The Journal of Sierra Leone Studies

Volume 7, Edition 1

The Journal of Sierra Leone Studies – Edition 1 – 2018

Welcome to the Journal of Sierra Leone Studies. This is the first Journal dedicated solely to Sierra Leone to have been published for a long time.
We hope that it will be of use to academics, students and anyone with an interest in what for many is a rather 'special' country.
The Journal will not concentrate on one area of academic study and invites contributions from anyone researching and writing on Sierra Leone to send their articles to: John Birchall for consideration.
Prospective contributions should be between 3500-5000 words in length, though we will in special circumstances consider longer articles and authors can select whether they wish to be peer reviewed or not. Articles should not have appeared in any other published form before.
The Editorial Board reserves the right to suggest changes they consider are needed to the relevant author (s) and to not publish if such recommendations are ignored.
We are particularly interested to encourage students working on subjects specifically relating to Sierra Leone to submit their work.
Thank you so much for visiting The Journal and we hope that you (a) find it both interesting and of use to you and (b) that you will inform colleagues, friends and students of the existence of a Journal dedicated to the study of Sierra Leone.

Note from the Editor
In 2018 The Journal of Sierra Leone Studies will be 100 years old. It has appeared under a number of titles and has always been a wide-ranging and informative publication.
To celebrate this auspicious occasion the Board has asked me to research a range of topics that have featured in editions dating back to the first time of publication and produce a 'Birthday Edition' that shows some of the significant changes and personalities that have appeared in the editions that have been published since 1918.

A word of thanks to Lorenzo, whose patience in designing this edition is greatly appreciated.
John

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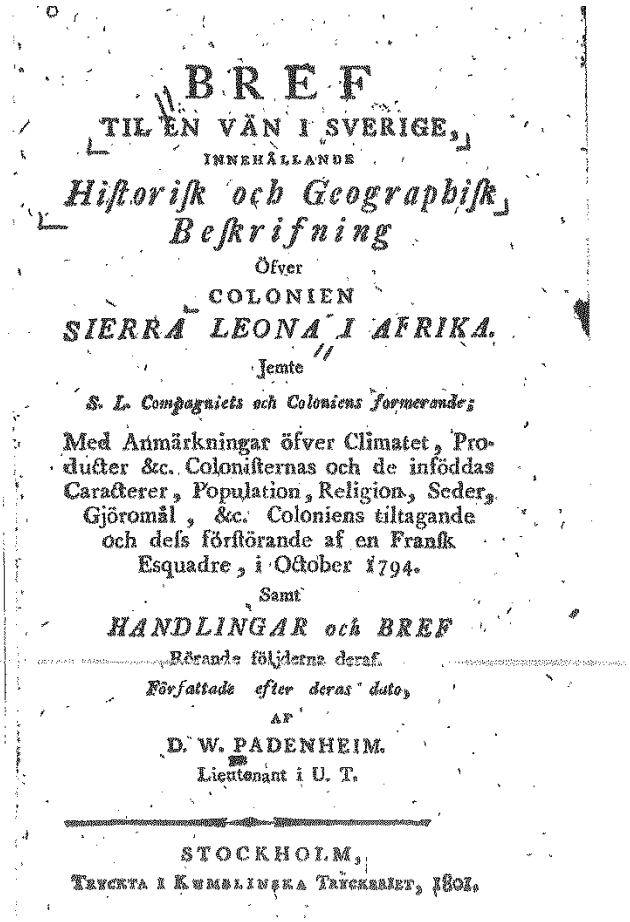
Daniel Wilhelm Padenheim. ***Bref till en Vän i Sverige, Innehållande Historisk och Geografisk Beskrifning öfver Colonien Sierra Leona*** **(sic)** ***i Afrika, jemte S. L. Compagniets och Coloniens Formerande, med Anmärkningar öfver Climatet, Producter &c, Colonisternas och de Inföddas Caracterer, Population, Religion, Seder, Gjöromål &c, Coloniens Tiltagande och dess Förstörande af en Fransk Esquadre i October 1794, samt Handlingar och Bref rörande Följderna deraf.*** **Stockholm: Kumblinska Tryckeriet, 1801.**



BREF
TIL EN VÄN I SVERIGE,
INNEHÅLLANDE
Hiſtoriſk och Geographiſk
Beſkrifning
Öfver
COLONIEN
SIERRA LEONA I AFRIKA.
Jemte
S. L. Compagniets och Coloniens formerande;
Med Anmärkningar öfver Climatet, Producter &c. Colonisternas och de inföddas Caracterer, Population, Religion, Seder, Gjöromål, &c. Coloniens tiltagande och deſs förſtörande af en Fransk Esquadre, i October 1794.
Samt
HANDLINGAR och BREF
Rörande följderna deraf.
Författade efter deras dato,
AF
D. W. PADENHEIM.
Lieutenant i U. T.
STOCKHOLM,
Tryckta i Kumblinska Tryckeriet, 1801.

The original title page.

TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

In Stockholm in 1801 Daniel Wilhelm Padenheim published a 130-page book in Swedish about his work building Freetown, 1792–1795. This is the first translation into any other language. Words in a language other than United Kingdom English are in italics. Padenheim's notes are in parentheses in the text; the footnotes are the translator's. Padenheim often writes English when he means British and this is not changed in the translation. He calls the indigenous Africans *infödingar,* literally natives; to-day this sounds contemptuous, so I call them simply Africans. I call the Kingdom of the Netherlands Holland and its citizens Dutch. I have retained Padenheim's obsolete Swedish measurements of length, area, volume and weight and append a table of metrical equivalents, also a reference bibliography. In a separate file are some suggested illustrations, with captions.

CONTENTS OF THE ORIGINAL PUBLICATION
With translator's summary of each letter

Preface

First letter, London, 12 October 1791: the slave trade, Surinam, the black refugees, Granville Sharp, Granvilletown, the Sierra Leone Company, Nova Scotia, Padenheim's Dutch service and his arrival in England.

Second letter, Sierra Leone, 5 April 1792: the journey to Sierra Leone, its geography, the building of Freetown, its system of government and the Nova Scotians.

Third letter, Sierra Leone, 30 August 1792: fever and conflict in the settlement, John Clarkson's arrival, the climate, house construction, Bolama Island, Afzelius, Nordenskiöld, Strand and the daily routine.

Fourth letter, Freetown, Sierra Leone, 4 October 1792: the superintendent's house, Macaulay's arrival, the African settlements around Freetown, African religion, polygamy, the red-water ordeal, the Chinese, slash-and-burn agriculture, the African house, the Moorish harem, funerals, daily tasks and clothes.

Fifth letter, Freetown, Sierra Leone. (Padenheim repeats the date of the fourth letter, 4 October 1792. The fifth letter ought to have been dated between May and October 1794) Nordenskiöld's last expedition, Clarkson and Dubois replaced by Macaulay, Dawes and Watt, the farming lands, the Dutch colony in South Africa, Freetown's plan, the surrounding communities, barter trade, the Nova Scotian tradesmen, the schools, scarification, African clothing and leather-work, Cuddy, weaving and dyeing.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

In his 2008 *avhandling pro gradu* for Åbo (Turku) Akademi, *Bref från Colonien,* Mattias Björkas has put together as much as is known about Padenheim. He was born as Daniel Wilhelm Torpadius on 22 March 1750 in Söderköping on Sweden's south-east coast. In 1770 he began to study at Uppsala University, but in 1772 enlisted in the army. Around 1774 he took the name Padenheim; it was then not unusual to change to a smarter name and a *torpare* in Swedish means more or less a peasant. In 1777 he married Carolina Wilhelmina Aurora Hulting. In 1781 he was a book-keeper at a distillery in Stockholm, but left Sweden accused of embezzlement and enlisted in the Dutch army or navy. He fought against the British in the Dogger Bank battle and for eight years was employed by the *West Indische Compagnie* and the *Oost Indische Compagnie* in the Dutch colonies in South America. In 1791. On his way back to Europe from Suriname, he was shipwrecked in England and took a

job with the Sierra Leone Company as a lieutenant[1] engineer, arriving in Freetown 18 February 1792. His book is principally about his first two years in Freetown, 1792 and 1793. A second part would have described 1794 and 1795, but never appeared. We do not know why he left Freetown, but by the summer of 1795, he was in Europe and from London tried unsuccessfully to get compensation for the damage done when the French plundered Freetown in 1794.[2] Later in Hamburg, Padenheim was involved with a republican group who organised an uprising in Ireland.[3] Back in Sweden in 1799, he published his book in 1801, six years after leaving Sierra Leone. He does not say where his information comes from, but he seems to have read the reports of the Sierra Leone Company, also Carl Bernhard Wadström's 1794/1795 *Essay on Colonization*. In 1802 he published a Swedish translation from German on earthquakes by Johann August Unzer – his only known other publication. In 1803 he was appointed lieutenant in charge of the royal store-houses in Karlshamn in south-eastern Sweden. His wife Carolina died in 1803 and in 1805 he married Eva Mariana Fisher. In 1814 he moved further north to Gamleby, where he died on 11 December 1821. We do not know anything about his wives and he does not seem to have had any children.

No manuscript from him has survived. The title page promises an account of the French plundering in October 1794, but the fifth letter finishes before this event; he never published anything about his last two years in Sierra Leone. Travelogues in the form of letters were popular in the late 18th century; Anna Maria Falconbridge used it in her 1794 book on her time in Sierra Leone.[4] Padenheim's "friend in Sweden" was a literary fiction. He was neither a professional author nor a scientist. His letters are badly organised, as are his long 18th century Swedish sentences, sometimes without a main verb. This English translation uses shorter sentences. His Latin and French phrases and references to South America, South Africa and Asia may have been included to show how well-educated and well-travelled he was.

Göran Rydén has explained how in the eighteenth century educated Swedes sought employment abroad.[5] Adam Afzelius,[6]1750-1837, was a pupil of Carolus Linnaeus, 1707–1778, and was in Freetown 1792-1796; some of Padenheim's anthropological information may have come from him. (Another Linnaean pupil, Andreas Berlin, had been in Sierra Leone in 1773 as assistant to the English botanist Henry Smeathman, 1742-1786). August Nordenskiöld, 1754-1792, was engaged by the Sierra Leone Company as a geologist. When he died in Freetown, he left everything to his countryman Jakob Strand, who however died the next year. Almost nothing is known about Strand; he was young and well-educated and was employed as secretary to the superintendent.

[1] A lieutenant was then not necessarily a military officer.

[2] Page 23, Mattias Björkas. *Bref från Colonien.* Avhandling pro gradu, Åbo akademi, 2008.

[3] Pages 345 to 372, Bruno Lesch. *Jan Anders Jägerhorn: Patriot och Världsmedborgare, Separatist och Emigrant.* Helsingfors: Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1941.

[4] Anna Maria Falconbridge. *Two Voyages to Sierra Leone during the Years 1791, 1792 and 1793, in a Series of Letters.* London: printed for the author, 1794.

[5] Rydén, Göran, editor. *Sweden in the 18th Century World: Provincial Cosmopolitans.* Farnham: Ashgate, 2013.

[6] Afzelius' journal was not edited and published until 1969.

SOME METRICAL EQUIVALENTS

LENGTH
1 English inch = 2.54 cm
1 English foot = 30.48 cm
1 Swedish *aln* = 59.38 cm
1 English yard = 91.44 cm
1 Swedish *famn* (fathom) = 3 Swedish *alnar* = 1.78 m
1 English mile = 1.6 km
1 nautical mile = 1.85 km
1 German mile = 7½ km
1 Swedish mile = 10 km

AREA
1 Swedish *tunnland* ≈ ½ hektar ≈ 5 000 m²
1 English acre ≈ 4 000 m²
1 English square mile ≈ 2.6 km²

VOLUME
1 Swedish *kanna* = 2 Swedish *stop*
1 Swedish *stop* = 1.3 litres
1 Imperial gallon = 4.546 litres
1 Swedish *pipe* ≈ 105 Imperial gallons = 477.33 litres

WEIGHT
1 Swedish *mark* ≈ 200 gram
1 Swedish *skålpund* ≈ 0.425 kg

BRITISH CURRENCY
The system of Librae, Solidi and Denarii, £ - s - d, Pounds, Shillings and Pence, had its origins in the Roman Empire. It was reintroduced in Europe by Charlemagne and used in Britain until the late 20th century. £1 = 20 s, 1 s = 12 d.

TITLE PAGE

Letters to a Friend in Sweden, Including a Historical and Geographical Description of the Sierra Leone Colony in Africa, together with an Account of the Formation of the Sierra Leone Company and the Formation of the Colony, with Comments on the Climate, Produce &c and on the Character, Population, Religion, Customs and Activities of the Indigenous Inhabitants, the Colony's Growth and its Plundering by a French Squadron in October 1794, also with Various Documents and Letters Related to this, Written by D. W. Padenheim, lieutenant, U. T. [7]

Printed in Stockholm at the Kumblin Press, 1801. Approved by the Censor, P. Malmström.

[7] No such documents were in fact included and the Fifth Letter ends before the French raid in October 1794. I have not discovered what *Lieutenant i U. T.* means, but it may stand for *Utländsk Tjänst*, in service abroad.

PREFACE

When I wrote and sent the following letters, I did not expect them to be read by others than my understanding friend, who well knows what limited time and opportunity I then had to express myself more elegantly.[8] Several were hurriedly written, when it suddenly and unexpectedly became possible to send a letter to Europe and at the same time attend to other related matters. Thereafter several months might pass before another opportunity arose. Similarly, when the Sierra Leone colony was first mentioned in the newspapers, this part of the world was at that time little known to geographers. These letters can thus both spread information on this little-known land and on how light could be shed on this land. At the same time, they could refute some of the absurd and ungrounded rumours and speculations which already existed about the motives for this settlement. Now I hope that the informal style and the disorder of the story-telling may be excused, given the conditions under which these letters were composed. Moreover, all my own records were destroyed by the French plunderers. Long afterwards, I neither can nor will put my letters into anything other than the form in which they were sent; now I present them to the reader, completely and truthfully.

Stockholm, 12 May 1801, the author

(Author's note: There has been an absurd suggestion that this settlement in Sierra Leone should have been a Swedenborgian New Jerusalem. This is hardly even worth refuting. It simply shows how little those who suggest it know about the freedom of religion in England. There this sect already has numerous churches and congregations, as have many other sects. Would it be worthwhile assigning £500 000 Sterling to preaching Swedenborgianism in Africa, where, as in England, so many beliefs are already being preached?)[9]

[8] The friend was probably a literary fiction.

[9] Some followers of Emanuel Swedenborg, 1688-1772, including August Nordenskiöld, had indeed suggested founding an ideal community, outside Europe.

FIRST LETTER, London, 21 October 1791

Dear Sir,

If it is true and in accordance with the experience of generations, that nothing in this world is so destructive and inherently damaging that no good can also come of it, then at the same time nothing is so excellent and good that it cannot be misused with disastrous consequences. I do not wish to go through the whole history of the slave trade, from the time when Europeans began to engage in it, nor do I wish to go into its fundamental principles. Even if they were rooted in the religions and history of mankind, it is now evident that in the course of time no principles have been so distorted as these. To-day four regions of the world display horrifying evidence; numerous eye-witness accounts have been published. I myself have spent many years in the West Indies and in Africa and so must unhappily confirm the truth of these accounts. For a long time, the deplorable situation of the negro slaves has been the object of the sincere attention and activity of philanthropists. I hope Sir, that a short history of the slave trade and the [African] slaves may not be distasteful for you.

I shall not mention the various ways, all of them violent, by which these unfortunates are first enslaved; only the cruel journey which follows. Every day in the dry season the coast [of West Africa] is a market place for slaves, although they are certainly brought there by traders from the interior. Those born a long way from the coast and who have been condemned to be sold as slaves are often driven more than a hundred [English] miles from place to place; they are sold and re-sold, or rather, exchanged for other goods, until they reach the coast. Those who survive have thus become more valuable. The slaves are then brought on board and price-marked; how their selling price is calculated I shall explain later. The slave ship carries goods known to appeal to the negro slave-drivers, namely rum, tobacco, glass, coarse blue cloth, glass beads, wax and so on.

On board the larger ships, three or four hundred slaves must stand upright below deck, packed tightly against one another. Then the hatches are closed and they are left like that; the hatches are only opened at meal times and in the morning and in the evening, to let in fresh air etcetera. The crew supervise this and are armed to prevent revolt. The female slaves are usually kept on deck during the day. Both women and men are chained together in groups of five or six. In spite of these precautions, it sometimes happens that the slaves get control of the ship and murder the crew. Since the women are kept on deck, it is usually they who plan this and carry it out; they are the least restrained. To avoid such a mutiny, a barrier is built forward of the bridge, with steel spikes and small loopholes. From behind the barrier, the crew with their firearms can shoot all those on deck. Those who take shelter below deck are taken prisoner and made to regret their attempted revolt.

No other form of commerce in the world can be more repulsive for the rest of us than this. Even more disgraceful are the Europeans' cynically calculated terms of trade. The black traders always come off worst, in spite of their increasing slyness. What do they get for all the wretches who are rounded up every year, so few of whom ever reach their destination? According to a confidential report prepared by the British government and parliament in the year 1789,[10] every year eighty thousand slaves are despatched from between Senegal and Cap-Negro, half of them by the British. The average slave mortality on a slave ship is

[10] I have not found this report. 'Cap-Negro' may be Cabo Negro in southern Angola, or Pointe Noire in Congo-Brazzville.

reckoned at 12%. The transatlantic journey usually takes six or seven weeks. This means that all the slaves would die, if the journey were to take a whole year. It often happens that the whole cargo dies, either because of an epidemic, or because the ship was becalmed in the so-called Doldrums.

(Author's note: This is part of the Atlantic Ocean, between the eastern and western trade winds. There the winds can blow violently from every direction, with terrible thunderstorms, or there can be no wind at all for months. The author has lain there becalmed for nine weeks.)

For lack of water and food in such a situation the captain has no choice but to kill some of the slaves, to keep the rest alive. The Dutch and the English throw their slaves overboard alive; the French always carry mercury on their ships for such situations. The seamen's mortality on the slave ships is even worse: more than 21% on every voyage, not counting those who die in Africa or the West Indies.

On arrival at the West Indies or the Americas, the surviving slaves are taken ashore under guard and brought to the market place. No human spectacle could be more miserable. They are lined up in two rows, according to their sex, facing one another and wearing no more than a piece of cloth. Mothers carry their children with them and they are sold together, at a better price. All are in despair. If any are not totally abject, it is because they cannot understand what they have already lost or what awaits them. They may have become wholly apathetic or cherish some faint hope, because they are no longer imprisoned on the ship and can feel the solid ground and a climate like their homeland's.

My experience is that no nation treats its slaves so inhumanly and arbitrarily as the Dutch in their colonies in the West Indies and in the Americas. They are strictest in Suriname, somewhat better in the East Indies. In the former country I have seen a sixteen-year-old girl, who had been driven by hunger to risk her life and had crept through a little opening in an attic after a piece of cheese. When her owner heard of this, she was caned by two negroes until she could hardly move. Then a metal collar was put on her. It had three protruding spikes, which would certainly prevent her from creeping through the opening again. But it also prevented her from lying down without resting on the collar; two of the spikes always supported her neck, while the third pointed upwards. I have seen others punished for some minor offence; bound hand and foot, they were flogged at every street corner by two black *bombays,* who took turns to thrash them.[11] And I have seen a certain Mestrow Stolke shoot a beautiful slave girl with a pistol, because she felt jealous of her. There were many other examples of cruelty. It is true that according to the law, the owner has the right to kill a slave, since such are considered chattels. They can also be flogged to death as a legal punishment. But I digress.

The plantation-owners are informed about the date for the sale of the newly-arrived consignment of slaves and come to the market-place to select their slaves and place their bids. They examine the slaves carefully for physical defects, making them assume every possible attitude. They feel the slaves' muscles and make them run quickly. They analyse their breath and strength in various ways. If the slave meets all their requirements and seems to be able to work, a price is decided. In 1781 a good slave cost about eight hundred Dutch guilders.

(Author's note: So-called *ambachts-negroes,* that is to say, those whom the owner has trained to be cabinet-makers, carpenters, masons etcetera, fetch a price of ten to twelve thousand guilders. They are then very profitably hired out.)

[11] *Bombays* are later explained to be black officers, armed with whips.

The buyer assembles his purchases of both sexes and brands them with the distinctive mark of each plantation, so that there is no doubt about where the negroes belong. To do this, a slave brings the owner a brazier with branding-irons. Some are branded on the thigh, some on the chest, and some on the hip and so on. Then they are then driven to the plantation, which may be more than a hundred [English] miles from the city of Paramaribo. When they arrive, the owner – or his manager, if the owner does not live there himself – assigns a female slave to every male and vice versa. The whole marriage ceremony consists of saying to each pair: "This is your wife" or "This is your husband". The married couple then live together, eat together and together look after their house and garden. The owner is very interested in the reproduction of his property and dislikes childlessness.

The language used is broken English. All the slaves are taught to understand it, by experience and punishment. On every plantation the farm buildings and dwellings are built near the numerous rivers which run through this well-endowed country, or canals are dug, as in Holland, for transporting the produce into the town.

(Author's note: You Sir, are aware that the Dutch took over the Swedish colony in Pennsylvania, when Sweden abandoned it. The British then controlled Suriname, but did not want to have the Dutch as neighbours in North America as well as in South America. They therefore did an exchange and the Dutch took over Suriname. The existing map of the country covers more than a hundred English miles, but also shows "unknown territory". The Blue Mountains are rich in minerals and are otherwise desirable; apart from other things, good quality cotton and coffee grow there.)

The slave dwellings are also built there; they are like prison camps and the slaves are locked in every evening. Before dawn, between four and five o'clock in the morning, the slaves are herded out to work. In many places the fields are more than a mile from the dwellings. The women carry their small children in a piece of cloth, so that the child has one leg on each side of their hip. When the women begin working, they put the child down on the grass and leave it to its own devices until the mother can rest from her work. This work consists of hoeing and preparing the soil, planting, weeding etcetera, as well as carrying the produce home at harvest time. Both sugar and coffee require a lot of work before they can delight European palates – the sweat and blood of these wretches! After work they are herded home. Pregnant women get no holiday after child-bearing. They stay at home for three days. Then they get a yard of old cloth to carry the child and go back to work as before. Nature is generous to them, or it may be because of their diet or physique; they deliver their children almost painlessly and hardly ever have a deformed child.

The slaves do not have to work on Sundays. Then they usually tend the small gardens allotted to them. They dig them and sow vegetables and rice. The food they get from their master is mostly herring, occasionally old salt meat. In the West Indies it is generally Swedish herring, shipped via Holland. Since this is often carelessly salted, the negroes eat it half-rotten – truly a paltry payment for the delicious coffee produced by the wretched negroes. Every day the plantation gives them a few plantains *(musa)* and that is all they get instead of bread. The slightest mistake at work or other offence is severely punished with whips and canes. Somehow the owners have become convinced that respect, encouragement, instruction and tolerance are no way to make slaves carry out their tasks, but has any Dutchman ever tried that way? Has the discipline of terror ever had good results?

There is not a white face to be seen, except the so-called director, a European who runs the plantation, and the European inspector who assists him. Dutch social customs do not allow European women to come to Suriname, although some merchants who live here do have their wives with them. This explains why there are so many *mulattos* here.

(Author's note: All sorts of skin colour, from black to pearl-white, are to be seen here. Those with a white father and a black mother, or vice versa, are called *mulattos* and are yellowish. The children of other different mixtures are called *mestices* or *castices*.)

The inspector or slave-master has at his disposal a number of so-called *bombays* or provosts, armed with whips, who walk around among the workers, ready to obey the slightest wink from the slave-master. Thus two Europeans can often manage from twelve to fifteen thousand men and women.

It may be a ten or more [English] miles to the next European-led settlement, though the settlements are often denser. In front of nearly every plantation is the hideous spectacle of a number of stakes driven into the earth, each surmounted by a severed head, from wretches whose most serious offence was that they had tried to escape and been caught. This arbitrary and cruel society has put all the power in the hands of the most profligate and insensitive creatures. I assure you Sir, the happiest black face I saw there was one who was at last to be put out of his misery.

(Author's note: In Suriname in 1782, a negro was hung up from an iron hook under his ribs. He was still able to talk to his wife as he was hanging there.)

You would think Sir, that with so many horrid examples to be seen in nearly every plantation, attempts to escape would be rare. Never the less, since the Dutch arrived in this country, the number who escape has increased. These so-called forest negroes have become so numerous that they have been able to challenge the Dutch military garrison, which suffered so severely from their bravery that a formal armistice was negotiated, guaranteeing the forest negroes' freedom. As you know Sir, the South American aborigines are short, with copper-coloured skin and long straight hair. I mention this only so that you should not think that these forest negroes had become so numerous through mixing with the aborigines. No, they are an African tribe of their own. The others in the Dutch colony have no other future than helplessness or death.

A young male slave aged about twenty, who had been acquired along the road to Paramaribo, was among those put to work on board one of the other ships on which I was going to return to Europe in 1783, since the *Nassau Weilbourg,* a 64-gun warship, had been wrecked. While he was working and just before the ship sailed, he found a place on board where he could hide. He did not come out of hiding until we had been several days at sea. He had previously put some bread and bits of meat in his hiding-place and so had been able to survive, but he was terribly thirsty. It was now too late to send him back; hurriedly and unwisely, he was threatened to be sent back from Amsterdam. He was cheerful and cooperative during the whole voyage. We reached Texel late one July evening in 1783 and anchored some miles from the coast. In the morning our young negro had disappeared; he had swum ashore, to avoid being put in prison in Amsterdam and sent back to Suriname. In the colonies of the other European countries, the negro slaves are less barbarically treated, but never the less arbitrarily.

But I am forgetting that I was writing about Sierra Leone in Africa, and not about the history of slaves in the Americas. I beg you Sir, to excuse this long digression. It has at least given you an idea of the deplorable suffering of some of our fellow-creatures and of the indignation this has awoken among those who love their brothers and sisters. The laws of England now give them some protection.[12] These say that in principle the moment a slave sets foot in England, he or she is *ipso facto* free. This law has on several occasions been formally confirmed and for some time many slaves have tried to reach England from the

[12] Padenheim is referring to the 1772 decision by Lord Mansfield.

Americas or the West Indies. But without the support of religious congregations and familiarity with English customs, they have not found the hoped-for paradise and personal safety. The English character is insensitive to their immediate predicament. By 1786 their number and their misery had touched the national conscience. The public shuddered, because the streets of London were swarming with these wretches of both sexes in a depth of despair. But England is generally not where mercy makes her home. Only grand projects, worthy of the nation's interest, can awaken the noble English generosity. Then it can be unlimited. Witness their hospitals, veterans' homes and orphanages, unrivalled in the world. And one man with the right personality can awaken these feelings.

