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Editor: John Birchall

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.

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Editor's Foreword

In this edition of The Journal of Sierra Leone Studies we develop further the range of the publication. Titles included cover history, linguistics, theology and other areas of study relevant to Sierra Leone. We hope that our continued widening of the content is of interest to all readers, whatever their interest in Sierra Leone.

John

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Banana, Bonthe, Bunce Islands and Sierra Leone's Other Islands – Their History and Inter-Relatedness during the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade

By Melbourne Garber

Introduction

Three of the more well-known and recognised islands that lie off the coast of Sierra Leone, not only does their name start with the letter "B" but were all involved to some extent in the transatlantic slave trade. It is therefore of interest to study the history of each island, so allowing for a discussion of their relationship with other islands along the coast of Sierra Leone - that lie at the estuaries of the main rivers. This paper is an attempt to relate the history of these islands and their involvement with the transatlantic slave trade and subsequent abolition.

The early Portuguese navigators who visited West Africa at the start of the 15th century traded in ivory, gold and slaves. Some of them settled in the Sierra Leone region leaving "mulatto" offspring who ruled and lived on some of these islands. This early interaction between the Portuguese and the indigenous people explains why, for instance, the Themne name for "white" people is "*Opotho*". While the majority of the slaves from this region were captured on the mainland, the islands off the coast were where the barracoons (holding pens) were primarily located and where the slave ships docked to carry out their trade.

Banana Islands

It is claimed that the Portuguese first named them the Banana Islands because the outline of them resembled a bunch of bananas. There are three islands: Dublin, Ricketts and Mes Meheux (also known as Mesmieu). The two largest islands Dublin and Ricketts are inhabited and connected by a small land bridge, whereas Mes Meheux is uninhabited.

The first recorded mention of the Banana Islands occurs in 1615 when two Dutch ships under Cornelius Schouten landed on the uninhabited islands after overshooting the entrance to the Sierra Leone River because their maps were wrong. They originally called them the *Islands of Madrabomba*¹.

In the 1730's, William Cleveland, the son of a Scottish Commodore and brother of the Secretary of the Admiralty was working for the Royal African Society, a major slave trading company that had developed a monopoly of the trade in the Sierra Leone region. The ship he was on was shipwrecked off the coast of Banana Islands. He and a few of the slaves on board were able to swim to the shore, where he declared himself king of the islands.

The islands continued to be an integral part of the slave trade and Dublin was used as a transit point to process slaves for the main slave trading forts at Bunce Island and York Island. It is said that only the able-bodied slaves were allowed to be taken onward to the forts and that the ill and infirmed were left to die stacked one top of each other on the island.

A few miles further south lie the Plantain Islands; which were thought it to have been named after the banana's fruit cousin, however it was actually named after the pirate and slave trader John Plantain² who settled on the island in the early 1700's. In addition to the main Plantain Island there are two smaller islands. By the time William Cleveland had settled on the Banana Islands, Robin Skinner Corker was the proclaimed King of Plantain Island and

¹ According to Cornelius Schuten, the islands were uninhabited when he landed there but saw animal tracks.

² John Plantain left in 1720 after making money from the slave trade and settled in Madagascar.

Banana Islands were within his purview. William Cleveland worked for Skinner Corker in the slave trade and subsequently married his daughter Kate.

From the 1730's onwards, William Cleveland built his slave trading business on Banana Islands, trading goods from England for slaves who were sent to the West Indies. William had two children with Kate and another son by a Kissi woman. His children were sent to England to study. He travelled to South Carolina a few times, being a slave trader and occasionally with his daughter and visited his American Cleveland family. When he died, he was buried on Bunce Island.

In 1745, the young John Newton landed in the Sierra Leone region. He initially became the property of a slave trader and his local 'merciless' wife on Plantain Island, which had barracoons for holding slaves. Later he embraced the slave trade and the lifestyle of the slave trader. While he was more responsible for the purchasing of slaves in the Sierra Leone region, he did sail with slave ships across the Atlantic. He continued slave trading around the Sierra Leone region and still bought slaves from Plantain Island after surviving the shipwreck in 1748 that started his religious transformation. It was not until 1764 when he was a rector at Olney, that he wrote his famous "Amazing Grace" hymn. In another twist of fate, he died in 1807, the year the British Parliament abolished the slave trade. The village of Newton in Sierra Leone is named after him and the ruins of his house on Plantain Island still exist.

The death of William Cleveland in 1758 brought his son John, then only 18 back to the islands to manage his slave trading business. John died in 1764 and his half-brother James took over the business. James, it is said was very envious and wanted to become as powerful as the Corkers. By 1785 a serious feud had broken out between the Corkers and the Clevlands.

