree of local opposition to his policies, and in May of the next year, Stephen Allen Benson was elected President. Benson was born in Maryland (U. S. A.) in 1816, the year Richard Allen incorporated the A. M. E. Church, and had come to Liberia in 1832, the year of Nat Turner's uprising in the United States in his attempt to free himself and to liberate his brother slaves. He had risen to be a General and a Vice-President in the Liberian State, and was elected with but little opposition.

Roberts had rendered great service to the Liberian Republic. It is possible that but for his vigorous management that state might never have had any independent existence at all. Though Roberts was of Negro blood

he was mentally and physically the equal of the greatest white statesmen, a fact which perhaps gave him more weight at that time in the councils of Europe. He was much exasperated in the summer of 1855 by the attacks of a Mr. George S. Downing, described as a "Free colored man of New York," who wrote bitter articles containing various aspersions on Liberia and President Roberts. These articles showed that President Roberts, like all great leaders, was, too, to have his opposers.

Roberts after ceasing to be President still continued to devote his talents and energies to the service of Liberia. As already related he took command of the armed force that went to save Maryland in 1857, and he played a leading part in the annexation of that colony; his soul was too big for him to stop.

In 1857 he was appointed principal of Liberia College, an institution founded on paper in 1856, but not brought into being until 1858-62, during the great Civil War of the United States of America. With Mrs. Roberts he resided on the site of the college for many years.

E. W. Blyden, President Gibson and Dr. Nathaniel H. B. Cassell afterwards became Presidents of this college. President Cassell was elected in 1918.

CHAPTER XXIV

ROBERTS AS CONSUL. DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN TROUBLES AND COMPLICATIONS

Ex-president Roberts, in 1862, was appointed Belgian Consul at Monrovia. This was not the first honor that had been conferred on the Liberian statesman by European potentates. In France, he had greatly attracted the attention and respect of Napoleon III, then Prince-President of the Republic. No small service was done Liberia by this virtual sovereign, who, in 1856, sent to the Little African Republic military equipment for a thousand men, and the *Hirondelle*, a small gun-boat. The latter proved of almost immediate use, for it conveyed Roberts and his two hundred and fifty militiamen to Maryland, where the defeat of the Grebos was accomplished.

Two years later the hitherto disinterested friendship of France was in some degree shattered by a mutiny of Krumen on a French vessel. The ship *Regina Coeli* had arrived on the Kru coast to recruit native labor. This was a practice much in vogue at the time, the Krus being taken to the various parts of the African West Coast.

They were willing to remain in the establishments of various merchants or to serve on board French ships for

considerable periods of time. This particular band of recruits was to be taken to the West Indies. Upon hearing of their destination, they at once took alarm, and long and suspicious conversations between the captain and the headsmen induced in them the fear of being sold into slavery.

Terror-stricken by the thought of this eventuality, they mutinied in the captain's absence, and killed every member of the white crew, save the doctor. The latter had, luckily for himself, won the good graces of the natives by treating the sick among their number. After their work of butchery, the *Krus* set the ship adrift and fled to the shore. The vessel drifted along the shore until picked up by a passing British steamer, which conveyed it to a Liberian port.

The French Government was in no way to blame for this unfortunate incident, due no doubt to a complete misunderstanding.

While Roberts had been anxious to improve the foreign relations of the little Republic, President Benson was in like manner concerned with the interior of Liberia itself. He had had considerable experience in the conditions of the hinterland, gleaned in large measure from his adventures as a trader on the St. Paul's River. On one occasion a buccaneering native chief had taken him captive, and held him for some time as a hostage. Soon after his election, he made a thorough search for explorers. His object was to penetrate the vast forest of Liberia to the uncharted and unknown regions beyond.

Seymore and Ash were sent on this quest early in the year 1858. The two Liberians travelled for half a year and a full description of their journey, in which they reached Kwanga, two hundred and eighty miles distant from Monrovia, is given in the proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society for 1860. Kwanga can no longer be identified on the map, — it is probably the Mandingo state of Kwana, — but the travellers describe with emphasis the high mountains which they reached. They journeyed to the great mountain mass of Nimba, where Cavalla River takes its source, and like Joshua and Caleb they told of a great country beyond the hills.

In 1850, the Anglo-Liberian trade had begun to attain considerable importance. Four British steamships were maintaining a regular service between English ports and Liberia. This line, The African Steamship Company, was in reality the beginning of the firm of Elder Dempster, which has been almost without a rival in the West African trade since the Hamburg Woerman line was discontinued in 1914. In 1858, St. Mark's Hospital, the first in the Republic, was founded at Cape Palmas.

During the ten years after 1850, sharp reprisals were visited by Germany and Great Britain on the natives of the Kru Coast. The latter customarily stripped and dismantled all manner of ships which came ashore on the rocks of their coast. Like many seafaring and sea-coast peoples, they regarded wrecks and wreckage as legitimate salvage. The Governments of Liberia and Maryland endeavored to control the natives, but their

militiamen and revenue officers were obliged to engage in fierce battles with the Krus, which led to very doubtful victories for the Government forces.

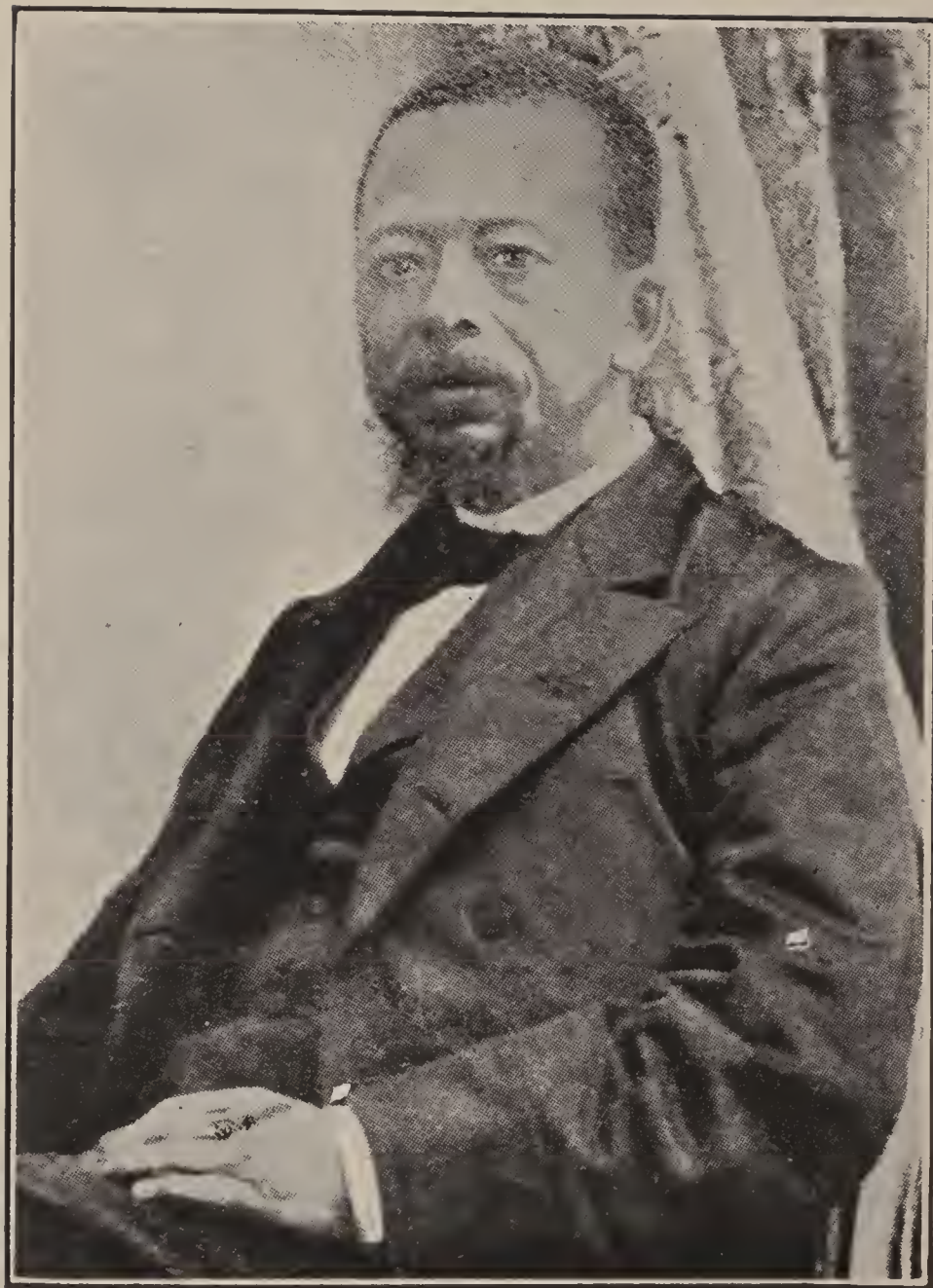
In 1860, the long-drawn-out and bitter boundary dispute between Britain and Liberia began. The primary cause of it was the refusal of a trader, John Myers Harris, to recognize Liberian authority. Harris, who was suspected of carrying on a trade in slaves, established himself between the Sulima and Mano rivers. He was reminded of the Liberian political rights, but refused to in any way submit to the authority of the Republic.