Granville Sharp, a true friend of the human race, had for many years spent time and money on behalf of enslaved Africans. His tireless energy and publications had distinguished him as a courageous supporter of his fatherland's ancient and noble principles, untrammelled by petty differences. This noble man had devoted his talents and his personal fortune to rescuing these unfortunate Africans. Thanks to him, they now have in Sierra Leone their Free Town in their own continent. He collaborated with the skilful and unselfish physician doctor Smeathman, who had spent several years in Africa, and had investigated ways of helping the black poor. In 1786 Smeathman published his *Plan of a Settlement to be made near Sierra Leone,* a project for founding a settlement there, as a new and better home for black and mixed-race people, as free citizens under the leadership of a committee devoted to their support. In a land like England there was no risk that such a project would not find support. Admittedly, not all who found the project interesting were as honourable and unselfish as Granville Sharp.

(Author's note: Certainly, the Sierra Leone subscription began by attracting many who were purely speculators. Of all the continents, Africa is closest [to Europe] and by nature is as well if not better endowed. The fauna are abundant. The tropical flora flourishes, as do most of the European flora. The English guinea coins are so named because the gold came from West Africa. No one there has taken the trouble to mine it underground, but the rivers bear so much gold dust with them that there must be more there than anywhere else in the world. There are also other metals, notably iron. But in England, Africa has been looked down on, as far as its culture and natural resources are concerned. This is because the estate-owners on the West-Indian islands have had too much influence on the governments of the trading nations. These islands are expensive to maintain and give a poor return on the investment.)

A public appeal was launched to collect money, a programme was drawn up and a board of directors was appointed. Already the same year 1786, about four hundred unfortunate blacks and sixty white women arrived in Sierra Leone.[13] There an agreement had already been made with the local African ruler to acquire about twenty English square miles of land. But four months later there were only two hundred and seventy-five settlers left, as a result of several unfortunate happenings. The war with France and disagreements with the native Africans destroyed this first Free Town.[14] The war made it difficult – almost impossible – to supply the colony and it was abandoned to its fate. The Africans did not like the settlers' behaviour, which may have been tactless and influenced by other settlements.

[13] The black emigrants of both sexes and the white women were all more or less destitute; they had no experience of building a new community in a new environment. Granville Sharp's project hoped to give them a better life in West Africa, the Bolama project offered real-estate profits, whereas the Freetown settlers were chosen for their ability to survive.

[14] Padenheim calls the war 'the American war'. The first settlement was in fact called Granville Town; the name Free Town was later given to the 1792 settlement.

Some of the settlers even became slave-traders. Others were kidnapped and re-sold to passing slave-traders.

The following year, lieutenant Falconbridge arrived, found only forty-eight survivors and moved them to Fourah Bay, where they survived by farming and were reinforced with sixteen more settlers. The worthy and energetic Granville Sharp did not abandon them, but in 1788 at his own expense sent out a ship with thirty-nine new colonists and material and provisions. The British government also contributed. The first project organisation was called the Saint George's Bay Company, but although it still formally existed, it had ceased to operate. The project was too much for a single individual's resources. The settlers were thus left in insecurity until 17 February 1790, when Granville Sharp, ever tireless for black welfare, founded a joint-stock company with twenty-one associates, whose philanthropy he could rely on. Within a few months this new association had grown and merged with the previous company. New subscriptions were solicited “to promote civilisation in Africa”.

(Author’s note: In England all major projects are financed by such subscriptions. On these occasions women there always show the noble spirit which characterises their sex. In this particular case, where the objective was so important for humanity, the women were so enthusiastic that when the subscriptions closed 1 July 1792, they numbered 160 out of a total of 1 843 subscribers. 5 023 shares were issued, at a value of £50 each.)

This new Company was incorporated by an Act of Parliament 1 July 1791 for a period of thirty-one years, with a capital of £100 000 Sterling. This was later increased to £150 000 and then again to £235 280, with a ceiling of £500 000, not to be exceeded.

A committee was sent to Africa, to decide on an appropriate site for the settlement and to negotiate with the native Africans.[15] At the same time, a delegation from North America arrived, to present for the British government the predicament and the complaints of their black compatriots who had fought on the British side in the American independence war, when the British government had recruited and armed black slaves.[16] At the end of the war, they were no longer slaves, but were now penniless refugees with nowhere to live. They were promised land to farm and other rewards for their loyal services and directed to Nova Scotia or other colonies still loyal to Britain. Since they had been used to a tropical climate, many of them were uneasy and unhappy in the harsh [Canadian] climate. They felt cheated and disappointed by the promises made to them during the independence war. The delegation they sent to London was supported by Granville Sharp and several of his friends, who were also members of the Sierra Leone Company. The government was aware of the Sierra Leone Company's noble ambitions and felt that the generous promises made under the war had not been fulfilled.

(Author’s note: The Sierra Leone Company was incorporated in London and must therefore begin by presenting its board of directors and its programme for the British government, although many of the shareholders were foreigners. The Company did not request military protection, nor was this promised; the Company had declared itself willing to accept all nations and certainly was a venture worthy of universal goodwill.)

The government therefore made an agreement with the Sierra Leone Company, that as many of the black refugees as so wished should be given a passage from North America to Sierra Leone at the government's expense and allotted land there by the Company. This unforeseen and unexpected source of potential settlers changed the plans for an African colony.

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[15] Alexander Falconbridge, rather than a committee, was sent out.

[16] Thomas Peters, rather than a delegation, travelled to London as the representative of the blacks in Nova Scotia.

(Author's note: Every one of the North American refugees was required to have a certificate of good character, with respect to decency, sobriety, industry and solvency. Thereafter the Company's representative [in Nova Scotia] gave them a document entitling them to not less than twenty acres for the husband, ten acres for the wife and five for each child, given reasonable conditions of peace and prosperity.)

It was evident that it was the slave trade that had originally plunged our fellow human beings into the depths of despair that thousands of them lamented; every year a horrifying number continue to be abducted from their African homelands. This trade goes against the laws of nature and its expansion is a disgrace to our generation, which is at last becoming aware of it. Brotherly love has re-appeared and its good influence is spreading across the globe. Why should it not reach Africa and those victims of abuse, whose laments pierce the hearts of humanity, but where unpunished selfishness refuses to accept our fellow men, children of the same Creator? It is now generally accepted that international trade can continue and even expand, through a free satisfaction of mutual needs, without this despicable and unjust trade. What is fundamentally sound, is also mutually profitable. What is fundamentally evil can be assuaged, but that is a waste of time and money, because it re-occurs with redoubled force.

Considerable sums of money had now been collected, at least in Europe, to alleviate present and future African problems. The question was of course what to do about the root of all this evil, the slave trade. In a world where self-interest cannot be eliminated, but only kept in check, and where the human race has been deformed by the thirst for gold, past and present guides are no longer useful. It is only too well known what resistance the movement against the slave trade has met in Europe and in the Americas. The same short-sightedness made this trade attractive to Africans; through it they are able to acquire, albeit in a small scale, some European consumer goods. They are cunningly encouraged to do so, and no religion or moral principles prevents them from acquiring these goods in exchange for their fellow citizens. It was never the less hoped that with instruction in true religion, in [European] customs, in natural science and in sound business practices – in short, that as Africa more and more accepted [European] culture and civilisation – Africans would spontaneously refrain from this unnatural trade. They would fetch, cultivate and develop the natural products so abundant in their own countries. They would enrich both Europe and their own countries with the copious resources which surround them but still lie undeveloped. There was good reason to believe this. The native Africans are in general apt pupils and love to learn. King Naïmbannah of Sierra Leone is very anxious to lift his country out of ignorance and poverty. He has sent one of his sons to school in France, with a Moslem teacher, and another and older son, called Johan Fredric, to England; he is now at Oxford University and has made good progress in natural science.

In London in 1791 the general meeting of the shareholders of the Sierra Leone Company wanted to run their business in a sound and legal manner. They therefore applied for and were granted an Act of Parliament, of which the sixth article reads: "The Company has no right in its colony to own or to trade in slaves". In was their intention to choose a board of directors and publish a set of instructions for all the servants of the Company. The board of directors consisted of thirteen members, of whom one was to be chairman, another vice-chairman, another secretary.

(Author's note: The chairman was H. Thornton and the vice-chairman P. Sansom. Other directors were C. Middleton, Thomas Clarkson, V. Taylor, William Wilberforce, Granville Sharp, W. Sanford, J. Kingston, Thomas Eldred, S. Parker and Göran Wolff, the Danish consul in London.)

They would serve one year, after which new members would be chosen in the same way. The board had the right to publish rules for the Company's economy and the first of these was to exclude from their Company anyone who was involved in the slave trade. Although the Company's objectives were well known, the directors appended to their first annual report a postscript, with some explanations, here summarised:

"A number of shareholders (so-called proprietors) who were chosen by lot 20 December 1790 joined only because the Company's philanthropic profile appealed to them. They had not yet been fully informed about the Company's principal objective, which is an honest trade with Africa and all its desirable consequences, as against the undesirable trade hitherto pursued. From this connection Africa would probably derive even more important advantages with respect to religion, morals and civilisation. To achieve these goals, it is necessary for the Company to own a piece of land which could be a market-place for [European] goods, and where Africans can farm in peace, away from the destructive slave trade. There is no doubt that the [African] climate and soil are eminently suitable for growing all tropical crops. Moreover, the Company intends to train the native Africans to begin growing such crops and show them how an active agriculture is in their own interests. Now the board of the Company hopes that the shareholders will not admit into this association anyone whose sincere devotion to these fundamental principles is not doubtlessly confirmed. The shareholders shall have no reason to fear that their investment might be jeopardised by these sound precautions. They must be sure that the Company's programme is well founded and has such objectives. Many are already shocked by the wrongs committed in Africa and the injustice Africa has so long suffered at our hands; daily more are becoming shockingly aware of these. Whatever may be said to the contrary, the programme of the Sierra Leone Company cannot be said to be anything but an improvement, working slowly but surely against the slave trade. Inspired by these ideas, the board of directors are grateful for this opportunity to be instruments of progress and to introduce such important and widespread advantages. They are happy to look forward to the welcome time when the Company's principles and the results of implementing them shall lift the African countries out of their present dark and miserable situation. May it bring enlightenment, knowledge, civilisation, good order, peaceful industry and domestic happiness."

I could not more elegantly or completely explain the programme for you, Sir, than as the directors themselves have thus expressed it. You can rest assured, Sir, that this is a sincere and genuine expression, devoid of religious fantasy or dreams of a New Jerusalem.[17]

When the Company had thus been incorporated, the British government paid for sending ships to Virginia and to Nova Scotia to transport black settlers to Sierra Leone.[18] The naval lieutenant [John] Clarkson was contracted for this. Five more ships, one of them armed with twenty guns, are ready to set sail soon for Africa [from Britain]. These are to transport the necessary provisions, tools and equipment, also forty officials and craftsmen of the Company, as well as a few more settlers, a few soldiers and about thirty women and children, all of them white.

(Author's note: The Company was careful in choosing shareholders; no one could acquire a share, even after payment, without being recommended on a special written form by one of the original shareholders and subsequently approved in an open vote, yes or no.)

[17] The Swedenborgians called their Utopia "New Jerusalem".

[18] Padenheim confuses John Clarkson's mission to Nova Scotia with earlier missions to rescue Loyalists who were still in the newly-independent United States of America.

The shareholders and the directors were very particular in their choice of settlers. They chose unanimously to send with them as geologist the [Swedish] mining-engineer August Nordenskiöld and as botanist the [Swedish] professor Adam Afzelius. I do not know if these two gentlemen are salaried or have other benefits. They have chosen another Swede, Jakob Strand, as secretary to the governor. The two previously-mentioned are bearers of special passes from his Majesty the King of Sweden. Time will show if the other settlers and officials were equally well-chosen.[19] These gentlemen and fellow-countrymen have by their example persuaded me too to apply for permission to travel to Sierra Leone. Who would not, if they valued their own time and position, gladly accept an opportunity to participate in such a worthy project?

You, Sir, are already aware that I was employed for twelve years by the Dutch. Two of these years I spent in the Americas and the West Indies, one-and-a-half in the Mediterranean, from the straights of Gibraltar to the east, and four years in the Dutch East Indies; I am accustomed to the climate everywhere. The unrest in Holland upset the terms of my employment. Furthermore, the Dutch navy were recalcitrant in compensating the losses I suffered on board their frigate *Den Briel.* This occurred on Christmas night a year ago. We were on our way to garrison the colony of Demarera in South America, with a crew of two hundred and sixty, and with three hundred and sixty soldiers and their officers on board. We were shipwrecked on the westernmost tip of Cornwall in England. I and a few sailors survived in a dinghy and afterwards made our way to London. I had lost everything except my life and my hope; I hardly need to explain that I had to travel as they do in Germany, on foot. Thus penniless, I experienced the English *sang-froid* and in thirteen days covered three hundred and eighty English miles to arrive in London.[20] Could I there find a better employment, more appropriate for my character? Perhaps I should have mentioned this to you, Sir, at the beginning of my letter, but I wanted the English dateline to be a surprise and only later explain how I arrived there, as you had so thoughtfully suggested before the Dogger Bank battle. Now I hope we shall soon arrive at our [African] destination, whence I look forward to continuing my correspondence. I shall tell you about our progress and about the inhabitants and the country in general: its climate, its products, its customs and so on, as far I become acquainted with them. Thus I hope to fulfil your respected wishes to be kept informed of whatever unusual I may encounter which might be of interest to you.

I have the honour to remain, Sir &c.

[19] The Sierra Leone Company found it difficult to recruit competent staff in England. In his later letters, Padenheim bewails the conflicts in Freetown between the superintendent and the advisory council.

[20] Padenheim mistakenly thinks *sang-froid* means cold-blooded.

SECOND LETTER, Sierra Leone, 5 April 1792

Dear Sir,

We left England on 20 December 1791. It is a harsh time of year and the winds were unfavourable; it took us a long time to sail through the Channel and past Cape Saint Vincent. I cannot recall ever passing that point without storms. But a few days later we met the spring sunshine and on 16 January 1792 we arrived at Madeira, latitude 32º 33' north. This island has been described so many times that I do not need to do so, but before we leave it, I must add two comments. The first is that looking at the alarming, pointed, stratified and fragmented cliffs overhanging the town of Funchal leaves no doubt of the island's volcanic origin; it has been erupted to the surface from the sea-bed. The other is that its climate and associate qualities cannot be too highly praised; yet this seems to have been neglected, and the reason for this seems to be the political situation of the colonists there and their national character.

As is usual when a ship arrives there, we found excellent wine and some vegetables – something we did not have so much of. There is also a fine English inn there, where they serve good food, including wild strawberries and cream, albeit at a high price. The citizens are reasonably polite towards foreigners and so hospitable that one must go in and down to every cellar, to taste their good Malmsey wine. But I suspect that this largely serves their own interest, because they all want to sell wine and know that our vessel is going to buy it somewhere. True and noble hospitality, Sir, is a quality born of the heart and you will only find it in Sweden. In this case, one has to go and taste the wine, particularly what is offered in the cellars. Heaven preserve us from the wine which they carry in animal bladders on donkey-back! A trip to a nunnery on horseback over the mountains is exciting and seems dangerous. One is afraid of breaking one's own neck, or the horse's or the donkey's, on the steep paths, but one can be as relaxed as in an arm-chair; safer or more sure-footed animals are unimaginable.[21]

We continued our voyage with the world's best wind and weather and on 26 January we sighted the astonishing pinnacle of Tenerife, arriving on 27 January at Santa Cruz, the principal town on the island. Again, this is a volcanic mountain, in the form of a cone. The summit is twelve to fifteen thousand feet above sea level and can be seen at sea forty or fifty miles away.[22] The upper quarter of this mountain is covered with ice, a brilliant and beautiful sight when it catches the sun. This island is generously endowed with farm animals, corn and fowls, as well as wine and liquor; they say that fifteen thousand pipes of the last-named are exported every year.[23] Tenerife is not as cheerful as Madeira; it is more serious. But we could enjoy what it had to offer before setting sail again and reaching the Sierra Leone estuary on the evening of the 18 February 1792.

(Author's note: The whole journey, including the time spent ashore, had thus taken twenty-nine days – eleven to thirteen days after leaving the English Channel).

At sunrise the next day we were greeted with a salute from the battery. After prayers on board, all the boats were launched. At eight o'clock we and some of the soldiers went

[21] This translation of the original text is uncertain: *Ni får vinkar af nunnorna, som äro blandade med sörungar; men det är er icke tillåtet at stadna.* There may have been a printing mistake.

[22] The summit of Pico del Tiede is 3 718 m above sea level.

[23] 1 pipe = 105 imperial gallons = 477 litres; therefore fifteen thousand pipes would be seven million litres, which seems improbable.

ashore at the place already chosen for the new town. The Company's flag was hoisted from a tree and cannons were fired from our ship. As we came ashore we were surrounded by a group of blacks from the nearby settlement. They shook hands with us to show their satisfaction. I was surprised to hear several of them speak good English; they said they had learned this in contact with English and American slave-traders. At two in the afternoon we went back on board for lunch and took some of the black leaders with us. At sunset there were more cannon salutes as the flag was lowered; thereafter this became a tradition.

(Author's note: The Company flag is green with a white stripe and on that a black stripe, surrounded by palm-leaves).

We had to stay on board during the first weeks and made only brief visits ashore – a boring time for me.[24] But already on 16 March 1792 lieutenant Clarkson arrived from North America with sixteen ships and one thousand one hundred and thirty-one black settlers. Many were suffering from a fever they had caught before they went on board in Halifax. They had been living in tents put up for them while they waited for the ships to sail and at that time of year the weather in Halifax is as harsh as in Sweden. Sixty-five died during the voyage and lieutenant Clarkson himself caught the fever and only slowly recovered. After a favourable decision had been reached at a *palaver* with the Africans, we were allowed to go ashore and begin the tasks we had been employed for.

(Author's note: A *palaver* is the African term for a meeting of the leaders, either to consider a question affecting the community, or to decide conflicts).

A written agreement was delivered to the leaders, read up and explained, as follows: "Hereby the Sierra Leone Company declares that it will deliver goods in exchange for any sort of African produce, but will not trade in slaves, nor will the Company allow slave-trading on its property. The Company will have a large store of European products for sale. The Company does not want war to break out, but will maintain peace, except when attacked. The Company will not allow anyone to be maltreated on its property, nor may anyone be seized and kidnapped into slavery. The Company will administer its own justice and punish any misdemeanour legally shown to have been committed by its own people. Black and white settlers will be governed by the same laws and their persons and property protected. The Company intends to arrange schools to teach reading, writing and calculating; when these schools are ready, the native Africans will be welcome to put their children into them."

And so at last we landed! Now you, Sir, will understand, without my going into details, that the colony was run by a governor, with a council to administer justice among the settlers. All the activities were subject to this. I am particularly anxious to describe for you, Sir, how our building site was arranged. Few places in the world can surpass this spot on the shores of the Sierra Leone River, at the mouth of which our philanthropic colony was founded. It is on a peninsular, between the Sierra Leone River and the Sherbro River, at 8º 30' latitude North and 13º 43' longitude West, (14º 30' West with the magnetic variation).[25] On the western side of the settlement, the ocean coast extends towards the north; this forms a harbour, wherein a hundred ships could safely lie, sheltered from the *tornadoes* by the mountains rising to the south-east. Up to nearly one hundred fathoms from the shore there is sufficient depth and good anchorage. The river here is about four [English] miles wide. The northern shore is very beautiful. Where it joins the ocean, there is a small island,

[24] It is strange that Padenheim was not allowed to go ashore; perhaps the incompetent surveyor Cocks did not want competition?

[25] 18th century readers were not expected to have access to a map with place names and so it was common to give latitude and longitude.

from which one has the best overall view of Freetown – the name which according to instructions has been given to the colony.

(Author's note: A *tornado* is the Portuguese term for a fierce wind of short duration).

The southern shore slopes partly gently and partly more steeply down to the water, about forty feet above the high spring-tide-mark. The low tide-mark is some fourteen feet lower. Among the several advantages of this variation, whereby Nature moves enormous quantities of water up and down, is that a dock could be arranged.[26] A pair of lock gates are all that would be needed to prevent the rising tide from refilling the dock. Then once a ship had been brought in, it would be left high and dry for work to be done on it. Such docks abound on the North Sea coast and I feel we would find them valuable here.

As soon as one comes up from the coastal slope, the ground is level and covered with a fine forest. Some of the trees are four or five feet in diameter. This level ground measures about half an English mile from north to south. It slopes up towards what is called Thornton Hill,[27] where some sort of fortification is planned. This hill does indeed command the plain below it, as far as the water's edge, and it is here that the town is to be built. The hill is in turn dominated by the mountain behind it. From the eastern side of the hill it is only a few hundred *alnar* to the enormous mountain, which is also covered in forest. It is from this mountain that both the peninsular and the river take their name, Sierra Leone, the Lion Mountain. Various sorts of palm tree and plum tree, of gigantic size, also the little dark-red castor tree and several other sorts of tree, unknown in Europe, grow densely over the plain and over the base of the mountain.

On the western side of the town site there is a deep valley, through which runs a stream with good, clear and plentiful water, which could be used in more than one way. The stream runs out into the sea and visiting ships replenish their supply there. In a hard rock beside the harbour two Swedish names, Kierrulf and Åberg, and the date 1762, have been incised with rough, deep and easily-read letters.[28]

This stream marks the boundary of the Company's site. A similar but smaller stream runs on the eastern side. Thus the site is more or less a level rectangle with water on three sides. To the east the stream runs out into Susan's Bay and to the west the stream runs out into James' or George's Bay. The banks of the river and the sea coast are studded with beautiful coves. But now is not the time to start describing the rest of the countryside, which at that time I had anyway not had time to become acquainted with. Let me instead devote the rest of this letter to explaining how the Nova Scotians, as we call the black settlers who have arrived from "New Scotland", have begun to clear the town site. All of them have begun to put up temporary shelters for themselves and their families, using whatever material they can find. They are afraid of being caught by the rainy season, which will begin in a month's time.

It can be interesting for you, Sir, to hear something about the way of life in our community and about the characteristics of our North American settlers. This will show you what can be expected of those who are going to live in this colony. They have put up a large building of traditional African material: tree-trunks, mud and lime. It is plastered inside and out and roofed with dried grass, of a sort resembling thick straw. This building has been named Harmony Hall. It is sufficiently large to accommodate not only the dwellings of our

[26] There is no tidal variation in Sweden.

[27] Named after Henry Thornton, chairman of the Sierra Leone Company and author of books on theology and economics.

[28] Nothing more is known about them and the inscription has disappeared; they were presumably Swedish seamen.

skilful physician, doctor Winterbottom, and our two European clergymen, but also has room for divine service every Sunday and holiday, morning and evening. The blacks have five or six preachers in their community, who learned to do this themselves when they were no longer slaves. They have considerable influence in their communities and maintain order and obedience. The blacks have great respect for the Sabbath. Then they abstain from all other work, behave seriously and respectably, dress themselves decently, some with European wigs, and go to church with their children. One of the European clergymen conducts the service for as many as there is room for in the church. The others attend their own preachers in simpler shelters. The Nova Scotians take their services very seriously and many of them respect religion in other ways. But naturally I conclude that in such a large community, where each and every one calls themselves Christian, their concept of Christianity is irregular and enthusiastic.[29]

It is the intention of the Company directors in London that English law shall ultimately apply here, in so far as it meets our needs and conditions. Justice shall be dispensed equally for black and for white settlers. Although the black settlers are not well acquainted with English law, they sit in court on juries; one of the Company's officials is always the judge. You, Sir, can get some idea of their way of life from the cases which come up at the periodic sessions, before the so-called Justices of the Peace.[30] The cases are mostly sexual irregularities and minor thefts; they are not prone to drunkenness or foul language. Punishments are mild and judgements are usually just. Although the blacks have no formal legal training, more than *ex æquo et justo*,[31] it has been agreed that they shall have the right and duty to sit on a jury. They set a high value on this privilege.

(Author's note: This was one of the conditions for their transatlantic journey).

To keep order in the settlement a police force has been organised. Every ten households elect *tithing-men*, who then elect a *hundreder*.[32] We now have three of the latter, who thus represent three hundred households in the colony. The *hundreders* are consulted by the Company's governor on matters directly concerning the black settlers. The settlers also take care of the defence of the settlement. When they were slaves in North America, they learned several trades and during the war they had some military training. Their wives have also learned household skills. Altogether our little republic[33] is not without skilled craftsmen and artists; we are also strong enough to defend ourselves against the neighbouring Africans, who however seem to be reasonably peaceable.

But there are two sides to everything. So much for the fairest side of our settlers. On the other side, they are quick to anger. They cannot control themselves and their opinions are violent, as is their conduct. Some are very ambitious, others inclined to an infectious violence. They are very proud to be free, and this can degenerate into insolence, but that can be excused in view of their background. Undoubtedly they have suffered many

[29] Enthusiasm was in the 18th century a disapproving term, applied especially to Wesley's emotional preaching. Lutheran Sweden did not tolerate dissenting Christianity.

[30] Padenheim calls them, in English,"sessions of peace".

[31] *Ex aeque et bono* (not *justo),* means literally, according to what is right and good, but is often translated as, from equity and conscience. A judge can sometimes set aside the law and arbitrate according to what seems fair and equitable.

[32] The system of *tithing-men* and *hundreders* was a favourite idea of Granville Sharp's and was based on 10th century English *frankpledge.* I have not found any written constitution for the Freetown settlement, but during its first years, the Nova Scotian settlers did not easily accept the authority of the superintendent and his council, nor did the superintendents always agree with their councils.

[33] Republic was a politically sensitive term. According to Bruno Lesch, *op. cit,* Padenheim became involved in subversive republican activities in Germany and Ireland, after his tour of duty in Sierra Leone.

hardships at the hands of their arbitrary overlords. This has made them irrevocably distrust the whites. Many of them have always been devout, polite, helpful and content. One must remember that any criticism of them should be seen in their special context. Generally, one could say that their character has been as beneficially developed as can reasonably be expected of former slaves; it is far superior to the English lower classes. However, I think that when they behave unpleasantly, they should be reminded of the difference between true freedom and rebelliousness. Great care should be taken and gentle pressure exerted when they transgress. The slightest sign of arbitrary treatment incenses them and on more than one occasion has led to an explosion. When the governor and his council had dismissed a worker for disrespect towards his superior, a serious investigation was made. A rule was then introduced: no Nova Scotian who was employed by the Company would in future be dismissed without being legally judged in a court composed of his countrymen -- "by a jury of his peers".[34] On one occasion the Nova Scotians maintained that the colony would have sunk back into slavery, if the governor were not reprimanded for ordering that the rum should be diluted with water before it was sold – this was a measure to bring the original liquor down to a reasonable strength – and if their daily wage were not raised a few pennies above the present level. But were I to relate all the incidents around the governor and their subsequent discussions, this already lengthy letter would never be finished.

