LIBERIAN DREAMS, WEST AFRICAN NIGHTMARE:
THE LIFE OF HENRY W. JOHNSON
PART TWO
by Preston E. Pierce
Henry Johnson's home on Butcher St. [now Granger Street] as it looked in 2003. The wing on the left was added long after Johnson left. Author's collection.

Cover: The only known photograph of Henry W. Johnson circa 1865 taken at a Canandaigua studio across the street from Johnson's shop. Ontario County Historical Society.

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Emigration to Liberia

The point at which Henry Johnson made up his mind to emigrate is not known. Most likely, he made his decision sometime after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.

The American Colonization Society, which spearheaded the main effort to colonize West Africa with freed American slaves, was formed (1817) just prior to Johnson's birth. Its popularity ebbed and flowed. The first American colony was established in 1822, with the independent nation of Liberia established in 1847. The conditions in Liberia, and the prospects for its success, were discussed in the local press, not always with favor. As an employee of James D. Bemis, and as a self-educated man of affairs, Johnson was certainly aware of the debate swirling around the subject of Liberia. It must have been on his mind for many years.

The settlement and progress of Liberia was actively promoted. Some African-Americans, including some free blacks from the West Indies, traveled to America, Europe, and various African locations (Sierra Leone, the Niger River Valley, and Liberia) actively working to establish a workable society and nation. Their efforts were controversial, and only partially successful. However, those efforts were bound by some common threads.

The men who founded, and promoted settlement in Liberia, were ambitious, but often motivated by conflicting interests. Many of them were promoting themselves along with emigration and the merits of West Africa. Most of them had suffered from racism and discrimination. They were much like Henry Johnson.

One of those promoters was a distinguished scholar, and sometime public official, Edward W. Blyden. Born in the West Indies, Blyden traveled to America, Europe, and various African locations (Sierra Leone, the Niger River Valley, and Liberia) actively working to establish a workable society and nation. Their efforts were controversial, and only partially successful. However, those efforts were bound by some common threads.

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One of those promoters was a distinguished scholar, and sometime public official, Edward W. Blyden. Born in the West Indies, Blyden traveled to the United States, then to Liberia in 1851. He became a professor at Liberia College and served as Secretary of State for Liberia from 1864 to 1866. About the time Henry Johnson arrived in West Africa, Blyden was in Beirut studying Islam and the Arabic language at the Syrian Protestant College. Like Johnson, Blyden supported E. J. Roye for president. He was nearly lynched in 1871, escaping to Sierra Leone at the time Roye was murdered. A keen observer, Blyden noted some of the problems which plagued Liberia, problems Henry W. Johnson ignored or did not see.

Liberia was a little bit of South Carolina, of Georgia, of Virginia. Blyden wrote in 1908. ...in sum, of the ostracized, suppressed.
depressed elements of those states, which was tacked on to West Africa—a most incongruous combination, with no reasonable prospect of success. The colony had America in its eyes while it turned its back on Africa..." For example, the nation's mixed-race social class dominated the government between 1847 and 1878. Its constitution was actually drawn up by a Harvard law professor. Natives of the area had no representation in the national legislature until late in the Nineteenth Century.50


Another strong supporter of black emigration to Liberia was Martin Delany, although he accepted the idea late and reluctantly. He was an organizer of colonization movements in the United States and Canada in the period 1836-1849. He worked with Frederick Douglass for a while. Delaney appeared with Douglass at anti-slavery rallies in Port Byron, Auburn, and Victor in 1849, all places near Canandaigua.51 Delany was disillusioned by the fugitive slave law of 1850 and despaired of ever
being safe to succeed anywhere in America. His feelings were rein-
forced when racism forced him out of Harvard Medical School. Delany 
was also an active journalist in Philadelphia and Rochester. It is like-
ly that Henry W. Johnson knew, admired, and empathized with Martin 
Delany's point of view.

At the request of ten prominent citizens, the Ontario Messenger 
reprinted the text of Henry W. Johnson's speech delivered at a mass 
meeting of "Colored Citizens of Canandaigua," October 31, 1850. His 
words reflect the sentiments of Martin Delany (except that he did not 
mention emigration):

Never did I rise to speak upon any subject, with emotions similar to 
those that now agitate my bosom. On former occasions, however dark 
and dreary were the cloud with which we were encompassed, the star of 
hope seemed to twinkle through the gloom. ...I have felt that I was a 
freeman; and, if I could not boast of living in a country free in every 
respect, I believed I lived in a land which had not entirely withdrawn its 
protecting arm from even the humblest citizens. ...I believed there were 
still eternal barriers thrown around the rights and liberties of the free 
colored people of this country, behind which they could always find a 
shelter, when assailed by the rude hand of oppression.

