The Struggle for Respect:

Paul Cuffe and His Nova Scotian Friends in Sierra Leone[1]

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Paul Cuffe had, over the years, earned the respect and admiration of many of his contemporaries who had come to know him. Leading citizens of New Bedford, Westport and Providence counted him as their friend and partnered with him in business ventures. But when he ventured out of this circle of acquaintances he often had to prove once again his legitimate claim for respect. The well-known story of his encounter with a prejudiced fellow-passenger in the stage coach on his way home from meeting with President Madison and other leading government officials, is but one of what must have been an endless number of challenges to his legitimacy and worth as a human being.

Prominent Quakers and Abolitionists who knew him, or knew of him, in North America and England sought him out in 1807 to help rescue their troubled effort to establish a viable colony in Sierra Leone that would provide a model for "civilizing" Africa. When he finally traveled to Sierra Leone in 1811 to investigate the possibilities, he found an existing community of "freed slaves" who had been enticed with promises of freedom and respect, but then had, over a period of two decades, been subjected to mistreatment, broken promises, outright suppression and execution of some of their leaders for having struggled to achieve their legitimate rights.

Paul Cuffe quickly befriended these "Nova Scotians" - actually slaves from America who had gained their freedom during the Revolutionary War, spent eight years in a kind of semi-slavery in Nova Scotia, and then been taken voluntarily to Sierra Leone to populate a new British-sponsored settlement in 1791. He recognized in them the same yearning for freedom and equality that motivated him, and he sought to collaborate with them in advancing that cause. He also encountered the prejudices and domination of white English officials, merchants and slave traders who sought to frustrate these efforts and keep the black settlers "in their place."

Cuffe worked with the Nova Scotians to organize a Friendly Society and to draw up a petition that he carried to London in the summer of 1811 to present to British officials. He also sought support in London from the African Institution - a group that was committed "to

stimulating trade with Africa, without itself trading, to promote African education and improved farming methods, and to be a watch-dog against the slave trade."[3]

Cuffe was very warmly received in England by both government officials and members of the African Institution. He was granted special rights to trade with Sierra Leone and encouraged to continue working with the black settlers there. When he returned to Sierra Leone, he was much less warmly welcomed by the white English officials and traders, but he continued his efforts to "buck up" the Nova Scotians.

Similarly, when he returned to the United States, despite some difficulties with local customs agents, he was applauded for his efforts on behalf of African development, and promised support from many quarters.

Although Cuffe had intended to return to Sierra Leone in 1812 to continue his efforts, war between the United States and Great Britain forced a postponement for four years. When he did return in 1816, taking with him 38 black settlers, he was older, and less vigorous. Meanwhile developments in Sierra Leone had weakened the position of the Nova Scotians, and the British colonial administration had initiated new programs that enhanced white authority. The struggle for equality and respect for the former slaves, initiated by the Nova Scotians and encouraged by Paul Cuffe, was eclipsed by white colonial domination that set the pattern for Africa for the next century and a half.

Several recent studies have greatly enriched our understanding of the early settlement efforts in Sierra Leone.[4] This paper draws upon these studies to try to provide a better understanding of the interaction between Paul Cuffe and the various other groups involved. It also attempts to clarify the objectives and the struggles, especially of Paul Cuffe and the leaders of the Nova Scotians, to achieve those objectives.

Some History

Those who are not familiar with Africa's history in the early 18th Century may be inclined to think of it as a continent inhabited by primitive tribes largely untouched by the outside world. In fact, European and American ships had been visiting the ports of western Africa since the 16th Century and had built up trading posts, often managed by Westerners or

children of interracial marriages. In the early years the trade had consisted mainly of commodities - timber, ivory and handicrafts being exchanged for manufactured goods. But in the latter 17th Century and throughout the 18th Century African exports had shifted mainly to humans who were exchanged for rum and fancy textiles. The slave trade was well organized, permeating many interior regions and had become a significant aspect of the local culture along with the tribal hierarchies that managed it. Thus, there had been much interaction between the local peoples and especially their tribal leaders along the African Coast, on the one hand, and the Western commercial traders, agents and shippers, on the other, prior to initiation of resettlement efforts in the late 18th Century. Resettlement of freed African slaves was a new activity, but it was occurring in places where there had been a long history of slavery-oriented interaction between the native populations and Europeans.