The settlers have even demanded to be allowed to send delegates to London to lodge complaints, however absurd this may seem.[35] But no opportunity has arisen to do so and I am convinced that if they were not to think better of this crazy idea, it would anyway be a failure. It is certainly true that they have had the benefit of all the privileges promised them by the Company, in so far as was humanly possible. This has given the Company a lot of unforeseen expenditures, beyond what it had legally assumed. It would have been inhuman to refuse them. Imagine yourself, Sir, being set down in the wilderness with your wife and five or six children. You must begin by clearing a bit of the forest, to find a place to build a shelter. You must also imagine, Sir, that you had come from a country where you had found it difficult to survive, and that you have brought with you only the barest necessities. It is true that the blacks were given food on board; but without it, how could they survive ashore? Didn't they still need some daily rations? It has not yet been possible to assign to them the plots of land they had been promised. They lack the equipment to catch any quantity of fish. The Africans were not encouraged to bring them anything, since the settlers had nothing to offer in return. The settlers clamoured for their promised lots and nothing was more important and less expensive. But not only did it take time to assign to them the land they had been promised before their transatlantic journey; it also turned out, contrary to expectations and the earlier information, that the soil around the town site was stony and infertile. It was thus not worthwhile assigning lots of the promised size. If there had been sites, so that when they landed, they had immediately been able to begin gardening and building a house, fertile soil would soon have rewarded their industry. But now there was nothing. The Company needs all sorts of craftsmen and labourers and as a temporary solution for their problem has employed all those prepared to do a day's work in return for cash or equivalent goods. So far not so many have been employed, but when all the applicants have been accepted for employment, I shall inform you, Sir, of their number and terms of employment. Most of them are busy building [provisional] shelters. These are

[34] Padenheim quotes in English. Since he writes his peers, it seems that women could not sit on a jury.

[35] The settlers Isaac Anderson and Cato Perkins did indeed travel to London in October 1793 with a long petition, but as Padenheim had foreseen, it was disregarded.

sprouting here and there, as their owners choose, until we have had time to set out the town plan.

Although Britain and France are officially at war with one another, our governor is on good terms with the governor of the French slave-trading station on Gambia Island, a few [English] miles from here. There are not more than six Europeans there; the others are [black] slaves. The governor there is called Renaudet. Before the revolution in France, he was a butler and so went with his master to Gorée, whence he came to Gambia Island.[36] He has remained there so long that no one would have anything against his calling himself governor. Our governor's secretary, [Jakob] Strand, has been sent there, flying a truce flag on his sloop, "to suggest friendship and cooperation". He was very politely received and an agreement was made, that although our nations were at war with one another in Europe, these distant and, at least as far as the Sierra Leone settlements were concerned, peaceable communities might live in friendship and mutual trust. Strand is a talented man and conscientious with his duties, although he was uncertain about the results of his mission. *Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat?*[37] He confided in me his brief before he left and instructed me what to do, should he be arrested. But he came back with the above-mentioned protocol. Citizen Renaudet has also visited us, and we have visited him. We have, in other words, had polite exchanges. Personally, I like Frenchmen in general; their manner is easy, light and appealing. But in spite of this, it is more than I can do to like Renaudet. Perhaps this is because he is, shall I say, a *parvenu?*[38] Or perhaps he has become "negrified" on Gambia Island? There is always a contrast, seeing a friendly Frenchman together with an Englishman; nothing illustrates this better than the English caricatures.[39]

Other than this, we have other [European] neighbours, also a few miles away, on Bunce Island. But since this a slave-trading station, belonging to a London corporation, we do not associate with them. Their director is a young man, who otherwise seems pleasant enough. He sometimes comes and visits us, and we sometimes send mail by the ships that go there; they must pass us, on their way to England or to the West Indies. We have yet another neighbour, who is not a European, nor is he black, although he was born in Africa. Thanks to the slave traders' reproductive urges, not all those born here are black.

(Author's note: There is a belief that all blacks are born white, but a few hours afterwards become darker, until they are truly black).

One sees faces that are a mixture of white and black, a sort of yellow: these are called *mulattos.* One of these is our neighbour, who calls himself Signor Domingo. His company would amuse you, Sir; you would never be bored. He is the head-man of his little settlement and certainly the most entertaining of the head-men. He has been with the Portuguese on the Cape Verde islands and speaks their language, also reasonable French and English – better than any parrot.[40] When he is good enough to visit us, he wears a scarlet suit, richly embroidered with gold. His waistcoat is also embroidered, but of a different material. He wears black trousers, is usually barefoot and his hat has a broad pointed peak. Around his neck he wears a necklace, to which is attached a crucifix. This hangs on his chest to show that he is, as he himself claims, a Christian. Never the less his way of life does not differ from his African countrymen. Although he is at least sixty years old, he keeps a harem in the African way – a practice which he considers permissible, as he also considers slave trading.

[36] Gorée is an island off Dakar.

[37] "Was the stranger sly or honest?" I cannot identify the Latin author.

[38] An upstart.

[39] I cannot identify these caricatures.

[40] George Brooks, *op cit,* explains that many Capeverdeans were engaged in the coastal trade.

Most extraordinary is that he claims he never could succeed or become [an African] king, because he is a Christian. The other head-men, whom I am later going to present for you, Sir, are regrettably not so Christian. But some are sensible, efficient and wise men, while others have remained undeveloped, where raw nature is not so admirable. But here we enough difficulties among ourselves to have no time to worry about our neighbours' habits.

You can imagine, Sir, that our accommodation is not so luxurious. We do what we can to help one another, and even if luxury were our principal sin, we would hardly notice it.[41] Nothing is as necessary for the success of a new settlement as agreement and a consistent way of thinking among those in charge. Not only does nothing at all get done without this, but also decisions and the subsequent actions become slow or do not happen at all. This generates discontent and discord, both of them damaging and discomforting, particularly at a time when mutual trust and teamwork are needed, to make all the work enjoyable. Friendliness and mutual respect make life cheerful. A discontented and disconsolate settler needs no additional impulses from the climate or from his or her diet to sink into the grave. Thousands of people fall into this through homesickness, a familiar sickness everywhere. Swedes and Germans are prone to it, even though no other countries, and certainly not Switzerland, send away so many emigrants.[42] There is no remedy for this sickness, other than cheerfulness. Unfortunately, our governor and his councillors do not find it easy to agree. You cannot imagine, Sir, how quickly such discord spreads to the rest of the settlement. I hope it does not have serious consequences. If only all the resources at our disposal, partly the natural resources and partly the Company's untiring care for the colony, could be coordinated in a clear and sound direction, working together and respecting one another, then I would not miss Europe, except the opportunity personally to convey to you my sincere respects.

Yours &c.

[41] *Luxuria* was one of the Seven Deadly Sins.

[42] *Nostalgia* (homesickness) was a pseudo-scientific diagnosis named by 19th century Swiss military physicians, but the idea was current earlier.

THIRD LETTER, Sierra Leone, 30 August 1792

A shipload of slaves is shortly leaving Bunce Island for North America and I take this opportunity to fulfil the promise I made in my last letter. However, I hope you may be so good as to excuse me if I begin by relating some unexpected and deplorable events which required my attention and sympathy, and which are still an unhappy memory.

In the middle of last May tornadoes struck us. They are always the harbingers of rain and this arrived a few days later. The European settlers were unprepared for this, inexperienced and unused to it.[43] Since our arrival not a drop of rain had reached the soil. They had thus become overconfident towards the climate and could not imagine a flood of such biblical proportions. Or if they had thought about it, they had done no more than think.

In my previous letter I mentioned the misunderstanding between the governor and his councillors. It is unfortunate that it arose and now, instead of subsiding and disappearing, it has swelled seriously and put the whole colony into confusion, at least as far as our administration and social life are concerned. Naturally this has put us into a miserable situation. The orders given by one person are countermanded by another. The unfortunate consequences of this strike the settlers with full force. The governor, outvoted by his councillors, went back to England, where he was dismissed. The management of the settlement was then entrusted to a council of eight of the Company's foremost officials. But their unskilful, ambitious and eccentric character made some of them want to take command and be obeyed under all circumstances, even where they lacked the necessary experience and knowledge. This exacerbated the colony's problems. In an attempt to save it from an approaching disaster, the directors in London had provisionally appointed lieutenant Clarkson as absolute governor, but unfortunately it was too late. The best human intentions are subject to miscalculations and unforeseen accidents.

This John Clarkson is a lieutenant of the British navy. He had behaved very well towards the Company and towards the black settlers and had in North America drawn up contracts with them, promising them certain conditions for their emigration to Africa. He is undeniably a friend and protector of the blacks, as is his brother Thomas, a clergyman well known for his fine publications against the slave trade, one of which has won a prize at Cambridge University. Thomas Clarkson is also a director of the Sierra Leone Company and has done a lot for the black people, who were very pleased when John Clarkson was appointed governor, since they knew him to be favourable to the black people and an honest and well-intentioned man, who would now have an opportunity to do something for them, which he would certainly not miss.

Now it has begun to rain continuously. Already when it began, more than eight hundred black settlers were immediately struck down with a fever. This fever attacked both blacks and whites, but was most virulent among the blacks. This was not surprising, because although the whites were also attacked, the blacks are more numerous and more of them died, while only a few whites did so. What certainly spread the fever among the blacks and among the poorer whites was that their huts and shelters were put up on the bare earth. There was no flooring and hardly any wall-covering. Poles were driven into the earth and slender branches intertwined between them. The settlers lacked everything, could not look after themselves and had a miserable diet. All our physicians, with one exception, were also ill in bed. And since the store-man and his assistants were among the first victims, neither

[43] Padenheim includes the Nova Scotians as Europeans, but they had never been to Europe.

provisions nor medicine could be handed out, even though plenty of both had been sent out from England. My palette has no colours strong enough to depict the general dismay and despair. Our misery breeds confusion and chaos, which make it worse. Of the handful of European soldiers, only three or four are now still alive.[44]

This rain period is not yet over and not many have lived through it without falling ill. The survivors are now busy burying the dead, altogether around two hundred corpses, black and white. Truly it looked as though the colony were threatened with extinction. If the settlers had not in the end been given three months' provisions, according to military praxis, hardly a single member of the whole community would have survived. In the end it was understood that these wretches could not live on nothing, which was just what they had. If only this had been decided three months ago, instead of the continual squabble and inactivity! Then it would have been possible to do something serious about the problem. The management was not unaware that the rainy season was approaching. Many lives could have been saved. We were not without resources. Concerted energy and thoughtfulness can often achieve a lot with limited resources.

Now the colony is on the right road to recovery from these horrors. Without a doubt the emergency rations which the settlers received did a lot to help. It is still raining, but not so heavily. In spite of the rain, the setting out of the settlers' plots is under way. But the soil on this shore of the river is, as I have previously mentioned, rather infertile and unsuitable for cultivation. The eight or ten English miles inland are dominated by the enormous mountain. The other side of the mountain is reputed to be level and fertile and this may well be true. The other information was reasonably reliable, but these unexpected difficulties have for the moment made it impossible to fulfil the promises of land made to the black settlers. Instead they have had to accept four [Swedish] *tunnland* per household and are impatient to receive this, and the additional allotments for wives and children.

Tardy and in unsuitable weather it has thus been necessary to start felling trees, to be able to measure the site and set out the farming lots. All available labour is directed to this and the whole task force marches off with axes and other tools to open up the uncharted territory. This is no easy task, for huge trees are growing along the access road, which to begin with was about five meters wide. Moreover, in many places access is impeded by ravines between the rocks, which are very dangerous to cross. However, the black settlers are happy to work hard and fast at this task; they receive a daily wage from the Company.

The town site is now measured and each one of the black settlers has been assigned a lot. Setting out was difficult, because of all the provisional shelters which had grown up here and there on the site. The settlers' lots do not extend up as far from the shore as to Thornton Hill. The area between the lots and this hill is reserved by the Company for future needs and some larger lots on the town site are reserved for public buildings &c.

My description of the miserable conditions which I painted in such sombre colours at the beginning of this letter might give you, Sir, an unfavourable image of the climate here. It is however my considered opinion that the climate is not unhealthy and is not the main cause of our troubles. In fact, it is much healthier than Java or Borneo or other parts of the East Indies. It is also healthier than Suriname or Essequibo in South America, or Elmina in Africa.[45] In Holland these places are called the graveyards, because of the terrible number of Europeans who are buried there every year.

(Author's note: The following are dangerous in all climates and particularly in the tropics: evaporations from swamps, jungles and marshy river-banks: bad housing and

[44] "Almost all intemperate" according to Wadström, *Essay on Colonization*.

[45] The Essequibo River in Guyana and the Elmina trading fort in Ghana.

clothing: insufficient or unsuitable food: bad personal or domestic hygiene: excessive consumption of low-quality liquor: exposure to mist, fog, rain and dew. There are other well-known causes of disease, but cleanliness and moderation are very necessary. This can be learned from all the people who live the tropics, who wash their whole body several times a day. *Tollatur causa &c*).[46]

Unless I am much mistaken, when the ground has been cleared and agriculture and horticulture are under way, Sierra Leone will be as healthy a place as the most popular tropical countries. In fact, it is wrong to blame the climate for bad health. The tropics are often accused of being unhealthy, but many people live a healthy life there. The sun does not here burn as unpleasantly as is often imagined. Although it is rather warm in the middle of the day, when it is overhead and leaves us without a shadow, we can always without discomfort wear our European coats. Never the less, we usually find thinner jackets and trousers more comfortable. In the early morning there is always a sea breeze, from the west. This blows all day, until the evening. It is enough to clear the air and is generally considered health-bringing. The black settlers have honoured this wind with the title of The Physician. The mornings and the evenings are temperate. It is then wise to wear a coat, rather than just an under-shirt. Day and night are equally long and so the ground has time to cool after twelve hours' sunshine. Dawn and dusk are hardly perceptible. They are over in a minute at most. The sun opens and closes our days. Unless the moon shines, it is rather dark at night, but not particularly warm. Meteorological observations between 20 February and 20 August show an average highest temperature of 30º C but never higher than 35º C and average lowest of 24º C. The difference between the mid-day temperature and the morning and evening temperature is between 11º C and 17º C.[47]

The year here is clearly divided in two more or less equal parts. There are no abrupt changes of weather, as in Europe. The dry season begins in November; the end of this month is incomparably beautiful and in December the countryside displays a gorgeous fruitfulness. There is never a cloud to be seen; every day is like a warm Swedish midsummer. Then there is no risk of rain; not a drop falls. As for the heat, I have sometimes suffered more from it in Finland. This is probably a matter of what one is used to. The thermometer may well show a difference between these two environments and the refreshing sea-breeze makes the heat less noticeable here. Moreover, as you are aware, Sir, the earth does not get all its warmth from the sun; were that so, the ice would disappear more quickly from Tenerife's pinnacle than from the streets of Stockholm.[48] Throughout this season a heavy dew falls at night, which to some extent promotes the fruitfulness at the beginning of the season. A little later, this dew is not enough. All our greenery disappears, the earth is burned dry and nearly all the plants wither. However, we are not then altogether without vegetables; fruit from the trees and root-crops fill the gap. The only thing that is unpleasant about this time of year, if it can be called unpleasant, is that the days do not vary. The weather is the same from day to day, and human nature seems to enjoy variation. But we can enjoy the variation during the day. The mornings are as pleasant as could be wished. It less enjoyable towards mid-day, but then at the end of the afternoon comes the evening, more delectable than Proserpine.[49] This in turn is suddenly overcome by the night, which however is in no way Pluto's domain.

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[46] I cannot identify the author of Tollatur *causa &c,* but it means, “When the cause is removed, the effect ceases”. The name mal-aria implies bad air.

[47] Padenheim gives the temperatures according to the Fahrenheit scale.

[48] I do not know the source of Padenheim's mistaken ideas about warmth.

[49] Proserpine or Persephone was the Greco-Roman goddess of fertility. She was abducted by Pluto, the god of the underworld.

Never the less, for my part I prefer the rainy season. This may seem odd to you, Sir, but you must not think I have become odd, living so near the Equator. Let me explain why: the tornadoes are harbingers and arrive punctually in the middle of May. Equally punctually follows the rainy season, which lasts until November. It does not rain every day; there are significant clear periods, when the air is wonderfully fresh, as in the dry season. Nature now begins a new life. Every sort of plant, which has struggled to survive the drought, awakens and spreads its thrill across the landscape. All the gardens and orchards sprout and our tables are laden with health-giving vegetables. We have no need to travel to Medevi or other spa,[50] to restore our long-suffering digestive systems and cleanse our circulations. Also the fauna come to life again, with more to eat after the dry heat. Between the rain-showers we can again enjoy the singing of the birds; we have not heard them, while they have sought more fruitful and shady places.

As you know, Sir, everything has two aspects. Now we are sometimes forced to seek shelter under a roof for several days. We do not dare to go out, especially now in the middle of the season, because the cloud-bursts are so violent and pour down in streams. To give you some idea of how much rain deluges Africa during this season: it has been calculated that in Senegal the rainfall in four months has been one hundred and fifty inches. This season begins and ends with tornadoes, often violent and followed by thunder and lightning. They come in from the east and although they strong, they are by no means as violent or destructive as the hurricanes in the West Indies. The tornadoes give warning of their arrival in the form of small clouds, and rarely last more than an hour, mostly after sunset. At the end of the season, they disappear completely. They never occur in the dry season, nor do the rain- and thunder-storms, and they are very valuable, because it is said that they clear the air and rid it of the dangerous vapours, which otherwise would abound.

(Author's note: In Suriname, where the atmosphere is hardly ever set in motion by winds, the climate is very unhealthy. This is so wherever swamps evaporate and the air is still; it cannot then be clean. Humans would hardly be able to survive in Suriname, or in other stagnant places, were it not for the unusually powerful rise and fall of the tide, due to the fast flow of the rivers. This in turn sets the air in motion. This is so strong in Suriname that it can be felt on the face when one leans over the gunwale of the ship.)

The sun chases the tornadoes from one hemisphere to the other; they rarely spend more than three weeks with us [in Sierra Leone] to do their duty. I have never heard of any damage being done by them, although to begin with they may scare European women and children, and perhaps demolish some flimsily-built huts. After a few days one is used to them. But for ships at sea, or even worse, lying at anchor, they can be dangerous.

(Author's note: It is not uncommon, especially in the tropics, that a tiny cloud, no larger than an open hat, can precede or follow a dreadful wind. A cautious seaman keeps an eye open for such, to have time to shorten sail before they strike. They can also occur without a cloud in the sky. These storms also occur outside the tropics. At the Cape of Good Hope, I have often seen a little cloud appear over Table Mountain and stay still there. This is followed by a violent wind, so that the rigging and decks of ships more than an English mile from the coast are covered with the fine sand so plentiful in Africa. Such a wind can make a ship drag its anchors, even with three of them lowered. This happens in the good-weather season. Every year on 16 May a flag is hoisted on one of the lower mountains, warning approaching ships not to enter Table Bay. Until 16 November, Dutch ships are strictly forbidden to enter when the warning flag is flying. They go instead into False Bay. But at this

[50] *Medevi Brunn* is a Swedish spa, still in use.

time foreign ships are frequently wrecked in Table Bay, either through foolhardiness or ignorance.)

The ship *York* recently arrived from England. She is a three-decker, built in Archangel, a huge hulk, but very suitable for its purpose. The Company had bought her in London and had her fitted-out and despatched to us, since they realised we might be without shelter at this time of year. Although she arrived so late, you can imagine, Sir, how welcome she was. Moreover, she brought with her good and fresh provisions and many useful things for us, also letters from our friends, no less welcome. On board were also prefabricated houses and building materials, as well as all sorts of trade goods. Among these houses are three, made according to a new design, in my opinion the best imaginable for our climate. The house consists of roofs, doors, windows and roofs, in a frame of one-and-a-half-inch by four-inch timber, of even length and neatly joined at the ends. These wall-frames are covered with heavy and tightly-woven canvas, nailed to the frames so that they overlap at the edges. To put up such a house, first small heaps of stones or massive logs are put out at the corners and at appropriate intervals between them on the site. In this way there is ventilation under the house. Across these foundations are placed wooden beams – scantlings – to carry the flooring, which consists of normal wooden planks. This floor is somewhat larger than the house itself, which stands on the floor. The frame of the house can now be put out round the floor and the wall-frames are fastened with copper screws. Thus the walls of the house are in place less than half-an-hour after laying the floor. The roof can now be put on, made and fastened in the same way. At suitable places doors and windows are inserted, all of lighter wooden frames covered with canvas, and fastened in the wall-frames with hinges. Suitable locks are put on the doors. The windows are hinged on the upper edge, so that they become sun-shades when opened; they are held open with slender wooden struts, which fold against the frame when the window is closed. The canvas, the frames and the roof are painted inside and out with thick oil paint. Two such houses have already been put up and they are well-ventilated dwellings. No building better adapted to the climate could be imagined. If they are painted every year, they will certainly last.

On board the same ship were also two large hospital buildings,[51] made in the same way, but not covered with canvas. Instead they are covered with thin planks, nailed over the frames with overlapping edges. They are screwed together in the same way, but the roof construction is covered with thin sheets of copper.

(Author's note: Experience has shown that flat roofs are inappropriate, even though they have been tried in places like Africa. The steeper the roof pitch, the better the resistance to the rain; it cannot lie there and soak through.)

As well as these, the ship brought some other buildings, which have not yet been unloaded. The governor is living on board, as are the most seriously ill Europeans. In the future this ship is going to stay here as a store-house, which is very necessary, since we do not yet have any store-house on land. What a tragedy that this ship did not arrive before the rain did! How many of our lives would then have been saved? That had been the intention when it left England; but as fate would have it, the ship was driven back by a storm, and so was delayed and did not arrive in time to rescue us.

At about the same time as we sailed from Europe, some other ships set sail, bound for the island of Bolama at the mouth of the Rio Grande.[52] Another association in London had decided to found a colony there, but some of the settlers tired of the troubles which are

[51] These prefabricated buildings had originally been made to be hospitals in the West Indies.

[52] The island was also called Bulama and lies downstream from Bissau, between the Rio Grande de Buba and the Rio Gêba.

inevitable in a pioneer settlement, and some had even been attacked by their African neighbours and been killed or taken prisoner. The survivors fled and arrived a few weeks ago in Sierra Leone. Our governor would not admit them as settlers, but saw to their immediate needs and gave them the means to return to England. Their good character was certainly in doubt. Anyone who had wanted to do so had been allowed to buy a lot [on Bolama Island]. Now some of them, especially the women, looked forward to coming back to England, where they had been much more comfortable than they had in the African settlement. Others, especially the men, some of them Swedes, had sold all they had to buy a lot on Bolama Island.[53] They had hoped to end their days there and never return to Europe and so were not at all anxious to go back. What little they owned and had taken to Bolama Island had now been destroyed or abandoned there. So here they were [in Sierra Leone], having left all they had on an island they would never see again. We have also suffered from investing in the wrong place, but we have been fortunate in that we have lived at peace with our neighbours.

Professor Afzelius[54] has now a wide field for his botanical expeditions. I am convinced that his collection will soon be both numerous and valuable. Anything unusual or rare is brought to him by the native Africans, although they have noticed that we already know something about flora and fauna and so do not pay generously. Meanwhile he himself is ceaselessly engaged in collecting natural treasures of all sorts. He has cultivated and enclosed quite a large garden near the river. Here he is growing all sorts of plants, both from European seeds and from local sources. Particularly the latter are going to develop well under his care.

The mining engineer Nordenskiöld[55] has still not recovered from a rather severe illness. He has for a long time been unhappy with the activities in the colony, because he himself has been forced into inactivity, which does not at all suit his temperament. This combination increases his discontent and his ill-health. All sorts of circumstances have arisen, notably the season's weather, which have impeded his project, which is, to become acquainted with the native Africans further away from us and then, as the Company's representative, make a trade agreement with them. As a geologist he would also investigate their natural resources. He is now preparing a journey into the interior, up the Gambia[i] River,[56] to become acquainted with another part of Africa. His friends do not approve of his insistence and impatience to carry out his programme, but nothing will restrain him. He has surmounted every difficulty and will soon be setting out. We can only wish him good health and a successful mission.

Jakob Strand, the third of our countrymen here, is secretary to the governor.[57] He is considered hard-working and kind. He has quite a good academic background and is good at languages and music. A little house has been built for him; local timber has been sawn to appropriate dimensions and the walls and roof covered with European planks. Now it has been painted, it looks very nice. It has two rooms. One is his bedroom, the other his office,

[53] Wadström's *Essay on Colonization* does not identify any of the Bolama settlers as Swedes, but he does list some Swedes among the investors who did not intend to settle there. The Swedish architect Anders Johansén published a book about the island, which he had never visited.

[54] Adam Afzelius, 1750-1837, a pupil of Carolus Linnaeus, 1707-1778, was engaged by the Sierra Leone Company to investigate the flora and fauna of Sierra Leone.

[55] August Nordenskjöld, 1754-1792, was engaged as a geologist by the Sierra Leone Company and died in Freetown. Together with Carl Bernhard Wadström, 1746 – 1799, he was also a promoter of the Swedenborgian Utopia, New Jerusalem.

[56] Probably what is now called the Port Loko River.

[57] It is not known when he was born and he died in Freetown in 1793.

which is also our library. The company did not want our colony to lack anything in the way of basic comfort or education and so they sent out an excellent little library, containing travelogues, encyclopaedias, most English authors, books on economics and so on. This was to begin with called the Public Library; here every settler had the right to satisfy his or her curiosity and educational needs, without restriction. But as the library thus became public property, there was a risk that everything might disappear. Therefore Strand was appointed librarian and it was put in his care. It is still open for all and books can be borrowed one or two at a time, but the borrower is obliged to bring them back after a certain time.

Otherwise most of us are short of time and do not have much leisure for studies. A cannon is fired at daybreak, calling everyone to their work. That is about five o'clock. About eight o'clock there are prayers at the governor's house, and then breakfast. The work-bell is then rung, to allow everyone an hour's free time. At nine o'clock it rings we back to work and at twelve o'clock it tells us that the [lunch] table is laid and we are free until two o'clock. The cannon is fired again at six o'clock and the working day ends. Nothing could be more regular. We spend our evenings in Harmony Hall or with one another; this is the general visiting-time, but since the evening is short, the visits are so too. There you have our life in brief. It may seem monotonous, and therefore unattractive for the human character, but there is never a day when something new and unusual does not happen. You, Sir, may in the future have the opportunity to meet one of the travellers along the coast; they stop by and give the whole settlement something new to talk about. When a foreign ship arrives from Europe, it is an event for the whole community. We can hear if London is still where it used to be, if the allies have conquered France, and if … but I cannot mention everything. Here we see every day what human beings experience already as a child: an innocent exchange, often with no profound meaning, can be meaningful for us. When we have said what we had in mind or commented on what someone else has said, we can go home as content as we would have been, had we attended a public meeting, where important decisions had been taken as we had hoped. The wise man appreciates the occasional company of others. In short, what I have rarely experienced here is *tristesse*, except for the general gloom that discord always brings. Now, thank goodness, the previous discord is at an end; may it never re-appear!

