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Behold The water book the Promised Land

A History of Afro-American Settler Society in Nineteenth-Century Liberia

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Appendix B/ Members of the Richards Family as Shown in Table 18

- 1. Othello Richards
- 2. Mary Richards
- 3. Wesley Morgan Richards
- 4. Sarah L. Prout
- 5. Caroline Richards
- 6. Nancy Richards
- 7. Madison Houston
- 8. Elizabeth Houston
- 9. Eugenia Richards
- 10. Francis Asbury Richards
- 11. Martha Travis
- 12. Samuel David Richards
- 13. S. C. Holcomb
- 14. R. Van Richards
- 15. Florence A. Richards
- 16. _____Richards
- 17. Wesley Richards, Jr.
- 18. Mary Richards
- 19. Matilda Roberts Howard

- 20. John Gotlieb Auer Richards
- 21. Sarah Eloise Richards
- 22. ____Richards
- 23. Mary Houston Mullen
- 24. Jacob Houston
- 25. Frank Richards
- 26. Moses Richards
- 27. Martha Ora Richards
- 28. Philip Francis Simpson
- 29. Samuel D. Richards, Jr.
- 30. Clara Agnes Richards
- 31. Nathaniel H. B. Cassell
- 32. Danlet Louise Richards
- 33. Charles Francis Innes
- 34. William H. C. Richards
- 35. Lenora M. Lomax
- 36. Jessina Ella Richards
- 37. Daniel H. Scott

5/The St. Paul River Settlements

By Deed, this purchase includes generally all the lands bounded North by the St. Paul's and West by the Stockton, such expressly excepted as are or may be at the time of forming and extending on it the Colonial Settlement, occupied by and necessary to the subsistence and comfort of the Natives of the Country, it being no part of the intention of this purchase to deprive these people of a single real advantage; but on the contrary to improve them and advance their happiness, by carrying christianity and civilization to the doors of their Cabins.

-From the first deed for land along the St. Paul River, negotiated by Jehudi Ashmun in 1825

The American Colonization Society constantly pressured the settlers in Liberia to become self-sufficient in agriculture. This mandate motivated inland expansion of the Afro-American settler society. Rivers that drained into the Atlantic Ocean offered the easiest access to the interior. The alluvial flood plains provided fertile land that was ideal for agricultural settlements. Advocates of inland expansion also considered it a positive step towards the goal of amalgamation with the African people of Liberia. They argued that it could have the salutary effect of radiating the influences of "Christianity and Civilization" throughout the country. Although the influences were expected to move in one direction, the upriver settlements in fact became the focus of an exchange between two cultural orientations. It was there that a uniquely Liberian personality developed blending both settler standards and local African standards to create the "river man." This was the Liberian who adapted to the environment by combining American social values with African patterns of life. In the years after 1850 there developed in the upriver settlements an alternative settler standard, which competed with the more

Patterns of Settlement along the St. Paul River

The first Afro-Americans to live in the vicinity of the St. Paul River came there before 1847. Jehudi Ashmun was the first agent of the American

Colonization Society to become interested in the land bordering on the St. Paul River as a site where new immigrants could settle. His interest was in establishing the first purely agricultural settlement. Ashmun used the arrival of immigrants on the brig Hunter on March 13, 1825, as an excuse to seek new territory away from Monrovia. He secured the land after some delay and a general palaver with several African headmen. The ceded land became the first St. Paul River settlement. Ashmun selected a few families to lay the foundations for the new site, which he named Caldwell, in honor of the first secretary of the American Colonization Society. The land was first occupied on November 14, 1825. Jehudi Ashmun led the first group personally and recorded the event while "seated on a Bamboo pallet, in a solitary native Cabin, on the margin of the St. Paul's."