President Benson ordered a coast-guard boat to seize two schooners belonging to the trader. The seizure took place between Cape Mount and Point Mano; that is to say well within Liberian territory.

Notwithstanding the fact that Benson was acting entirely within his rights, a British gunboat, the *Torch*, was ordered from Sierra Leone to Monrovia. Her officers took away by force the vessels belonging to Harris, while the Liberians looked on, powerless to intervene.

In 1862, President Benson went to Sierra Leone to negotiate with the Governor for an established boundary between that colony and Liberia. Benson was civilly received at Sierra Leone, but was referred to London for a final decision on the question.

A commission called the Anglo-Liberian was appointed and the commission remained in utter deadlock



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over this question; nothing was done either on the part of Sierra Leone or of Liberia.

Although this ended the boundary dispute for the time being, it by no means curtailed the activities of Harris. Operating with the support of the Sierra Leone Government, he attempted to establish himself as an independent chief in the Gallinhas country. His exactions caused the Vai tribe to wage virtual war upon him.

In retaliation, Harris organized the Gallinhas tribes for war with the Vai. At once the Liberian Government sent a force of militiamen to aid the Vais. With their arrival, the Gallinhas natives took to flight, and turned their resentment on Harris. One of his factories was destroyed, and the trader had the presumption to put in a claim against Liberia for six thousand pounds (\$30,000).

In this he was apparently supported by Sierra Leone. This caused the creation of a new joint Anglo-Liberian commission to enquire into the matter. It was indeed fortunate for the little Republic that an American man-of-war was in the neighboring waters, for otherwise the Governor of Sierra Leone might have been disposed to carry matters with a high hand.

Commodore Shufeldt of the battleship was chosen as arbitrator, and reduced the claims of Harris to a mere three hundred pounds (\$1,500).

The colony of Sierra Leone now advanced its claims to a protectorate over the coast east of Sherbro Island as far as the River Mano, asserting that no order was

kept by the Liberian Government west of that stream.

This excuse was but a flimsy one, for the Liberians were wholly powerless against the aggressions of the British traders, who could command the military aid of the Sierra Leone Government at any time. Again the question was submitted to London, and was met with an evasive answer by Lord Clarendon.

In 1870, the ill-fated President Roye agreed to Lord Granville's proposal that the British frontier should be at the Sulima River.

By consenting to this somewhat curious proposal President Roye had no doubt gravely compromised the right of his government to an extension west of the Sulima. As a matter of fact, no steps were taken to carry Lord Granville's proposals into effect, owing to the disaster which led to the death of President Roye in 1871. The question, therefore, of this northwest frontier continued to remain open until closed by the Anglo-Liberian Treaty of 1885.

CHAPTER XXV

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND LIBERIA

Finally after Liberia's independence as a sovereign state had been recognized by all the great nations of Europe, the United States swung into line. On October 22, 1862, after fourteen years of delay, the virtual mother of Liberia gave recognition to that Republic. The great argument against such action by the United States had been that men of color would come to Washington as representatives of a country ruled by black men.

This treaty was of no great import, for the independence of Liberia was in no way guaranteed, and American protection was in no way assured. The question of exact relationship between the two Republics is as perplexing a one as it is interesting. Therefore it might be well to insert the instances and languages in which the United States Government has defined its special interest in Liberia. This summary is taken from Sir H. H. Johnston's well-known work on Liberia:

“In 1879, on the occasion of the reported offer of French protection to Liberia, the American minister at Paris was instructed to make inquiries on the subject, and he was reminded in his instructions that when it

was considered that the United States had founded and fostered the nucleus of a native representative government on the African shore, and that Liberia, so created, had afforded a field of emigration and enterprise for the emancipated Africans of America, who had not been slow to avail themselves of the opportunity, it was evident that the United States Government must feel a peculiar interest in any apparent movement to divert the independent political life of Liberia for aggression of a great Continental Power, which already had a foothold of actual trading possession on the neighboring coast.

“In 1880 Mr. Evarts informed Mr. Hoppin, the United States Charge d’Affaires in London, that the United States were not averse to having the Great Powers know that they publicly recognized the peculiar relations which existed between them and Liberia, and that they were prepared to take every proper step to maintain them.

“In 1884 during Chester A. Arthur’s administration as President of the United States, Frelinghuysen informed M. Roustan, French Minister at Washington, that Liberia, though not a colony of the United States, began its independent career as an offshoot of that country, which bore to it a quasi-parental relationship. This authorized the United States to interpose its good offices in any contest between Liberia and a foreign state. A refusal to give the United States an opportunity to be heard for this purpose would make an unfavorable

impression on the minds of the Government and the people of the United States.

“ In 1887, on the occasion of the reported French aggressions on Liberian territory, the United States Government stated that their relations with the Republic had not changed and that they still felt justified in employing their good offices on her behalf.”

The name of Bishop H. M. Turner, a noted writer and lecturer, will ever live as an agitator and vindicator of the love America owed Liberia.

CHAPTER XXVI

PRESIDENT WARNER AND THE PORTS OF ENTRY LAW

While the Civil War was at its height in America (1864) President Benson was succeeded in office by Daniel Bashiel Warner. Whereas the former was a very dark man, Warner was a mulatto. Re-elected once, he served continuously from 1864 to 1868.

Warner was elected on the Republican or True Liberian ticket, but while in office became a Whig in politics. His establishment of the Ports of Entry Law in 1865 was doubtless due to a distrust of Europeans; induced by the aggressions of Harris and other traders.

Despite the storm of disapproval it drew from British merchants, the Ports of Entry Law is doubtless a wise and even necessary measure for Liberia. It confined the commerce of foreigners to six "ports of entry" and a circle of six miles in diameter about each port. The six harbors selected for intercourse were Robertsport, Monrovia, Marshall, Grand Basa, Greenville and Cape Palmas.

At each of these ports, Liberian customs houses were erected and the government itself took the responsibility for all traders and their property. This was not as drastic a measure as it would seem, for any person of the

African race could become a Liberian citizen, even if he was white as to color.

Many British and other merchants were highly displeased by this measure, for it rudely curtailed their commercial dealings with the native Negroes at many ports of the coast. The Liberian Government had little choice in the matter, however, for its revenues were too slight to permit the erection of more than six customs houses, and to provide for their personnel and equipment.

This restriction of trade was in no way unusual at that time, for even on the coasts of British and French Africa there were only a few places for the landing or embarkation of goods under the supervision of customs officers.

The customs duties were low at that time (six per cent *ad valorem*), but even that small toll induced the foreign traders, more particularly the British, to defraud the little Negro Republic by making landings at parts of the coast outside the recognized spheres of entry.

Doubtless these spheres will be much extended when the financial status of the Liberian Government is such that more customs houses can be opened, not only on the coast, but along the boundaries of Sierra Leone and the French possessions. Numerous trading stations are also to be established in the interior, when the Government has completed the construction of roads for wheeled vehicles and has established police stations.

Emigration to Liberia received a new stimulus in

1865, when three hundred West Indians came to the West Coast Republic. Included in the ship-load was Arthur Barclay, then a mere boy, who afterwards served as President of Liberia. His father was a free Negro, who had become involved in political matters in Barbados, and as a result, was obliged to leave that island with all his family.

He was a very able man, and much respected in Liberia, where his success was considerable. The Barclays were of pure Negro blood, and originally came from Little Popo or Dahomey. They showed the strength of the Negro brain, although unmixed with the white race.

After the conclusion of the war between the North and South in America, when the Negro's status in the United States was entirely changed, interest in Liberia began to revive. Bishop Turner got a better hearing on the great African Question, and several attempts were made to inaugurate wholesale emigration to Liberia.

This reawakened interest necessitated the securing of information concerning the virtually unknown hinterland of Liberia. Many persons went to the little Republic, but not counting the cost of settling in a new country, some returned home and branded the entire project a failure.

To meet the need, Benjamin Anderson, a young Liberian, born in 1834 and Secretary of the Treasury under President Warner between 1864 and 1866, volunteered his services as an explorer. He had received a good education, and had a thorough knowledge of surveying.

At the time of his withdrawal from office, he visited the United States to meet several American philanthropists who were interested in the Liberian Question.