Prior to this feud, in 1771, a British amateur botanist called Henry Smeathman landed on Banana Island. Instead of researching plants as he was charged to do, he spent 3 years studying termites and became an authority on this subject. His initial reticence about slavery appears to have receded during this period of being surrounded by the trade. He left Sierra Leone for the West Indies and spent another 3 years studying termites there. Upon his return to London, he published his findings and was considered an expert of the region so much so that when the abolitionists were thinking of what to do with the Black Poor in 1786; he was approached to provide guidance. He produced the "*Plan of a Settlement to be made near Sierra Leona, on the Grain Coast of Africa*", where he significantly embellished the welcome and the quality of the fertile lands that the Black Poor would encounter upon arriving in the region³. He can possibly be considered as the "Progenitor of the Sierra Leone Colony". However, the previous year, when the British government was contemplating sending prisoners to the region, he had stated that they would die at the rate of a hundred a day. He died in 1786, a year before the first contingent of the Black Poor were sent to the Sierra Leone region and the reality of the land and environment was encountered.

The feud between the Cleveland and Caulkers⁴ continued beyond the death of James Cleveland in 1791. In 1798, Stephen Caulker attacked William Cleveland at Banana Island from his base at Plantain Island with the help of some local Themne chiefs. The inhabitants of the island in order to escape the attack, boarded the slave ships anchored on the island waiting for their slave cargo but were captured, shipped across the Atlantic and sold into slavery. William Cleveland escaped Banana Island and relocated to Sherbro (Bonthe) Island. The Banana Islands were sacked by Stephen Caulker and he returned with his booty to Plantain Island. The headstone of James Cleveland was also removed and taken to **Tasso Island**, where it was placed at the entrance to the Caulkers

³ This would prove to be disastrous for the Black Poor population when they arrived in Sierra Leone.

⁴ By the 1790's, the Cleveland and Corker families were spelling their surnames as "Cleveland" and "Caulker"

cemetery plot, so it could be stepped on every time anyone visited the Caulker cemetery plot. The Caulkers then basically took over ownership of the Banana Islands.

In 1799, the Governor of Sierra Leone entered into negotiations with the Caulkers to settle on the Banana Islands some Maroons who were then in Nova Scotia. However, Stephen Caulker did not feel he could relinquish the islands without consultation of the “chiefs of the country” and the Cleveland family, who still maintained that the islands were still owned by them. In the end, the negotiations stalled as a result of the Caulker-Cleveland feud and the Maroons ended up settling in Freetown.

The “title deeds” for Banana Islands were ceded to the administration of Colonel Sir Charles Macarthy in 1820. Many of those who were settled on Banana Islands after they were ceded to the British government were Liberated Africans.

Bonthe Island (Sherbro Island)

Bonthe Island is more commonly known as Sherbro Island. It is the largest island in Sierra Leone and is located at the confluence of the Jong, Bagru and Sherbro Rivers. Just as the Banana and Plantain Islands were inextricably linked, so the history of Bonthe/Sherbro Island cannot be discussed without including York Island.

Bonthe Island became involved in the slave trade in the 1460’s when the Portuguese started visiting the island’s shores to exchange manufactured goods for ivory and slaves. When an invasion spread to the island around 1545, some of the inhabitants sought refuge on the Portuguese ships and they were promptly enslaved. York Island became a more recognized slave trading port of call than Sherbro/Bonthe Island and the British built a slave fort there in 1688. Historical records indicate that a slave ship called The Experiment voyaged to both Sherbro Island and York Island between 1692 and 1696 transporting slaves to the West Indies. But in 1696 it was recorded that it was “lying rotten” at York Island.

An Irish slave trader by the name of Nicholas Owen traded slaves directly from Sherbro Island and York Island in the 1750’s rather than through the established British slave forts controlled by the Company of Merchants.

The early intermarriage of African women with Portuguese and other British merchants in the 15th and 16th centuries resulted in “Mulattoes”, some of whom also became actively involved in the slave trade. Among the mulattoes living in the Sherbro region, the Caulkers played a leading role trading in slaves; other names were Tucker, Domingo and Rogers.

One of the freed slaves who returned to Sierra Leone was a man named John Kizell, originally born in the Sherbro region around 1760. He was captured and sold into slavery and taken to South Carolina. He escaped slavery during the Revolutionary War and fought with the British as a Black Loyalist. He was taken to Nova Scotia with the other Black Loyalists and in 1792 returned to the land of his birth as one of the Nova Scotian Settlers. In 1810, Paul Cuffee who was half Negro, half Native American travelled to Freetown from the US and met John Kizell. Together they formed the Friendly Society. This relationship became useful a few years later after John Kizell had settled in Sherbro.

When the American Colonization Society sent two missionaries to Sierra Leone to determine whether it could be their headquarters and also to explore the coast with a view to forming a colony (as the British Government was lukewarm), they contacted John Kizell, who recommended Sherbro Island as a possible location. They returned in 1818 and upon consultation with the Sherbro chiefs, agreed to a piece of land there. In January 1820, 89 former

American slaves embarked at New York and, after initially arriving in Freetown, sailed on to Sherbro Island. A quarter of them perished, mainly due to disease. They abandoned Sherbro Island and returned to Freetown, where the survivors were housed at Fourah Bay until a permanent location was found for them at Cape Mesurado in 1822. Some years later Liberia came into existence.