African resettlement activities were an outgrowth of the American Revolutionary War. The British had offered freedom to slaves in the rebelling colonies who would cross over to areas of British control. When the British lost the war, the freed blacks faced re-enslavement if they had remained in the United States, so many of them were moved to Nova Scotia or found their way to England where they often ended up as indigents on the streets of London and other cities. Sierra Leone was seized upon as a suitable space for resettling these displaced persons, as Botany Bay was selected as a locus for prisoners who could no longer be shipped to the North American colonies.

The original group of settlers sent from England to Sierra Leone in 1787 included no one who had any prior knowledge of the conditions or the peoples into which they were intended to merge.[5] The original proponent of this settlement was Henry Smeathman, an amateur botanist who had spent three years along the West African coast, 1771-1774, collecting specimens for a British museum at Kew Gardens.[6] In 1785 Smeathman "had told the Committee investigating a possible convict station in West Africa that convicts (presumably mostly white) would die there at the rate of a hundred a month."[7] The next year, in advising the Committee for the Black Poor in London, [8]

> "he painted a land of immense fertility, perfectly healthy for those who lived temperately, where the soil need only be scratched with a hoe to yield grain in abundance, where livestock propagated themselves with a rapidity unknown in a cold climate, where a hut

> provided adequate shelter at all seasons. He stressed the commercial advantages of a settlement which would repay initial outlay by opening new channels of trade. The Committee were impressed and recommended his plan to the Treasury."

Smeathman's recommendation to the Committee to push ahead with a settlement plan for blacks seems to have been based primarily on his hope to resolve personal debt problems rather than the welfare of the settlers. But, according to Fyfe, many African domestic servants as well as destitute Loyalists and sailors were sold on the plan and determined to go nowhere else, and that "a native of Sierra Leone then in London had assured them the people there would receive them joyfully."

The Committee, despite many doubts, acquiesced and proceeded with the plan. Smeathman in the meantime had died and was replaced as leader of the expedition by a friend, Joseph Irwin, who had no prior experience or special knowledge of Sierra Leone.[9] The one person who had some relevant knowledge, Olaudah Equiano, a freed West African slave who later published his abolitionist autobiography, *Equiano's Travels,* was first appointed commissary for the trip, but then dismissed because he accused Joseph Irwin of cheating.[10] A black man's word did not equal a white man's.

The leader of the expedition that finally sailed from Plymouth with 411 passengers on April 8, 1787, was a naval officer with no previous experience in Sierra Leone. His instructions were "to take the settlers to Sierra Leone, acquire a settlement from the chiefs, land the stores, and stay in the river to help them as long as provisions and crew's health allowed. If the chiefs refused, he was to go on down the coast till he found some more accommodating."[11]

Captain Thompson and his fleet of three ships arrived in Sierra Leone in May 1781 and purchased a tract of land twenty miles square from a local Temne chief, and the settlers named it Granville Town after Granville Sharp. But before they could build even temporary housing the rainy season began, washing out any cleared lands and bringing diseases that wiped out 86 immigrants by September. At that point Captain Thompson departed for home, his crews having remained healthy by staying on board the ships and having ample supplies.

Attrition of the settlers continued until in December 1789, when a new Temne chief, in retaliation for the burning of one of his villages by a British naval crew, burned the settlement at Granville Town to the ground. As Peterson describes it, "the first settlement had become in reality the victim of climate, disease, poor soil, and the political vicissitudes of life constantly threatened on one hand by European ship captains and on the other by the local population."[12] These were all circumstances, or conditions, that might have been anticipated prior to launching the settlement plan.

The second wave of settlers, from Nova Scotia, who arrived in Sierra Leone in March 1792, was not much better prepared for the vicissitudes that they were to encounter.[13] The leader of the expedition, John Clarkson, an erstwhile naval officer, had never been to Sierra Leone. An ardent abolitionist and brother of Thomas Clarkson, he went to Nova Scotia to meet with prospective settlers and arrange their passage to Sierra Leone. Although he tried to present a balanced picture of the risks and dangers of the venture, the Black Loyalists in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were so eager to get out from under the semi-slavery to which they were being subjected that they flocked to sign up. Nearly 1,200 boarded the 15 ships that sailed out of Halifax on 15 January 1792.