As more settlers came to Caldwell, Ashmun issued private instructions on exactly how land was to be distributed among the families. His instructions covered other details as well. He required that the fronts of all dwelling houses be placed on a line ten feet from the south line of Water Street, which ran parallel to the St. Paul River. Every settler was called upon to clear the land in front of his lot to the bank of the river; only shade trees designated by the settlement steward were left. Ashmun also prohibited the use of thatch for the roofing of buildings and declared that he expected no settler to leave Caldwell for the purpose of trading.³ These initial guidelines were followed by detailed regulations concerning governance and settler responsibilities. The regulations called for the election of various settlement officers such as steward, magistrate, constable, health officer, and head farmer.⁴ Every male settler above the age of sixteen was required to enroll in the militia and perform public labor as directed by the head farmer and steward.⁵

Dr. Richard Randall, colonial agent in 1828, visited Caldwell three years after its founding. He was pleased with the community's progress and impressed that "most settlers had good houses, and all of them have flourishing plantations of rice, cassada [sic], plantains, and potatoes, with many other fruits, and vegetables." Thus Caldwell, with river transportation to the coast, was becoming a breadbasket community for Monrovia, like the recaptured African settlement of New Georgia. Dr. Randall recognized that none of the Caldwell people were as prosperous as the Monrovians, who had the advantage of commercial opportunities. He believed, nevertheless, that their future was bright because their lands were ideal for the cultivation of sugar and cotton. Such optimism no doubt influenced the decision to establish a second river settlement in 1828.

Millsburg was established by a small company of volunteers some twenty miles upriver, near the limit of tidal navigation. As time passed, both Caldwell and Millsburg became places of active internal trade. By 1830 a

Table 17. Settlements Adjacent to the St. Paul River

Settlement	Founding Date
Left bank	
Bensonville Caldwell Careysburg Crozierville Harrisburg Louisiana White Plains	1825 1859 1865a
Right bank	
Arthington Brewerville Kentucky (Clay Ashland) Millsburg Virginia	1869 1879 1847 1828 1846a

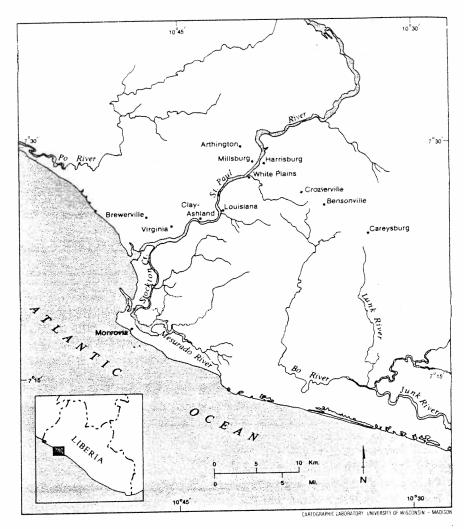
Sources: Liberia Herald; Jehudi Ashmun Papers, 1826-28, and Minutes of the House of Representatives and of the Senate-all in Archives of the Liberian Government, Monrovia, Liberia.

^aThis date is approximate.

road was opened from Millsburg to the indigenous commercial center at Bopolu—an accomplishment that stimulated trade between settlers and Africans. There were those, however, who considered trade as a short-sighted alternative to agriculture. Dr. J. W. Anderson complained that although the soil was fertile, the majority of the river settlers depended on trade for their support. Anderson acknowledged that there was good business for those who had the proper articles of trade (that is, tobacco, cloth, rum, and so on), but he maintained that "there are many who would do much better if they would turn their attention to the cultivation of their little farms." What Anderson failed to fully understand was that profitable farming required a dependable labor source, as well as crops that were valuable to the international market. The local settler population was too small to provide the sole consumer market. Both the labor source and cash crops capable of making agriculture pay developed through a trial-and-error process.