They enquired why some boundary line had not been fixed on the Eastern frontier of Liberia, and Anderson declared himself willing to undertake such a task of demarcation if sufficient funds were provided. Henry M. Schiefflin assisted greatly in the financing of this work of exploration, which has not to this day been repeated in a like direction.

It stood for many years as one of the greatest undertakings in the exploration of West Africa. Anderson made his start from Monrovia on February 14, 1868, and journeyed slowly by crooked trails to the principal town of a chief called Besa. This was located near the coast slightly west of the river Mano.

The Mandingos at Boporo manifested some opposition to the journey, but this trouble was soon ended. At Boporo, indeed, Anderson succeeded in securing porters and bearers to take him through the country of Chief Boatswain, whose name still clung to this stretch of hinterland.

The Mandingos almost wholly controlled the Boatswain country, and were large holders of slaves either captured in war or brought from the neighboring Kpwesi or Buzi tribes. The latter seem to have been a nation of considerable importance, for they maintained their independence despite the aggressions of the warlike Mandingos.

Anderson finally reached the edge of the great forest at Zigapora Zue. A stretch of park and grasslands ascending to a plateau 2,200 feet above sea level, stretched northward from this town, and over this he took his way. The oil palms, which mark the forest region in western and central Africa, disappeared as he reached Bulata (2,253 feet in altitude), and the explorer was now traversing a high, healthy and open country, where a dry atmosphere and cool nights made travelling more easy than in the dense jungles.

The people of this land were highly civilized, and were breeders of horses on a large scale. They were Mohammedan Mandingos, and held their capital at Musadu. Anderson's treaties with their chiefs and others of the interior may still be seen in the state archives at Monrovia. The originals were written in Arabic, and by them the various kings and headsmen placed their countries within the limits of Liberia.

As a result of the curious conformations of the lands of these chieftains, a somewhat zigzag hinterland boundary was secured for Liberia.

Again, in 1874, Anderson struggled northeastward through the jungles of Liberia. This expedition was one for treaty-making, and the geographical discoveries were of small importance. Coupled with territorial delineations, which were made subsequent to the annexation of Maryland, Anderson's researches caused Liberia to exhibit a curious formation on the map.

About the time of Anderson's first trip of exploration,

the noted traveller, Burton, visited Cape Palmas and the coast of Liberia, when en route to Fernando Po, where he was to take up consular work in the Bights of Benin and Biafra.

Winwood Reade, a follower of Burton's in the paths of literature, visited Liberia in 1863 and also in 1870, spending about three months on the coast between Cape Palmas and Monrovia. With Dr. Blyden, he made a journey to Boporo, but his description of that Kondo town is not extant.

His account of Liberia in the second volume of the African Sketch Book, published in 1873, and his remarks on the Kru people have survived over forty years, and are still true to life and well worth reading.

He died in 1874 on his return from Ashanti land. It is said by some historians that he and Professor Henry Drummond are the only two writers of genius who have ever touched Africa. Reade's best known work, "The Martyrdom of Man," was planned in a leaky hut at Falaba, high up in the Mandingo country, where he was being held captive. It is now in its seventeenth edition.

CHAPTER XXVII

PRESIDENT PAYNE. EDWARD JAMES ROYE AND THE CHINERY LOAN

In the election of 1867, President Warner was defeated by the Republican candidate, James Sprigg Payne. Payne took office on January 1, 1868, and was president until 1870. His term of office was uneventful.

He was succeeded by Edward James Roye, a pure-blooded Negro, and the first Whig president to take office.

At that time the relative volume of the Liberian trade was small compared with that of the British and French colonies on the same coast, on account of Liberia's inability to open up her hinterland to a more profitable and extended commerce. Between 1860 and 1870, there had been much discussion on this question and regarding that of public works.

As the difficulties surrounding the propositions were purely financial, it was decided to negotiate a loan. This measure was enthusiastically supported by President Roye, who sent two commissioners, W. S. Anderson and W. H. Johnson, to London to complete arrangements. Unluckily for the Republic, its consul-general for Great Britain was an English financial agent, one Chinery, whose connections were with certain banking houses of not the best repute.

The loan was to be for a hundred thousand pounds, that is to say five hundred thousand dollars. Chinery introduced a rather shady firm of bankers, who outlined a proposition unfavorable for Liberia. A payment in cash of seventy thousand pounds was to be made against a bond issue of a hundred thousand pounds.

The whole loan was to be repaid in fifteen years, and the interest was seven per cent for the entire one hundred thousand pounds. This arrangement made it necessary for Liberia to pay back to the lenders the outrageous sum of one hundred and thirty-two thousand six hundred pounds, including the interest.

Doubtless the hard terms of the loan were largely due to the rather poor security advanced by Liberia. The customs dues or some branch of the customs revenue was a guarantee for the loan; but the bankers declared that the revenues were collected in no certain and orderly fashion, and it might happen that there would be too little revenue to meet the actual "overhead" expenses of Liberia itself.

In case the little Republic repudiated its obligations, they were fully aware that the British Government would take no action whatever in the matter.

In Monrovia and elsewhere, the news of Chinery's loan was received with great dissatisfaction on all sides. The indignant citizens at once protested to Chinery, but President Roye was in England, compromising Liberia in the Gallinhas Question, and while there approved the idea of the loan. Upon this journey the

Liberian Secretary of State, Hilary R. W. Johnson, accompanied him.

In England Johnson disagreed with Roye over the Sierra Leone Liberian frontier, and hastily returned to Monrovia. It seems apparent from his subsequent actions that Roye was about to attempt an overthrow of the Government, which would allow him to govern Liberia as a despot. While he did not take any direct action as to Chinery's loan, he intimated his approval of the scheme, before the matter had been duly considered by the Liberian legislature.

Roye thought his position a secure one, and so immediately after his return from England in the first part of October, 1871, issued a proclamation to the effect that he would extend his tenure of office for two more years. Doubtless the Liberians might have favored such a change, if Roye had not autocratically and illegally ordered it on his own authority.

At once popular indignation began to run high at Grand Basa, Monrovia, and many other settlements. Roye attempted to arm those of his party who had promised to support him in his *coup d'etat*. His supporters made an attempt to seize a bank building in Monrovia, and with that overt act, the fires of insurrection broke out.

Almost to a man, the citizens of Monrovia rose against the despotic president in the first and last revolution in Liberia. Street fighting became general and several lives were lost on both sides. Roye's followers were out-



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numbered and out-fought, and fled, while an angry crowd sacked the President's mansion.

After a somewhat extended man hunt through the city, Roye and one of his sons were caught and imprisoned. Congress was hastily summoned, and the Senate and House of Representatives issued a manifesto deposing Roye. The government was to be provisionally carried on by Charles B. Dunbar, General R. A. Sherman and Amos Herring until a new president could be elected. The manifesto was issued on October 26, 1871. Roye's Secretary of State, H. R. W. Johnson, still remained in office.

Meanwhile, ex-President Roye's trial before the Supreme Court was halted by his death in the breakers off Monrovia. During the night, Roye, through negligence, had managed to elude his guards and had escaped from jail. In a native canoe, he tried to reach an English steamer in the harbor. He removed the greater part of his clothing, so that he might be mistaken for an ordinary native or Kru boy looking for work. About his waist was a money belt, filled with sovereigns, and as the badly steered canoe capsized, Roye was drowned.

Much confusion exists as to the precise amount of money which actually reached the Liberian treasury from the loan. It is generally estimated that twenty-seven thousand pounds out of the hundred thousand actually reached Liberia. Of this sum, twelve thousand pounds was paid in bills, which could be negotiated only at a

high rate of discount, and out of the seventy thousand pounds assumed to have been found by the London bankers, three years' interest was apparently deducted.

A great deal of the money seems to have disappeared with Roye, and W. S. Anderson, who was bringing out a small sum from England, was so alarmed by Roye's fate that he fled to St. Paul de Loanda, and demanded protection against prosecution in Liberia.

President Roye had further compromised the Liberian Republic by issuing bonds to the sum of eighty thousand pounds against the amount of the loan. Various historians state that possibly even one hundred thousand pounds' worth of bonds were in circulation, but the Liberian government was able to cancel a large number of these.

Chinery's successor as Consul General began a suit against the former Liberian representative at the behest of the Republic, but no satisfaction was obtained in any manner. Indeed, through a strange turn of circumstance, Chinery again acted as Consul General in London during 1880. This came about through the efforts of Dr. E. W. Blyden, who, meeting Chinery in Sierra Leone, came to the conclusion that the blame lay entirely with Roye. Blyden, then Liberian minister to the court of St. James, appointed Chinery to his former position, but this action was never confirmed by the Liberian President.