Sincerely, yours &c.

FOURTH LETTER, Freetown, Sierra Leone, 4 October 1792

Once again, I take advantage of an unforeseen opportunity to send a letter to Europe and write to you. As usual it is a pity that I always have to collect my thoughts so hurriedly, but so rarely does one hour of the twenty-four seem appropriate, and then that hour passes so quickly. To avoid this, I began to write something two or three weeks ago, when I had some free time. One day, I thought, a ship would be sailing to London and then I would have my post ready beforehand. But this thought did not progress much beyond the idea. I did indeed write a letter and a long one at that, but when I looked at it again, I found it to be of such uneven quality, reflecting the mood I was in at the time of writing. It was a letter full of trivialities, which would have been totally uninteresting for you. I decided to tear it up; in the future I shall avoid having to write twice. Even trivial events can seem important to us; we make a note of them as though they were important for the whole world and forget that the world at large has no time or interest for our domestic events.

For example, I had written a long description for you, Sir, of the governor's latest house project. The former plantation manager DuBois had organised this with one of the so-called hospital buildings.[58] I am devoted to working with the embellishment of our settlement and my mind is always full of that. *Quidquid agit Rufus, nil est nisi Livia Rufo!*[59] Now Sir, what interest could this have for you? But since I have already mentioned it, let me continue: we now have two of these hospital-buildings. They are together almost big enough to accommodate all the settlers at once. As the governor has nowhere else to live, it would be appropriate for him [to live in one of them] and probably that is what is going to happen. Those who survived are now back in good health. This building stands on the eastern promontory, the right wing of the township.[60] It is surrounded by a high fence, also enclosing professor Afzelius' garden and nursery. It is an ample building and contains, as well as an unusually large hall, six comfortable living-rooms.[61] This so-called hospital-building stands an eighth of an [English] mile outside the town, on an attractive promontory in the estuary, so as not to be too close. The same is true of our churchyard, on the other side of the town. But I do not think any patient is going to die there, because it is so far away that no one wants to go there. Oh, how I go on about building matters!

The Company management in London had from the beginning been informed in detail about the situation in the settlement, both officially and from private information. Now they have decided to appoint, in addition to governor Clarkson, two councillors and other assistants. The first of these councillors is marine lieutenant Dawes. He has spent a long time at Botany Bay and is a man of understanding and experience. The other is a Scot called Macaulay, who has spent several years in the West Indies.[62] These two are thus going to be the governor's official advisers. A former West Indian plantation manager called Watt has also arrived. He will improve the settlement's agriculture. I am quite sure these three are knowledgeable men, each in his profession. But these terrible disagreements!

[58] Isaac DuBois was a white American Loyalist who married Anna Maria Falconbridge a month after she became a widow. His journal is in the British Library. The Company sent out two prefabricated buildings, originally intended as hospitals for the West Indies.

[59] Martial's Epigram 1:68: *Whatever Rufus does, for him there is nothing as important as Naevia.* Padenheim has put in the name Livia instead of Naevia.

[60] Padenheim assumes a map with the east to the right.

[61] The Swedish *boningsrum* means a room for residential use, as opposed to commercial or other uses. The Swedish *vardagsrum* is literally a room for daily life, a living-room, as opposed a bed-room or a kitchen.

[62] Zachary Macaulay was the father of the historian and poet Thomas Babington Macaulay.

Misunderstanding has already arisen between the governor and his councillors, about what I neither know nor care. It may be that they have been instructed to restrain the governor, because his generosity towards the black settlers may have disquieted the directors. It may also be the newcomers' own ambitions. Anyway, it is very unfortunate.

The British nation in general have what one might call an inherited competitiveness, which makes every individual try to outdo his brothers. The reason for this is doubtless their upbringing, but also significantly the jealousy between the three constituent nations.[63] They heartily despise one-another and their proverbs exalt one nation against the other. This competitiveness is to be seen in craftsmanship and seamanship, where the Irish are indubitably the masters, as they are in the other beautiful artefacts for which their nation is famous.[64] But the other nations maintain their own superiority, in just the same way as our black settlers are proud of being Christians, without knowing what this means. Furthermore, no country in the world has so many charlatans as England. No one who has a serious job or is in the middle of a serious project admits that his predecessor could have conducted himself sensibly and knowledgeably – quite the reverse. I find this very disagreeable, having lived for a long time with the Dutch, who believe, according to their proverb, that nothing can be achieved without cooperation. If internal disunity has ruined the Low Countries, the British Isles seem to have proved the contrary; ceaseless strife between the ruling party and the opposition has become a stimulus. But will these differences of opinion always be the salvation of the British Isles? Will they disappear in favour of a common interest? But … no politics here!

Our neighbours and cheerful African friends are at this season waiting hopefully for a rich rice harvest. Crowds of them come every day into Freetown, which they call The Camp, bringing with them vegetables and fruit, fish, fowl and so on. They exchange these or sell them, accepting the Company's paper money. Let me now, Sir, introduce you to these worthy people.

Freetown and its surroundings are situated in a district or kingdom, if you prefer the term, called Timmaney. The king lives on the island of Robanna, a small island about three [English] miles upstream from Freetown or two-and-a-half miles from Granvilletown.[65] Robanna is thus more or less between the French slave-station on Gambia Island and Bunce Island, which belongs to an English business in London. There are about fifty inhabitants on Robanna, all part of the king's household. He himself is about sixty years old and peacefully disposed. He is generally respected and obeyed. His domain extends, as they say, three days' journey inland. It is more densely populated the further one comes from the coast. The limits of his jurisdiction and of his territory are not precisely defined, but it is insignificant on the coast. There are a number of villages, sometimes called towns, each with not more than fifty houses at the most. Each village is ruled by a head-man, who in turn comes under the king, but who has within the village unlimited powers over his people, who usually address him as father. In the area a German mile around Freetown, there are eight or ten such head-men; one of them has his little domain just beside the Company's land. There is another village half-a-mile away, built and inhabited by a group of slaves of both sexes. They were to

[63] Padenheim has forgotten the Welsh and only counts the English, the Irish and the Scots.

[64] Irish craftsmanship is not usually admired, but after his time in Sierra Leone and before publishing his book, Padenheim was involved in an Irish independence movement.

[65] The 1787 settlement Granvilletown was a little upstream from the 1792 settlement Freetown. The settlements were amalgamated by John Clarkson, in the name of the Sierra Leone Company.

be sent to the West Indies but rebelled, took over the ship and sailed to Sierra Leone, where they built their own village and have become numerous.[66]

The Africans know nothing about religion. They live according to their passions. From this derives their exaggerated attachment to their friends and their extreme lust for revenge against their enemies. These qualities are inherited. When the opportunity arises – they are always on the look-out for such an opportunity and it often arises -- they can abduct one another into slavery with mutual bitterness. They are generally heathen, without religious services, priests or ceremonies, and surprisingly superstitious. Everyone carries a little purse on a cord round the waist; in this they keep small bones and bits of metal and suchlike. They call these objects *grisgris*, which can be translated as charms or talismans. They firmly believe that these *grisgris* are powerful enough to ward off from the wearer all sorts of misfortune, including musket- and pistol-shot, but not cannon-fire, of which they are very afraid.

Polygamy is the general practice, but marriages can be dissolved. Men who have reason to be dissatisfied with a wife can sell her and then they do not have to educate her children. They can take as many wives as they wish and can look after. The wives are careful to observe when it is their turn. All the wives must obey the head-wife, although she too must respect the turn system. Day and night, they are under obligation to prepare food for the husband and so they prepare it beforehand. The days of the week have no names and I have heard the men and their wives count the days according to the wives' turns.[67] If they are asked on what day they are going to do something, they count the number of days on their fingers: “One, two, three …” The women's faithfulness and chastity seem to be able to resist all temptation. This virtue, if it really is a virtue, is partly based on their character and partly on their prejudices. Unless they are married off already at the age of five or six, in which case the engaged girl's mother would be responsible for all the risks confronting the bride, their upbringing does not encourage this, but the punishments are so severe that they would think twice before being unfaithful. If such a temptation arises in an African woman's heart and is noticed by the husband, he can, if no slave-trader is nearby, exchange such a faithless and unreliable woman for some rum, tobacco, gunpowder, cloth or other desirable goods. He can also force her to undergo the red water ordeal, to prove her innocence. This ordeal consists of making the suspect drink a quantity of water in which a special bark has been boiled. This makes the water red and it is thought to be poisonous. It also has the superstitious quality of demonstrating guilt or innocence. The bark has emetic qualities, which attack the victim so severely that the whole digestive system is emptied. If the victim survives, innocence is proved, but the drink can do life-long damage to the health. However, if a woman has been raped, as also often occurs, and the rapist is identified, then the offender's head is immediately crushed. The population are always ready to do this, armed with clubs. So wretched are those who live without science or civilised customs! Some victims die immediately when they drink the red water. They swell up, as if they were going to burst. In such a case, the whole family of the executed are condemned to slavery. Nor are men exempt from this trial of innocence. I have seen a young man about twenty years old suspected of murder. Although there was good reason to think him innocent, he was subjected to this ordeal. He succeeded in surviving, but his health was ruined; he was reduced to being an invalid, perhaps for the rest of his life. The king must always be present at such ordeals. All the head-men are there too, with their armed guards. The terrifying

[66] This village is marked on some of the contemporary maps.

[67] In her novel *Ancestor Stones,* (London: Bloomsbury, 2006), Aminatta Forna writes that in the 1950s in rural Sierra Leone, the months and the days of the week still had no names.

truth-drink is administered in a *calabass* by an old lady. For two or three days before the ordeal, the accused is imprisoned and strictly guarded. He or she is not allowed to eat anything except the little rice and water provided, so that they do not take some antidote. Some of them are condemned to drink seven or eight calabasses, of about half a Swedish *stop* each.

(Author's note: A *calabass* is a fruit that can be cut and dried to provide neat, light, thin but strong bowls of about one Swedish *kanna's* capacity. They are used for drinking and many other purposes.)

Their marriage bonds are thus religiously respected, even though they are contracted without any ceremony or formal tie, beyond a small present to the bride's mother. This often happens when the girl is still a child. Thus it can happen than a man who plans his future can arrange a so-called marriage with a five-year-old girl. As mentioned above, she continues to be looked after by her mother until she is sufficiently grown-up. Then she is given to her husband and assumes her new status. Unmarried girls, if they are not already sold or enslaved, live under no restrictions and have no inhibitions about their caresses. The first-married wife usually becomes the head-woman and thus the most loved, or rather respected. All the others are under her leadership and nothing can exceed the confidence and unity under which they live together. Although African women, as in other countries, generally dislike silence and seldom stop moving their lips as long as they are awake, they do not use this quality to quarrel among themselves. I do not know if quarrelling is punished by a lower position in the turn system or in some other stern way, but transgression is unheard-of, or at least rare. Often for many years a man has only one wife, either because he cannot afford to buy more, or because he is content with one. My general impression is that in such cases, the first-married wife has born him many children, that is to say, usually not more than three or four. But I know of others who have taken three or four wives *à la suite* (sic). These wives have correctly done their duty in the marriage bed, but without result or perhaps with only one child, even though they did not seem to be congenitally barren. The slave trade, although it kills, is not the only reason for under-population in Africa; polygamy is another obvious reason.[68]

The Africans' understanding of property right is generally obscure and confused. They have no idea of a law based on occupation or improvement. Either they request what they think they need, or they take it, on their own initiative. Truth to tell, they allow other Africans to do so, but experience has taught them that Europeans do not accept this. Africans therefore sometimes resort to sly and cunning methods. But they do not do so if the Europeans communicate with them in a way they can understand.

Apart from the Chinese, all our neighbours in the tropics have in common a lazy and carefree disposition.[69] They are strong and well-built, tall and thin with straight backs and beautifully-proportioned bodies. None are born with deformities; that would be very unusual. Never the less they would never do any work, unless the needs of shelter and nourishment made them respect this natural instinct. They do not bother much about their clothes. Even the basic needs of life are not so demanding. Their soil is productive but rather badly tilled. With their inadequate tools, felling trees is hard work, which women also take part in. The clearings are afterwards burned and at the beginning of the rainy season they sow rice, hoeing it down into the ashes and singed earth, more or less as with slash-and-

[68] In the late 18th century, many people did not understand that also men could be sterile.

[69] The Swedish province of Dalecarlia, *Dalarna,* has always been old-fashioned and independent, but has hardly merited Padenheim's claim to run innumerable factories and businesses. His information on the Chinese is equally curious.

burn agriculture in Sweden. On the fields a little shelter is built for the guard, whose job it is to scare away the small birds, which arrive in their millions. These birds are so numerous that they could doubtless destroy a whole crop so in a short time, were they undisturbed. According to the size of the farm, two or three negro boys, or sometimes only one, are occupied all day driving away these small and destructive visitors. The boys use small stones, which they can throw with an impressive skill. They also use slings made of plaited creepers. The birds pay great attention to the distance from their adversaries and never allow them to stay in one place.

(Author's note: The Chinaman is in the East Indies like the people of Dalecarlia in Sweden. They manage not only their own country and the many industries there, but also the whole East Indies, through the numerous emigrants. All the other ethnic groups there are easy-going and not so hard-working. There are the Moors, who seek employment with the Europeans as *sepoys* and are thus distinctive. Then there are the Malays, Javanese, and Siamese and so on. There are also the so-called Buccaneers, or the little peripatetic copper-coloured hordes from South America. In Batavia there were a few years ago more than eighty thousand Chinese. They were all engaged in some sort of handicraft. Among other things they make the tea-cans we know so well. These are lined on the inside with thin lead and on the outside with paper, covered with their hieroglyphics. The Dutch use these in Batavia for their so-called tea-packs. First they pack Chinese porcelain in them. Then the house-proud Dutch re-pack these Batavian canisters with the tea drunk in Germany, in the West Indies and so on. Innumerable such Chinese are to be found in Malacca and in Ceylon. There are another sixty thousand on Borneo, where they work with gold, iron and almost all the other metals. They can cast cannon and make the settings for jewels. Most extraordinary is that although they are so numerous, few of them have brought a woman with them from China.)

The men chop down the biggest trees and build their houses on a bed of sand and clay, raised one foot over the surrounding ground. They beat and stamp this until it is as hard as stone; it will be the floor, about twenty feet square. Round this floor, at four-foot intervals, wooden posts, eight to ten inches in diameter, are driven in, in a ring. The upper ends of the posts lean outwards. When they are securely in place, the roof poles are fastened to the posts with strong wooden pegs. The roof poles are tied together at the summit with durable tree-roots, to form a cone. To be sure of keeping out the rain, the roof slopes steeply. It is covered with dried straw, much thicker than our rye-straw, and tied with more roots. Such a roof lasts a lifetime and protects from the most violent rainstorms. Under this round hat, they put up a smaller square building, with thinner poles driven into the floor at one *aln* intervals. This inner building is of such a size, that it leaves six feet free to the posts bearing the roof. Between these, thin and flexible branches are interlaced, rather like the Finnish bundles of kindling called *pärtstickor,*[70] all the way up to the ceiling, which is flat and made of planks. These branches are woven so tightly that they form a compact wall. When all four walls are thus covered, they are plastered in and out with more-or-less white lime, made from the enormous quantity of oyster-shells to be found on the beach. This then looks like a stone building and is reasonably weather-proof. They leave two door-openings, centrally, but do not consider windows necessary. The hard floor round the inner room and under the roof is the veranda, where they spend the day, take their meals and generally live when they are not out on the fields. There are benches here and from big hooks hammocks are slung,

[70] I cannot identify this Finnish term.

where they can sit or lie as they please. The indoor room is only used at night and for keeping weapons, tools and other small articles.

They take their meals in the morning and in the evening. Rice is the main dish, cooked with salt and palm oil, and sometimes with fish or crabs or oysters, which are plentiful. The veranda where they spend the day is also where they spend the evening. As soon as darkness falls, at about seven o'clock, the huge choir of frogs begin their monotonous music -- tiresome to begin with and never enjoyable, but it becomes unnoticeable. Then the Africans light their lamps – mostly wax-torches, which can hardly be called candles. They pour out some hot wax and roll it in a piece of cloth between their hands. Then it can be lit and it gives more light than several candles. At this time, they often congregate at the head-man's house. There, without any formality, they can sit and converse about what has happened during the day and what they intend to do during the next day. Further than that they do not think. The women are there too and each man or woman has something to contribute to the conversation. Their voices are lively but without noticeable variation and punctuation. Their language seems to be more like a song, not unpleasant to the ear.[71] About ten o'clock everyone goes home. Every married man has his own house, all built the same way. When they now go to bed, they sleep on locally-made mats, either on the floor or a plinth of planks. All the wives sleep in the same room and the wife whose turn it is makes up the husband's bed there too. It is also her duty to prepare his food. The other women look after themselves and their children. They have a common store for rice; other food is the responsibility of each wife severally.

(Author's note: In this country the women are free to go around as they please. They can go alone and unveiled into Freetown and come faithfully home. There are no harems, as with the handsome Moors, who are Moslems. There the women should not be seen in public; never the less, indiscretions occur. The contrast strikes me, when I compare the customs and habits of our black neighbours with the Moors. Among all other nations, the Moors are so in love with whiteness that they smear lime all over themselves, to become more light-coloured. In spite of their laziness, they are the friendliest masons imaginable. Their linen is as white as snow; they do the Europeans' laundry better than in Paris. In Malacca I had such a launderer and became good friends with him. He invited me home, but on one occasion when I went to see him, I happened to go instead into his harem. Some Moors seized me and spoke to me as though I were a wolf in the sheepfold. This was a serious matter and because of this unfortunate mistake I regretted going to see him. But he arrived himself and asked me to come into his quarters; he calmed those who were upset and laughed at what had happened. Here [in Sierra Leone] my home is sometimes so full of women that I have to tell them it is time to go.)[72]

In all these villages, everyone arranges his home according to his own convenience, wherever he thinks best to build. There is no system of streets and public spaces. But there is always a little uninhabited house, where they keep their long drums. At the entrance to this, and in some of the other rooms, stakes are driven into the ground. On top of them are fastened all sorts of small things: bits of metal, bits of broken china, filled with water, bones, beads, sea-shells and so on. I have seen them add to the collection things which they have

[71] Padenheim did not notice that at least two different African languages were then current in Sierra Leone.

[72] It is not clear whom he calls Moors, a term usually applied to North African Arabs. But he can hardly have had a North African laundry-man in Malacca; the Malacca Sound runs between Sumatra and Kuala Lumpur. *De snällaste murare man kan tänka sig,* the friendliest masons imaginable, must be a misprint. Perhaps Padenheim meant persons, not masons?

found somewhere in the neighbourhood and I understand that these are what are called *grisgris.*

When someone dies, there is commotion. The dead body is carried out into the forest and very carefully buried. But a long time after that, at sunset, they begin to fire their muskets and beat their drums, until late at night. Presumably this is to scare the dead from coming back and haunting, but it can be to honour his memory. They just say that this must be done; they are superstitious and afraid of the dark.

In the morning at first light all the women go to fetch water with their containers. When they have filled them with what they are going to need during the day, they bathe and wash their whole body thoroughly. The day is spent gathering oysters, crabs, fish, turtles and vegetables according to the season, for the family meals. Or they plant pineapple and other fruit, unless it is sowing- or harvest-time. Or they go into Freetown for a gossip. Or they do nothing. Preparing rice for their meals is one of their most demanding tasks. It is easy enough to cut away the straw and separate the husks; it grows like our oats and with a little care the kernel, which we call the rice-grain, can be taken out. But this rice-grain also has a thin reddish husk, which has to be removed before eating, and that is tedious work. It is done with a pole and a hollowed-out tree-trunk. The rice is put in it and then pounded with the pole until all the husks are separated, leaving the white and tasty rice-grain. Although this is the Africans' staple food, without which they would not survive under their present conditions, they have such a meagre store of it that they often, if not always, find themselves in Saint Olof's quandary.[73] They are so thoughtless and careless that they do not bother to rear chickens, which thrive here and reproduce astonishingly – more than anywhere else I have been, except Bengal, where one can buy a chicken for a few pence.[74] A pair of goats are all the livestock a family has and many do not even have that. This however applies only to our Timmaney neighbours.[75]

Nor are they good at fishing. The ocean and the rivers abound with different sorts of rather tasty fish, but all they do to catch them is as follows: They stick down a few rows of poles not far from the shore. Branches are then woven between the poles. The fish come in with the tide into this wedge-shaped trap and enjoy the sun-warmed shallow water. But all enjoyment is short-lived and is followed by retribution. When the tide goes out, the fishes are deprived of their natural element and their enjoyment. All that remains for them is to be caught by the women in their hands in the shore mud or sand.

The Africans also know how to snare several sorts of bird and small animals. The men hunt the larger animals with muskets or with bow-and-arrow. Although the negroes are inexperienced with firearms, they do not miss when they shoot. They hold out the musket with both arms outstretched as far as possible, fearful of the recoil, and so must aim looking over their hands. Another of the men's duties is to keep the household supplied with salt. During the dry season they go away to their salt-pans. The sea water floods in and then dries in the sun, giving a strong white salt for little effort.

Both men and women are very fond of strong drinks, although they do not know how to brew them. The women wear a piece of white or blue woven cloth, a bit less than three *alnar* long and half as wide. They wrap this round themselves under their breasts, like a skirt,

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[73] In Sweden, Saint Olof's day, 29 July, was traditionally the day when the previous year's harvest was exhausted.

[74] In the original, *för 2 styfver,* two obsolete Swedish coins of low value. We have no evidence that Padenheim had ever been to Bengal.

[75] The two principal ethnic groups in Sierra Leone are now called Mende and Temne, hence Padenheim's *Timmaney.*

and tuck in the end to secure it. When it rains they wear another piece round their shoulders, as a cape. As soon as it stops raining they pull it off and tie it under one arm and over the other shoulder. When their children are small they need a third piece of cloth, in which to carry the child while they go about their work.[76] The child has one leg on each side of the mother's back and sits in the piece of cloth, as it were a sack tied round the mother's back. She can go for miles like that. I have often wondered if their flat noses derive from the child's face always pressed against the mother's back. As soon as the children are a little older they move their head to the side, to see what is coming as the mother walks. On their heads they wear … African wool, given them by nature. This is enough instead of a cap. They are not in the least afraid of losing their lovely complexion and wear neither headdress nor veil. However, the above-mentioned wrap-around skirt is only worn by the women who are married or have a similar status. Truth to tell, not all of them wear it, and hardly any of them in the interior. Some young girls, around ten to twelve years old, wear a girdle with strings of beads in every colour and decorations of all sorts of designs. This is fastened round their waist with a band about three inches wide. A strip of white cloth, the same width and about two-and-a-half *alnar* long, is threaded through the waist-band in front and behind, to secure the girdle. Other girls are left in a state of nature. Their short hair is plaited ingeniously over the whole head, a hairstyle more elegant than comfortable, but plaiting is one of their leisure occupations; the men too wear such plaits. Around Freetown the men are beginning to take up the European style of dress. The wear long trousers and, if it is cold, a jacket. Some head-men also wear sleeveless shirts and stockings and shoes. The women also like shoes, but the European sleeveless shirts are not usually worn by either sex.

I shall continue with this, Sir, in my next letter and remain ...

[76] Padenheim begins by saying that the child is carried on the mother's hip, *på deras höfter.* But he goes on to say that the child has one leg on each side of the mother's back.

FIFTH LETTER, Freetown, Sierra Leone, 4 October 1792[77]

Dear Sir,

Infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem![78] I had the honour to receive from you, Sir, the very welcome letter of 10 January 1793.[79] This arrived happily with the ship *African Queen* at the beginning of the previous month. I was astonished at the long time your letter took to arrive; it must have lain several months in London. Now I believe you will be no less astonished over the contents of this letter and over the short time which it probably will take to reach you. For seven months I have not had a single opportunity to inform you of all our unhappiness, nor of our happier moments.

The outbreak of war between Britain and France has made itself more acutely felt for us, poor philanthropists abandoned in a remote corner of the world, than for many who actively participate in the war. Waking up from the unhealthy sloth and misfortune which I mentioned in my previous letter, we found ourselves in need of every sort of food. We had neither bread nor flour, nor was rice, the Africans' staple diet, easy to find. The arrival of the *African Queen* made everybody smile again. The discontent which had been threateningly prevalent was then assuaged. Now the *Amy,* a large brig belonging to the Company, is leaving for England in a few days' time. Professor Afzelius is going to travel with her, to solve his health problems and forget our other troubles while he is away, including the loss of a friend, the mining engineer August Nordenskiöld.[80] The life of this worthy countryman, with his knowledge, his personal qualities and his mining experience, as well as his tireless[81] interest for knowledge about and information on Africa, has come to a premature end; we miss him sadly. Although he was not yet fully recovered from the serious illness I mentioned in my previous letter, he set off last December up the Gambia River in one of the Company's smaller boats. When he arrived there, bringing goods worth £300 Sterling appropriate for his project, his delicate health failed completely. His intention was to initiate trade with the Africans living along the shores of this river. With some gifts and some barter, he would get information on their activities and come in touch with the head-men along the shore, to tell them about the Sierra Leone Company and its plans. Two black settlers from Freetown had been born in this district. They had been captured as slaves and had now come back from North America with the other settlers. Now they went with him as interpreters. He became so ill that he could not look after himself, nor could he prevent one of the African leaders going on board with a posse and plundering the vessel. I do not think we shall ever know exactly what happened, but what is certain is that he was robbed of the goods he had brought with him. It is true that some of the goods which were taken up the Gambia River later came into my own hands back in Freetown after Mr Nordenskiöld's death, but that does not exonerate his fellow-travellers from all suspicion. Indubitably the Company suffered a loss and Mr Nordenskiöld came back to Freetown in despair over the failure of his otherwise well-conceived project. He was also emaciated and exhausted by the fever.

[77] Padenheim has repeated the date of the fourth letter. The fifth letter should have been dated sometime between May and October 1794.

[78] In Virgil's Aeneid, Dido asks Aeneas to tell her his story. This is his reply: "You ask me, O Queen, to revive an overwhelming grief".

[79] Since it is almost certain that Padenheim's five letters were written to an imaginary friend, this "very welcome letter" is part of the literary fiction.

[80] Erroneously printed as U (lric). Nordenskiöld, who was August's elder brother.

[81] Padenheim calls this tireless interest Enthusiasm, which in the late 18th century was not a good quality.