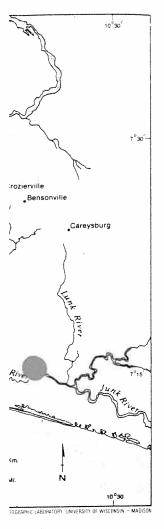
After the establishment of Millsburg in 1828, the land on both banks of the St. Paul River was taken up by other settlers. One new community after another was formed by newcomers (see table 17 and map 4). The method of settlement tended to foster a distinctive character to the upriver settlements. Each settlement was organized first by an original pioneer company led by individuals whose family names are still generally associated with the particular community they helped to build.

J. D. Simpson was sent to Liberia by the colonization auxiliaries of New York and Kentucky in 1847. He was responsible for finding a location



Map 4. St Paul River Settlements in the Nineteenth Century

suitable for settling by freed Afro-Americans from both states. Simpson traveled up the St. Paul River and decided on this area for the proposed settlement. After returning to America, Simpson led a company of emigrants to Liberia in 1853. The Colemans, Ricks, Ashes, Lomaxes, and Houstons were among the families that established Clay Ashland on the right bank of the St. Paul River. One lifelong resident of the community recalled being told that "some came here, some went to Caldwell. You know they went all about to farm. But the first man that jumped off the boat, they tell me, in



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m both states. Simpson is area for the proposed led a company of emihes, Lomaxes, and Hous-Ashland on the right bank community recalled being. You know they went all the boat, they tell me, in

Clay Ashland, was named Houston-Augustus Houston. He was on a boat and he sprung off and said, 'Well, I'm free!' "11

In 1869 immigrants from North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia came to Liberia on the ship *Golconda*. They settled in an area three miles northwest of Millsburg that they called Arthington. The leader of the group was Alonzo Hoggard. A separate group from Virginia, led by John Butler Munden, came on the same ship. This company was composed of artisans noted in America for making shingles. In 1870 they founded Brewerville to the rear of the Virginia settlement, on the right bank of the river. ¹² More companies arrived in 1870 and 1871—led by John Roulhac and Jefferson Bracewell—and settled in Arthington.

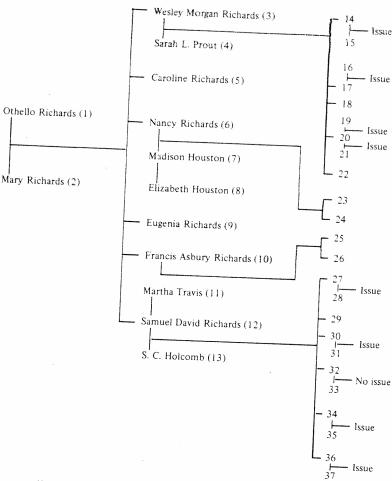
Family relations were just as important to the upriver settlers as they were to the coastal people. The experiences of the Richards family of Clay Ashland were representative of the experiences of many upriver families. The family now spans five generations, and over one hundred fifty persons have descended from its founding ancestor, Othello Richards (see table 18).¹³

The Richards Family of Clay Ashland

Othello Richards was emancipated by his owner, Mrs. S. P. Taylor, of Lexington, Virginia, in 1850. Othello was literate and an active Methodist preacher. After his emancipation, Othello purchased the freedom of his wife, Mary, and their six children. The Richards family was among the thirty-seven emigrants from Virginia that joined a company on board the *Liberia Packet*. The vessel left Baltimore, Maryland, on July 4, 1850, on her eighth voyage to Liberia. A case of smallpox immediately broke out among the crew, forcing the captain to order a stop at Hampton Roads, Virginia, where the entire company was vaccinated as a precaution against the further spread of the disease. By July 24 the *Liberia Packet* finally set sail for Liberia with "all on board in good health and spirits." Othello Richards, upon reaching Liberia, decided against remaining in Monrovia; he choose instead to establish his home upriver in the settlement of Clay Ashland.

Othello Richards gained a reputation for piety among his neighbors in Clay Ashland that led to his appointment as a supervisor of the Clay Ashland circuit of the Liberia Methodist Conference in 1864. His affiliation with the Methodist Church in Liberia began when the St. Peter's Methodist Church was built in Clay Ashland. Subsequent generations of the Richards family retained loyalty to Methodism. Othello was a deeply religious man and also a firm believer in the importance of labor. Economic opportunity in agriculture was the foundation for the Richards family's stability.