Former President Joseph J. Roberts was called upon to succeed Roye, and held office until 1875. Scarcely

two months after relinquishing his position as head of the Republic, he died from a chill contracted at the funeral of a colleague. A tornado burst on that occasion, and Roberts died on February 21, 1876, from the effects of the downpour.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE ULTIMATE SETTLEMENT OF THE CHINERY LOAN

Quite naturally the Liberian Government was inclined to repudiate the Chinery loan after the treachery of Roye, but unfortunately from twenty to twenty-seven thousand pounds had arrived in Liberia and had promptly been spent. An Englishman named Johnson had taken Chinery's post in London, and during nine years attempted to in some way straighten out the tangled affairs of the Republic.

Owing to Blyden's efforts, Chinery again held the office, but was succeeded by one Gudgeon, who, in turn, gave place to Henry Hayman, whose title was Consul General and Acting Minister Resident. Hayman first took office from 1885 to 1891, and his more vigorous attempts to unravel the tangle of loan matters were more successful than those of his predecessor. Fraud and negligence greatly added to his troubles, for a large number of bonds made out "to bearer" were actually on sale in the London Stock Market, in Holland and other countries of the Continent.

Negligence on the part of Liberia is presumed to have been responsible for this flood of bonds "to bearer." In 1898, the year of the Spanish-American War, the

Liberian Government agreed to pay a progressive interest at three to five per cent. Since that time the interest, which is on a loan of from seventy to eighty thousand pounds, has risen to four per cent, and has been paid without default.

This unusually honorable settlement with holders of Liberian bonds, particularly honorable in respect to the Liberian Republic, was achieved by Arthur Barclay, then Secretary of the Treasury.

The text of this agreement is as follows:

“Liberian Government 7 per cent. External loan of 1871.

Bases of Agreement submitted by the Honorable A. Barclay, Secretary of the Treasury, and the Hon. J. C. Stevens, Attorney-General of the Government of Liberia, of the one part, and approved by the Committee of Liberian Bondholders acting in conjunction with the Council of Foreign Bondholders of the other part.

I. The interest on the debt to be reduced as follows: 3 per cent for three years; $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for three years; 4 per cent for three years, the present rate of interest; $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for three years; 5 per cent thereafter until extinction. Interest to be paid half yearly in gold in London, by a banking house to be appointed by the Government of Liberia and approved by the Council. The first payment of interest to be made on October 1st, 1899.

II. Amortization of the principal of the bonds, deposited with the Council under this arrangement, in

accordance with Article VIII, to commence after five years, viz.: On October 1st, 1904, by means of an accumulative sinking fund of 1 per cent per annum, to be applied half yearly by purchases on the market or by tenders as the Government may decide, when the price of the bonds is under par, or by drawings for redemption at par when the price is at or above par. The government reserves the right to increase the sinking fund at any time, or to put it into operation at an earlier date.

III. For the arrears of interest reckoned up to March 31st, 1899, the Council of Foreign Bondholders will issue non-interest bearing certificates, which shall be redeemed in the following manner: After the extinction of the principal of the debt, the Government of Liberia will continue to remit in the manner hereinbefore provided, for a period of four years, the like amount of interest and sinking fund payable at the date of such extinction in respect of the amount of bonds which may be deposited with the Council within the period prescribed by Article VIII. This sum shall be applied by the bankers charged with the service of the debt to the redemption of the certificates, either by a *pro rata* payment or by half yearly drawings as may be determined by the Council in conjunction with the committee. The Government of Liberia is entitled to purchase certificates on the market at any time if it so desires, and to participate with the holders of the other outstanding certificates in the fund appropriated for their redemption.

IV. As security for the service of the debt the Government especially exports direct to the Consul-General for Liberia in London, and to be handed by him to the bank charged with the service of the debt. Any sums hereafter paid to the Government by the existing Liberian Rubber Syndicate, or any other syndicate or company that may succeed it, are to be applied in like manner to the service of the debt.

V. Should the product of the rubber export duties within the first five years amount to more than is required for the payment of the interest on the debt at the rates set forth in Article I, such surplus shall be applied to amortization, or if after the fifth year there should be a surplus from the same source after providing for the payment of interest and the accumulative sinking fund of 1 per cent as set forth in Article II such surplus shall be applied to additional amortization.

VI. The service of the debt shall be further secured on the general customs revenue of the Republic, it being understood that the acceptance of these bases of arrangement on the part of the Council and Committee is contingent on some effective control of the collection of the customs duties satisfactory to the committee being established, and that any deficiency in the product of the rubber export duties required for the service of the External Debt is to constitute a first charge on the revenues derived from the general customs revenue, subject only to the expenses of collection and the payment of interest not exceeding 6 per cent per annum on any ad-

vance made by the syndicate or company which may be formed to undertake the collection of the said revenues. In any event the full sum required in gold for the half yearly service of the debt is to be in the hands of the bankers in London at least a fortnight before the due date of the coupons as altered under this arrangement. The Government will also at the same time pay the bank the usual commission for administering the debt service.

VII. The bonds of 1871 are to be lodged with the Council, and stamped on their face as assenting to the new arrangement, and the coupons endorsed with the altered dates and rates of payment in accordance with Article I, or new coupon sheets are to be printed and attached to the bonds. If any stamp duty in England is involved in this operation the cost shall be borne by the Government of Liberia.

VIII. In order to participate in this arrangement the bonds must be deposited with the Council of Foreign Bondholders within one year from the date of its acceptance by the bondholders.

IX. In the event of default of any payment contemplated by this arrangement, or of failure to carry out the terms thereof, the existing rights of the bondholders to revive.

X. This arrangement is subject to ratification first by the Legislature of Liberia, and afterwards by resolution of a general meeting of bondholders to be convened by the Council.

XI. A reasonable sum to be paid by the Liberian

Government to the Council for their expenses and services, to be settled between them and the Consul-General of Liberia.

London, the 28th day of September, 1898.

For the Government of Liberia:

Arthur Barclay, Secretary of Treasury,
J. C. Stevens, Attorney-General.

For the Committee of Liberian Bondholders:

G. W. Fremantle, Vice-president of the Council,
Acting Chairman.

CHAPTER XXIX

BOUNDARY TROUBLES WITH SIERRA LEONE

Rumors of gold mines near Musadu agitated Liberia in 1871, during Roberts' last term, and the explorer, Benjamin Anderson, was again sent to the hinterland, this time to ascertain the truth of these reports. He did not succeed in finding any mineral wealth, and his travels in the jungles of the interior brought nothing new to light in a geographical sense. The prestige of Liberia among the native tribes was, however, considerably heightened by this expedition.

At about this time, relations were again strained between Liberia and Sierra Leone. The Vai, once more grown restless under the aggressions of the notorious Harris, had risen in force and destroyed his factories on the Mano and Mafi rivers. As usual, the governor of Sierra Leone stood behind the trader, and demanded a new indemnity in addition to that of 1869, which had not been paid.

Roberts agreed to settle the first matter in 1872, but denied the justice of the second claim. The matter lapsed until 1878, when it was again brought to life by Sir Samuel Rowe, Governor of Sierra Leone. He demanded that the second indemnity of more than eight

thousand pounds be paid, and at the same time declared that the British Government would establish a protectorate along the coast to the Mano River to keep order among the native tribes.

In 1870 Lord Granville and Roye had agreed that a mixed commission should be appointed to discuss the question of Liberian rights west of the Sulima. Granville had added that Great Britain did not bind herself to recognize Liberian dominion beyond that stream. In the meantime, Roberts had been succeeded by J. S. Payne, who in turn was followed by Anthony William Gardner in 1878.

Gardner agreed to the assembly of a boundary commission at Sierra Leone, and the Liberian and British delegates arrived there on December 29. Even British historians admit that the treatment of the Liberian diplomats and commissioners in Sierra Leone was cavalier in the extreme, and assert that the proceedings of the commission were neither fair nor impartial.

While the question was allowed to consume more and more time, the British officials brought all the pressure possible to bear on the native chiefs west of the Mano. Coercion may have been resorted to to make the kings and headsmen deny that their predecessors had ever ceded their lands to the Liberian Republic.

At any rate, in thirty years various tribes had risen in power, while others had fallen in importance. New racial divisions had displaced those with whom Roberts had made treaties twenty-nine years before, and the

entire tribal characteristics of the land had undergone some change.

The British commissioners had their eyes on Cape Mount, and endeavored to secure that strategic point by coercing the Liberians into declaring the Mafi or Mano River the Sierra Leone-Liberian frontier. The question of indemnity due to Harris and other British traders, whom the Vais were said to have attacked, was also the subject of much acrimonious and heated debate. Finally the commission split up without arriving at a satisfactory settlement of any question.