His journey was however not wholly fruitless. Another vessel sailed up the river after his return and death, was well received and returned to Freetown with five of the head-men and some children. I would like you to know too, Sir, that one of these head-men was called Cuddy – a name for you to remember. Returning to my story, when Mr Nordenskiöld came back to Freetown, he was invited to live on board the store-ship *York,* where there was every comfort and convenience. But he refused to go aboard, partly due to his curious way of thinking, which was certainly influenced by his illness, and partly due to his extremely weak condition. He could not even walk and so, according to his clear wishes, he was carried to a little hut belonging to one of the black settlers. This hut was altogether inappropriate for restoring his health. It was not without long and strenuous opposition that he was persuaded to move to a room in one of the so-called canvas buildings, where one of his countrymen and friends was living.[82] Here he breathed his last 10 February 1792.[83] He himself handed over his copious and valuable manuscripts to the secretary Jakob Strand,[84] who intends to publish them. Mr Nordenskiöld received no salary from the Company and his devotion to knowledge about and information on Africa made him sacrifice everything for the true satisfaction which was his immutable goal – a quality so often fruitlessly sought among the upper classes and among young people in general.[85] Apart from this genuine mourning for us Swedes in Africa – for when abroad, either at sea or in the wilderness, all Swedes are a family – we have not been without other worries. Our neediness has been considerable and the black settlers have been discontented on more than one count.

The governor [John] Clarkson, an admirable and skilful man, was respected by the black settlers whom he had contracted in North America; they saw him as their leader. He has now travelled to Europe and the colony is managed by a council, consisting of three people, whom I have previously mentioned, namely Dawes, Macaulay and Watt. Dawes really is a skilful, experienced and good man, aged about thirty. He was born in England, but is perhaps wisely subservient towards his Jesuitic[86]colleagues, who are Scots and in fact do not have his skill or general education, although they have qualities of their own. However, another economic system was immediately introduced in the colony. Several small privileges[87] which governor Clarkson, perhaps on his own initiative, had given to the black settlers and their families were now discontinued. On the one hand, it was certainly necessary not to overload the Company with unforeseen expenses, which had become numerous and heavy. On the other hand, the settlers had become visibly discontented and less anxious to build their houses and cultivate their lots.

The truly skilful DuBois has been dismissed by the Company and gone away in dudgeon. Now the farming lots[88] promised the black settlers have been assigned. But some lots were mainly rocks, where not even a bush could grow. Others were inaccessible forest. This was inevitable, since no analysis of the quality of the soil and so on had been done. The

[82] Presumably Adam Afzelius, since Jakob Strand's other room was the library.

[83] He died in December, not February.

[84] Strand died soon afterwards and these documents seem to have disappeared. Nordenskiöld's other belongings were sold by auction in December in Freetown. The manuscript list of the income from the sale is in the Swedish national archives. No one knows how it arrived there, but I imagine Afzelius had it with him.

[85] Both Nordenskiöld and Afzelius had at least been promised a commission on the profits of any commercially expåloited discoveries.

[86] It is surprising that Scottish Presbyterians should be called Jesuits. Presumably Padenheim had in mind the Jesuits' ungrounded reputation for believing that the end justifies the means.

[87] These small privileges are not specified.

[88] The settlers had been promised a lot within the town, for a house and a garden, and a lot outside the town, for farming.

lots were simply set out with a measuring-tape and thereafter name-plates were affixed. Some settlers' farming lots were rocks several English miles away in the wilderness, others were inaccessible. They had nothing to appeal to the settler, not even material to build a hut. This setting-out and assigning was done after Clarkson's departure. He had foreseen the coming difficulties. As experience showed, the whole programme was over-ambitious, if not foolish. Clarkson had left it in abeyance, as an impossible project. It is true and does not need to be demonstrated, that there are few pieces of land, except the sandy Arabian deserts and such like, which cannot in time be cultivated after substantial investments. But to launch such a project, hastily and in a remote settlement, far from other cultivation and with farmers unused to the climate and other conditions, would be to manage the project as the peasants do with their children in Österbotten.[89] The mother leaves them all day with a horn full of milk hanging over the child's mouth. The child cannot spill it and it is still there, often half-full of flies, when the child wakes up, having cried itself to sleep. In no part of Sweden or Finland are so many children born to every marriage as in Österbotten, but at the same time, so many of them die. Those that survive this sour-milk upbringing grow up to be men of iron. The tough and energetic people of Österbotten usually are so. But q*uam longo distas ab ego!*[90]

The diligent, house-proud and persevering Dutch conquered the terrifying mountains of Africa, which the idle and cowardly Portuguese who first saw them called *Promontoria Diaboli,* whereafter he nearly died of hunger.[91] Since then, they have not expected their settlement there to survive on two empty hands, or to achieve miracles with just an axe, a spade, and a lunch-satchel. Oh no! For twenty years the Dutch East India Company invested in the Cape of Good Hope every year a million guilders. Agriculture was developed there, step by step. It spread slowly to the neighbourhood as the needs arose and as the neighbours helped one another. Now they harness several oxen, shaggy and strong as cart-horses, to a wagon and travel for ten or twenty days or more, taking in to the town farm products beyond their yearly needs and bringing back other necessary products. Here you can meet farmers who have been soldiers or otherwise served with the Company. No one is allowed to settle there unless they have served the hundred-year-old Company for six years and are sound in mind and body.[92] They are as hospitable as they are healthy. Admittedly, they do not have elegant homes or furniture. Their menu is austere; they are even short of bread, though the country produces first class oats. Their agriculture is based on livestock. One farmer may have twenty thousand sheep, without wool, with tails that can weigh ten to twelve [Swedish] marks and consist almost wholly of fat. Thus from ten to twelve thousand animals are out all the year.[93] They are rounded up occasionally with the help of shepherd-girls and dogs; otherwise they run wild, except when one must be caught to fill the milk-pail, or to be slaughtered -- this last not so often. The farmers eat dried meat instead of bread; butter and cheese are put on it, with milk instead of wine. Wherever one goes, one sees contentment and good order. One is always welcome; no guest is turned away. With such a way of life, it is not so difficult to create a settlement abroad. The settlers are as secure as the landscape around them. With us [in Sierra Leone] both capital, encouragement and analysis were lacking; the project was in defiance of nature.

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[89] Österbotten is a province in northern Finland, then part of Sweden.

[90] ”How I digress!” I cannot identify the Latin author.

[91] Bartolomeu Dias was in 1486 the first known European visitor; he was hardly idle or cowardly. In 1652 Jan van Riebeeck landed and founded the Dutch colony.

[92] The founding Company was then 140 years old.

[93] Swedish livestock must spend the winter indoors.

During the dry season, which has just come to an end, and before the rains made it difficult, the town site has been surveyed; each settler has been allotted a site for a house and a good garden, each about one twelfth of a Swedish *tunnland*. All the houses front on the street, while the middle of the block is devoted to gardens. The street plan is oriented north-east / south-west, so the prevailing wind blows along the nine streets. These streets are eighty English feet wide and intersected by three streets running south-east to north-west, one hundred and eighty feet wide.[94] The streets are named after the twelve directors in London: Parker Street, Wolff Street and so on. The thirteenth name has been given to a steep hill on the edge of the town-site, after the chairman, Henry Thornton. All the houses are supposed to be built according to this plan, with freehold lots. Many of the settlers have already put up quite elegant houses. Some are painted and the gardens have been dug up and sown. In this way the town is beginning to look better; what has not yet been removed will certainly be out of the way next year, so that the town will look as it ought to be.[95] All the Company's own buildings and the public buildings will be erected on the appointed sites. This work is already begun, excavating for foundations of brick or quarried stone.[96] But I would ask you, Sir, to wait a little longer before you visit our town. It is still disorganised and chaotic, but if you are patient, I shall invite you to a town in Paradise.

Let me now quickly describe our surroundings. Fourah Bay is about three English miles away, on the inlet on which Granvilletown was built. All the first settlers, who came in 1786, are living there, except a few who have married the later arrivals from Nova Scotia and thus become owners of sites in Freetown and gone to live there. This little settlement is also set out with regular building-lots and streets. A provisional church has been built and a service is held there every Sunday.

The soil on the south shore turns out to be less fertile than expected. The Company has therefore leased from the Africans on the north shore of the river an English square mile of land for £16 Sterling per year. All the terrain on this side of the river is fairly level, although some height about the level of the river. Here there is hardly a stone to be seen, let alone a rock. About twelve to fifteen *tunnland* have been cleared here and rice and cotton have been planted, with African labour. This is called Clarkson's Plantation. The necessary houses for a manager, a clergyman, a schoolmaster and a few others have been built.[97] This is an excellent site and would certainly have been chosen for the settlement, instead of Freetown, if there had been any sort of harbour or anchorage, but it is exposed to the wind and the tornadoes and the river is only a few feet deep. Further out there is a large sandbank, exposed at ebb tide, between Freetown and the Bullom shore and Clarkson's Plantation.[98] In the course of time a town will probably grow up on this site, forming a prosperous region, at the apex of an isosceles triangle, with Freetown and Granvilletown as its base.

The sugar-cane planted here grew well but was attacked by insects, probably termites, but locally called *bug-a-bugs*. The whole plantation is run using local African labour, paid by the day. They work outstandingly and are called to work every day at dawn by blowing a large horn, which can be heard in all the surrounding villages. Those who live there hear it,

[94] The street plan of central Freetown is still as it was when Padenheim's colleagues set it out.

[95] The unplanned huts already built were a problem when setting out the lots.

[96] The settlers would not have had time to quarry stone, but bricks and stone could well have been brought from Europe, as ballast. The 17th century Swedes did so when they built Carolusborg in Ghana, now the President's residence.

[97] Padenheim calls the clergyman a missionary.

[98] The northern or right shore of the estuary was also called the Bullom shore.

get up immediately. When they arrive, they begin to work, singing as they do so. They have been paid four or five bars per month, but in the future, to avoid confusion, they will get three Dollars. No other European is working here, except a plantation manager and an inspector.

(Author's note: The Africans have no idea of currency or its use and value, as the English use their Pound Sterling. Instead they use iron bars, about 1½ *aln* long. These bars have become a popular means of payment. The Africans are very well acquainted with the hallmarks and are not easily deluded. They prefer the Swedish iron bars. Slave-traders who have arrived on the coast without iron bars have had to exchange other goods to get them. Two fathoms' coarse blue cloth, *baffetas,* are worth one bar. Four bottles of rum are worth one bar. Twelve bunches of tobacco leaves, not the sort to be found in an ordinary tobacconist's, but bunches of four leaves, with a fifth to tie them up, are also worth one bar. Thus one bar is worth about four Shillings and six Pence Sterling. No slave or other commodity is ever only paid for in rum, but always in bars, together with other less valuable commodities. On every occasion an agreement must be made on the quantity and quality of the bars. The Europeans make an incredible profit on this. A dozen loose flints can be worth one bar. Powder, shot and muskets can also be sold profitably.)

The ship *African Queen* brought us many good things, including a considerable quantity of silver and copper coins: silver Dollars, Half-Dollars, Fifth-Dollars and Tenth-Dollars: copper Pennies and Half-Pennies. A Dollar is worth five Shillings and is the same size as a Swedish two-thirds *Riksdaler.* On the one face there are two clasped hands, one white and one black,[99] this being the symbol for the Company's friendship with the Africans, also the text, *Sierra Leone Company,* and the value of the coin. On the other side, a lion *rampant,* over the text *Africa.* The precious metal content of this coinage is 10% less than Sterling. The intention is that it shall supersede the uncertain currency of bars, but the transition is confusing. As mentioned, the African labourers will henceforth be paid three Dollars per month.

In Freetown there are now among the North American settlers about two hundred craftsmen at work every day. They earn a daily wage of between three Shillings and six Pence to one Shilling and six Pence. This means that between £160 and £170 Sterling are paid out each week. Every Monday at mid-day, when they go home, they are paid for the previous week's work. The craftsmen are carpenters, joiners, armourers, heavy-smiths, light-smiths, brick-makers, masons, coopers, roofing-shingle-makers and others. The ordinary labourers are divided into seven groups, each with their group-leader. Their work is to fell trees and clear the forest, transport building material, dig drains, level the ground, dig cellars and generally do everything necessary to build a settlement in the wilderness.

One of the Company's principal objectives is that the new generation in Africa, or at least in the Company's area, shall be educated. Schools have therefore been built for them at the Company's expense. All religions are allowed here and as well as two Anglican clergymen – this is the main religion – there are four European and several black school-masters. There is also a clergyman and a schoolmaster on Clarkson's Plantation on the Bullom shore and one [schoolmaster] in Granvilletown. In Freetown there are now more than two hundred children in school, forty of them local Africans. They are learning to read, write and calculate. They begin the morning and the afternoon with song and prayer. There are also about twenty African schoolboys on the Bullom side, making impressive progress. I

[99] I have never seen one of these coins and wonder how it was possible to show that one hand was white and the other black.

have seen a sixteen-year-old African boy with a handwriting as elegant as the well-trained European.

Although we have so much to do with our own settlement, we do not neglect external trade and shipping.[100] As well as the *York,* there is also the *Harpy,* 380 tons or a little more than 190 *lästers drägt*.[101] The Company now has twelve other vessels here, of twenty to a hundred tons displacement. They are engaged in coastal trade, in ivory, wax, honey, dyes, timber, rice, livestock, leather, fur, pepper and other goods. In exchange they bring goods sought after by the Africans, which they could otherwise only get in exchange for slaves. That the coastal trade is profitable, even for the Company, can be seen because no other means of payment is used other than the standard iron bar. As I have described in the note above, this also applies to the slave-traders. Ivory is paid for according to the weight of the tusks. A tusk weighing fifteen to twenty *skålpund* fetches twelve, fifteen or eighteen Pence per *skålpund.* A tusk weighing twenty to forty *skålpund* fetches two Shillings. A forty to sixty *skålpund* tusk fetches two Shillings and six Pence. A sixty to eighty *skålpund* tusk is worth three Shillings. An eighty to a hundred *skålpund* tusk is worth three Shillings and six Pence. However, these prices in Shillings and Pence are not paid in coin, but in commodities; as well as bars, these can be flints, shot, gunpowder, tobacco, glass beads, and rum and so on. For a European it is evident that the real value is four times more than what the guileless African receives.

The many examples of African craftsmanship which the Africans bring to sell to us, or which our coastal trading vessels have acquired, suggest that they have learnt from the universal teacher, Nature herself. They can make rings and other ornaments of gold, which they wear on their fingers, arms and ankles, also in their ears and noses. These are not at all fripperies. When some of their women dress up, they may wear jewellery worth more than £20 Sterling. Our nearest neighbours, the Timmaney, are the poorest in this respect. During the former dry season, we were visited by several head-men from the more distant districts. To the north we have first the Bullom and then their neighbours the Susse, with about the same type of soil and fertility, but richer in livestock and gold. Thereafter come the Mandingo and then the Foulah, whose territory extends as far as the Gambia River.[102] Both these latter nations are Moslems and have extensive and fertile territory. Gold is to be found in all these territories but not in those around us, which are instead called the iron-ore district. In Africa the gold is found near the surface and is often washed down by the rivers, whence those who live nearby collect it. Where no rivers run, they do not bother to look for it at greater depths.

All these nations belong to the so-called Grain Coast. You are certainly aware, Sir, that the Guinean coast is divided into three: the Gold Coast, which extends on both sides of the Equator:[103] the Ivory Coast or Quaqua: and our coast, named after the rice which it produces.[104] These natural resources are in fact to be found along the whole west coast of

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[100] The Sierra Leone Company hoped that the colony would be sustainable, not only by the export of agricultural products, but also by trade in commodities other than slaves. The insolvent Compnay was in 1808 taken over as a Crown Colony.

[101] *190 lästers drägt* is an obsolete and uncertain Swedish term for a vessel's size.

[102] I have retained Padenheim's spelling for all these ethnic groups.

[103] In fact the Equator runs some way south of the continental coast, through the islands of Säo Tomé and Principe.

[104] The coast of to-day's Senegal, Gambia, Guiné Bissau, Guiné Conakry, Sierra Leone and Liberia was in the 18th century called the Windward or Grain or Pepper Coast. Thereafter followed the Ivory Coast, still called *Côte d'Ivoire.* To-day's Ghana was called the Gold Coast and to-day's Togo, Benin and Nigeria were called the Slave Coast.

Africa, in spite of the particular names. All these nations trade in slaves and wage bloodthirsty wars to acquire them. Each nation or district has distinctive scarification. This is done with a knife, to give both raised scars and incised, as though a crooked strip had been cut out. Some have scars in the form of semi-circles on their cheeks, others on the forehead, and others over the whole face, still others on the chest or arms and so on. Women have them on their backs, with raised damask-like patterns from the neck downwards. These are considered an important decoration and the mothers incise them on their daughters when they are about three years old. The scars are often raised in several levels and look horrible to us. The Mandingos and Foulahs are tall and well-built, have a warlike appearance and, as mentioned, are Moslems. They do not drink liquor, being faithful followers of their dry and sensual Prophet, whose doctrine has spread to this coast. Their language is an Arabic dialect, which they speak and write very well.[105] One of them, called Job ben Salomon, lived in England for a while and there wrote out the whole text of the Koran from memory. Their clothing consists of a cotton cloth, woven in their manner, wound around their hips and thighs, instead of trousers. The upper part of their body is covered with a bigger cloth, like a cape, covering the left shoulder and tucked under the right arm, which is always left bare, even when it is raining or cold. On their heads they wear a little round cap, like Finnish caps; it is made of coloured cotton and well sewn. Their legs and feet are bare.

They are very skilful craftsmen in leather and are good at tanning it and dyeing it in different colours. They can cut out all sorts of straps, which would puzzle a European saddler. Their best weapons are sheathed in coloured leather and they make indescribably well-decorated baskets and bags, with beautiful braids and tassels hanging round them. From their arms hang tiny and beautifully-made purses, in which they carry coins and other small things, also *grisgris.* Although they are Moslems and say their prayers five times a day and so on, they like to have some protection against evil spirits, and make some small offerings to them.

Around their waists they carry a short dagger, in all about fifteen inches long, of which a third is the handle. The blade is indescribably sharp. It is sharpened on both sides of both edges. The tip is like a pointed *lancette* for the first inch. Then the blade widens to about three inches and narrows again to about two inches at the finger-guard and the handle. Over their right shoulder they carry an equally beautifully crafted quiver, with braided lacing and tassels. In this they carry around thirty arrows. The arrowheads are of iron, very sharp-pointed and poisoned and barbed, so that they cannot be pulled out of the wound. The iron head is fastened securely at the end of a thin cane. Their skill with these is astonishing, both regarding the impressive range from the target and the accuracy. The bow in their hand is nearly six feet long and made of a resilient type of wood, carefully made and sometimes with thin brass ornaments, but otherwise only with a bowstring of animal gut, as thick as an ordinary *såckerband.*[106]

Now let me introduce you, Sir, to my neighbour, who carries boldly an ordinary Turkish sword, about seventy inches long. Do not be afraid; it is our old friend Cuddy! What more shall I say about him? He is about thirty years old and so elegant and well-built; isn't he charming? His gestures are so free and uninhibited; his face is a picture of benevolence. He was born to honesty and nothing can persuade him to abandon the truth. His whole appearance is so simple, so clear and so pure. But now you must think I am in love with him, and truth to tell, I am, and nothing would persuade me to reveal all our innocent conversations. Would you like to consider his intelligence? You would find him occupied with

[105] Padenheim has not understood that they as Moslems had learned to write some Arabic.

[106] Today no one knows what a *såckerband* looked like or how thick it was.

observing and studying everything that seems to him to be useful or unfamiliar, which might be advantageous for his homeland. He lives by the Gambia River and his ambition is to build a settlement there, which he would call Little Sierra Leone.

Every morning he comes to me before I go out to work and then again at other times when he thinks I might be at home. He feels in his element then. I am living in one the canvas-covered houses I have described. It is about sixteen *alnar* long and has five windows facing the river. All along this side is a covered veranda about three *alnar* wide. Here I have my *volier,*[107] made of the best *plumer* &c, my *promenade,* my dining-room and everything else.[107] The building is also the colony's armoury. Around the walls, behind my crockery and from floor to ceiling, are more than five hundred muskets, bayonets, swords, pistols and pikes. The armourer looks after them. There are also drums, standards and flags. All this amuses Cuddy, but even more so when I tell him about the European customs, strategies and systems which our society must have to keep our way of life going and which our households require. He becomes almost breathless when he listens, and I am sure he remembers it all. Sometimes his questions are tiring, but is that surprising? How many times has he not tried to persuade me to go with him up the Gambia River and end my days there, without more ado? He has offered me everything, even wives. This worthy man believes I have no home country and no obligations. Perhaps in that way I could escape my destiny and the many misfortunes which may lie in wait for me on the path I must continue to tread? So many new dangers to avoid, so many already survived! My good friend Cuddy, I thank you, but I do have a home country. When I am there, I shall miss Africa, and you! Cuddy has now persuaded a couple of carpenters to go with him up the Gambia River, to make ploughs for him there, and European looms and other tools. He is delighted with his visit here and will soon go home with his head full of ideas which he has got from the Europeans. He likes their company and were you to ask him, (he speaks good English), and he would say he was looking forward to meeting you. You may decide for yourself, Sir, if you reciprocate.

The wide [European] looms are unknown in Africa. They can spin quite fine thread, which is strong and stable and wears well when it is woven. But they only weave strips no wider than four, five, six or at the most seven inches, which they then sew neatly together to the width they want. The seams can hardly be seen, so skilfully are the edges put together. These sewn-together cloths, as white as snow, make good table-cloths or bed-clothes. They are masters of dyeing and can make these cloths any colour. Mostly they use the blue dye from the indigo plant. It grows wild, a troublesome weed in the rice- and maize-fields, so it is readily available. Once dyed, the cloth never loses its colour. I do not know how they prepare the dye or if they have some quicker method than letting it rot, as they do in the West Indies. That is disgusting and unneighbourly. Generally, rotting vegetable material smells much more unpleasant than animal material. The repulsive but certain proofs are our European starch factories and Amsterdam's piles of potato-skin, tipped out along the canal-banks and allowed to lie there. Nature has nothing that can compare with indigo. It is stifling. In Surinam all the indigo factories have been closed, because there is no breeze there and the factories were in the end the death of more slaves than could be brought in from Africa.

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[107] Padenheim seems to be showing off his command of the French language. A *volière* is an aviary; did Padenheim have a bird-cage on his 90 cm wide veranda, which he also calls a *promenade*? French school-children, until recently, kept their pens and pencils in a *plumier;* does Padenheim mean he sat and wrote on the veranda, or did he keep feathers – *plumes* -- from the aviary there? In many European languages, feathers are inextricably associated with writing.

Their floor mats are made of roots. These have many uses, including where we in Europe use bedclothes. They have learned how to weave them like the most beautiful tapestries, with glorious borders in all colours and patterns. Now that I have mentioned indigo, it would be appropriate to tell you more about other vegetable products. But my letter has already become unreasonably long. Professor Afzelius can give you more certain and comprehensive information. Now the post-box is about to be closed – to-morrow or perhaps already this evening, for it is late now.