Table 18. The Richards Family Genealogy



See appendix B for Richards family names through three generations.

An Act Pertaining to Bounty Land was passed by the Liberian Legislature on January 9, 1857 (see appendix C). In 1869 President James Spriggs Payne used his authority under this act to grant Othello Richards forty-five acres of land at Kings Governors in the settlement of Louisiana. In the act enabled the Liberian government to reward citizens who performed military service to the republic by giving them land once the service was certified. Bounty land was only one means of acquiring real estate for upriver settlers like Othello. All newcomers were entitled to draw a town lot and ample farmland (up to ten acres) and to receive a certificate from the govern-

ment. "If, within two years from that date, two acres of land on the plantation shall have been brought under cultivation, the town lot cleared and inclosed, a legal house built, the said certificate may be exchanged for title deeds of such lands, to be held, thereafter in fee simple." 20

The government also offered the sale of public lands to settlers who wished to make further investments in property. A land commissioner was appointed for each county by the president. The commissioner was responsible for regulating and effecting the sale of public lands. The Act Regulating the Sale of Public Lands established minimum prices: "...land lying on the margin of rivers, shall be one dollar an acre, and those lying in the interior of the lands on the river fifty cents. Town lots each shall be thirty dollars, except marshy, rocky and barren lots and plots of land which may be sold to the highest bidder." Property transference of real estate occurred in other ways than through government programs. Individuals sold land outright in fee simple to other persons. On occasion, land was sold out of an estate in order to pay the outstanding debts of the deceased (see appendixes D and E). Some settlers issued mortgage deeds for their land to secure cash, while in other instances land was sold by order of the Court of Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas as part of litigation settlements.

Although the ground rules for property transfers were explicit in the law, the actual transactions often involved conflicts and disputes. Surveying was seldom very accurate, since few individuals had the necessary training to do it correctly. In1856 the *Liberia Herald* reported that the government was obliged to order new surveys of land in the St. Paul River area so as to "render every part and particle of land drawn, sold or taken up, to be easily designated." The situation did not improve with time, however. The surveying difficulties were complicated by inefficient record-keeping. As late as 1892 the attorney general of Liberia spoke out candidly on the problem: "It has happened that owing to carelessness, or worse, one lot of land has been proved in account to have been deeded to three different numbers. In consequence of such and singular errors, persons frequently settle on, improve and take steps to acquire title to lands supposed to be vacant only to find out that they have laboured in vain and that they have improved the property of others."

The attorney general was hinting at the possibility of criminal fraud in the deeding of titles. Charges of land fraud had been made by other public officials even earlier. The superintendent of Maryland County, J. T. Gibson, said in 1872 that "for the last 6 or 8 years it has been custom or practice of our Land Commissioners to take advantage of the ambiguity or malconstruction of the law defining and regulating their duties and prerogatives and making the office one of mere individual speculation, to the great detriment of Government, and injury to the public interest." He went further and

described how the abuses developed. Private understandings, according to Gibson, were worked out between individuals to outbid all others at public land auctions conducted by the land commissioner. Once the bid was won, regardless of the final price, the bidder refused to pay and instead secured the land at government price in a private sale after ninety days. The land commissioner was paid a fee for cooperating in the private sale and not penalizing the bidder for his original forfeiture. ²⁶

Fraud in the deeding of titles could sometimes be traced to politics. Land ownership was a basic requirement for the franchise privilege. In 1855 the Court of Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas convicted forty-one persons for voting on "false or spurious deeds." As land in the St. Paul River area became more valuable economically, the possibility of fraud also increased. When sugar-cane cultivation flourished, the price of land in the settlements along the river became exorbitant. This tendency accounts, in part, for the success of early upriver settlers, who by virtue of their time of arrival secured the choice land bordering the river. Not only was the soil rich, but the cost of overland transportation to markets on the coast was greatly reduced.