In 1879 an unfortunate incident further endangered the Republic, already shaken by British aggressions and the failure of the Chinery loan. Near Nana Kru, the natives of the coast had maltreated the crew and passengers of a German steamer, the *Carlos*, which had crashed on the rocks near the Dewa River. At once a German man-of-war, the *Victoria*, steamed for the Liberian coast, and bombarded the Kru towns about the scene of the wreck. After this act of summary vengeance, the battleship proceeded to Monrovia, and a claim against Liberia was deposited which was paid by the cooperation of the European merchants settled at Monrovia. Might is often called right, and whether the little Republic was responsible or not, it paid the claim.

CHAPTER XXX

LIBERIA IN 1880

In 1876 a pest in the form of burrowing fleas or "jiggers" came to Liberia on a ship from the Portuguese Island of Sao Thome. The "jigger" spread over the coastal belt of Liberia, but is much less apparent at the present time than a few years ago.

President Gardner was made a Knight Grand Cross of the Spanish Order of Isabella Catolica in 1879, and resolved to initiate an order of chivalry peculiar to Liberia. This was named the Order of African Redemption.

Under Gardner's presidency, on April 1st, 1879, Liberia joined the Universal Postal Union.

In 1877 there had been a fresh accession of Negro colonists from Louisiana who were mainly distributed about the Lower St. Paul's River. Some of these subsequently returned to America. One of them was Rev. M. H. Mahaffey, whose wife was so affected by the return to America that she lost her mind, jumped overboard from the ship and was drowned. Rev. Mahaffey was foully murdered in 1913, near Gainesville, Fla.

No immigration of any organized or important kind has taken place subsequently from America, though individuals from the United States and the West Indies

have from time to time found their way to Liberia and settled there more or less permanently.

In 1880 it is probable that the total Americo-Liberian population was ten thousand in number. The birth rate was small, and the somewhat slow increase at most atoned for the departure of dissatisfied colonists and the heavy death rate from disease.

It is a fact that Americans are no less susceptible to African fevers than Europeans. Full-blooded Negroes are least affected by the climate, and mulattoes suffer less than quadroons. As a result, the pure Negro type has increased in Liberia, while the half-breed is dying out.

In 1880 a rather foolish system of caste was maintained between Christian Negroes from America and the indigines of Liberia. Marriages or illicit unions between Americo-Liberian men and native women were frowned upon almost equally, although some of the Vai and Mandingo girls are strikingly beautiful.

Different observers declare that Liberia is dependent for its population upon the inter-marriage of the natives with the emigrants, who will infuse a new blood into the coming generation. Some, indeed, go so far as to state that persons of color from America or Europe should obtain wives direct from the African Continent.

After 1880 public spirit in Liberia was taking a more African turn, perhaps on account of a feeling of disappointment in regard to the results of Negro repatriation.

During this time, the philanthropists of the United

States and Britain vied with one another in contributing towards the endowment of Liberia College and the College of West Africa. In England, Robert Arthington, of Leeds, was the leader in the work. A settlement on the St. Paul's River has since been named for him.

Only for a short time did Sierra Leone abandon its hostile policy towards Liberia, and in 1880, Sir Arthur Havelock, who had succeeded Sir Samuel Rowe as Governor of that colony, again took up the frontier question. He demanded that British influence should extend over the region between the Sherbro and the Mano River, and also that Harris' indemnity of eight thousand five hundred pounds should be paid in full.

Sir Arthur Havelock, who was, unluckily, also consul-general for Britain in Liberia, arrived off Monrovia with four gunboats on March 20, 1882, and ordered the Liberian Government to cede its territory and to pay the claims of British traders.

This display of force by Britain caused President Gardner to appoint the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Edward Blyden, to parley with Havelock. The latter agreed to pay for the damages caused by the Vai in 1871, and to abandon all Liberian territorial rights to her lands west of the Mafi River. In return, Sir Arthur solemnly promised to intercede for the line of the Mano River instead, and asserted that the British Government would repay to Liberia all the money spent by the latter since 1849 in buying land west of the Mano.

The treaty signed, Havelock and his gunboats went

back to Sierra Leone, but the Senate was more courageous than its leaders, and rejected the treaty, while instant opposition to its harsh terms was displayed all over the country.

Liberia declared herself ready to have the matter arbitrated, as the entire dispute arose more or less from the fact that Liberia could not use armed force to restrain the arrogant British traders who had established themselves within her boundaries. Their aggressions served to stir up the natives, and the result was almost incessant turmoil.

Back to Liberia on September 7, 1882, came Sir Arthur Havelock and his gunboats. The governor demanded an immediate ratification of the treaty, but was now vigorously opposed by President Gardner. The Liberian executive had had time to prepare a defence, and asked Havelock why, if the contested territory were British, England should claim any indemnity for tribal risings therein. On the other hand if Liberia did pay an indemnity, why should her lands by right of priority and of purchase be snatched from her? Gardner was supported by the Senate, which vigorously opposed any ratification of the treaty.

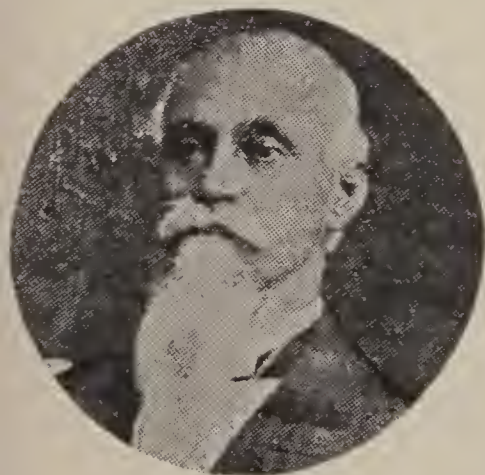
All attempts to coerce Liberia having failed, the Government of Sierra Leone, in March, 1883, by force took over all the territory from the Sherbro to the Mano River. This territory had cost Liberia approximately twenty thousand pounds (\$100,000) to buy, maintain, and pay indemnities. Small wonder that Gardner



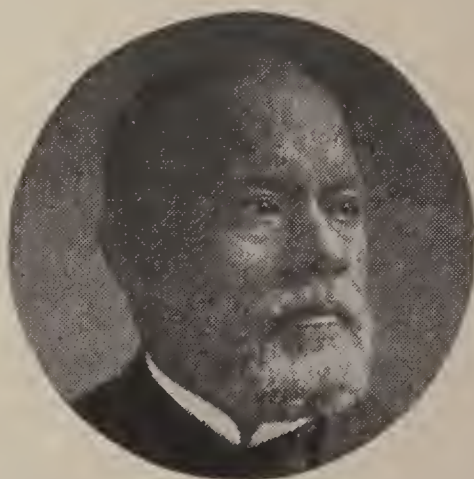
DR. N. H. B. CASSELL



COUNCIL GENERAL DR. LYONS



BISHOP FERGUSON



BISHOP I. B. SCOTT, M. E. CHURCH

was so indignant at the insult that he left office almost immediately as a protest against these high-handed methods.

According to custom, the vice-president, A. F. Russell, completed Gardner's term. On January 1, 1884, a diplomat and a native Liberian entered the Presidential chair, Hilary Richard Wright Johnson, a professor at Liberia College and a former Secretary of State. He was born in Liberia during 1837, and was a son of the pioneer, Elijah Johnson. True to his diplomatic training, he at once commenced to regulate the action taken by the British Government in 1883. These negotiations finally resulted in the treaty of November 11th, 1885, which was subsequently ratified by both governments. By this the boundary of Liberia on the west commences at the mouth of the river Mano.

The Treaty of 1885 runs thus:

“ The line marking the northwestern boundary of the Republic of Liberia shall commence at the point on the seacoast at which, at low water, the line of the southeastern or left bank of the Mano River intersects the general line of the seacoast, and shall be continued along the line marked by low water on the southeastern or left bank of the Mano River, until such line, or such line prolonged in a northeastern direction, intersects the line or the prolongation of the line marking the northeastern or inland boundary of the territories of the Republic, with such deviations as may hereafter be found necessary to place within Liberian territory the

town of Boporo and such other towns as shall be hereafter acknowledged to have belonged to the Republic at the time of the signing of this Convention.”

The question was finally set at rest by further negotiations in 1902, which resulted in the Anglo-Liberian boundary commission in 1903. The same treaty also provided for the repayment to Liberia of 4,750 pounds, which was intended to reimburse Liberia for sums originally paid between 1849 and 1856 for the purchase of some of these contested territories.

CHAPTER XXXI

BOUNDARY TROUBLES WITH FRANCE

At about this time France, which had severely censured the British Government for its aggressions on Liberia, decided to do a little plundering on its own behalf. As has been before mentioned, by the purchase of coastal lands, the Republic of Maryland, and finally that of Liberia, extended eastwards along the Ivory Coast about sixty miles from the Cavalla, that is to say, to the river San Pedro.