I still relied upon the sense of justice, and magnanimity of the free 
States, and imagined we were safe under the broad shield of their pro-
tection. ...I looked, with anxious eye upon the Constitution of my coun-
try, and thought I beheld therein, sacred guarantees of liberty....

But sir, the hopes that have heretofore animated my bosom, have all 
been crushed by the recent enactment by the American Congress of this 
infamous law providing for the recapture of fugitive Slaves. And, 
tonight, for the first time in my life, I stand before you as an American 
citizen whose rights and liberties receive no protection....

There is no longer any pride or dignity attached to the name of an 
American citizen....

Johnson continued delivering orations until the time he departed for 
Africa. By 1864, despite the Emancipation Proclamation, the enlistment 
of black troops, and the dwindling efforts and prospects of the American 
Colonization Society, Johnson spoke constantly on the subject of 
Liberia. He was widely known in his home state and spoke at the state-
house when he appeared in Montpelier.

The Ontario County Times reprinted a report of Johnson's
Emancipation Day speech Aug. 1, 1864 published in the *Geneva Courier*:

*The subject discussed was the black man, his present condition, his prospects, and the duty he owes to himself and his posterity. The speaker advocated colonization unreservedly, and depicted in glowing terms the many advantages which would accrue to his people if they would but abandon their down trodden condition, in the land of their birth...*54

On the afternoon of September 18, 1864, Johnson spoke at the "Meeting House" in South Bristol. His subject was "The Future of the Colored Race in America." The Editor of the *Times* told his readers, "Go and hear what he has to say upon this subject before he leaves for Liberia, in Africa."55

A month later, the *Times* reported on a lecture Johnson gave at Bemis Hall in Canandaigua:

*Our distinguished colored fellow townsman, Henry W. Johnson, delivered his promised lecture before a large and intelligent audience, at Bemis Hall, on Monday evening. His subject, as previously announced, was—'The future of the colored race in America.' He spoke eloquently and well, as he always does, making an unanswerable argument in favor of colonization.*

Attending members of the local bar called Johnson's speech a "...masterly effort of logic and eloquence." Obviously knowing Johnson well, the attorneys resolved to honor him, in part, for his triumph over "...the thousand obstacles with which poverty and race have clogged his progress..."56

Traveling to Penn Yan, Johnson spoke about Liberia to a gathering at the Presbyterian Church. The *Yates County Chronicle* reported:

*Mr. H. W. Johnson, a colored gentleman, and a member of the bar of Canandaigua, addressed a very respectable audience at the Presbyterian church on Monday evening. Mr. Johnson is a man of brains and cultivation, and a very good public speaker... But he has become satisfied that for the people of his race...there is no equality of privileges, and will not be for a long time to come. He has therefore resolved to emigrate with his family to Liberia... His lecture consisted in his reasons for this course; and to our mind they are sensible and conclusive. However much to our discredit the fact may be....*57
With the Civil War barely over, Henry W. Johnson cemented his plans for emigration. Most likely, he received financial help from sympathetic friends to supplement the money he raised from speaking engagements. No doubt, he also received assistance from organizations promoting emigration. However, it shortchanges Johnson's reputation and abilities to ignore the fact that he had been a successful businessman for many years and must have earned much of his own money.

On April 24, 1864, more than two dozen prominent citizens of Canandaigua asked Johnson to deliver a public farewell speech before his imminent departure for Liberia. The names attached to that request are a testimony to the esteem in which Johnson was held locally. They included Myron H. Clark (banker and recent governor), Harvey Jewett (prominent physician), Evander Sly (well known county politician), Nathan Milliken (publisher of the Times), Albert G. Murray (Postmaster of Canandaigua), and John A. Granger (gentleman farmer and militia general).

Rokeby House Museum, former home of the Robinson family near Ferrisburg, VT. It is a well documented home of the abolitionist family and an Underground Railroad stop. Author's collection taken February 2003.
Johnson readily agreed to deliver a public farewell address. He wrote, "...this is the last opportunity I will have to address my friends and fellow citizens... I cheerfully comply with your request..." His subject, surely to no one's surprise, was "The Capacity of the Black Man for Self Government, and the place where his Manhood can be the most fully developed." The speech was delivered on April 28, 1865. The Johnson family left for Africa aboard the barque, *Thomas Pope*, on June 3rd. Several family members, including the dying young Patience, were left behind.\(^{58}\)