The Richards Family and Conflict Resolution

In the 1880s two of the sons of Othello Richards, Samuel David and Wesley Morgan, became embroiled in a dispute over land that both claimed was given to them by their father. The dispute reached the Montserrado Court of Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas in 1887. Samuel David Richards filed a complaint against his brother's widow, Sarah Richards; and Samuel T. Prout was also named as a defendant in the complaint, since he was the executor of Wesley Morgan's estate.

The complaint detailed the nature of the dispute from the point of view of Samuel David Richards. He claimed that his father had verbally distributed his property among his children. He declared that after his father's death in 1873 all of the children agreed to their share of his property but that Wesley Morgan then violated the agreement. Wesley Morgan "notwithstanding the remonstrances of [Samuel David] and other members of the family would persist and did persist in building his house on a portion of ten acres of the original homestead that had been allotted to Samuel David." After building his home on the disputed property, Wesley Morgan willed to his wife and children one and one-half acres of Samuel David's original ten acres, on which he had "unlawfully" built his house. He also willed to his family twenty-two acres of farmland on Kings Governors plot, although allegedly he was only entitled to fifteen and two-thirds acres there.

Sarah Richards and Samuel T. Prout responded to the complaint on December 11, 1887. The defendants claimed that Othello Richards had made

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no lawful will during his lifetime. They asserted that after the death of Othello in 1873, Wesley Morgan took up the land and built his house without any formal objections from Samuel David Richards. They also pointed out that when Wesley Morgan's will was probated in 1882, Samuel David Richards failed to challenge its provisions, although he was aware of the probate proceedings.²⁹ After lengthy testimony from many witnesses, the court reached a decision on September 26, 1887.

Judge C. A. Pitman made a reference to a number of key issues in the suit when he made his ruling. He noted that Othello Richards died intestate and that no documentary evidence had been presented to the court to support the claim that the disputed land belonged to Samuel David Richards. The judge stressed Samuel David Richards's delay in bringing legal action until after his brother had died. "... the Court says that by his said act of agreement ... the Plaintiff cannot now claim interference of Equity—He is estopped." Finally, Judge Pitman cited a legal technicality. Samuel David Richards had alleged that his brother attempted to defraud the heirs of his sister Nancy and his brother Francis Asbury, as well as himself. The court pointed out that after naming these individuals, "the plaintiff has neglected to join them in this suit . . . which neglect is fatal in a case of Equity." In conclusion, the court ruled that the plaintiff's bill in equity be dismissed and that Samuel David Richards pay all court costs involved.

Critical to the court's decision was that Samuel David Richards had brought suit after the death of his brother and thus had delayed legal action too long to be credible. It is interesting that part of the delay was caused by an extralegal proceeding that was described in the testimony of the case. Madison Houston (husband of Nancy Richards) testified that an effort had been made to settle the dispute locally in Clay Ashland; the Methodist neighbors of the Richards family had tried to resolve the conflict by conducting a church trial on the matter. Samuel T. Prout offered Samuel David Richards one hundred fifty dollars for the disputed property in the Clay Ashland Methodist church. Madison Houston's description of the trial deserves lengthy quotation:

Mrs. Sarah Richards and Miss Addicate Holcomb [sister of Samuel David Richards's wife] had had a fuss. Miss Addicate Holcomb said Mrs. Richards struck her and then sued Mrs. Richards. After she sued Mrs. Richards the church took Miss Holcomb up for sueing Mrs. Richards; it was on a Sunday when they all came to church. Mr. Prout came with her—after they all commenced to talk the Preacher in charge wanted Miss Holcomb to beg Mrs. Richards pardon for sueing her, and wanted Sister Richards to acknowledge her wrong for striking her and they all come together and make the matter up. Sister Richards was willing to beg pardon and compromise but Sister Holcomb would not come to any compromise at all. She said Sister Richards had been telling lies on her and