The entire Kru tribe inhabited these limits, so that it was as much a racial boundary as a geographical one. Up to 1888, this strip of coastland was recognized as being Liberian territory, although in 1885, the *Bulletin des Lois* published a decree extending the territory of France to the Cavalla and even beyond, to the town of Garawe, past Cape Palmas. France also began to advance some ridiculously slight claims to Cape Mount and to the original site of Petit Dieppe (Grand Basa). Upon hearing of these intentions in 1891, Lord Salisbury, acting for the British Government, attempted to induce France to restrain her aggressions to "reasonable" limits.

The French boundary was drawn at the Cavalla. The Liberians protested in vain against this spoliation,

but, receiving no assurances of support either from the United States or Great Britain, were fain to conclude a treaty with France on December 8th, 1892, according to which the river Cavalla became the boundary between France and Liberia from its mouth, as far as a point situated about twenty miles to the south of its confluence with the river Fodeduga-ba, at the intersection of the parallel $3^{\circ}30'$ north latitude and the (Paris) meridian $9^{\circ}12'$ of west longitude. This starting-point of Franco-Liberian delimitation on the river Cavalla is determined in the most contradictory manner.

The treaty first says that it shall be situated at a point on the Cavalla about twenty miles to the south of its confluence with the river Fodeduga-ba, which was at that time supposed to be an affluent of the Cavalla. But the treaty supplements this definition by adding the words, "at the intersection of the parallel $6^{\circ}30'$ north latitude and the Paris meridian $9^{\circ}12'$ of west longitude." At the date this treaty was drawn up, almost nothing was known of the course of the river Cavalla. The name Fodeduga-ba is a Mandingo word, apparently, for a river or water course which under varying forms appears and reappears constantly in the Upper Niger Basin. The river which is indicated under this name in the Franco-Liberian treaty is obviously the main course, Dugu or Duyu, of the river Cavalla. This was confused by native tradition with a real "Fodeduga-ba" which occurs a great deal farther to the north as an affluent of the Sasandra River.

In addition they went on to postulate that twenty miles below the confluence of these two streams the main course of the Cavalla would be intersected by $6^{\circ}30'$ north latitude, and $9^{\circ}12'$, Paris, west longitude. From this, "Point at a point," so contradictorily fixed on the Cavalla, the boundary was then to be carried along $3^{\circ}30'$ parallel of north latitude as far west as the Paris meridian 10° of longitude, with this proviso, that the basin of the Grand Sesters River should belong to Liberia and the basin of the Fodeduga-ba to France. Then the boundary was to be carried north along the 10th meridian of Paris to the intersection of 7th degree of north latitude, and from this point in a northwesterly direction until the latitude of Tembi Kunda was reached, after which the boundary was carried west along the latitude of Tembi Kunda till it intersected the British frontier near that place. At that time it was supposed by both French and English that Tembi Kunda is in about latitude $8^{\circ}35'$. Subsequent surveys, however, show that Tembi Kunda is in about $9^{\circ}5'$. All these lines drawn by latitudes and longitudes from 7° north latitude to Tembi Kunda were, however, to be inflected and inverted should they conflict with the basin of the Niger and its affluents, all of which were to belong to France. It was also decided that the Mandingo towns of "Bamaquilla," and "Mahommou" should belong to France.

This treaty, coupled with the Sierra Leone settlement, enabled the territory of Liberia to appear on maps of

Africa with some greater definiteness of outline and without the fantastic zigzags introduced by Anderson's surveys. These two treaties, like a mighty vise, are endeavoring to more completely confine the bounds of the little Republic.

President Hilary Johnson died in 1898. He had received several decorations from European powers and was much respected. After his retirement from the Presidency he took up the position of Postmaster-General. He had been chiefly responsible for negotiating this frontier treaty with France but retired from the Presidency before it was concluded, on January 1st, 1892, and was succeeded by President Joseph James Cheeseman, who occupied the chief magistracy till his death in November, 1896. Cheeseman was followed by William David Coleman, first as Vice-president and later as President.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE THIRD GREBO WAR. CONCESSIONS IN MINING AND RUBBER

More trouble broke out on the lower Cavalla River in 1893, when the warlike Grebos, excited by the aggressions of the French, tried to capture an Americo-Liberian settlement near Harper by assault. After several disasters to Liberian arms, the steamer *Gorronomah* was sent to the scene of the "Third Grebo War," and co-operating with Gen. R. A. Sherman, who commanded the land forces, gained a final victory over the natives.

Three years later the tribe again waged war on the settlers, but so strong had Liberia's army then become that the Grebos were almost instantly put down with little loss to the Liberians. General R. A. Sherman, the mulatto officer, who had the record of directing the greater part of these punitive expeditions, died in 1894 and was buried with all military honors.

Up to 1880, there had been no thought of European development of Liberian resources, but in that year talk of "concessions" in mining or in rubber was begun. Such a concession might well prove a financial success for the state.

Eleven years before, the Mining Company of Liberia was established and given special rights by the Govern-

ment. However, it failed to raise sufficient capital for the working of these mining rights. In 1881 this was transformed into the Union Mining Company, and to it was granted a charter containing important privileges. This chartered company was to languish in inaction, since it was unable on a purely Liberian basis to raise any capital for its purposes.

The belief in mineral wealth in Liberia then, and perhaps one may add now, lingers in the air of Liberia, as Benjamin Anderson has written a great deal that is alluring about mines of fabulous wealth in the vicinity of Musadu, which, however, he had not been allowed to visit. He tried to reach these regions in 1874, but failed. The wonderful gold mines of Buley (Bula) have not been discovered as yet.

The rubber royalties were afterwards applied to the service of the Liberian debt. The concession, after passing through several hands, was finally bought by the Chartered Company, and has now become the Liberian Rubber Corporation.

The results of Prof. Buttikofer's journeys have considerably increased the knowledge of the coastal geography of Liberia.

From 1880 to 1890, German interest in Liberia began to increase, partly through the publication of Buttikofer's work on the fauna of the Republic, and also through the Hamburg Company of Woermann, who had been trading on the West Coast since 1850, and had established factories all along the Liberian seaboard.

Elder Dempster, the British House, has since 1855 conducted a steamer service between Liverpool and various ports of Liberia, but for some time the line was in a way unsatisfactory, for the ships were slow and uncomfortable.

This was remedied a short time after the Woermann line had installed its service of a monthly express boat from Monrovia to Hamburg and Southampton and had put on the route modern and comfortable steamers of good speed.

Naturally, these efforts on the part of the Woermann Company served to improve the English service, and the rivalry was most beneficial for Liberian commerce and communication with the Continent.

During the last years of the nineteenth century Krumen came into more demand as sailors on European ships. For nearly a century, they had been the seafaring tribe of West Africa, and had survived all attempts of slave traders to lure them into captivity. To this day there are many Kruboyes in the British Navy, particularly in vessels of the Cape and West African flotillas. As English tars, they sailed up and down the coast from the Gambia to Cape Town.

They engaged in service with all the commercial houses: British, German, French, Spanish, Dutch, Belgian, and Portuguese, along the coast of West Africa, from Sierra Leone to Mossamedes.

They generally formed the boats' crew up and down the coast. This race accepted the settlement by the

Americo-Liberians on either side of their country with good-humored tolerance until attempts were made to maintain law and order within the Kru country.

Kru labor is sought after everywhere and shows that the African is not the shiftless fellow that many writers claim him to be. France snapped up the sixty-mile stretch of coast between the San Pedro and the Cavalla, so as to have under her own flag a supply of Kru labor.

Several attempts were made by the German house of Woermann to obtain a concession for the recruiting and exporting of Kru labor, and regulations governing this recruitment were from time to time drawn up by the Liberian Government.

The Monrovia Government in 1893 strengthened its position among the Krumen — by securing declarations on the part of their chiefs of adhesion to the Government of Liberia — to put a stop to foreign intrigue in this direction. President Coleman favored vigorous measures to subdue the tribes of the hinterland around the St. Paul's River, and in 1900 commenced a disastrous attempt to carry Liberian influence into the northwest regions of Liberia. His plans met with a rude jolt when his expedition was totally defeated and utterly routed by the very tribes it had been sent to subdue. The Liberian Cabinet was thoroughly in opposition to Coleman's domestic policies as regarded the natives, and he resigned in favor of Vice-president Garretson Wilmot Gibson, the president-elect.

Gibson's ideas on domestic affairs were in great contrast with those of Coleman, and under his direction the development of the Republic took a great stride forward. To facilitate this development, and especially that of the hinterland, the agent of the Union Mining Company offered the charter of that firm to Lt.-Col. Cecil Powney, the chairman of a British syndicate.

To clear up all difficulties concerning the tenure of the charter and the necessary sanction of the Liberian Government, Sir Simeon Stuart and T. H. Myring went to the Republic as accredited agents of the syndicate.