Before leaving England for Nova Scotia, John Clarkson had discussed with the leaders of the Sierra Leone Company the terms that he might offer to the settlers. Key among them were allotments of land for houses and farms and absence of quit-rents on those lands. He had also been led to believe that the Company would send directives to their agents in Sierra Leone to lay out those allotments and assemble tools and materials with which to build shelters. He promised these terms to the potential settlers in Nova Scotia, but the Company failed to come through on any of them.

The Black Loyalists had established strong, religious-based communities in Nova Scotia with charismatic leaders mostly engaging in exuberant ceremonies that mixed African and Christian elements. Clarkson was very successful in establishing strong links with these religious leaders and many of them came to see him as a kind of Moses leading them out of Egypt to the promised land. When he became ill on the long voyage to Sierra Leone and was believed to have died, but then miraculously recovered, the belief in his divine powers was reinforced.

Upon arriving in Sierra Leone, Clarkson received letters from the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company asking him to take on the role of superintendent and stay for some months, if not indefinitely, to get the settlers established. He agreed to do so primarily because of his commitment to help the Nova Scotians get established.[14]

Clarkson stayed on until the end of the year (1792) and accomplished much. He established cordial relations with the local African leaders thereby reinforcing rights to use the land. By and large he treated the Nova Scotian settlers with respect and thereby won their admiration and devotion. He also established his authority over the British staff and, despite their many failings, got them to preform their duties at a modest level. He began the process of distributing land and never raised the issue of quit-rent. Although many persons, both white and black, had died during those first nine months, the mood of the community, after surviving the first rainy season and entering the more comfortable dry season, was generally upbeat.[15]

The fundamental problem was that what Clarkson had done and promised, to gain the support of the Nova Scotians and the local African leaders, was clearly at cross purposes with what a new set of Sierra Leone Company directors in London wanted. Their objectives were to establish a commercially viable plantation system run by British officials using local Africans as laborers. To the extent that the Nova Scotians were allotted any land for their own production, they should pay quit rent to the Company. When Clarkson left Freetown he promised to return and resume his role as a benevolent head of the community. But upon reaching England he quickly discovered that the Company directors were displeased with his failure to advance the interests of the Company over the interests of the settlers and did not intend to send him back to Sierra Leone. In the meantime those who had replaced him in directing affairs in Freetown, supposedly on a temporary basis, reversed many of his policies, stopped land distribution and undermined those vestiges of local authority for the blacks that had carried over from the original settlers.[16]

The third wave of settlers in Sierra Leone was a group called “Maroons”. These were former slaves who had escaped from Spanish owners in Jamaica and moved up into the mountains in 1655 when the British displaced the Spanish rulers. The Maroons established their

own social and political organization and resisted outside control for 140 years.[17] They became very skilled guerilla fighters to defend their independence. The British authorities tricked one group of them into surrendering in 1795, then rounded them up and shipped them off to Nova Scotia, where they too had a miserable existence for a five years, after which 550 of them agreed to be moved on to Sierra Leone. They arrived just in time to help the British authorities in Sierra Leone put down a rebellion by the freed slaves who had been shipped from Nova Scotia to Freetown in 1792. The Maroons stayed on in Sierra Leone, some of them making up a kind of local militia to support the authorities.

A fourth group of settlers in Sierra Leone arose after the British outlawed British subjects from commanding slave ships across the Atlantic in 1807. The British Navy was charged with enforcing this law and when they captured such slave ships and "rescued" the slaves, they were rewarded financially. The "freed" slaves were brought into British colonial ports, such as Freetown, and "apprenticed" as servants and laborers or enlisted into a kind of local militia. The designers of this policy had perhaps anticipated that it would put a stop to the slave trade which it did not. Instead many slave ships were captured, their masters and crew brought before local courts and their freed passengers absorbed one way or another into the local society. "By the end of 1811 (the year Paul Cuffe first visited Sierra Leone), 1991 slaves had been captured (recaptured) and deposited in Freetown."[18]

The total population of the Sierra Leone Colony in 1811 consisted of 28 Europeans, 982 Nova Scotians, 807 Maroons and 100 Africans, plus approximately 1,000 recaptured Africans and a military garrison of unknown number, giving an approximate total of 2,900 plus the garrison. Aside from the 100 Africans, who had presumably never been enslaved, the population was 1% European and 99% ex-slaves from America and Jamaica, via Nova Scotia, plus the recaptures. This was the mix of non-native peoples that Paul Cuffe confronted on his first trip to Sierra Leone in 1811.