Figure 6. Settler Home in Bensonville (now Bentol), Liberia

troubling her long enough, and she would not shake hands with her to save her life. The preacher in charge told her to sit down and behave herself then Mr. Prout asked to make a few remarks and he got up and said he had heard right smart talk about how that young lady had been treating his sister before and he said I see it today . . . Mr. Richards started to say something and then everybody began to talk and the whole church got to talking and I told the Preacher in charge why not put them out doors—you have enough Stewards here; the Preacher in charge worried with them awhile and got them straight and then Mr. Prout offered Mr. Richards \$150 for the land where his sister's house was at, birth place. 33

The church trial failed to resolve the conflict between the members of the Richards family; however, local-level mediation within the upriver settlements was an important mechanism.

Upriver Settlement Institutions

Each upriver settlement had various means for resolving community conflicts while at the same time encouraging unity. Institutions other than the church wielded considerable influence over individuals in the community. Upriver settlers used town meetings as a forum for discussing problems of general concern. Resolutions and petitions expressing majority opinion on a given issue resulted from town meetings. Usually the petitions were printed and

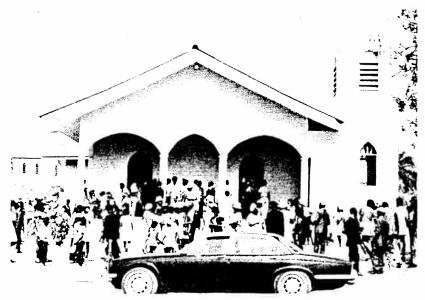


Figure 8. Dedication Ceremony for New Baptist Church Building in Clay-Ashland, Liberia, 1975.

by rank, chain of command, discipline procedures, and uniform responsibilities for all ranks.

The settlements in the St. Paul River area organized volunteer companies (see table 19). These volunteer companies not only mobilized settler manpower but also provided a means of integrating Africans who lived within the settler jurisdiction. In 1885 the president's secretary wrote to the captain of the Virginia militia on that subject: "I write by direction of His Excellency the President to direct that in enrolling the names of Native youth to perform Military duty, you will do so impartially, that is, you will enroll all who are of the proper age (16 years) and who are sufficiently advanced in civilization to perform such duties."⁴³

Volunteer companies mustered on a regular basis for parades. The *Liberia Herald* often published announcements for the assembly of militia troops. Hegular militia meetings were held to organize activities and handle administrative details. In 1845 the top militia officers were called together by the president to make arrangements for a public celebration of the December 1822 Battle of Fort Hill. The meeting produced several resolutions regarding the proposed celebration, including that "any and all mercantile operations (desist) on that day." The organization of volunteer companies accomplished more than protection of the outlying settlements from attack. The militia was a significant means for supporting settler values, developing

local leadership, and linking individuals to a structure that was ultimately controlled by the president in his position as commander in chief of the militia.

For families like the Richardses life in the upriver settlements involved many different kinds of associations. Religion, politics, and defense all were common interests that facilitated the development of strong relationships outside the family structure. In small communities, resolution of interpersonal conflict became an important function of community associations. Internal unity remained vital to settler communities on the fringe of a potentially hostile environment that the settlers were only slowly able to understand. Leadership developed as trade and agriculture began to offer the foundation for upriver economic viability. The emergence of the St. Paul River area as a competing central place to Monrovia was in large part a response to external influences on settler society in Liberia.