An agreement to buy up the charter was entered into, and the Liberian Congress in December, 1901, sanctioned the transfer of the charter from the Union Mining Company to the West African Gold Concessions Limited. Some minor changes were introduced into the charter, and further modifications were made in August, 1904, and January, 1906. By this charter, mining rights in two counties, those of Montserrado and Maryland, and banking, railway, telegraph, and other rights throughout Liberia are consigned to the company. The Chartered Company, between 1902 and 1904, dispatched six expeditions to search the hinterland for minerals, and in 1903 engaged Mr. Alexander Whyte to make a thorough investigation of the Liberian flora. The results of Mr. Whyte's work have been of some importance to science; he has done for the flora of Liberia what Buttikofer did for the fauna.

CHAPTER XXXIII

PRESIDENT ARTHUR BARCLAY

In 1904, President Arthur Barclay succeeded the Hon. G. W. Gibson, and immediately began a policy of conciliation toward the tribes of the Liberian hinterland. Barclay was a native of Barbados, had come to Liberia in 1885, and had served in the legal, judicial, financial, and other departments of the Liberian Government. He was first Clerk of the House of Representatives, Judge of the Court of Quarter Sessions, Sub-Treasurer at Montserrado, Postmaster General and Secretary of the Treasury.

He proceeded to hold at Monrovia a Congress or Convention of kings, headmen and chiefs from the hinterland, and more particularly the Gora, Boporo, and Kpwesi countries. This conference served to greatly improve trade relations between the Americo-Liberians and the indigines, and other meetings of Kru and Grebo men of authority followed. Missions were also dispatched under native commissioners to the interior and up the Cavalla and St. Paul rivers, oftentimes a hundred miles, to endeavor to develop commerce with the coast, to hoist the Liberian flag and to prevent tribal wars and skirmishes.

President Barclay struck the keynote of his policy of domestic government when he stated that he con-

sidered *all* Negroes inhabiting Liberia to be Liberians, and had no wish to drive out native Negroes in favor of colonists of the coast. This gave a more than effective answer to the French claim that a lack of "occupation" was noticeable in Liberia on account of absence of "Americo-Liberian" settlements in the hinterland.

France in reality had little right to make such an assertion, for the Mohammedan Negroes, who are virtually French subjects, are steadily penetrating the Liberian hinterland and driving the tribes of the forest farther and farther back into the jungles.

Coming first as peaceful settlers, these Mohammedan French Negroes have been much more active in ousting the indigines than have the Liberian colonists.

President Gibson had effected the demarcation of the Anglo-Liberian boundary from the mouth of the Mano to Tembi Kunda, and in 1904 President Barclay, anxious to carry on the work of his predecessor, aided a French-Liberian commission to carry out the same scheme in regard to the French frontier.

From 1898 to 1900 another most remarkable journey of exploration had been added to the several notable expeditions into Liberia which had served to arouse French land-hunger as regards Liberian territory. This expedition was under the joint command of a colonial official of the Ivory Coast, M. Hostains, and a military officer, Captain D'Ollone. They started on February 19th, 1899. Their journey was the most remarkable piece of exploration that has yet been accomplished in

the Liberian hinterland, for this French expedition was the first to reveal with any approach to accuracy the configuration of the Cavalla basin. It also discovered the lofty Nimba Mountains, and enabled us to make a more accurate guess at the sources and affluents of the St. Paul's River. Their journey threw a beam of bright light through the dark Liberian hinterland.

Therefore, in 1904, proposals and counter proposals on the part of France and Liberia were made in regard to the drawing of the boundary line on the northern and eastern frontiers of the Republic. In the first place, a more accurate delineation of the frontier was rendered necessary, inasmuch as the treaty of 1892 had not been founded on geographical facts.

The proposals of France, which were finally agreed to by Liberia, caused the cession by the Republic of a portion of the basin of the Makona in the northwest, but on the other hand, assured her undisputed possession of the entire western basin of the Cavalla. The whole basin of the river St. Paul was also given over to Liberia. By this treaty, much valuable territory in both the regions of the northeast and northwest is lost to the little Republic, which, however, secures the territory previously mentioned, and attains a much more easily marked frontier in the course of the Cavalla from source to mouth. This is also the line of water-parting between the river systems of the Niger and the St. Paul's and the main course of the Makona as far as the Anglo-Liberian frontier.

CHAPTER XXXIV

EDUCATION IN LIBERIA AND THE NEEDS OF THE NATIVES

According to the report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1904, there were more than five thousand pupils in the public schools and mission schools of the Republic. The average yearly expenditure for education was twenty-five thousand dollars, not including an extra ten thousand dollars which was annually devoted to the College of Liberia.

The staff of the public and mission schools was composed of the most efficient teachers that could be found. The government has agreed to give free tuition in the public schools, if the various parents will consent to pay for the books which their children use.

The College of West Africa has a large student body and a competent corps of teachers. This university is largely supported by the Methodist Episcopal Church and ranks with the best colleges of Africa.

Denominational schools, including those of the Episcopal Church, are doing a great work in Liberia, and the entire educational system is unusually efficient.

At that period (1904), the greatest need of the country in an educational way was a complete plant to publish adequate school books for the various institutions, colleges and schools.

It has been observed that the great flaw in the Liberian system of education is that the ideas of the native African have been too much subordinated to the culture of the Anglo-Saxon, and that this neglect of the customs of the natives has in Liberia, as in other sections of Africa, hindered the spread of education throughout the land.

Many of the missionaries who are now sent to Africa would fail if they attempted the same work at home. Hence, Liberia's great need is a well-selected number of missionaries to work among the natives.

The missionary, oftentimes bred and shaped only in his little denominational groove, is prone to overlook what is good and noble in the culture of the native Africans. To impress the ideas and ideals of the white race upon the African, without adequate consideration of his own peculiar culture, is a mistake often made.

Along sociological lines alone, there are elements in the customs of the natives which merit extended consideration. For instance, why should the native African or the native Liberian, the Kru or the Mandingo adopt our system of marriage?

Why should he adopt our dress? The Mandingo robe is wholly suited to the needs of that tribe, and European clothes are unnecessary as they are incongruous when worn by a native. The dress question should be governed rather by the requirements of the climate and the need of the individual than by any arbitrary ruling of church or state.

Again the question of ethics appears. Ethics in China are peculiar to China; so are they in Japan; in the North and in the South, and likewise in Africa, they are peculiar to the country of their origin.

Climates and people and conditions make and shape them, and the viewpoints of right and of wrong are innumerable. Christ is for all, but the modes of worship vary in Africa, even as they do in those countries where civilization is at its highest.

THE PRESIDENTS OF LIBERIA COLLEGE FROM 1862 TO 1913

Hon. Joseph J. Roberts, LL.D.....	1862 to 1876
Prof. M. H. Freeman (Acting).....	1879 to 1880
Rev. Edward W. Blyden, D.D., LL.D.....	1881 to 1890
Rev. John B. Pinny (White).....	
Rev. Garrison W. Gibson, D.D.....	
Rev. O. F. Cook (White).....	
Rev. Garrison W. Gibson, D.D., LL.D.....	1900 to 1902
Rev. Robert B. Richardson, D.D., LL.D.....	1903 to 1912
Hon. Robert J. Clarke (Acting) Aug. 8 to Oct. 14...	1912
Rev. John A. Simpson, D.D. (Acting) Oct. 15.....	1912 to 1913

CHAPTER XXXV

POPULATION. RELIGION

The approximate total coast population of "civilized" Liberians, mostly Christian, and of mixed American and indigenous Negro races, amounts to 50,000. The "Liberian" community, therefore, at the present time amounts to a population in the coast regions of about 60,000 in number. In 1914 a large number of persons from the United States, thirty-eight in number going from Jacksonville, Fla., were added to the citizenry. The writer of this book lives but a few blocks from the wharf where these persons took ship for Africa.

The Protestant Episcopal Church started work in Liberia in 1830. A few years later the First Missionary Bishop was elected, Bishop Auer. The second Bishop was the celebrated John Payne, who worked among the Grebo of Cape Palmas. The present Bishop is a colored man, the Right Rev. Samuel David Ferguson, D.D., born at Charlestown in the United States, but settled in Liberia since 1848; his picture herein appears. He was elected Bishop in 1884 and consecrated in 1885. He attended the Lambeth Conference in 1897 and was one of the Bishops received in audience by Queen Victoria. He also attended the Conference at Richmond, Va.,

U. S. A., 1912. His death was a great loss to the Church as well as Liberia.

Under the Protestant Episcopal Church, Liberia is divided into four districts, Mesurado, Basa, Sino, and Cape Palmas. These again are divided into a number of sub-districts. Nearly every Americo-Liberian settlement has a church or school belonging to this body.

At Cape Mount the Protestant Episcopal Church has a fine establishment, the Irving Memorial Church, Langford Memorial Hall and St. George's Hall.