One of the few accounts of Johnson's experiences is a letter he wrote to a Canandaigua friend and neighbor, Alfred Haley. Dated August 21, 1865, it was reprinted in the *Times* in November of that year. Johnson told of a "...pleasant voyage of five weeks and one day. ...I am much pleased with the country so far," he told Haley. "It has made more progress than I anticipated. I did not expect to see so many signs of wealth, progress and civilization as I find here. The people are very kind and hospitable..." He assured his reader that the family was in good health, but spoke ominously of the "African fever." There had been many reports of rampant disease, political instability, and incivility in Liberia. It appears that Johnson was attempting to counter them and reassure those he left behind. "I have seen a large number of people here from almost every southern state, they all say, without exception, there is no part of the south to compare with Africa," Johnson continued. Johnson made his major point in his last paragraph. "Haley, it would do your soul good to see those Liberians. They stand up like men, and act like freemen. ...Great God, my friend, what a glorious country is Africa!"\(^{59}\) Within six years Henry W. Johnson's opinion would be greatly modified.

Earlier, in another letter dated August 10, 1865, Johnson told his old friends, "my admiration for Africa knows no bounds." He intended to farm and practice law as soon as it was safe and he was acclimated.\(^{60}\)

For several years, Johnson sent letters to the Canandaigua newspapers telling of his work and opportunities in Liberia. His letters were usually reprinted in *The African Repository*, a monthly publication of the American Colonization Society. In a letter published in the May, 1866 issue of the *African Repository* Johnson spoke of the good harbors and climate of Liberia. He reminded his American readers of the progress made in Liberia in the past 40 years. He also lamented the burden of race that bothered him still. Not the "wisdom of Solomon, the virtues of a Saint, nor the wealth of the Indies can lift this burden from the soul of a sensitive colored man," he wrote. It was a burden Johnson carried all his life, reflected in his praise for Liberia.
Subsequently, Johnson told his readers how favorably the government of Liberia compared to American government. He pointedly emphasized how well a government could be run by black men. Responding to the constant criticism many Americans, black and white, leveled at the Liberian "colony," Johnson lashed out in a letter dated August 1, 1868. "Such a compilation of errors and tissue of falsehoods I have seldom seen," he wrote in a letter published in October. He went on to say that parts of Liberia were similar to Western New York. For most of 1867 and 1868 Johnson concentrated on developing his farm near Caldwell, Liberia on the St. Paul's River. A letter dated October 30, 1867 detailed Johnson's farming endeavors. By then he had moved nine miles upriver from Monrovia and was farming six acres he helped clear himself. On his land, Johnson reported cultivating 2000 coffee and cocoa trees, 2500 vegetable plants (yams, corn, beans, cabbage, squash, melons, eddoes, cassada, etc.) and a variety of citrus and tropical fruit. He told readers of the *Ontario Repository and Messenger* that he planned to grow ginger, peanuts and pepper the following year. There was little difficulty in raising livestock. "He who depends upon farming will never fail to have enough to eat and drink and to wear in Liberia," Johnson wrote.

After 1868, only one of Johnson's letters (1872) was published. Therefore, we know much about his early years in West Africa, but little about the years following his political troubles there.

Johnson was almost certainly "gilding the lily" in many of his early letters. In 1872, the new US Ambassador to Liberia, J. Milton Turner,
wrote a lengthy dispatch to Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish. Turner tried to be positive in his predictions of future development. However, he made clear the situation in Liberia was far from that described by Henry Johnson.63

Liberia continued to suffer from political and social problems which were more than a half-century old when Edward Blyden enunciated them. In 1870-1871 those problems caught up with Henry W. Johnson. A man with ambition and talent, Johnson entered Liberian politics supporting the "Negro" True Whig Party led by Edward J. Roye.64 When Roye was elected president in 1869, Johnson was named his Attorney General.

Johnson's appointment was a hollow honor. It nearly cost him his life when revolutionary violence erupted in October 1871. The social and political reasons for the coup that took place were many and varied. They are also difficult to sort out. The best account appears to be contained in the dispatches of James Milton Turner, the highly respected American ambassador to Liberia.

When the term of the previous president, James S. Payne, was completed some of his friends got the national legislature to submit a constitutional amendment extending the president's term by two years (to a total of four). In a low-turn-out vote, the voters approved the amendment. The vote was 350 in favor, two against the amendment. At the same time, the voters also elected E. J. Roye as the new president. The legislature then decided to resubmit the issue to the electorate. A vote was held, but the legislature could not muster the two-thirds vote of its members to count the votes. The two branches of the Liberian legislature began a destructive argument resulting in the Speaker of the House and President of the Senate being forced to resign. The legislature declared that the Liberian constitution had not been amended.