Issues of Governance

The first settlers from England in 1787 were sent out with the most unrealistic and conflicted rules of governance perhaps ever concocted. Granville Sharp, the prime sponsor of the expedition had spelled out his plan in a document entitled, *A Short Sketch of Temporary*

Regulations (Until Better shall be Proposed) for the Intended Settlement on the Grain Coast of Africa near Sierra Leone. As Peterson states:[19]

> "The basis of Sharp's thinking on the subject of a perfect society in West Africa was that natural man could be civilized through reason alone. His scheme for the government of the Province of Freedom, therefore, was intended 'for a race of men *supposed to be uniformly open to the persuasions of reason'*.
>
> The community, which was to be entirely self-governing, was to be divided equally into tithings and hundreds. The tithings were groups of ten families each of which elected annually a leader, the tithingman. Every ten tithingmen elected annually an hundredor, and together the tithingmen and hundredors were to form the necessarily minimal government of the settlement. Their function was primarily to keep order, so in them was vested the judicial power of the province. Such a government was preferred by Sharp because its simplicity guaranteed that all men were capable of understanding and participating in it."

Slavery was prohibited in the Province of Freedom. The economic basis was to be free labor.

Many of the initial settlers sent to Sierra Leone in 1787 were ex-slaves recruited (rounded up) from the streets of London and other English cities. Many were illiterate and they had no prior sense of community to bind them together and give some texture to the idealized form of governance that Sharp had conceived. They did, upon arriving in Sierra Leone, organize themselves into the specified groups, but their main concern was simple survival. The English officers who accompanied them provided little leadership or protection and had no interest in implementing Sharp's ideals. After two years, when the colony was attacked and burned by a local tribe, those who could escaped into the bush.

Back in London the promotors of the colony requested, and were granted, a new charter as the Sierra Leone Company in 1791. They sent an agent, Alexander Falconbridge, who had some previous experience in West Africa, to Sierra Leone where he was able to collect together forty-eight of the former residents of Granville Town and bring them together in a new settlement. He remained there with the settlers for six months assisting them in planting crops and building shelters.[20] His favorable reports to the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company led

them to look for a new group of settlers. Fortuitously at about this time Thomas Peters, a leader of the Freed Blacks in Nova Scotia, arrived in London and met with Granville Sharp. He had heard of the settlement in Sierra Leone and working together with Sharp he petitioned the government to resettle the black refugees from Nova Scotia in Sierra Leone.[21]

Although the system of governance that Sharp had conceived had not worked with the first group of settlers from England, it did resonate with the second group from Nova Scotia. They were already bound together in strong religious communities led by charismatic pastors. They were also strongly committed to the ideas of freedom and self-governance, which had been so egregiously denied them in the United States and Nova Scotia. John Clarkson encouraged their organization of the tithing and hundredor groups and endeavored to deal with their religious and political leaders in a fair and respectful way.

But he was unwilling to cede real power to the Nova Scotians and this led to conflict with Thomas Peters, who saw himself as "at the head of the people".[22]

As Pybus describes the situation:

> "It was he (Peters) who was elected to go to England to petition the government on their behalf; he had garnered the support of the British government; he had marshaled Nova Scotia's black refugees to emigrate. Yet on arrival in Sierra Leone, Clarkson was appointed governor and Peters was denied any role in the administration of the new settlement. Clarkson's rancorous response (to Peters) was prompted by fear that Peters believed that he, not Clarkson, should have been the appointed governor."

It was not just Peters who sought stronger self-government by the blacks. Clarkson received petitions and letters from various groups indicating "they wanted a greater say in the management of their affairs, and they wanted to have their own elected representatives keep order and resolve disputes."[23] Peters died in the midst of that first rainy season, and Clarkson hoped that his strange notions as to their rights, would die with him, but they did not.