Respectfully and with a sigh for my home-land, I remain &c,

(Author's note: In one of the notes to this, my Fifth Letter, a bar is valued at 2s. 6d, but this ought to have been 3s. 6d. Furthermore, the length of a bar was set at twelve inches, instead of 1½ *aln.*)

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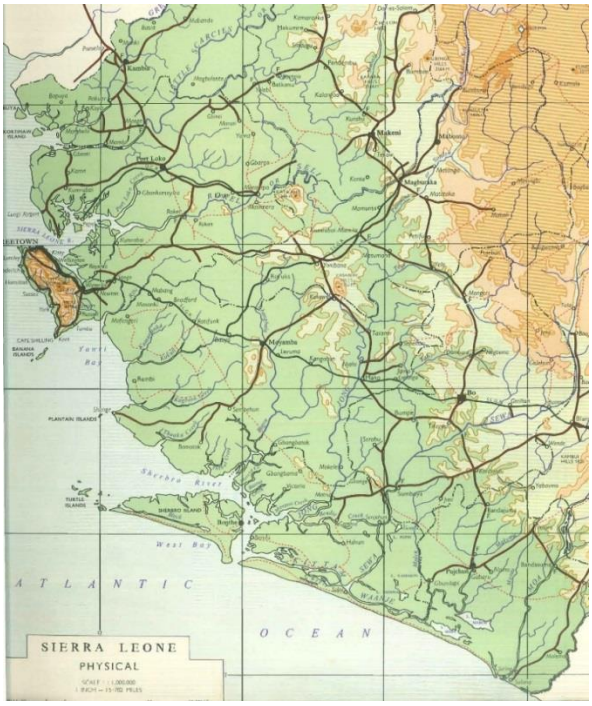
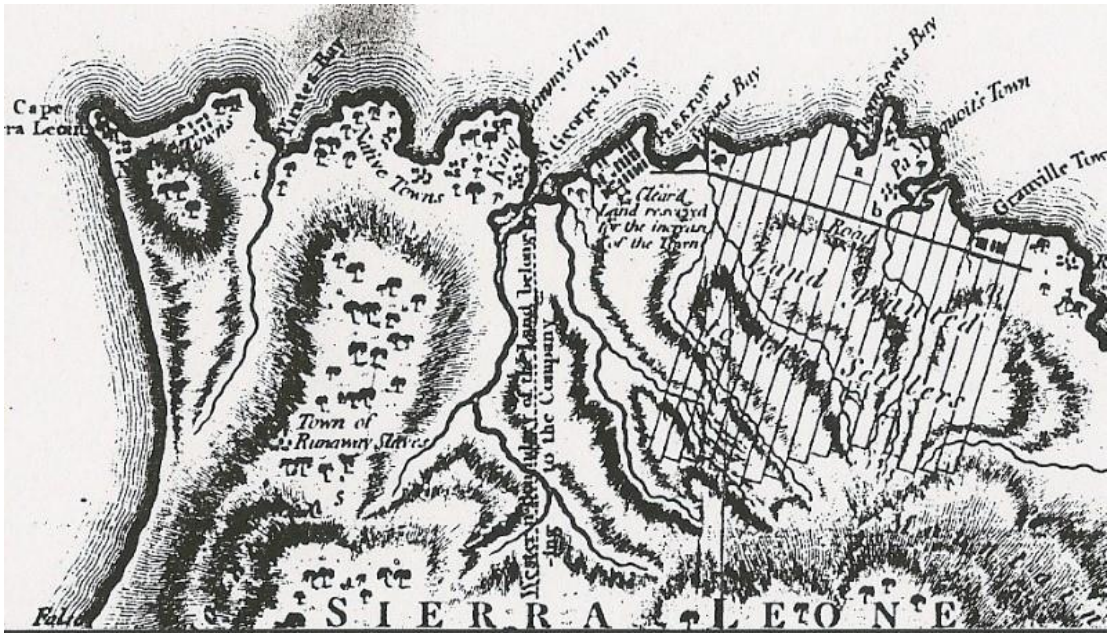
Map of today's West Africa, (Google Images)

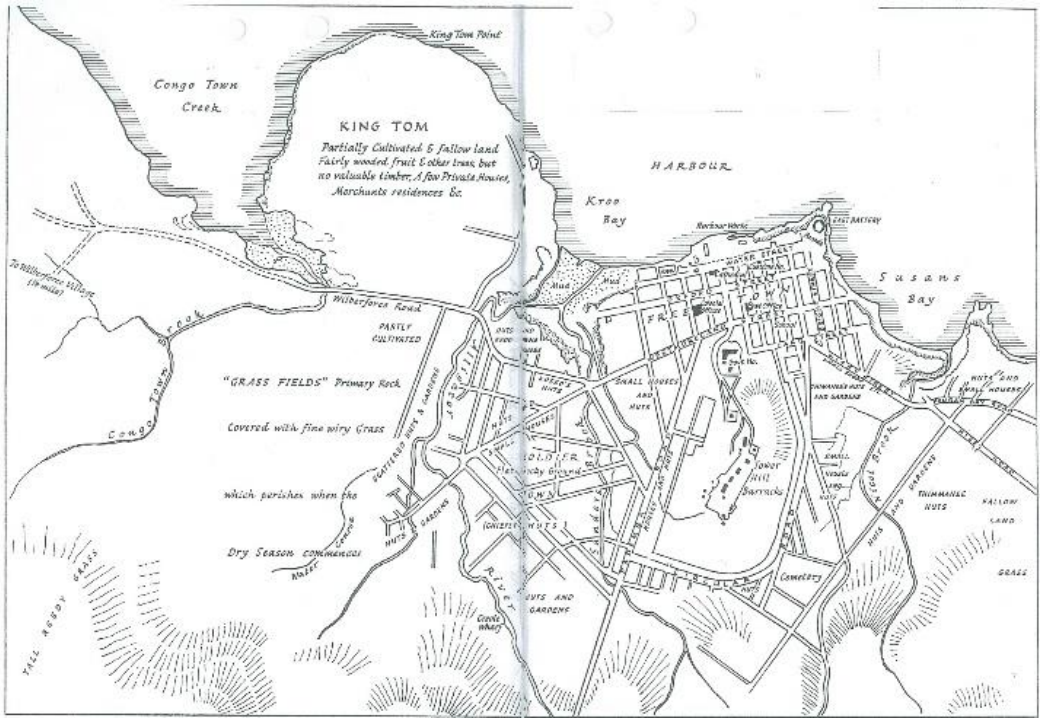


Map of part of the Sierra Leone coast, showing the Freetown peninsular, the Banana Islands, Sherbro Island etc. (Atlas of Sierra Leone, Survey & Lands Department, 1953)

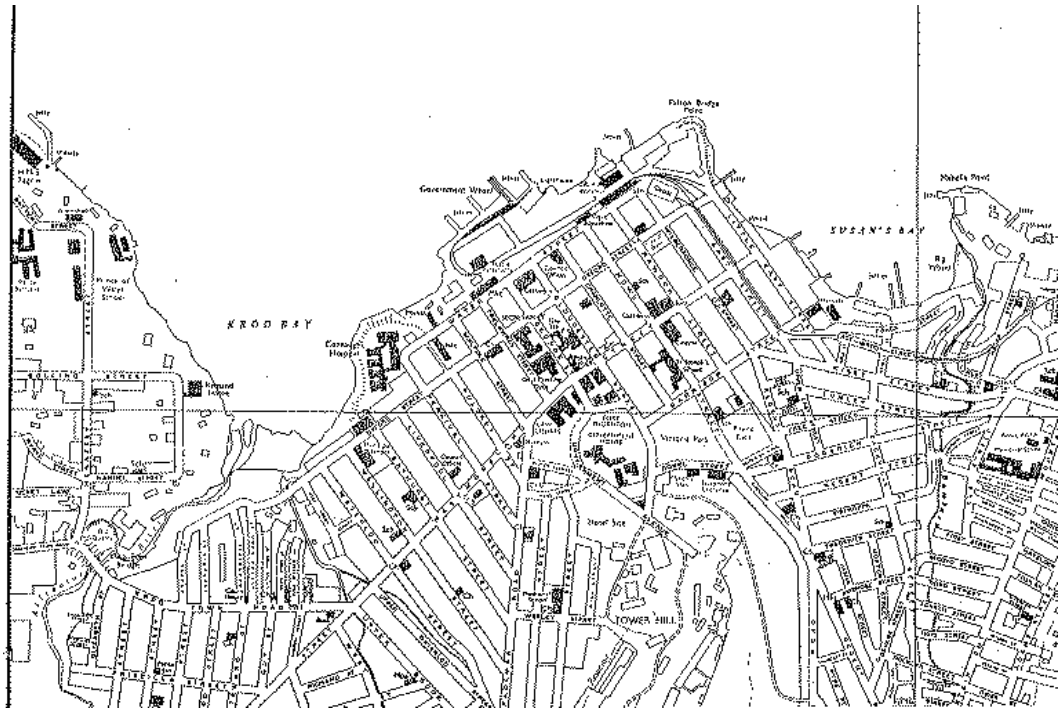


"Plan of Sierra Leone and the Parts Adjacent," from the 1795 Report of the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company.

Note:
"Land reserved for the increase of the town"
"Land granted to the settlers"
"Granville Town"
"Town of runaway slaves"



Town Plan of Freetown, 1920 (Olu-Wright, 1968)



Town Plan of Freetown, 1968 (Olu-Wright 1968).
The 18th century plan for the central business district is unchanged.

The translator's photo of the Zion Methodist church on Freetown's Wilberforce Street in December 2015, with the date 1792 on the façade

African daggers of the type described by Padenheim, now in the Swedish Army Museum in Stockholm.

Health within anti-poverty policy

An exploration of how effectively national health policies have been implemented locally in Makeni, Sierra Leone.

Helena Newton

University of Sheffield, submitted for consideration of the award of a Masters' Degree in International Development

Abstract

This qualitative study explores whether an implementation gap exists between national aspirations and local delivery of health policies within Sierra Leone anti-poverty strategies. It examines the health issues faced within Sierra Leone before considering how health and poverty are interlinked.

This allows for an exploration of how anti-poverty strategies have developed and the health policies that are prioritised within this, before focusing in on the concept of an implementation gap between national aspirations and local reality. The data collection itself was conducted over a five-week period, in the city of Makeni, Sierra Leone and the surrounding local area. Through observational techniques and semi-structured interviews with key informants in the health sector and local householders, the research argues that there is an implementation gap between national aspirations and local delivery. The reasons behind this are due to the interconnected ideas of availability, awareness and accessibility which are supply and demand barriers to effective implementation. Availability arises as the physical infrastructure is often inefficient and unequal in distribution, while also not being in place to support other policies dependent on the resources.

Awareness means there are challenges for local authorities to implement national policies due to local people's lack of education and also a communication gap between the national and local levels which means policies are not adaptable to local circumstances. Accessibility at the local level shows that not only are the policies not adaptable, but barriers prevent people from being able to benefit from the healthcare provided by the policies. Both the supply and demand side need to be considered together to allow the effective implementation and realisation of policies. The findings of this study contribute to gaps in the literature by focusing on the implementation of policies at the local level as opposed to the more researched national level.

Introduction

Anti-poverty policy is an integral component guiding the national government of Sierra Leone, with the fundamental aim of the new Agenda for Prosperity being to achieve a middle-income country status (Government, 2013-2018). However, to achieve this, various areas need to be considered to allow the full realisation of this goal. Health is just one aspect of anti-poverty policy which needs to be considered, and its huge significance makes it the focus of this research. There are two key reasons for this emphasis that has been placed upon health. Firstly, health is a national priority in Sierra Leone specifically since the 2014-15 Ebola crisis which has meant more attention is being given to health and secondly, poverty is both a cause of ill health and a consequence of it (World Bank, 2014). This traps people in a cycle in that being in poverty increases people's chances of ill health, while ill health further

restricts people to poverty. Therefore, the need to address health is essential as a step towards being able to address poverty itself.

In the context of a post-Ebola era this makes the need to address health an even greater priority with the crisis occurring midway through the Agenda for Prosperity (AFP). Recovering from the 1991-2002 Civil War, Sierra Leone's health infrastructure and system was already badly damaged during the war's eleven year period (Desai, 2010). All of this was made worse by the health issues Sierra Leone already faced and still continues to face on varying degrees of severity. The main health issues and priorities of the nation include a high maternal and under five mortality rate as well as a high degree of malaria and other diseases including Tuberculosis (WHO, 2015). Given these health issues, the Ebola Virus Disease (EVD) outbreak only worsened the situation and further damaged the health system with the death toll for Sierra Leone standing at 3956 with 14124 cases having been reported in total (WHO, 2016). The fact many of these deaths included essential health personnel only heightened the current situation. The connection between health and poverty meant that one reason the crisis was seen to be so severe and difficult to contain was due to the poverty within the region which further demonstrates the interconnected nature of the two (Chan, 2014).

However, although the policies to address such health issues are established at the national level of Sierra Leone, there is little to no evidence to suggest how successfully they are being implemented at the local level. This study through the mapping of local public health infrastructure, policy and practice aims to determine whether an implementation gap exists between the aspirations of national health policy and the local realities of delivery on the ground. This is a qualitative study, which through the use of semi-structured interviews and observations with key local health informants and local householders, will explore whether the national initiatives are being effectively taken up and then received at the local level. This idea that there is an implementation gap is one which has more recently gained momentum in academic literature, and one that is largely absent in developing countries such as Sierra Leone. Therefore, this study contributes towards the growing research on an implementation gap but also fills the literature gap by examining this idea within the Sierra Leone context. Given Sierra Leone's high poverty level and the country ranking as 181 out of 188 countries on the Human Development Index (HDI) (UNDP, 2016), this makes it essential to determine how effective national health policies with regards to improving this situation, are being implemented locally on the ground.

The research was carried out while based at the University of Makeni (UNIMAK), which is in the Bombali district in the Northern Province of Sierra Leone (UNIMAK, n.d.). This makes the study even more important given the local Makeni context, as little research has been done within this region, with only a limited number of studies currently available. While some academic literature is available discussing health education and practices in the rural and urban areas of Makeni in relation to Community Health Workers (CHWs) (Abdelmalak, Ahmed, & Mehta, 2016), there is no available data discussing whether the national policies have been effectively implemented at the micro level such as Makeni. In addition, as the Northern Province and Bombali district in particular is largely recognised in the AFP as having the highest poverty rate and an abundance of health issues (Government, 2013-2018, p. 13), it raises the importance of this study. More needs to be done to monitor whether national schemes are in fact being successfully implemented in the local regions, and whether an assessment needs to be undertaken to improve policy uptake in areas which are in most need of it.

The following second chapter reviews existing literature with a particular focus on national issues and policies. By first assessing what the government policy is and what the current national situation is in Sierra Leone alongside emerging theories, this will allow the study to then focus in on the local level through the data collection and research undertaken to assess the implementation process by key informants and reality for householders. The third chapter presents the research aim and questions that underpin the study and this is followed in the fourth chapter by the methodology which gives in more detail what methods were used to collect the data in light of the questions, and how the data was analysed as well as considering the challenges faced during this process. Due to the nature of the data, the study integrates the findings and discussion into one section. Therefore, chapter five outlines the research findings thematically that are derived from the data analysis process and analyses their significance in relation to existing academic literature. Chapter six then concludes with a summary of the key findings in relation to the research questions and the recommendations drawn from the study.

Literature Review

This chapter explores the existing literature relating to national health issues and policies in Sierra Leone. Firstly, a contextual understanding of the health priorities and issues in Sierra Leone are provided before demonstrating the theoretical interconnected link between health and poverty. This is followed by an analysis of anti-poverty strategies pre and post Ebola and the main current health policies. Finally, the notion of an implementation gap and surrounding theories will be examined between national policy aspirations and local reality.

This approach allows for a greater understanding of why health is of such importance given the issues faced on a national level, and how health is intertwined with poverty and thus is a main focus in the establishment of anti-poverty policies. However, although the foundations making health a priority are present, due to emerging theories, questions arise as to whether national aspirations in general are being effectively delivered and received on the ground, or whether an implementation gap is present between national aspirations and local reality through delivery and uptake.

Health priorities in the Sierra Leone context

Improving people's health and restoring the health system is a national priority in Sierra Leone given the Civil War and Ebola context (O'Hare, 2015). Therefore, the healthcare facilities on the ground should ideally meet people's needs and be improved and adapted accordingly (O'Neill et al, 2013).

However, in a contrasting argument this is seen to not always be the case, as within Sierra Leone the available workforce and services are continuously being viewed as inadequate (McPake et al, 2015). One argument centres on the fact that the Ebola epidemic threatened healthcare workers and thus reduced the number of health personnel alongside the ability for facilities to run effectively. While Kilmarx et al (2014) at the beginning of the outbreak recognises the risks posed to both personnel and the health system, writing in the aftermath of the epidemic, with the benefit of hindsight, Perry et al (2016) stresses how

Kilmarx et al were correct in their warnings, with the health system being more under-resourced than before and in need of greater surveillance due to even fewer personnel.

A number of other health issues such as diarrhoeal diseases and tuberculosis contribute towards the high mortality rate (CDC, 2015). They especially pose a big threat to the proportion of the population classified as vulnerable, which includes children and pregnant women (Shivayogi, 2013). Therefore, as some academics argue, although such diseases threaten everyone, there is often a disproportionate focus within policy over who is the main priority to protect. The governments moral values result from their desire to safeguard the most vulnerable, and they therefore design policies around this, while arguably neglecting others in the process (Mechanic & Tanner, 2007; Greenall et al, 2017). In particular, child malnutrition and a high under five mortality rate are burdens which the World Health Organisation (WHO) highlight as being significant and therefore drive policy interventions (WHO, 2015). This is reiterated academically with academics such as Marmot (2005) stating that the under-five mortality rate stood at 316 per 1000 live births. However, although this was written over a decade ago, this does not make the claims any less true. Writing more recently You et al (2015), demonstrate how in 2015 the seven countries with an under five mortality rate of more than a 100 deaths per 1000 live births are in sub-Saharan Africa which includes Sierra Leone. Issues over a large maternal mortality are also prominent and receive a large amount of attention. Moszynski (2009) argues that the maternal mortality rate in Sierra Leone is so severe that it can be classified as a "human rights emergency" with one in eight women at risk of dying during child birth. Due to such high under five and maternal mortality rates, this has made these concerns a national priority with the need to rebuild the health system (Elston et al, 2015).

The Ministry of Health and Sanitation in Sierra Leone as one strand of the national government therefore puts a large emphasis on child and maternal health with a health post supposedly available at the grassroots level (Ministry of Health and Sanitation, 2017).

Malaria is another severe health problem which receives a large amount of attention, not least because of the threat it poses to the classified vulnerable groups (African Health Observatory , 2010-2014). However, when discussing malaria, there is an argument that suggests Ebola is interlinked with other diseases and its severe impact, particularly in reducing the number of health personnel, has meant that the gains previously made in malaria control have been diminished (Walker et al, 2015). Ebola has heightened the national response with regards to maintaining control of infectious diseases like malaria to prevent further outbreaks. This is particularly the case when such outbreaks pose greater threats to the most vulnerable within the population, as evidenced by the Ebola pandemic exposing not only the vulnerability of the people but also the vulnerability of the health system (UNDP, 2015).

Health as an anti-poverty priority- the relationship between health and poverty

Being aware of the health issues through health education and promotion has been recognised as important for improving health while simultaneously reducing poverty (McPake et al, 2015), which is a challenge considering only a 41% adult literacy rate (UNDP, 2016). Ensuring good health and promoting people's well-being is number three of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which has carried on as a key priority from the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (UN, 2015). The first SDG centres around ensuring that there is no more poverty. However, both health and poverty are interlinked and need to

be considered together, as to achieve 'no poverty' then healthcare needs to be addressed. This connection can be seen, as being in poverty not only increases people's health risks, but having bad health restricts and entraps people within poverty (see figure 1). Strong arguments are made around this connection which argue how the Civil War increased poverty while simultaneously exposing the weakness of the health system (Kentikelenis, 2015), which then meant the increased level of poverty and health infrastructural problems resulted in the inability to control the Ebola outbreak (Alexander et al, 2015). This then came full circle as Ebola further heightened existing poverty and health issues and demonstrates their interconnected nature.

Figure 1- ***Cycle of health and poverty (Wagstaff, 2002)***

While gains have been made within many African countries with regards to improving economic growth, some of the MDGs and now SDGs particularly with regards to health remain behind target (UNDP, 2015). One argument centres on the need to introduce more sensitization programmes as seen by programmes which educated communities about Ebola (World Renew, 2015). However, what this study does not recognise is that sensitization needs to be introduced with regards to issues other than Ebola to raise awareness around policy and of services and healthcare practices to follow.

An alternative viewpoint believes disparities in terms of income and access to basic health services are crucial factors acting as barriers towards reducing poverty and improving health (Worku & Woldesenbet, 2015). Access issues to basic services have been raised with a focus on both geographical accessibility issues as well as financial accessibility barriers (Peters et al, 2008), with disparities and inequity issues also present for example in terms of disproportionate user charges for people wanting to access healthcare (Fabricant, Kamara & Mills, 1999). While awareness acts as a barrier for implementing policies, accessibility issues are barriers for people on the ground gaining access to them. Therefore, to work towards achieving the established goals, a number of different factors need to be considered to ensure the services are available, people are aware of them and then can access them to simultaneously improve health in a way that is equal, while contributing towards one strand of reducing poverty by accelerating human development (Whitehead, 1991).

In a landmark study an argument is raised that rarely is it recognised nationally that poverty should be tackled as a way of improving health and vice versa, when anti-poverty programs if monitored and evaluated throughout, could actually prove effective in health

promotion (Silverman, Holtyn, & Jarvis, 2016). This agreeable argument implies the importance of focusing on health as one big determinant of poverty. Therefore, theories centre around the belief that reducing poverty needs to be considered to improve health, while improving health is important to help reduce poverty as can be done if anti-poverty programmes are implemented effectively and monitored throughout.

Anti-poverty strategies and health policies pre and post Ebola

This interconnected relationship between health and poverty and the importance of health issues in Sierra Leone, has meant health is an integral component within anti-poverty strategies. Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) have been developed by national governments in collaboration with the World Bank and IMF as a basis for debt reduction while assessing poverty challenges and goals (IMF, 2017). Sierra Leone as a Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) is currently in the process of trying to implement the AFP, which as the third PRSP covering the period 2013-2018 follows on from the Agenda for Change (AFC) (2008-2012), and other initial papers surrounding the end of the Civil War (IMF, 2005). The AFP gives health an even stronger focus, which is particularly prominent given that the Ebola outbreak occurred during the initial stages of the reports implementation (see figure 2). The aims of the policy paper in terms of its human development and social protection aspects centre around improving the healthcare delivery system and addressing inequity (Government, 2013-2018). However, the policy papers developed by national government are not without their criticisms from Academics. Although the papers have been praised by the government and organisations such as The IMF, academics have often not shared this view. Critics such as Doe (2010) have accused the National papers of making poor progress with regards to the human development aspect. There has been the idea raised in Doe's article that the papers in the post-war context were not adaptable to Local contexts which was a limitation of early papers, and despite previously facing criticism (Cherub, 2006), still remains unaltered and is a problem for present papers. A contrasting argument claims that the PRSPs do not allow citizens to impose real change. Instead, the policy papers are restricted to selected organisations alongside the government and do not allow the active involvement from local people whose livelihoods could be ultimately determined and affected by such policies (Bangura, 2015). Although there have been responses to the policy papers more generally and to certain policies within them, there has been little recognition of the AFP directly, or of policy Implementation from the perspective of those on the ground which warrants pursuing.

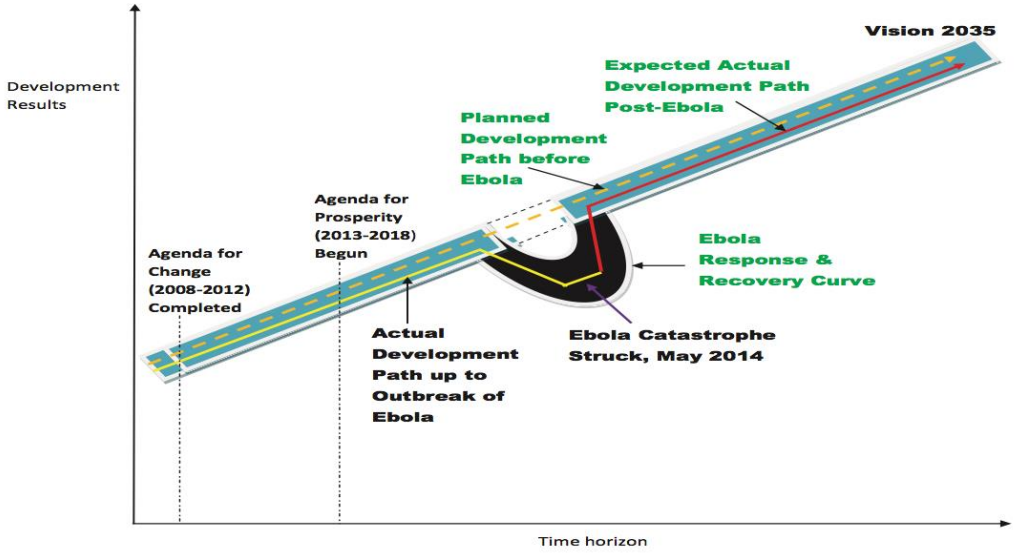


Figure 2 - The Ebola Recovery Strategy and Agenda for Prosperity (Government of Sierra Leone, 2015)

In the light of the Ebola outbreak, the national Ebola recovery strategy recognised how the crisis had further setback health in terms of infrastructure. There is the overarching idea that the provision and availability of services remains lacking with little form of health assistance and the possibility of further health outbreaks posing a threat (Government, 2015). This made the notion of making services available and accessible a priority in government policy. Literature stresses the fact that due to the "public health emergency" the Ebola outbreak posed, this meant measures are required for the future sustainable restoration of the country (Korma & Lb, 2015). The strategy correlated with social initiatives introduced through government policy alongside organisations like the World Bank. The introduction of cash grants in the light of Ebola is one scheme which aimed to support poor households and vulnerable communities whose health had been affected. Through the use of cash transfers this would mean that money would be made available to 21,000 extremely poor households, which would benefit 126,000 people including children and Ebola survivors (World Bank, 2015). Therefore, although organisations such as the World Bank favour these schemes, prior to this introduction of cash grants for Ebola this form of initiative has faced criticism. This focused around the fact that it is not seen as an appropriate or feasible way to deal with poverty and vulnerable people given Sierra Leone's post-conflict transition (Holmes & Jackson, 2008). These questions about the appropriateness of such initiatives in an Ebola context raise even more issues. Although, such forms of social assistance helps relieve some of the burdens placed upon people classified as extremely poor and vulnerable, there is also the risk of the 'dependency syndrome' (Shepherd, Wadugodapitiya & Evans 2011). Therefore, an argument suggests that cash transfers provided by the government and organisations should not be exclusively relied on and are not effective in improving health and reducing poverty in the long term. Instead, other policies need to be implemented to allow Sierra Leone's future development through improving health. Due to the main health burdens of the country revolving around children and pregnant women, this has largely been reflected in the main health policies. To begin with, a main health policy is the Free Health Care Initiative (FHCI) which was adopted in 2010 to work towards long-term stability and sustainability (Obermann, 2011). However, the policy only made free healthcare available for under 5s, pregnant women and lactating mother's, with Ebola survivors being a more

recent addition. This FHCI is focused upon in the AFP, with aims being to expand the initiative. On the one hand the initiative has been praised as seen by the number of children receiving care from Sierra Leone's hospital facilities each month expanding from 170,000 before free healthcare, to 340,000 after its implementation (Donnelly, 2011). However, Donnelly overlooks how a large majority of the population are excluded from this initiative and how the country will actually achieve this given the poor health infrastructure and lack of personnel resulting from war and Ebola. Therefore, on the other hand, Obermann actually responded to Donnelly's article to critique his view point and acknowledge such points. Obermann (2011) critiques the country's low level health facilities and drug availability which will act as a barrier towards the provision of high quality care proposed through this initiative. Such barriers are echoed by academics other than Obermann, as it is noted how the post-conflict era and more recent Ebola crisis needs to be considered within policies to allow the effective implementation of policies given the local contexts (Witter, Wurie & Bertone 2016).

As providing healthcare particularly to children and pregnant women is at the forefront of national priority, it drives the policy development. In addition to the FHCI, schemes have been implemented with the aim of providing mosquito nets to everybody as a way of lowering the risk of malaria, particularly as this poses a greater threat to the prioritised vulnerable groups. In addition to this, other health policies through the AFP focus on ensuring that every mother has access to a modern hospital and improving the number of medical personnel (Government, 2013-2018), although there is little evidence to see how this has been pursued at the local level as this research covers.

The implementation gap

While the national policies and initiatives have been physically developed, it is another question as to how effectively they have been implemented locally at the grassroots level and whether this distribution is geographically equal. The idea that there is a need to focus on the Social Determinants of Health (SDH), which include the conditions in which people live, and are shaped by the distribution of power and resources at different levels, is one that is coming to prominence (WHO, 2017). This implies how there has more recently been a greater emphasis on increasing participation within policy making and implementation through awareness building (WHO, 2017) as a way of reducing health inequity in terms of distribution of resources and healthcare (Epstein et al, 2009). The idea of an implementation gap between policy and practice for nations more generally is one that is consequently raised as an issue. There is the fundamental belief that there is a gap between what solutions have been adopted in legal documents and how they have been implemented in practice (Nadgrodkiewicz, Nakagaki & Tomicic, 2012). However, Terry, Hill and Woodland (2006) argue that it can be twofold in that depending on the individual case, local knowledge and actions could be undermining national aspirations, or it could be reversed in that local people could be being ignored nationally. Academics have often argued more for the latter in that local people are being ignored in favour of national aspirations, who consequently do not make the policies adaptable to local needs and contexts. Payne (2008) makes an argument that by only looking for general solutions to problems without considering the particular context, this can result in ineffective implementation due to a 'one-sizefits-all' assumption which Cerna (2013) further acknowledges by arguing that all policies cannot be

universally applicable. Furthermore, a top-down approach is often favoured by policy implementation with the central more powerful actors having a greater role (Cerna, 2013).

However, more recently arguments have been made for a more bottom-up approach to incorporate the local level in decision making to make policies adaptable and accessible. Cerna (2013) then goes even further than this to incorporate the two in favour of a combined approach to benefit from the strengths of both and allow greater interaction between the national and local levels.