Appendix E/Sale of Land by One Individual to Another

Know all men by these presents, that I Georgiana Elizabeth Moore of the Settlement of Clay Ashland, County of Montserrado and Republic of Liberia party of the first part and Nathaniel A. Doldson of the City of Monrovia, County of Montserrado and Republic of Liberia party of the second part. Witnesseth that for and in consideration of the sum of thirty-five dollars (\$35.00) lawful money of this Republic paid me in hand by the said Nathaniel A. Doldson, I the said Georgiana E. Moore have granted bargained, sold and confirmed and by these presents do grant, bargain, sell and confirm unto him the said Nathaniel A. Doldson his heirs, Executors, Administors and assigns forever all that lot or parcel of land lying and being situated in the City of Monrovia, County of Montserrado and Republic and Liberia and bearing in the authentic records of said City the number 404 and being the S.E. half of said lot (404) and containing one Eighth of an acre of land and no more and have the same degrees E. W. N., and S. as all the other town lots have situated in the City of Monrovia.

To have and to hold the above bargained and granted premises together with all the buildings and singular the building and appurtenances thereof and thereto belonging to said Nathaniel A. Doldson his heirs, Executors, Administrators, and assigns. And I the said Georgiana E. Moore do covenant to and with the said Nathaniel A. Doldson his heirs, Executors, Administrators and assigns that at and until the ensealing hereof I had good right and lawful authority by virtue of heirship, the said premises coming to me from my mother Harriet, to sell and convey the aforesaid premises in fee simple. And I the said Georgiana E. Moore, widow of George W. Moore deceased and only living heir of my said mother for myself and my heirs, Executors, Administrators and assigns will forever warrant and defend the said Nathaniel A. Doldson his heirs, Executors, Administrators and assigns against any person or persons claiming any part or parcel of the above named premises.

The word "forever" over the seventh or interlined was done before the ensealing and delivery of these presents.

In witness whereof I the aforesaid Georgiana E. Moore have here unto set my hand and seal this 2nd day of May Anno Domini 1868.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of

Georgiana E. Moore

James C. Minor Richard Pinns

Deed Records, Montserrado County, 1865, Archieves of the Liberian Government, Monrovia, Liberia.

Appendix F/Sale of Land Left in an Estate of a Deceased

To all persons to whom these presents shall come, I William C. Burke of the town of Clay Ashland and County of Montserrado Executor of the last will and testament of Matthew Ash, late of the town of Clay Ashland deceased, estate. Whereas the said Matthew Ash, in order to enable his said Executor fully to carry into effect his intention, did by his Last Will and Testament authorize and enpower his said Executor in any manner which he should deem proper to make sale of and, execute deeds, to convey the said Testator's Real Estate. Now therefore, I the said William C. Burke, executor as aforesaid by William D. Coleman, of the Town of Clay Ashland, and County of Montserrado, the receipt whereof is hereby in consideration of the sum of eighty eight dollars (\$88.00) to me in hand paid acknowledged, have given, granted, bargained, sold and conveyed and by these presents do give, grant, bargain, sell and convey unto the said W. D. Coleman, his heirs, Executors, Administrators, and assigns, the following described parcel of real estate, which was the property of the said Matthew Ash situated in the town of Clay Ashland and bounded and described as follows to wit, the number twelve (12) commencing at the South Eastern angle of Lot No. eleven (11) and running North 56 degrees East two hundred links, thence east 34 degrees south, one hundred and twenty five links, thence West 34 degrees North one hundred and twenty-five links to place of commencement, and contains one quarter of an acre of land and no more.

To have and to hold the aforegranted premises to him the said W. D. Coleman, his heirs, and assigns to his and their use and forever. And I the said William C. Burke do covenant with the said W.D. Coleman his Heirs, and assigns that I am lawfully the Executor of the Last Will and Testament of the said Matthew Ash and that I have not made any other conveyance on Matthew Ash, and that I have in all respects acted in making this conveyance in pursuance of the authority granted to me in and by the Last Will and Testament of the said Matthew Ash.

In witness whereof I the said William C. Burke hath set by hand and seal this twenty fourth day of January A. D. 1869.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of Isaac James Ash and Preston Freeman J. Wiles

William C. Burke Executor for Matthew Ash

Registrar

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Deed Records, Montserrado County, 1865-69, Archives of the Liberian Government, Monrovia, Liberia.