As it turned out, Clarkson was more inclined to respect and provide some accommodation for the settlers demands for respect and self-rule than any of his successors.[24] After his departure relations between the succeeding governors (William Dawes, Zachary

Macaulay and Thomas Ludlum) and the settlers deteriorated culminating in the revolt in 1800 that was put down with the help of the freshly arrived Maroons. One cause of the tension that led to the revolt was the conflicting pressures from the directors in London to collect quit-rents and limit the powers of the settlers who, in turn, were demanding legislative and judicial powers to protect their promised rights and control their own colony. Another was that the Governors found the Nova Scotians "upity" and their religious ceremonies improper. Several attempts by Anglican ministers to draw them into more proper observances had been rebuffed and the ministers had left the colony. After the revolt, some of Nova Scotian leaders were executed and others were expelled.

Largely because of these troubles, in 1808 the Sierra Leone Company was dissolved by an act of Parliament and all property in Freetown transferred to the Crown, as well as all authority in Sierra Leone, making it Britain's first permanent colony in Africa. The former Sierra Leone Company directors in London, having lost their authority over the colony, regrouped themselves as the Africa Institution committed to promoting commerce and civilization in Africa and providing continuing advice on British colonial policy there.

The successive governors of the new Colonial administration were caught between the conflicting demands from London to hold down costs on the one hand, and the need to accommodate the rapidly increasing inflow of recaptured slaves on the other. Initially the governors dealt with this in accordance with the law by recruiting some into military service and sending them elsewhere for training, and by indenturing others to local citizens, especially the white overlords, thus passing on their maintenance costs. As the absorptive limits of these two outlets were reached, the recaptures were increasingly pushed out into the surrounding hinterlands with minimal help or control from the authorities. There they became, or at least were perceived a threat to the lives and property of the older settlers.

An unusual solution to this dilemma was arrived at over a period of several years and Paul Cuffe had an unexpected hand in it. On his return trip from London to Freetown in 1811 he brought with him a Methodist minister and three Wesleyan schoolmasters to take over direction of Methodist activities in Freetown. The minister soon died and his replacement was rejected by the Nova Scotian Methodist community so the four English Methodists turned their attention to the so-called Liberated Africans and set about organizing them into local communities centered

around education and religion. This model was soon taken up by the Church Missionary Society (CMS), an unofficial group of the Church of England which represented its more evangelical element."[25]

Over the period from 1811-12 to 1816, under both Governors Maxwell and MacCarthy, the Church Missionary Society built up an effective system of local administration among the Liberated Africans. With London's approval, Governor MacCarthy defined the parishes into which the Liberated Africans were located and assigned a CMS missionary to each. This system largely relieved the colony government of both the cost and the responsibility for providing services and maintaining order in these communities.[26]

The Nova Scotians, with whom Paul Cuffe was most directly associated on his three trips to Sierra Leone, had been to a significant extent marginalized by these developments. They had been beaten back in the rebellion of 1800 and some of their leaders either executed or forced out of the territory of the colony into the surrounding tribal villages. The Maroons had played an important role in suppressing that rebellion and thereby gained an influential role with the Colony authorities. Finally the many recaptured slaves were being channeled into new villages with white missionaries taking on the religious, educational and governance roles in those communities. Thus the Nova Scotians, who had accounted for by far the largest segment of the population during their first decade of settlement in Sierra Leone, had become a much smaller and less influential segment twenty years later in 1811, and their expectations of self-rule and a significant role in the governance of the colony had been submerged under white dominance of the colonial administration at the center and the increasing government-sanctioned missionary role in the new rural settlements. White traders also dominated commercial activity.

Paul Cuffe's Response

When Paul Cuffe arrived in Sierra Leone in March, 1811, he sought at the outset to meet with Governor Columbine, to make contact with nearby local tribal chiefs, and to build relations with the leaders of the Nova Scotian groups.[27] As Sidbury suggests, he probably heard quite different assessments of the history and current conditions in Sierra Leone from the Governor and from the Nova Scotians. To the tribal chiefs he gave gifts of religious and historical books rather than rum and trinkets.

Cuffe clearly identified most closely with the positions of the Nova Scotians, although he criticized them as being "too prone to idleness, too fond of liquor and too inclined toward (religious) doctrinal disputes."[28] Nevertheless he worked with their leaders to draw up a petition to the Governor and to Parliament urging that Africans from English colonies and America be encouraged to come to Sierra Leone to engage in agriculture, commercial trade and whaling.