New President Roye vetoed the bill declaring the constitution not amended and assumed the presidency. The legislature followed that action by declaring that the constitution was, in fact, not amended. They then called for a new election under the old system, scheduling the vote for May 1871. Those favoring the opinion that the constitution had not been amended nominated former president, J. J. Roberts.

President Roye refused to run for election, stating that there should be no election. As a result virtually all votes went to J. J. Roberts. Roberts then retired to England for the summer. Roye remained in the country trying to convince the people that his views were correct. He also worked on a loan to redeem the national currency and establish a reliable medium of exchange. Ambassador Turner felt that Roye's work on the loan only increased his unpopularity. Public meetings were held to
protest Roye's actions and call for his resignation. Attorney General Johnson was forced to leave town under a death threat.

"President-elect" Roberts returned from England on October 22, 1871. He was given a 21-gun salute, a gala dinner, and demonstrations of public support. An unknown party fired a cannon loaded with grapeshot into President Roye's mansion. The shot passed through Roye's family quarters, yet he still refused to resign despite additional public meetings. The ad hoc public committee gave Roye one additional hour to resign. Roye finally said he would resign on October 26.

However, Roye then declared the existence of a state of revolution and tried to escape to an English mail steamer. Before he could make good his escape, Roye was arrested and charged with keeping the

$75,000 loan his agents (including Henry Johnson) had recently negotiated with English bankers. He was held on $20,000 bail. Before he could be tried Roye died in custody.  

The large ballroom on the third floor of the Bemis Block was used for dances, entertainment and public meetings. The building still stands across the street from Johnson's barber shop.

Ontario County Historical Society
Several of Roye's ministers suffered nearly the same fate. Secretary of State, Edward Blyden, was accused of adultery with Roye's wife, dragged through the streets, and nearly lynched before he fled to Sierra Leone. The Postmaster General got into a heated argument with a local businessman at a public meeting. The Postmaster General was killed. Ambassador Turner did not mention these acts in his dispatches.

J. J. Roberts took office on January 1, 1872. After he formed his government, Roberts spoke to the resident foreign diplomats, and succeeded in restoring some order. However, the political turmoil continued momentarily.

Henry W. Johnson, in the company of another commissioner, was returning from Britain where he had gone to secure a half-million dollar loan for the government. When he refused to turn the money over to Roberts' officials he was accused of treason and thrown into prison on $25,000 bail. (He didn't have the cash bail and the other commissioner took $25,000 in gold and fled the country.) Many officials, including Johnson, had their property confiscated by the Roberts government. It is clear from published reports, sent by his family and friends, that Johnson thought he might be executed.67

![Image of Bemis Hall](image-url)
The unfavorable loan rate negotiated by the Liberian commissioners, and the fact that only a fifth of the loan was available to the general government, worked to Johnson's disadvantage. It appears that president Roye intended to use much of the loan for the benefit of his friends. While successive Liberian governments attempted to pay down the loan negotiated by the Roye government, it was eventually repudiated by the Liberian government which could not repay it on the unfavorable terms.

It took some time for the reports of the Liberian political turmoil to reach Ontario County. Johnson was arrested early in 1871. Local papers, citing correspondence from his daughter to local attorney, J. C. Smith, reported that Johnson was still in prison in May 1872. Johnson still enjoyed a high level of support in America. When his daughter's letter was relayed to local congressman, William H. Lamport, he took up the question with Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish. Lamport concluded that nothing could be done officially. He wrote to the Ontario County Times:

> Mr. Johnson having become a citizen of Liberia, the United States government could not interfere with their mode of adjusting difficulties. But from the deep interest manifested by our Secretary of State...we may expect that all means, consistent with our relations with that government, will be exercised in the behalf of our former fellow-citizen, in whom we all feel deeply interested.

Lamport obviously hoped something could be done unofficially. In May, local readers learned that the American minister to Monrovia had sent a dispatch relating to Johnson's case, but no details were reported. The United States appointed James Milton Turner Ambassador to Liberia. The first black member of the American diplomatic corps, it was undoubtedly Turner who sent that dispatch. Turner served as minister to Liberia for seven years (1871-1878) and was noted for his blunt and realistic reports on conditions there. However, Turner must have been effective in supporting Henry W. Johnson who was released from prison shortly thereafter.

**Afterword**

Several newspaper accounts of Henry Johnson's political troubles mention that he wanted to return home. Certainly his treatment would reasonably lead to such a desire. Even the overtly sympathetic editor of
the Times had to admit that: "Liberia may be a very nice place for colored men to go to, but it is obviously just now uncomfortable for Mr. Johnson, and the sooner he gets back to his old home the longer he will be apt to live."  