In line with this idea of an implementation gap between aspiration and reality, academic literature further argue for five dimensions which constitute the ability to access healthcare. These include availability, accessibility, accommodation, affordability and acceptability (Penchansky & Thomas, 1981). However, these concepts overlap with affordability being an aspect of accessibility for example (Wyszewianski & McLaughlin, 2002), and awareness not being considered which incorporates acceptability through adapting healthcare to appropriate contexts while also educating people (Varshney, 2009). Figure 3 demonstrates the interconnectivity between the different elements including availability and accessibility, which although it ignores awareness and the importance of education, it incorporates acceptability and the notion of how responsive service and policy providers are of the social and cultural realities of users and communities (Peters et al, 2008). Questions arise and are interlinked in theory as to not only whether the policies are available for local people (Bangura, 2015), but also whether the services and initiatives that are proposed in policy are actually available at the grassroots level, whether people are then aware of them and thus whether people can actually access them. This raises the idea of supply and demand side barriers in that on the supply side the services may not be available and offered, while on the demand side people may not use services whether over their lack of awareness or over issues of accessibility (O'Donnell, 2007). Ensor and Cooper (2004) recognise this and refer to both demand and supply barriers as being the factors that deter people at the household and community level from receiving benefits from policies and initiatives. This demonstrates how the physical availability of services, whether people have the education available to know about them, and whether people have trouble accessing them, which all incorporate other aspects of other dimensions, is an evidence-based idea coming into fruition.

This critical analysis of existing literature has demonstrated why improving health has taken a pivotal role in anti-poverty policy. The health issues raised threaten the success made in other areas with regards to the SDGs and due to health's interconnected relationship with poverty, addressing health, and being aware of health provision, is of fundamental importance and a step towards addressing poverty. This has meant health has been highlighted in anti-poverty strategies and policy interventions that have been attempted both pre and post Ebola. While government perspective and organisations such as the IMF and World Bank praise the policies and initiatives, the analysis of literature has demonstrated the more critical angle adopted academically. This growing theory surrounding an implementation gap within policy due to a variety of barriers makes it relevant to determine how applicable and effective national policies are in Sierra Leone through a local case study. While much has been covered on Sierra Leone from a national context, little is said about particular cities and individual households within and around these cities, as there is some suggestion of an unequal distribution between different local regions as well (Elston et al, 2015).

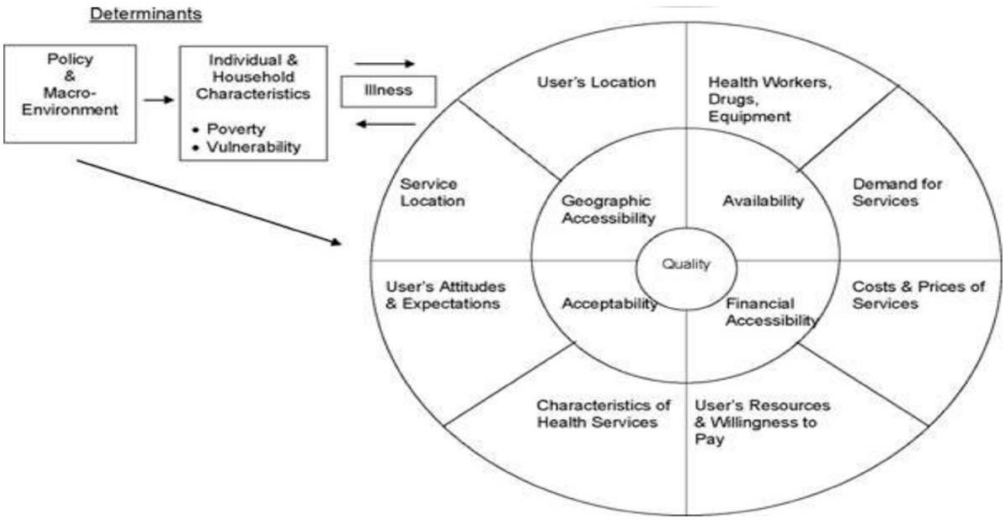


Figure 3- Framework for assessing accessibility (Peters et al, 2008)

Nadgrodkiewicz, Nakagaki and Tomicic (2012) argue the fact that not only does each country require different policy solutions, but the policies need to be then tailored to reflect individual circumstances within the country in order to be effectively implemented. Therefore, although the policies are established with the aim of dealing with the health issues identified, there is little evidence to suggest how effective they have been implemented and received at the grassroots level.

These gaps within current knowledge drive the research questions to ultimately determine whether an implementation gap exists between national aspirations and local reality in this under researched context, and the reasons behind this.

Research aim and questions

Research aim

The aim of this research is to explore the local delivery of national health policy in and around the city of Makeni. The research explores to what extent an implementation gap exists between the aspirations of national health policy and the realities of local delivery at the grassroots level. This will allow a greater understanding of whether there is an implementation gap, why there is, and then from this offers suggestions about what could be done to bridge this gap for more effective local implementation of national strategies.

The research aims to speak to both key informants involved in health work alongside a selection of local householders. By speaking to key informants this allows a greater understanding as to what extent national policies have been implemented locally and what challenges they face, while speaking to local householders will give a sense of whether they have benefited from the policies on the ground. This is done in a threefold triangular approach as the literature has assessed what the government policy is and actions taken on the national scale, while the data collection focuses on the city level of Makeni to understand key informant's experiences of local delivery as well as the experiences of local householders.

Research questions

To achieve this aim, the research sought to answer questions in a three-fold format which together answer the overriding aim of whether there is an implementation gap.

1. In light of existing research, what different institutions and sectors in the local area aim to address health problems to deliver and improve public health?
2. What experiences do health organisations have of delivering the national strategy and what problems do they face?
3. What are local householder experiences of national policy and healthcare delivery?

Methodology

Research Location

The research for this project took place in Makeni, which is in the Bombali district of Sierra Leone (see figure 4). While in the field I was based at the host organisation UNIMAK, which as an educational facility, is actively involved in community development through sensitization and providing education to support the MDGs and SDGs, with health being a key aspect of this (UNIMAK, n.d.). Although in the field for seven weeks, the data collection took place over a five-week period with the first week being used for observations of different institutions, and the following four being used for further data collection through interviews and transcribing. The remaining two weeks were then used for data analysis. The Bombali district was a crucial area to test the research aim and determine whether the aspirations of national policy were being implemented locally. This was due to the fact that the Bombali district is classified in the AFP as the most poverty stricken with the poverty gap estimated at 22.7%, with the poor in this region only being able to afford 77% of their basic needs (Government, 2013-2018, p. 12). The fact this is recognised in the AFP is significant as it proves the government is aware of the disparities present in the country in terms of health and poverty, which makes it essential to determine whether national policy aspirations are being realised within this region.

Figure 4- Map of Sierra Leone showing Makeni in the Bombali district. Retrieved from Google Maps.

Methodological approach

A qualitative approach was adopted, as having looked at the national level through the literature review, the city and local level are now looked at through observations and semi-structured interviews. These methods help address the research questions, which were adapted in the field to incorporate a wider scope and help identify the fundamental question of whether there is an implementation gap. Originally it was proposed that focus groups would accompany these methods, but when in the field participant availability and the nature of the research resulted in focusing on semi-structured interviews to allow more discussion about people's experiences. A qualitative approach was most appropriate for this study over quantitative data collection as qualitative data allows a greater understanding of local realities and perceptions than quantitative data allows (Mayoux, 2006). As both key informants and local householders would be involved in this research, this method allowed a greater understanding of the healthcare available on the ground, while gaining a sense of the challenges around policy implementation and people's feelings towards this.

By including local householders in this study a voice is given to people most marginalised in society, who are not involved in the decision-making process that affects their daily lives (Mayoux, 2006).

The concepts used by government and medical professionals to understand problems faced at community level are often different from the realities of the community they are trying to reach (Beazley, 2006). Therefore, it is useful to speak to local householders alongside key informants to fully determine how effective national health policy is locally, and how it could be tailored towards people's needs.

Observation

During the first week in the field, observations were made to gain a grounded understanding of which different institutions are working towards implementing health policies. The observational techniques used were not just participant observation as noted in the field diary, but an observation of facilities within Makeni to gain a sense of the services available and the different people involved in the decision-making processes and implementation stage locally. This form of observation allowed me to gain an awareness of which institutions work towards improving health and what people's roles are in the healthcare system (Walshe, Ewing and Griffiths 2011). This involved gaining a sense of the structural arrangement of health services involved in implementing health policies at the local level which included the city council, hospitals and smaller Peripheral Health Units (PHUs). This allowed the observation to act as an auxiliary support system which gives additional foundational support to the core interview part of the study (Jamshed, 2014).

Semi-structured interviews

The main part of the data collection process was through the use of semi-structured interviews. Thirty-two interviews were undertaken which included 2 lectures from UNIMAK, 15 key informants involved in the local health sector, and 15 local householders. The key informants included members of the city council from different ministries, health practitioners from various facilities as well as some health NGO workers to complement the governmental organisations. The participants are included in appendix 1 but their named organisations are not given so as to protect anonymity.

Although going into the field with an aim of who would be approached for an interview, when in the field a snowball sampling technique was partly adopted (Heckathorn, 2011). This was valuable when proposing to interview key informants, as an initial subject would be able to expand connections by helping make contact with further key actors (Lewis-Beck, Bryman & Futing-Liao 2004). However, one person would not be relied on for this method, as this would provide only one person's connections when it would be more valuable to maximise the diversity of interviewees (Willis, 2006). Therefore, by initially interviewing two lecturers at UNIMAK, alongside advice provided by my UNIMAK supervisor, their local knowledge and expertise allowed a greater understanding of local contacts. This was useful as key informants are very busy and by being referred to them specifically, this creates better trust (Gould, 2006; Valentine, 2005). Therefore, although there were certain key informants I had already planned to interview, by speaking to some initial participants this established connections while also opening up additional contacts I had not originally considered.

In addition to the snowball sampling technique, further sampling was done by profiling potential respondents in terms of local householders to ensure data was collected from people of various ages and both genders. To make the data more varied the local householders were sampled from 5 different villages around the surrounding area of Makeni. The 5 villages included Yoni, Yelisanda, Masape, Pate Bana and Wurie, so respondents answers came from a variety of villages not concentrated together to minimise any biased answers. Although the village names have been identified, the respondent's answers will not be associated with a particular village and themselves not identified to protect anonymity as will be discussed in section 4.9.

While undertaking the initial observation of the institutions and services available in Makena and its surrounding areas, the issues surrounding dealing with gatekeepers for key

informants became apparent, which is considered in section 4.7. Gatekeepers are academically defined as 'individuals in an organisation that have the power to grant or withhold access to people or situations for the purposes of research' (Valentine, 2005, p. 116). Therefore, a formal letter written in collaboration with UNIMAK was produced to inform them of my research purpose and what information I required.

Using semi-structured interviews alongside a variety of observations was a beneficial method for this research. Before entering the field, I had established two separate interview transcripts for both key informants and local householders which I edited and adapted in the field. While local householder questions focused more on their experiences with healthcare provision, key informant interviews began by gaining a sense of their own understanding towards national health principles before discussing their own experiences of delivering policy on the ground. However, the identified key questions and themes were not restrictive. By being semi-structured this gave greater scope for the participants to develop their own responses and to also highlight other interesting aspects for the study which I could formulate questions around (Long Hurst, 2010; Willis, 2006). Before starting to ask the more detailed questions for my research, I began by asking all respondents general questions to build a better rapport and make them feel more comfortable (Valentine, 2005). This included asking key informants about their roles and responsibilities within their organisation while asking local householders about their family life and their occupation. In addition to this, the nature of the research questions meant that the questions were open ended rather than closed, and meant participants were prompted to answer 'why' and to give some form of reasoning, rather than just replying with a simple yes or no response (Willis, 2006).

When in the field translator's, who were students from UNIMAK, were made available to assist me in the interview process. Interviews were conducted at times most suitable to the participants and in a suitable location. This tended to be in the mornings and late afternoons to fit in with participant availability. Interviews were often scheduled beforehand, particularly for key informants to ensure that there was enough time to fully undertake the interview. The location of the interview is also very important as a neutral environment is often preferential (Long Hurst, 2010). For key informants this tended to be their office within the institution, while for local householders they were usually held in a public space within their community.

To aid me in my data collection, when permission was granted by participants, interviews were fully recorded through the use of a digital audio recorder in addition to notes being taken. However, there were some cases when some local householders were not comfortable with being recorded, which was not a problem and meant only notes were taken. This is a common issue brought up as some people may not want their comments recorded, which requires sensitivity for their participation (Valentine, 2005). Despite this, even when permission was granted to record, using a digital audio recorder is not unproblematic. There can be issues over noise which may make the recording unclear, as well as risks over the recording being damaged or corrupted (Willis, 2006). Therefore, being able to use both digital recording and note taking of the key points allowed me to highlight immediately the main themes coming from the respondents, and then if a recording was made, this could be used to cross-check key points when transcribing.

The use of a field-diary

In addition to the more routine observations made to establish which institutions are involved in implementing policy and improving people's health, observations of the interviews themselves were noted in a field diary. The use of an updated field diary was useful in that it allowed me to note down anything surrounding the context of interviews and to make sense of other key events of interest and what questions I may want to ask in future which were prompted from a particular interview (Valentine, 2005; Cloke et al, 2004). The field diary was also useful for data analysis in that it allowed me to visually map and highlight key themes reoccurring in terms of what people say and also in their behaviour and actions (Kawulich, 2005).

Data Analysis

Analysis of the data collected was an ongoing process throughout the research project. A framework approach was adopted which included familiarisation of the data, identifying a thematic framework, indexing, charting and then mapping and interpretation (Pope, Ziebland & Mays 2000). Interviews were transcribed the same day they took place, usually in the late afternoons when interviews had concluded for the day. This allowed them to be fresh in my mind based on the notes I had collected while referring to the digital recordings when needed (Longhurst, 2010; Willis, 2006). When transcribing, anything that stood out particularly as significant, or any recurring themes that I noticed through the transcribing process were highlighted and referred back to. The interview transcripts were then repeatedly read through the data collection process so as to familiarise myself with the data and to continuously be aware of any emerging themes which is known as 'open coding' (Crang, 2005). This allowed me to get as familiar with the data as possible before coding the data in more detail through a thematic process as themes and categories emerged. Once all interviews had been concluded and transcripts written up in full, the thematic coding process took place. However, the literature that had been analysed prior to the data collection was also kept in mind and guided the coding process. Therefore, as I had familiarised myself to the data, certain broad categories had appeared (Crang, 2005), which I could split data into. This approach is known as grounded theory, in that this process involved the identification of analytical categories emerging from the data (Pope, Ziebland & Mays 2000). This centred on the categories of availability, awareness and accessibility, which were the three main underlying themes referred to either obviously or more discretely by participants and which therefore form the basis of the discussion in chapter 5. However, within this there needed to be more focus and other emerging interconnected sub-themes appeared when looking at the main themes, and the process of constant comparison was carried out so as to establish additional links and connections between data (Pope, Ziebland & Mays 2000).

Then the indexing process was undertaken in which the data was highlighted and colour coordinated in association with the themes and sub-themes. This allowed the transcripts to be annotated so as to split data collected from individual transcripts under the correct sub-theme in a separate computer document, as was required for the charting process (Pope, Ziebland & Mays 2000). The indexing and charting process did not constitute as much of my time as the other three processes within the thematic framework, as I did not need to make individual charts relating to each theme. What I did do however, as the last stage of this framework, was to create a visual map of all the themes and sub-themes which is displayed in the next chapter as figure 5. This displays visually the data collected with the emergent themes and sub-themes to come out of the data.

Limitations of study encountered

A few limitations which could affect the findings were recognised during the data collection process and appropriate measures were taken to mitigate them. One issue encountered in the field was the ability to access people for an interview, particularly key informants through the use of gatekeepers. The process to meet with key informants was often time-consuming and meant that in some instances it was not always possible to speak to the person most preferred for the study. By producing a formal letter to an administrative member of the organisations this allowed me to be directed to the most relevant people available within different departments. A similar issue arose with local householders in that during the day the vast majority are absent from their homes as they go to work on their farms. Therefore, these interviews tended to be carried out early in the mornings when people were at home, which was crucial if I was to achieve a more varied sample.

Another issue that I was struck by was the language barrier and translator issues. Despite English being the official language of Sierra Leone, many people do not speak English. Although this was not a problem with regards to key informants, this was an issue for the local householders. Instead, Krio was the main language spoken but some local householders were also unable to speak this and instead spoke a more distinct language of Temne. This meant that the UNIMAK translators were required for the local householder interviews, but problems arose if they spoke English and Krio but not Temne. Therefore, when in the field location the translator had to seek out someone who spoke either Temne and Krio or Temne and English to then double translate. Although the help from translators was invaluable, it did raise some concerns. The double translation that was required often meant the interview time was longer with some local householders starting to look a bit restless (Bujra, 2006). Therefore, I had to just ask the key most important questions when this situation arose to adhere to the participant's ease in the situation. Despite this, I was able to reflect on both the benefits and challenges of working with a translator and language issues in my field diary as it aided my research experience.

The third challenge and limitation encountered in the data collection process was disruptions from other people, particularly for local householders, which affected the flow of conversation (Willis, 2006). To try and minimise this with the help of the translator when first arriving in a village we would gather everyone together and explain our purpose and how I wanted to interview a few people on their own who we would approach when it was time to interview them. However, this did not always stop the unwanted presence of other people who sometimes just listened in and could therefore influence what the participant would say, while others would actually interrupt and start speaking over the participant (Willis, 2006). I chose to therefore try and interview people who had not been present when previous people were being interviewed, so as to avoid their answers being influenced by what they had heard the previous participants say.

Positionality and reflexivity

The fact I was a white female from the United Kingdom was something I had to be aware of when in the field to acknowledge my positionality in relation to the participants (Laws et al, 2003). This was particularly true in that I needed to ensure participants, especially local householders, were comfortable and did not feel uneasy about any power difference which I helped ensure through the use of a mutual and neutral interview location (Elwood & Martin, 2000). This brought in reflexivity, in that I needed to reflectively examine my positionality especially in relation to participants (Rose, 1997). Being reflective allowed

me to also examine how the interviews were working so as to adapt and improve anything for future interviews and practice (McFadyen & Rankin, 2016).

I was conscious throughout that some local householders may expect some form of financial or material benefit for their participation. I explained with my translator at the beginning that this was not the case and that I was undertaking my research for academic purposes from the University of Sheffield while based on placement at UNIMAK. Therefore, I was being honest with participants about the likely outcomes of the research so as not to raise any expectations (Laws et al, 2003). However, I made sure that in every interview the participants could ask any questions both before and after the interview if they had any questions or concerns relating to the research itself or about myself and the purpose of the study as long as appropriate.

Ethical considerations

Ethical approval was granted by the University of Sheffield prior to entering the field. Whenever anything altered in the field this was always crosschecked with the ethical application to ensure the granted approval accommodated any changes. This allowed me to ensure I was adhering to the code of ethics expected when undertaking fieldwork (Offredy & Vickers, 2010). I made sure I followed the rules adopted academically which state the need to consider consent, confidentiality, harm, cultural awareness and dissemination (Hay, 2010).

Although the main rules followed have been highlighted, a couple of points are to be made about consent and confidentiality for this research. As a main ethical consideration involves gaining written or oral consent to participate (Hay, 2010), an information sheet and a consent form was therefore supplied to all participants which is included as appendix 2 and 3 to display what they covered. In the case when local householders could not speak or read English, the translator explained the information sheet verbally to them and then they either gave a stamped fingerprint for consent or oral consent if preferential.

In reference to confidentiality, it was made apparent upfront and through the information sheet and consent form that the participants responses would all remain anonymous and confidential to respect their identities (Brydon, 2006). Therefore, when transcribing and analysing the data each respondent was given a letter in terms of 'Key Informant KIA' and 'Local Householder LHG' for example so as to provide anonymity but allow me to identify each respondent's transcripts. For key informants their role in terms of medical practitioner will be named but the specific hospital name for example will not be given and neither will the participants name so as to protect confidentiality, particularly as the responses are not always in favour of the policies and national government. The data has also been stored and protected so it will not be passed on to anyone outside the research project.

Findings and discussion

The data analysis process made it evident that an implementation gap is present between national aspirations and local reality regarding policy and healthcare delivery. When speaking to participants key themes emerged which are not dissimilar from reports emphasising five dimensions important for effectively utilising healthcare (Penchansky & Thomas, 1981). However, for this data three themes emerged which included availability, awareness and accessibility, with awareness being a new dimension which incorporates and links to elements of other dimensions. The themes help demonstrate not only that there is an implementation gap, but also why there is. These three themes and their sub-themes are

discussed chronologically which utilise multiple data sources from both key informants and local householders as displayed in appendix 1. Although direct quotes are not used from all participants, their responses are acknowledged when relaying key findings. Before discussing these themes and sub-themes, the institutional structure involved with delivering health strategies is first examined, to demonstrate who is involved in implementing policies in practice on the ground. The themes and sub-themes are illustrated visually in figure 5, but there are connections and overlaps between the different themes which is important to consider.

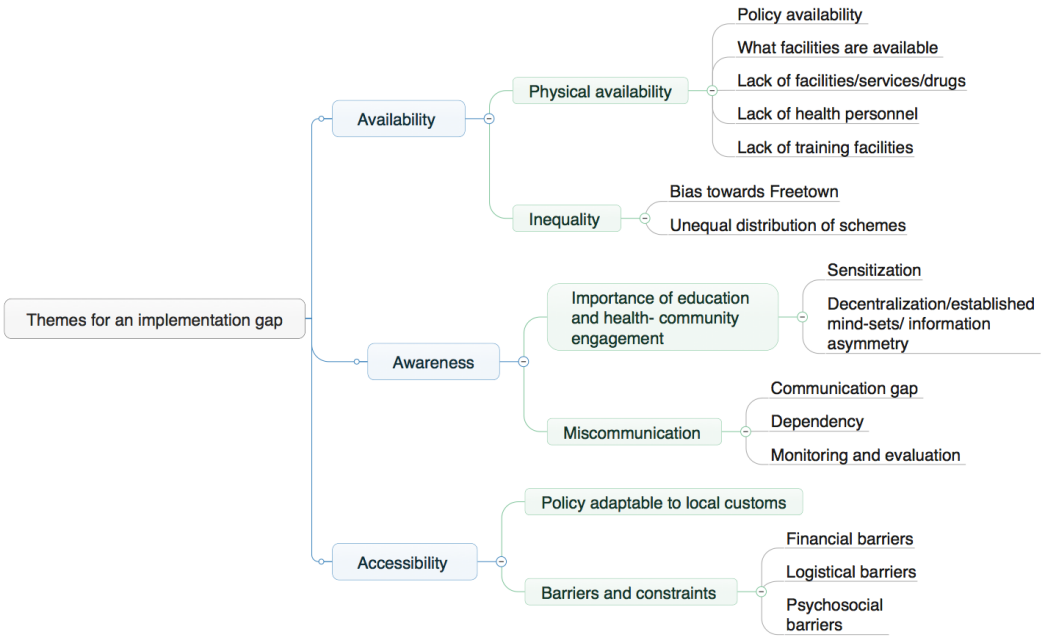


Figure 5- Map of themes and sub-themes (Created on Mindjet MindManager)

Different Institutions

Arising from initial observations and from speaking to key informants, I was able to network and profile the local organisations involved with delivering health policies (see figure 6). Providing healthcare is the role held by a mixture of governmental, private and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). The main focus is on governmental organisations with some data collected from private facilities and NGOs to complement the governmental data. The map therefore focuses more on the government side which is mapped with key connections on the left, to demonstrate the different institutions supposedly involved in implementing policy.

At the national level the government develop the policy papers and coordinate with local authorities to ensure effective delivery. There are approximately 23 ministries in the government, with one of these including the Ministry of Health and Sanitation with the responsibility of ensuring the resources are in place for healthcare delivery (Ministry of Health and Sanitation, 2017). The connection from the national level indicates that the direct point of contact at the local level are the various city councils, which as the local authorities also have their own ministries in terms of health and sanitation and social welfare. The Ministry of Health and Sanitation for Makeni and the surrounding areas has a District Health Management Team (DHMT), which is headed by the District Medical Officer (DMO), who then oversee all the Primary Health Care (PHC) activities being undertaken within the

governmental organisations. In reaction to this a respondent illustrated the role the national government play in terms of the structural arrangement of the health facilities as: *"60-70% of healthcare is being provided by the government through government institutions" (Key informant KIF).*

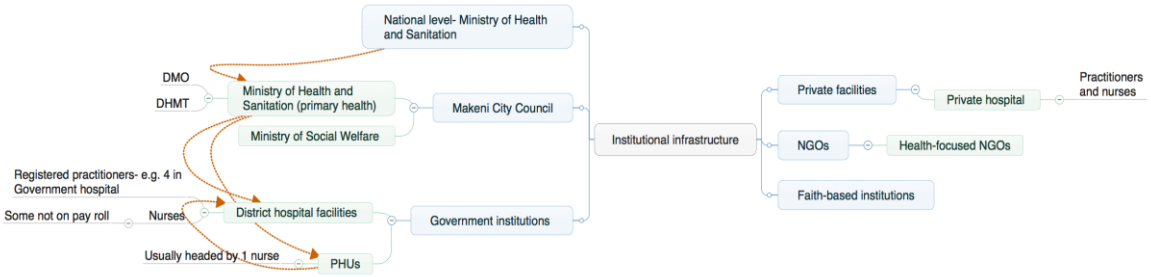


Figure 6- Institutional infrastructure (Created on Mindjet MindManager)

The hospital facilities, which are often attended when treatment cannot be received elsewhere, are divided into government owned and private facilities. Within Makeni through the observations it became apparent that at the local level there are two branches of government hospitals, alongside one private hospital facility. The first point of contact are the government PHUs where they provide support in terms of basic healthcare and immunisations. The PHUs provide PHC and are located within villages in the districts. However, when they are unable to offer the treatment they will refer people to the district hospital as demonstrated by the link in figure 6. Although key informants note how in the whole of the Bombali district there are over 100 PHUs, there are challenges in achieving the AFP goal of ensuring there is a healthcare and delivery system within a 10 kilometre radius of every village (Government, 2013-2018). This is due to the fact that when visiting the council, a council worker noted how there are only 8 PHUs within and around Makeni which provides issues delivering appropriate healthcare for everyone in this locality.

In addition to the government and private facilities, there are also NGOs and faith based institutions which have different developmental priorities, with health often a strand of their work. All of these institutions and organisations that have been profiled within the regional district and local level of Makeni, in theory should aim to deliver the national aspirations as outlined in the AFP.