This document is interesting on several counts. First, although many of the Nova Scotians had initially engaged in farming, by this time a number of them had taken up commercial activities, often employing local natives, or recaptured slaves to work on their farmlands. By moving into commerce they were more directly challenging the white traders who had dominated that field from the beginning. Paul Cuffe found the white traders uncooperative and offering low prices for the goods that he had imported. Consequently he dealt mainly with the Nova Scotians. The fact that the petition called for opening up trading opportunities for Africans, both those already in Sierra Leone as well as those who might respond to the invitation, was a direct challenge to the White trading community. It is not surprising, therefore, that a representative of the White traders "wrote a scathing denunciation of Cuffe to Zachary Macaulay in London, saying that he had never known a more unprincipled, mercenary individual, that Cuffe was no better that a slave trader."[29]

Despite this message, Paul Cuffe was warmly received in England and given every courtesy by the leaders of the African Institution and government officials. One experience demonstrated his resolve and sense of self-worth. When a British Royal Navy ship impressed a young member of his crew in Liverpool, Cuffe proceeded directly to London and, with the help of influential friends, obtained his release.

From England Cuffe sailed back to Sierra Leone and set about organizing his Nova Scotian friends into a Friendly Society that "would serve as the catalyst for the development of an African People to be counted among the historians' nations, and it would keep records of its actions to ensure that future historians would be able to reconstruct the story of that nation's rise and progress."[30] He also bought a house to serve as a permanent base in Freetown and signed

over his power of attorney to Dave Edmonds, the Nova Scotian who had become his most trusted friend in the colony."[31]

In February 1812, Cuffe sailed from Freetown for home "to build the third leg on which his African vision would stand." [32] Here again he encountered an antagonistic reception when Newport customs agents seized his ship because it was carrying cargo from a British colony, which commerce had been outlawed during Cuffe's absence. Once more he headed directly to the seat of power and, with help from his respecting friends met with President Madison, the Secretaries of State and Treasury who released his ship. Sidbury also states that "in Washington he cemented his status as the nation's most prominent man of color."[33]

On his return trip to Westport he stopped in various cities along the way and met with supporters of the Sierra Leone project, giving talks about Sierra Leone and distributing his *Brief Account of the Settlement and Present Situation of the Colony of Sierra Leone in Africa.* He was attempting to generate both financial support and potential recruits for settlement. He "began organizing voluntary societies in port cities to serve as African American allies of the Friendly Society and as nodes in a mostly black Atlantic commercial system.[34] Another function of these societies was "to screen and recruit people of good character who might want to travel to Sierra Leone."

The War of 1812 with England put a damper on these activities. Initially Cuffe sought permission from Congress to continue trading with Sierra Leone, but this was denied. Most New England states were opposed to the war but southern states supported it, and southern representatives were not inclined to give special permission for a black man to engage in trade with an enemy colony.

After the war ended in 1814 both the American and British governments continued to impose trade restrictions that prevented Cuffe from resuming his efforts to build profitable trading relations among America, Africa and England. Finally, in December, 1815 he was able to sail from Westport for Freetown on his ship, Traveler, with a commercial cargo and 38 men, women and children in 9 families who had signed on to settle there. He was not able to raise funds from the African Institute or other sources to support the cost of these settlers so ended up paying for their travel and an initial stake of supplies himself. They were mainly farmers rather

than persons with mechanical or other skills. He helped them get settled for two months and then sailed home with a cargo of African commodities. The trip was very costly for him financially, and perhaps physically.

Paul Cuffe's Purpose

Sidbury concludes that Paul Cuffe "worked to bring an African people into being, so that they could participate in the expansion of liberty through commerce and self-determination....Their 'country', or nation-state, was almost surely going to be the Sierra Leone that he foresaw emerging from colonial dependence as an autonomous black polity. It would serve as the crucial base from which blacks would become independent merchants, navigators, and finally legislators, a base from which the next generation of black children would disprove assertions that 'people of coulour are not caperable of business,' by showing that they could perform 'upon a level with our neighbours the white Brother....Two things mattered: a place where freed slaves could live in societies controlled by black people, and the creation of a commercial network 'between America and Africa and between England and Africa,' which would bring back together people separated by slavery and the history of warfare that had prevented them from rising into the community of nations."[35]

These great hopes, that resonated as strongly in the latter half of the 20th Century as they did in the early 19th, were undercut in Sierra Leone at that time by the continued dominance of a white-led colonial government, white traders, white missionaries who organized the resettlement villages, and the exclusion of blacks in their own "country" from positions of responsibility and respect that had been so easily promised to them by well-meaning benefactors as inducements to get them back to Africa.