Shortly after surviving the political upheaval of the early 1870's, Henry Johnson took up a new calling. Noah Clarke's sketch of Johnson, published in 1890, stated that the émigré had retired to a coffee plantation. Coffee had been introduced to Liberia 20 years earlier and was considered a new and profitable crop.  

Johnson was philosophical about his ordeal. In a letter published in the African Repository in January, 1873, he compared Liberia's problems to those of other nations. "All countries and all peoples are exposed to the same evils," he wrote. "Hereafter, I shall confine myself principally to the cultivation of the soil, and the practicing of my profession of the law."  

About the time Johnson turned his attention to farming again, his wife, Patience, died and he married a "woman of Liberia;" a term that could have many meanings given the social and ethnic make-up of the country. One Canandaigua obituary reported that Johnson emigrated to Liberia with a second wife, not Patience. However, Johnson wrote letters from there which mentioned Patience. The Liberian woman Johnson reportedly married was Hester Simpson.  

The Ontario County Times reported Henry Johnson's death on April 2, 1884 (p.2). The paper said only that it was the result of an accident. Noah Clarke, who may have had some contemporary sources, said Johnson's death was the result of a fall from the second story piazza of his home.  

Five months later, another local paper, the Ontario Repository and Messenger, noted that Johnson had been killed by his wife, Hester. She reportedly had a violent temper and was unfaithful. When Johnson ordered her to leave his Monrovia home "she struck and killed him." Hester Simpson Johnson was reportedly tried, convicted and imprisoned for life in Liberia.  

At the time of his death, several of Johnson's children were still living. Noah Clarke said that one of his daughters had married a missionary, Rev. Witherspoon. According to Clarke (1890), she visited the Canandaigua area "some half a dozen years ago." Johnson's obituary in the Repository said that one daughter married Thaddeus N. Williams, Secretary of the Interior of Liberia. It also mentioned that son Henry G. Johnson lived in Rochester at the time. The 1884 Times report said that Henry W. Johnson left "three children, one son now at Lyons and two daughters living in Liberia."
From the perspective of nearly a century and a quarter, surely we can say that he left much more than that!

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The staff of the Ontario County Records Center assisted in identifying and retrieving source material.
The staff and volunteers of the Ontario County Historical Society in identifying sources and digitizing images.

Endnotes


51 Fulkerson, Raymond G. I. p. 169.

Delany's negative views of emigration programs to 1855 in his intro-
duction to an exposé written by a black investigator traveling in Liberia. 
Delany at first opposed the American Colonization Society as a fraud 
perpetuated upon African-Americans by whites with ulterior motives. 
His earlier efforts on behalf of colonization appear to have been based 
upon the idea that, if they emigrated to Africa, American blacks should 
show the initiative and make the arrangements. At the same time, 
Delaney worked for reform in the US. Only after the passage of the 
Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, and his bitter experience at Harvard, did he 
focus primarily on emigration.

53 "Speech of H.W. Johnson" *Ontario Messenger*. Nov. 20, 1850 pp. 1-
2.

54 "Compliment to Mr. Johnson" *Ontario County Times*. Aug. 10, 1864. 
p. 3. The Editor is reprinting an article from the *Geneva Courier* previ-
ously published in Geneva.

55 "Lectures.-Henry W. Johnson." *Ontario County Times*. Sep. 14, 
1864. p. 3.


57 "Mr. H. W. Johnson…" *Yates County Chronicle*. Nov. 17, 1864. p. 3.

58 [Correspondence to and from H. W. Johnson.] *Ontario County Times*. 
Apr. 26, 1865. p. 3.

59 "Letter from Henry W. Johnson," *Ontario County Times*. Nov. 6, 
1865. p. 3. In his published letter, Johnson indicated that he and other 
family members had sent "several letters home." None have yet been 
found.

p. 375.

61 "Views of an Intelligent Emigrant. Letter from Mr. H. W. Johnson, 
312-313.


64 Unfortunately, racism played an active role in Liberian politics. Native Africans had few political rights (a subject of partisan dispute) and there was substantial quarreling between "pure" blacks and mulattoes, hence the party name.


71 "In Trouble." *Ontario County Times.* Apr. 17, 1872. p. 3.


The church at Ford and Spring streets, Rochester. The first AME Zion congregation met here and Frederick Douglass probably printed the first editions of his newspaper there. The 1848 Emancipation Day procession began there. Office of the Rochester City Historian.
Johnson's barber shop (pole in front) next to the Baptist Church on Main Street, Canandaigua, in the heart of the upper business district two blocks from the Court House. For a while, Johnson owned the entire building circa 1855.

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