Ideally, as was to come out of the participant responses the institutions have a responsibility to facilitate the availability and construction of services to deliver healthcare, while also promoting and ensuring awareness and accessibility through a supply and demand format. However, there are issues as to whether both availability and awareness are present locally and what challenges are faced in accessing healthcare at the local level.

Availability

The issue surrounding availability was one to come out of the data collection and analysis process. Given the numerous health issues faced in Sierra Leone and the low HDI, this makes the issue of tackling health within anti-poverty policy a national priority as health and poverty correlate and health is essential to economic development (Wagstaff, 2002). However, what is physically available in terms of the breadth of policies and the services available, and whether this is of acceptable quality may not always meet the needs of the population. This can be seen from the fact that due to the high infant and maternal mortality rates, they often drive policy development as through the FHCI. However, while providing

healthcare for those classified as most vulnerable (Moszynski, 2009), the government health policy is driven towards particular sub-sections of the population while neglecting others (Greenall et al, 2017). There are also issues in ensuring the health policies are available on the ground with one participant stating that approximately: *"50-70% of the population live in abject poverty but there is the question over who covers the cost of delivering and making national policies available?" (Key informant KIF).* This demonstrates how there is instant recognition of the ambitious policy papers, and the struggle for local practitioners to deliver them and make what is stated in policy available on the ground.

Although health is seen as a key component to address poverty, it is recognised how there are challenges in implementing the health policies that are aspired for nationally. Ensuring policies and initiatives are physically available and equal in their distribution are key sub-themes to come out of availability. This section focuses predominantly on the perception of key informants to demonstrate their own experiences of delivering the national strategy, while also incorporating some local householder data to decipher their feelings towards service delivery and availability.

Physical Availability

Whether what is stated in policy is first physically available for people to access on the ground was an underlying issue deciphered from the data. The sub-theme of physical availability incorporates a number of different sub-sub themes which include policy availability and facility availability. Policy availability links into whether policies such as the FHCI are being successfully utilised on the ground, while facility availability refers more to the infrastructure in terms of health service availability. This links into academic literature in that availability acts as a supply side barrier, as whether people can use and benefit from the services is dependent upon whether the services are firstly available (O'Donnell, 2007).

Although key informants initially described a network of healthcare providers in line with what is outlined above, they also spotlighted the importance of CHWs associated with delivering healthcare in line with the FHCI. Key informant's 'KIE' and 'KIK' from a governmental and NGO perspective both praised CHWs for their work at the household level in promoting and encouraging good health practices. However, while some people partly praised what is available at the local level, a general consensus emerged that there is a lot of dissatisfaction from both health informants and householders about the full network of healthcare provision.

In terms of the FHCI for example, although it was praised as being beneficial to an extent, it was also critiqued as being ineffective. This contrasting view of the initiative is one argued about academically as seen between Donnelly (2011) and Obermann (2011). While it has arguably increased the number of people attending and receiving care from the hospital facilities each month (Donnelly, 2011) it has also been argued that this will be difficult to achieve without first improving the poor health infrastructure and facility availability (Obermann, 2011). The criticisms from participants can be seen by a statement that: *"there was a belief that if free healthcare was provided for people it would help reduce maternal and infant mortality rates, which has not been the case" (key informant KIF).* This demonstrates, how although the policy has been introduced it has not proved effective in its seven years of being in progress, arguably due to the ineffective infrastructure which if present and available would have allowed the scheme to have been more beneficial. Although people are advocating for this initiative, some key informants have recognised that the provision of health infrastructure and provisions needs to be addressed first, as this is undermining the initiatives introduced through policy which are not being successful as a

result (Obermann, 2011). Both key informants and local householders recognise the inefficiency of health facilities to cope with the population size. This is recognised as while there are a few hospitals in Makeni itself, there are barriers preventing people from accessing them which is covered more in section 5.4, and the most immediate PHU services, which should be the first point of call, are inefficient or not even available for access. For example, when speaking to local householders, as one person demonstrated: *"One PHU caters for 9 villages but the amount of supply is inadequate for the people's needs" (local householder LHH).* The inadequacy of the services and the healthcare not being available to people is a criticism made towards the local delivery of the national health policy. Many participants acknowledged how the PHUs, despite claims of being the first contact point for health ailments, actually prioritise their level of care towards under 5s and pregnant women which was recognised when speaking to a PHU nurse (Key informant-KIG). In addition to this, it was noted by both key informants and local householders how there are a lack of drugs available which results in people being referred to the overcrowded government hospital, if barriers do not prevent them from going as covered elsewhere in this article. The inadequate services and supplies to meet the demand side are theories introduced prior to entering the field (McPake et al, 2015). The inadequate supply of drugs is not exclusive to PHUs and also was present in the district hospitals which restricts achievements that are dependent upon this drug supply. This has resulted in one participant arguing that: *"there is a lack of support towards the implementation of programmes at the district level. If a PHU for example does not have the proper materials to function, then that is a problem" (key informant KIN).* The lack of available facilities therefore undermines the national policy and acts as a barrier towards its implementation. Within the AFP for example, the increased provision of ambulances is also one of the targets which has not been seen on the ground. Numerous key informants discussed how there are only 2 ambulances within the area, and they are designated towards pregnant women with no emergency ambulance for anyone else. This ties into theories raised previously in that the most vulnerable are prioritised which raises issues surrounding equity (Greenall et al, 2017). In addition to this, another sub-sub theme to emerge was the critique over a lack of available health personnel which is one key area to be addressed to allow other interventions to be successful. This was something to be aware of before entering the field as records stress the under-resourced health system in terms of human resources (Perry et al, 2016). While there was evidence for more nurses available over doctors there were limits to this in that many nurses were often not on the payroll and due to the lack of health facilities they were often unable to find work. What emerged was that while key informants working within the hospital facilities were critical of the lack of medical practitioners in Sierra Leone as a whole, local householders were more critical of this at the local level within the facilities in Makeni. This can be seen as one key informant notes how: *"there is a gap in the doctor to patient ratio. I would say there is approximately 1 doctor in Sierra Leone for 45,000 patients" (key informant KID).* In contrast, local householders stated how within one local hospital there are a lack of doctors and a lack of qualified staff within PHUs, which upon further investigation lead me to discover how in one district hospital there are only 4 doctors, and within one PHU only one trained nurse and no doctors. This implies that those working in the hospital institutions may not want to criticise their organisation directly, but instead criticise the government and their ineffective appointment of appropriate health staff. This then links into the final sub-sub theme for this section in that, while there is a lack of health personnel available, there is also a lack of facilities to train them. This was a notion recognised by key informants rather than local householders. There was the universal opinion among informants that there is only 1

medical institution to train doctors which is located in the capital of Freetown. Even within this one facility there is not enough doctors being produced with one informant thinking that there would be no more than 34 trained in one year to accommodate the whole of the country.

This section has demonstrated how although the government have placed a greater emphasis on the FHCI for example, its success rate is being undermined by the lack of physical infrastructure, facilities and human resources. Such areas, although given recognition in policies, firstly need to be prioritised to allow the successful realisation of policies dependent upon such resources.

Inequality

Another sub-theme to emerge was inequality in terms of policy and service availability. The issue of inequality and also inequity emerged theoretically in that there are health differentials even between geographical areas of the same country (Whitehead, 1991). This theme of inequality is split into further sub-sub themes in that one key notion to emerge from key informants in particular was that there is a bias towards Freetown in the way policies are implemented by the government.

When asked about the AFP for example, this resulted in one participant stating that: *"It is just for themselves in Freetown. We at the grassroots level are not benefiting from it and know very little about it" (key informant KIN).* This indicates that there is a general consensus among people in local regions, that there is a heavy concentration of government priority in Freetown, while other provinces are neglected. This argument implies that while what is available is concentrated more in Freetown, there has been a decentralisation of services to districts away from the capital. However, this idea of government priority being concentrated in Freetown through greater interventions, was not picked up by local householders which was an interesting finding. This may be due to them being unaware of what is happening outside their own district, as they instead picked up the fact that there was an unequal distribution of schemes between different villages in their surrounding periphery. This finding is therefore broadly consistent with other studies which argue for the variation and unequal distribution between localities (Elston et al, 2015). This was the other sub-sub theme to emerge from the data analysis. For example, when discussing the mosquito bed net distribution scheme which occurred very recently between the 1st-10th June 2017, the criticism was raised that: *"Only about 70% of the population in the region received them with many people not receiving them when their neighbouring villages did" (local householder LHA).* This develops the idea that the implementation of schemes, often are not fully effective, with not everyone benefiting from the initiatives developed by the government. This implies that the policies need to be developed to cater for the whole of Sierra Leone's population and not just a selection.

Key informants also acknowledged this disparity, with some arguing that not everyone is able to access services for example as it is dependent on financial ability and is actually class structured as covered elsewhere in the article. In line with this there is also the general assumption from participants that the government exclude and only focus on a select group of people, as was identified in literature with a focus being on pregnant women, under 5s and Ebola survivors (Shivayogi, 2013). This is evidenced by the distribution of cash grants, in that when speaking to local householders it became apparent that there was an unequal distribution. Although some villages did not receive any as there were no fatalities in their village from Ebola, there were other problems in the distribution which resulted in one householder saying that: *"The UNDP provided cash for some survivors in this village, but they*

came with a target number of who would receive the money and therefore not everyone affected received help" (local householder LHL). This demonstrates how although schemes were implemented with regards to improving people's health, they often were not equally distributed. This is similar in terms of services in that some villages and communities are benefiting from PHUs, while others do not possess such services, and this lack of equity is seen as more prominent in post-conflict settings (McPake et al, 2015). However, there is the other issue to this that when villages do possess services over others, not everyone benefits still as the services are prioritised towards pregnant women and under 5s. The issue surrounding inequity has therefore been raised as a significant issue by participants. Criticisms are raised that not only are the services and facilities absent which are essential to allow effective healthcare delivery, but when they are available, they are not equally distributed.

Awareness

Awareness was the next key theme, in that if the policies and services providing healthcare are firstly available, then it is dependent upon people's awareness of them to then access them. In contrast to supply side barriers, this is the demand side in that a lack of awareness can prevent people from utilising the services which are available (O'Donnell, 2007). This is important and links into a challenge that key informants have with implementing the national policies, in that the lack of education people at the local level often possess makes it harder to deliver the national strategy to people who do not understand the policy or service purpose. Therefore, awareness was an issue raised more prominently by key informants from various organisations as a way of justifying why it is difficult to implement what is proposed nationally. The high illiteracy rate (UNDP, 2016) and inability for people to speak English was raised numerous times by key informants as a way of communicating why implementation is difficult from their perceptive given that people do not follow proposed policies. This lack of awareness at the local level was evidenced first-hand in that in one village it was noted how: *"there is no health post here but there are two Traditional Birth Attendants (TBAs)" (local householder LHE).* Although this local householder does not recognise this as wrong on their part, in Sierra Leone a law was introduced to discourage the delivery of babies at homes. While it can be argued that this is actually due to the lack of available services to access for safe delivery as discussed elsewhere in the article, it also demonstrates the connection between awareness and availability. When policies are in place and the services available, it depends upon people's level of awareness to utilise them effectively. This theme with its two sub-themes and various sub-sub themes demonstrates a major demand side barrier. A lack of education was recognised as a challenge for key informants to implement policies, while it was also recognised how greater communication is needed between the national and local levels (Ensor & Cooper, 2004).

Importance of education and health through community engagement

This links into this sub-theme in that there was a consensual opinion from key informants of the importance of improving education and increasing community engagement to benefit health delivery and uptake. Therefore, there was an acknowledgement among key informants that education is the key to effective implementation of national policies, as it also integrates local people, the community chiefs and the local authority. One hospital practitioner even suggested the adaption of a community policy in addition to the national policy which would be more realistic to the local communities' expectations and cultural differences, particularly when different

communities have different health priorities. This is broadly consistent with claims made towards the importance of participation and awareness building within communities (WHO, 2017). Although key informants previously recognised how there are CHWs involved in promoting interventions and trying to educate people locally, key informants also recognise how there is not enough of them, and it is difficult to engage and educate people who lack basic education. Therefore, there is a suggestion for the need to increase community engagement so as to motivate people at the grassroots level, which would allow them to know not only what the government is providing, but also what their role and responsibility is. This links into a sub-sub theme in that the majority of key informants all mentioned the word 'sensitization.' This involves sensitizing people to a particular situation, to raise their awareness and make it so they are quicker to react in the case of other outbreaks for example. Therefore, although not really acknowledged by local householders, key informants noted the importance of sensitizing local people as has been evidenced within Ebola programmes previously in Sierra Leone centred around sensitization (World Renew, 2015). To be fully successful though, this sensitization needs to be a continuous and long term process to continue reiterating important messages which people may otherwise forget over time. However, challenges were noted with regards to this, with people having established mind-sets which can be difficult to alter. This brought in a multitude of issues raised by key informants in terms of the challenges they face when trying to implement policies. One idea raised was that people are decentralised and there needs to be a way to alter people's mind-sets to allow the integration of policies. Therefore, although a key informant raised the idea of there being information asymmetry in that people lack awareness to varying degrees, they face the challenge of altering formed mindsets which can be difficult. This led one participant to state that: *"the young generation need to be targeted, as it is difficult to change elderly mentalities and perceptions which means there should be a greater concentration on the young" (Lecturer LA).* This demonstrates the assertion for the need to target the younger generation in a way that not excludes the older generation, but helps make sure the younger generations are more educated and aware of such issues. This would allow their mind-sets to be more adaptable, as at the moment people have accustomed attitudes which needs alteration. Therefore, although this section has demonstrated how key informants stress the need for education alongside health in the form of sensitization for example, there are challenges they face with this. Achieving community engagement is an essential goal, but established mind-sets restrict this engagement which needs national acknowledgement in policy development.

Miscommunication

Another sub-theme that was prominent was the issue surrounding communication between the government and the local authorities. Within this there came the sub-sub theme that there is a communication gap between policy makers and those supposed to implement the policies on the ground, as well as with local people, which needs to be bridged. This is not dissimilar from Nadgrodkiewicz, Nakagaki and Tomicic (2012) arguing that a gap is often present with regards to healthcare and policymaking, in that if the government has aspirations of what they want to achieve, but the agencies on the ground lack the capacity to implement this, then there is an issue. This resulted in a medical practitioner saying that there needs to be both top-bottom communication and bottom-top to allow the involvement of everyone in shaping policies at the national, district and community level. This aligns with newer theories arguing for a combined approach to create greater interaction between both national and local levels rather than it being one-sided

(Cerna, 2013). Therefore, one participant stated that: *"they (the government) need to establish an Open Government Initiative (OGI) to allow the government be brought to the people and the people to the government" (key informant KIM).* This establishes the need for more collaboration and participation between the government, local authorities and organisations, as well as local people to allow the effective implementation of policies locally by practitioners. One key informant working for a health NGO therefore stated that the policies are written and ratified, but not realistic and adaptable to individual communities which needs to be considered which brings in the dimension of acceptability (Penchansky & Thomas, 1981). This 'one-size-fits-all' approach is one that has been critiqued for the government's inability to adapt policies for local circumstances (Payne, 2008).

Within this another sub-sub theme was the amount of dependency some local people place upon the government. This was raised in literature in reference to the 'over-dependency syndrome' placed upon cash grants (Shepherd, Wadugodapitiya & Evans 2011), and was evidenced here with many local householder's responses placing high expectations on what the government should be doing for them. For example, one participant stated that with regards to help from government and NGOs: *"after the end of Ebola people were coming to help but now this has stopped especially for people dependent on payments" (local householder LHM).* This significantly represents the danger of being over-reliant on the government or other organisations as there was an instilled sense from local people that they expected to receive something in terms of money which they could use towards healthcare. This issue of a 'dependency syndrome' is one that was forewarned with a risk that people could become over-reliant on such handouts (Shepherd, Wadugodapitiya & Evans 2011), which since the Ebola cash grants has now been evidenced in practice. This dependency overshadows the main issues and has resulted in key informants responding to this to say their unrealistic expectations are too high which results in them having nothing to physically push themselves. Instead there is little recognition of the responsibility they hold themselves to be motivated to help themselves.

The final sub-sub theme to emerge from this was then the need to ensure monitoring and evaluation of projects which is lacking on the ground. Key informants raised the idea of the need to provide supervision of projects to allow them to be effectively monitored and evaluated. This would therefore allow projects to be assessed in terms of their effectiveness to ensure long term sustainability. This was recommended to be achieved through greater collaboration between the government and agencies on the ground, which links back round to bridging the communication gap between the national and local levels (Nadgrodkiewicz, Nakagaki & Tomicic 2012).

This section has illustrated the high level of miscommunication between policy makers and those implementing policies on the ground which acts as a further challenge towards effective implementation. This gap ultimately needs to be bridged and policies made adaptable to fit the context and needs of people within each individual area as will also be discussed elsewhere in the article.

Accessibility

The third and final theme to emerge from the data and which also interlinks with the previous two key themes, is the issue surrounding accessibility, which incorporates further elements of acceptability and affordability. In addition to awareness, accessibility further acts as a demand side barrier preventing people from receiving benefits from what is available to them (O'Donnell, 2007).

When what is stated in policy is available, and people are aware of this and know the benefits associated with it, then receiving these benefits depends on them being able to access them. However, there are issues over accessibility in terms of how accessible policies are to individual contexts, and also whether there are any barriers preventing people from being able to access them. These are the two sub-themes to emerge from the data and are therefore looked at here alongside additional sub-sub themes.

Policy adaptable to local customs

As previously touched upon above, the policies which are in place are often not adaptable to local customs and therefore people are physically unable to access them. This interconnection between sections demonstrates how ensuring policies are applicable to individual contexts and circumstances is something the government does not fully recognise, and the 'one-size-fits-all approach as raised by Payne (2008) means that the policies are not accessible to people on the ground. This idea has resulted in some key informants arguing for the need to disseminate and diversify policies to communities which everyone can then access. This is particularly true given that the general consensus among local householders who were interviewed, was that people are not receiving the healthcare that they need. Therefore, it was raised as an idea that when putting policies in place, those developing the policies need to be aware of and understand particular areas, cultural barriers and financial issues as they all need to be considered to allow the successful implementation of policies locally which people can then access. This links into arguments raised on the importance of acceptability as well in terms of policy providers needing to be responsive to social and cultural needs of individual users and communities (Peters et al, 2008). This then leads into the key sub-theme for accessibility which discusses barriers that restrict peoples access towards the services that should be delivered through policy.

Barriers and constraints

Although barriers were raised as an overlying sub-theme, the responses from both key informants and local householders brought the idea that there are additional sub-sub themes in terms of barriers. When speaking to one key informant he classified the barriers by stating that: *"to improve people's access to care you need to address and reduce barriers which include financial barriers, logistical barriers and psychosocial barriers" (key informant KII).* These three barriers were thus continuously raised by both local householders and key informants with some being more subtly mentioned than others. The idea of barriers was one raised in reference to healthcare delivery in that barriers around price and income were raised around treatment and service costs, as well as logistical travel costs (Ensor & Cooper, 2004). Financial constraints and affordability barriers were the most commonly mentioned, particularly by local householders. Many local people noted how the ability to access the treatment stated in policies depends on financial capability as money allows people to go to hospital and receive treatment, as without it there is no other option as the services are not affordable. Therefore, for people to be able to access what is available, this depends on numerous cost factors (O'Donnell, 2007). Even when referring to the FHCI as developed through policy, numerous participants noted how the name is deceiving, as people still need to pay some money for the treatment offered and there are hidden costs which makes it difficult to receive effective treatment easily. This is evidenced by one participant stating that: *"although national policy has clearly stated goals and aspirations, when it comes to reality on the ground it can be asked how many people are economically strong enough to access the facilities. For example, is the cost of care equivalent to the amount of money*

people receive at the end of the month?" (key informant KIF). The high costs are therefore restrictive and not realistic to how much people respectively earn and can therefore afford for treatment. The financial issues then link into the other sub-sub theme which surround logistical barriers. This involves issues over distance which means many people are physically unable to reach the facilities (Peters et al, 2008). On the one hand in terms of transportation local householders discussed this in relation to the cost of transport as a barrier, while on the other hand the physical distance to the service provided through policies was raised. This transportation issue is particularly the case for hard to reach areas in that with Sierra Leone only experiencing two seasons, the dry and rainy season, this means for the rainy season between May and November it is practically impossible for vehicles to reach the isolated communities. This resulted in one participant stating that: *"the government has to ensure everyone has access to health services by expanding and constructing roads and also constructing more health facilities particularly in hard to reach areas" (key informant KIE).* This reinforces the need to not only construct the facilities themselves as proposed in policy, but to also construct and improve the road networks to allow people to access the facilities depending on the weather conditions for example. Therefore, there is a need to increase community mobilisation so they are able to access the services in the first place which acts as a big barrier towards them receiving what is actually available.

The last sub-sub theme to occur surrounds psychosocial barriers which can also prevent people from wanting to access facilities. This revolved around issues over stigma and the attitude of some health staff which meant that some people feel uncomfortable about seeking help from the services. This is particularly an issue when some health workers are not on the payroll and therefore sometimes possess negative attitudes which deters patient accessibility. One local householder noted how sometimes the health personnel not only lack knowledge and possess a negative attitude, but there are issues over security with regards to confidentiality. Often staff at the medical facilities ask a lot of questions which some patients may be uncomfortable exposing to someone other than the fully trained doctor.

This section has demonstrated the awareness from both local householders and key informants of issues surrounding accessibility in terms of barriers which prevent people from being able to access what is firstly available. All three key themes have underlying and interconnected issues which need to be addressed to allow the realisation of the national policy to individual and local contexts.

Conclusion

Reflecting on the research questions

The research aimed to assess whether an implementation gap existed between national aspirations with regards to delivering the health policy, and the local reality on the ground. To achieve this overlying aim, three research questions were adopted which guided the data collection. Despite the limitations accounted for in section 4.7, particularly with regards to not being able to speak to all key informants planned, significant key findings emerged and are illustrated here with reference to each question.

1. In light of existing research, what different institutions and sectors in the local area aim to address health problems to deliver and improve public health? A relevant section is directly linked to this research question, and was included as a way of mapping the local health infrastructure available, which in theory should be involved with delivering what is proposed in policy in practice. The main focus of the research was on government institutions and healthcare facilities and on initial inspection, governmental organisations

seemed to make up the majority working towards delivering the policies. Ensuring both the supply and demand side are met in terms of ensuring healthcare is available on the supply side, and then that people are aware of it and can access it on the demand side was an issue that became clear when interviewing people from key institutions. It seemed like the key institutions were in place to implement the policy to an extent, but as interviews were carried out it became apparent that there were challenges to delivery.

2. What experiences do health organisations have of delivering the national strategy and what problems do they face? The main experience health organisations had was trying to deliver the FHCI. What became evident was that they were prioritising this and the vulnerable groups within this but the scheme was not being successful. They were prioritising this initiative without first addressing the problems surrounding the physical infrastructure to make the policy effective. Problems surrounding service availability, drug supply and lack of trained health personnel undermine the effectiveness of the policy. Additionally, when trying to address other policies it became apparent that other problems occur surrounding a lack of awareness both from local people and between themselves and policy makers. Achieving community engagement was a point that was raised by key informants but was one made difficult by the established mind-sets of people, while a communication gap is present between policy makers and those implementing the policies on the ground. The policies were not viewed as adaptable to local contexts and the 'one-size-fits-all' (Cerna, 2013) approach was deemed ineffective by stakeholders in health organisations which posed a challenge for effective implementation.

3. What are local householder experiences of national policy and healthcare delivery? Local experiences were drawn upon throughout the themes and were largely negative. Although local householders were grateful for policies such as the FHCI they were also critical of it due to the lack of infrastructure and health personnel essential to deliver what the policy outlined. In addition to the lack of available services, local householders often had issues over healthcare being unequally distributed with some areas being favoured over others and some neighbouring villages receiving more help than others. In line with this, when services as outlined in policy were available, even if limited in their distribution, there are problems over being able to access them. This included financial affordability burdens, which alongside logistical and psychosocial barriers limited the level of accessibility people have to what is proposed in policy.

Overall, by assessing the institutional health infrastructure in place and then engaging with key informants and individual local householder experiences of delivering and accessing national policy, this demonstrates that there is an implementation gap between national aspirations and local reality. This was found to be due to a number of complex and interconnected reasons. Availability, awareness and accessibility and their various sub-themes and sub-sub themes are interlinked and illustrate the challenges informants face in trying to implement national policy and the dissatisfaction local householders feel towards it. The supply and demand idea (Ensor & Cooper, 2004; O'Donnell, 2007) which incorporates these three themes needs to be recognised and balanced through policy development to bridge the implementation gap and ensure policy makers, local policy implementors and local householders possess greater communication so the policies can be realised and adapted accordingly, and so that they also all understand their roles within this process.

Recommendations

This research has contributed to the emerging literature surrounding an implementation gap between policy and practice, but has developed this within the Sierra Leone context which will be distributed to UNIMAK. Recommendations can be split into ways of working towards bridging the implementation gap and areas to further research.

In terms of bridging the implementation gap, from the data collected three key areas of improvement became apparent. Firstly, there is the need for policy makers to come down to the grassroots level to create greater communication between policy makers and local authorities and organisations on the ground supposed to be implementing the policies as well as local people to understand their needs. This would allow policies to be adaptable to individual contexts rather than following the 'one-size-fits-all' approach (Cerna, 2013). Secondly, there needs to be a greater emphasis on the connection between education and health as due to high illiteracy levels this makes implementing policies and encouraging people to access services a challenge. Therefore, there needs to be more focus on educating people on health practices and services available in the long term to also try and reduce dependency. Thirdly, there needs to be continuous monitoring and evaluation of the projects on the ground which are regularly relayed back to policy makers. This would allow a regular check-up of policies at the local level to ensure that they have the resources to be implemented and that they are being implemented to fit the local context.

Future research should be conducted to see whether an implementation gap exists between other aspects of anti-poverty policy. This study focused on the key aspect of health policy and highlighted how there is an implementation gap, but it would be beneficial to look at other areas including education and gender and women's empowerment policies for example. The policies interconnect and it would be useful to determine whether an implementation gap is as prominent for other policy areas and whether the reasons for this also centre on issues over availability, awareness and accessibility.

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Abbreviations

AFP Agenda for Prosperity
EVD Ebola Virus Disease
HDI Human Development Index
UNIMAK University of Makeni
CHW Community Health Worker
SDG Sustainable Development Goal
MDG Millennium Development Goal
WHO World Health Organisation
PRSP Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
HIPC Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
AFC Agenda for Change
FHCI Free Health Care Initiative
SDH Social Determinant of Health
PHU Peripheral Health Unit
DHMT District Health Management Team
DMO District Medical Officer
PHC Primary Health Care
NGO Non-Governmental Organisation
CHW Community Health Worker
TBA Traditional Birth Attendant
OGI Open Government Initiative