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Endnotes

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[2] My perspective on the challenges to promoting development in rural Africa is inevitably colored by my own experience, at the same age as Paul Cuffe but 160 years later, in a remote part of Sudan. While it was much easier for me than for Paul Cuffe to travel between Massachusetts and Africa, many of the issues on the ground that we both confronted so many years apart seem very similar.
[3] Fyfe, Christopher. *A History of Sierra Leone.* Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 1962. p. 105.
[4] Wilson, Ellen Gibson. *Loyal Blacks.* New York, Capricorn Brooks, 1976. Wilson, Ellen Gibson. *John Clarkson and the African Adventure.* London, MacMillan Press, 1980; Thomas, Lamont D. *Rise to Be a People: A Biography of Paul Cuffe.* Urbana and Chicago, Univ. of Ill. Press, 1986; Braidwood, Stephen J.. *Black Poor and White Philanthropists: London' Blacks and the Foundation of the Sierra Leone Settlement 1786-1791*. Liverpool University Press, 1994; Clifford, Mary Louise. *From Slavery to Freetown: Black Loyalists after the American Revolution.* Jefferson, North Carolina, McFarland & Co. 1999; Campbell, James. *Middle Passages: African American Journeys to Africa, 1787-2005.* New York, The Penguin Press, 2006; Schama, Simon. *Rough Crossings: The Slaves, the British, and the American Revolution.* New York, HarperCollins, 2006. (Paperback); Pybus, Cassandra. *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Rovolution and Their Global Quest for Liberty.* Boston, Beacon Press, 2006; Sidbury, James. *Becoming African in America: Race and Nation in the Early Black Atlantic.* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007.
[5] The discussion in this section draws heavily on Braidwood and on Pybus, Chs. 5 and 7.
[6] Peterson, John. *Province of Freedom: A History of Sierra Leone 1787-1870.* London, Faber and Faber, 1969. p.17. Clifford, *From Slavery to Freetown,* p.70 claims that "an eminent English Quaker doctor and abolitionist, Dr. John Fothergilll, sent Smeathman to Sierra Leone in 1771 to examine the possibility of establishing plantations there using black labor from England."
[7] Fyfe, *History,* p. 15.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid, p. 16.
[10] Peterson, *Province of Freedom,* p.23.
[11] Fyfe, p.19.
[12] Peterson, p.27.
[13] This section draws heavily on Pybus, Chs. 9 and 11.
[14] Ibid. p. 80
[15] Ibid. p. 127
[16] Ibid. Chap. 9.
[17] The most extensive discussion of the Maroons and their role in Sierra Leone that I have found is in C. Fyfe, *History*, Chs. III and IV. See also Schama, *Rough Crossings,* pp. 390-97, where he describes the Maroon history as "a strange, sad epic". Mavis Campbell, *The Maroons of Jamaica ,1655-1796,* provides an interesting history of these ex-slaves before they came to Sierra Leone.
[18] Fyfe, *History*, p.114.
[19] Peterson, p.21.
[20] Peterson, p.27.
[21] Pybus, p. 149.
[22] Pybus, p. 153 ff.
[23] Ibid.

[24] This process of deterioration is aptly described in Pybus' Chap. 11, entitled, "Promises Unfulfilled in Sierra Leone," and Wilson, *The Loyal Blacks.* Chap. 15, entitled, "The Pursuit of Promises" and Chap 19, entitled, "The Law of the Settlers."
[25] Peterson, p. 63.
[26] Ibid. p. 80.
[27] This section relies heavily on Thomas, Chs. 7-9, and Sidbury, pp. 145, ff
[28] Sidbury, p. 151.
[29] Thomas, p. 55. Macaulay, an ex-Governor of Sierra Leone, much disliked by the Nova Scotians, had returned to London and taken up the position of honorary secretary of the African Institute.
[30] Sidbury, p. 154.
[31] Ibid. p. 155.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid. p. 160.
[35] Ibid. pp. 163-4.