The residence of the Bishop is at Monrovia. This church maintains, besides the Bishop, 19 clergy, 70 catechists and teachers, 38 day schools, 18 boarding schools, and 31 Sunday schools. It gives instruction to over 3,500 pupils. Dr. N. H. B. Cassell is among the leading preachers.

The Methodist Episcopal Church started in 1832. Its work in Liberia is controlled by the Methodist Episcopal Church, Right Rev. Joseph C. Hartzell, D.D., a well-known and much-respected personage in West, South, and Southeast Africa, supervised the American missionary work in Western Africa between Liberia and Angola, and in Rhodesia and Mozambique for 16 years. The Associate in Liberia was a colored man, Bishop Isaac B. Scott. Bishop Scott had a most wonderful success and under his administration the membership doubled. He spent 12 years there. He and Bishop Hartzell have been retired. They were succeeded in Liberia by Bishop J. C. Camphor. Bishop Camphor,

while visiting the U. S. of America, succumbed to pneumonia in 1919.

Bishop M. W. Clair of Washington, D. C., was elected at Des Moines, Ia., May, 1920, along with Bishop R. E. Jones, being the first regular Negro bishops elected in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Bishop Clair goes to Liberia.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has about 13,700 adherents, 48 ministers and missionaries, 42 day teachers, 61 Sunday schools, and 10,000 scholars.

The Presbyterian Church: Presbyterian missionaries began work in Liberia in 1832. Their operations are chiefly confined to Monrovia and the St. Paul's settlements.

The Baptist Church: Earliest of all Christian churches, the American Baptist entered Liberia, in 1821, to perform chaplain's duties for the American colonists. Their first pastor was Rev. Mr. Waring, the father of Miss Jane Waring, who married President Roberts, the first President of Liberia. The Baptists have most of their adherents in Monrovia and Basa settlements.

The African Methodist Episcopal Church began work in Liberia in 1885. It has mission stations in three counties of Liberia. Bishop Heard and Bishop Ross served a short time. But the A. M. E. Gen. Conference elected in May, 1920, Bishop W. Sampson Brooks of Baltimore, who like Bishop Clair of the Methodist Episcopal Church will sail for Liberia about September.

The Lutheran Church is represented in the St. Paul's

River district, with stations at Arthington and Mount Coffee.

There are Mohammedan mosques at Vanswa, Brewer-ville, and of course in the far interior Mandingo towns. Of the approximate 2,000,000 population, about 40,000 are Christians, about 300,000 Mohammedans, and the remainder pagans.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE PRESIDENTS OF LIBERIA. TERM OF OFFICE — BIRTH AND DEATH

Joseph Jenkins Roberts was born in Virginia, March 14, 1809, served January 1st, 1848 to January 1st, 1856, died February 26, 1876 at Monrovia.

Stephen Allen Benson, born in Maryland, U. S. A., 1816, served January 1st, 1856, to January 1st, 1864, died at Grand Basa, Liberia.

Daniel Bashiel Warner, born April 18, 1815, U. S. A., served January 1st, 1864, to January 1st, 1868, died November 30, 1880, at Monrovia.

James Spriggs Payne, birth unknown, served January 1st, 1868, to January 1st, 1870, died 1883.

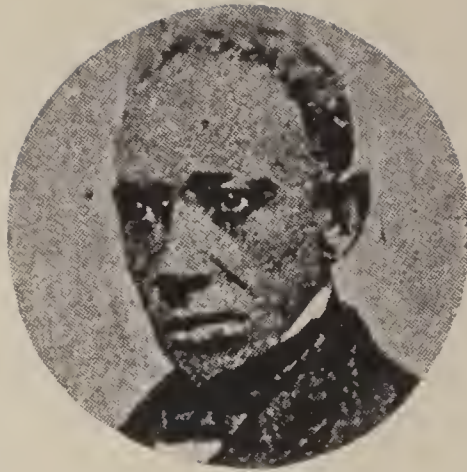
Edward James Roye, time of birth unknown, served January 1st, 1870, to October 19th, 1871 (deposed), died 1871.

(Vice-president) James S. Smith, served October 19th, 1871, to January 1st, 1872.

Joseph Jenkins Roberts, served January 1st, 1872, to January 1st, 1876. Second term.

James Spriggs Payne, served January 1st, 1876, to January 1st, 1878. Second term.

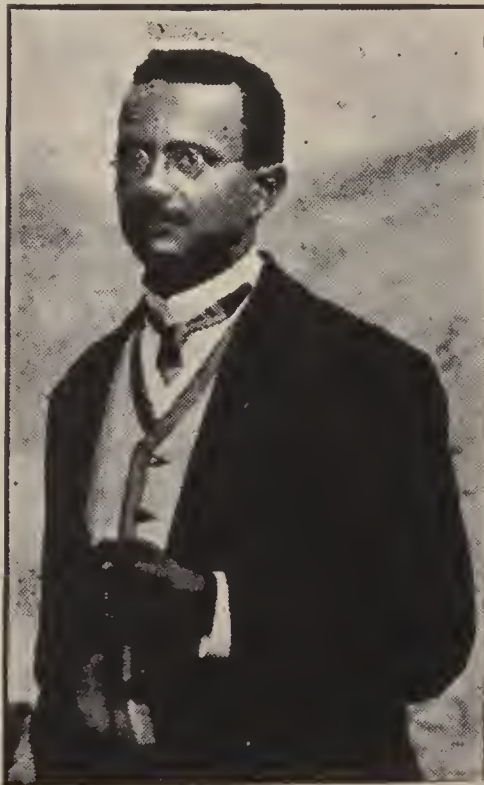
Anthony William Gardner, served January 1st, 1878, to January 1st, 1883, died 1883.



PRESIDENT E. JAMES ROYE



DR. COLEMAN
Former President of the
College of West Africa



EX-MAYOR FULLER OF MONROVIA



DR. REED
Former President of the
College of West Africa

(Vice-president) Alfred F. Russell, served January 20th, 1883, to January 1st, 1884.

Hilary Richard Wright Johnson was born June 1st, 1837, served January 1st, 1884, to January 1st, 1892, died February 28th, 1901, at Monrovia.

Joseph James Cheeseman was born in Ednid, Grand Basa, March 7th, 1843, served January 1st, 1892, to November 12th, 1896, died November 12th, 1896, at Monrovia.

William David Coleman, born July 18th, 1842, in Kentucky, U. S. A., served as Vice-president into Presidency November 12th, 1896, to January 1st, 1898, and January 1st, 1898, to December 11th, 1900, died July 11th, 1908, at Ashland.

Garretson Wilmot Gibson, born in Maryland, U. S. A. May 20th, 1832, served December 11th, 1900, to January 1st, 1902, and January, 1902, to January 1st, 1904. Died April 26th, 1910.

Arthur Barclay, born July 31st, 1854, served January 1st, 1904, January 1st, 1906-1912.

Daniel Edward Howard, born August 1st, 1861, and inaugurated President, January 1st, 1912. Re-elected 1916-1920. Declared war on Germany, 1917.

C. D. B. King elected 1919, inaugurated January 1st, 1920.

CHAPTER XXXVII

DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE GOVERNMENT

(1) *The Cabinet*

The Cabinet and Executive usually consists of the President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury (the present officer is J. L. Morris, whose picture appears among the illustrations), the Attorney-General, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of War and Navy, and the Postmaster-General. There is also an official private secretary to the President.

(2) *The Senate*

The Senate is composed of eight members, two from each of the four counties or provinces, Montserrado, Basa, Sino, and Maryland. The Senators are selected for four and two years.

(3) *The House of Representatives*

The House of Representatives consists of thirteen members, four from Montserrado and three from each of the other counties. Each member of the House receives about \$500 per year while serving in that capacity; they sit for two years, and are elected biennially.



CHIEF JUSTICE JOHNSON



PRESIDENT BARCLAY

And so we close this short history of Liberia with the confident prediction that in due time the little Republic will rise in dignity to the position of one of the advanced states of the world.

Already she has produced scholars, statesmen and generals of note, and as yet her development is in its infancy. One of the youngest Republics of the world, she is a member of the postal union and the convention for the preservation of big game, and is a leading nation of the West Coast.

Her history is unmarred by atrocities and unblemished by thefts of land from the natives. In respect to mineral and vegetable wealth, Liberia's hinterland is almost entirely undeveloped, and there is great need for adequate anchorage on the seaboard.

Monrovia would have one of the best harbors of the world if some construction work in the way of jetties and breakwaters were done, and a network of roads to the interior would assure a considerable Liberian trade.

Founded as an experiment, decried as a colony, Liberia has come out of immeasurable difficulties, the only independent Republic in the whole of Africa.

Little of its history is yet written, for Liberia's hope is in the future, and in that future success is sure.

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