Even though the slave trade was abolished in England in 1807 and freed slaves had been settled in the Freetown area since 1787, the slave trade was still very active around Sherbro and York Islands and all the way down to the Gallinas River (Kerefe River, near the Moa River). As late as 1843, the British navy was still impounding slave ships in this area and emancipating the captured slaves in Freetown. The Sherbro people finally ceded Sherbro/Bonthe Island to the British authorities in 1861.

Bunce Island

Bunce Island is the smallest of these islands but its historical connection to the slave trade has been the most written about. It measures about 1600 feet in length and varies in width from 165 feet to 360 feet and is located 15 miles up the Sierra Leone River. Bunce Island is strategically located at the limit of navigation of the harbour, so ocean going ships could not sail beyond the northern tip for fear of running aground. The rivers beyond this point are navigable only in smaller boats and canoes. The inhabitants could escape upstream in shallow boats if the fort was attacked, as occurred several times.

Bunce Island has had many names: Bence Island, Bense Island, George Island and Bance Island. From 1668 to 1807, British slave traders operated from there and shipped tens of thousands of slaves to the West Indies and North America. The castle was looted, attacked, destroyed and rebuilt many times. The French destroyed it 4 times: 1695, 1704, 1779 and 1794. Pirates looted it twice in 1719 and 1720 and it was burnt down by the Afro-Portuguese slave trader Jose Lopez in 1728. The remains of the castle, which are visible today date from when it was rebuilt after 1794. It too is inextricably linked to a nearby island – in this case Tasso Island. The English Company built a slave fort on Tasso Island in 1662, but this was destroyed by the Dutchman de Ruyter in 1664. After the destruction of this slave fort British decided to build a slave fort on Bunce Island, a more strategic location. The African Company also had plantations for slaves on Tasso Island. Slaves were brought to Bunce Island on sloops from “out factories” as far as 300 miles away, as well as from middlemen who brought them down-river from the interior.

While the Caulkers had a family burial plot on Tasso Island, William Cleveland was buried at Bunce Island as a result of his involvement with the slave trade.

Following the British abolition of the slave trade the owners of Bunce Island transformed it to a timber saw mill, but by the 1830's it had been abandoned.

Conclusions

The population of the Banana Islands today consists predominantly of Krios descended from Liberated Africans. There are also some Sherbro, Limba and Temne living on the islands. No extensive archaeological investigation has yet been undertaken. Historical gas lamp posts can still be seen on Rickett and Dublin Islands. In 2014, divers revealed that a 1762 shipwreck off the Banana Islands had 29 cannons on board.

Plantain Island still has the ruins of the barracoons and of the house that John Newton lived in. The latter is listed by the Monuments and Relics Commission. Given the popularity of his hymn “Amazing Grace” among the African American population, Plantain Island has the potential to be a significant tourism destination. However, due to rising sea levels, the island is slowly becoming submerged. If preservation efforts are not implemented soon these sites may be lost. Moreover, archaeological investigation may uncover artifacts from the slave trade era.

Bonthe/Sherbro Island was involved in the slave trade over a period of more than 350 years. It was also where the American Colonization Society initially took persons of African descent who wanted to return to Africa before they eventually settled in present-day Liberia. This could make it an interesting destination for African American tourists. John Kizell, in particular, deserves a memorial.

On **York Island** it may one day be possible to find the location of the slave fort, in addition to vestiges of the slave ship The Experiment.

Bunce Island, as Chris DeCorse has remarked, “represents the most important European trade site in this portion of the West African coast.” Joseph Opala has called it “arguably the most important historic site in Africa for the United States.” Moreover, the fort whose ruins we see today was built with the help of the first freed slaves to return to Africa. It has good chances to become a UNESCO heritage site. Stabilization and preservation of the ruins is urgent.

The history of these islands and the ruins and artefacts found there have the potential to enhance the tourism experience in Sierra Leone. However, apart from Bunce Island, very little research and conservation have been undertaken.

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On the Origin and Application of the Word Krio

Ian Hancock

THE USE OF THE WORDS 'CREOLE' AND 'KRIO' have been questioned for their application both as an ethnonym and as a glossonym. In the case of the latter, *i.e.* as the name of a language, Krio was probably first referred to as 'Pidgin,' since in its 1827 offshoot in Bioko (formerly Fernando Po) it is known as *Pichí*. The term Krio, applied to its speakers

but not the language itself, seems to have acquired its present spoken (though not written) form by the mid-19th century, since it was recorded in British Guiana in the 1840s as *Creo'* by Cruickshank (1916: 45), who referred to the African free labour force from Sierra Leone as "*Dem Creo' (Creole boys)*."¹ He otherwise called the local population Creoles, and today the language is referred to in Guyana, but nowhere else, as *Creolese*.

An earlier date for the form of the word may also be found in Bioko Pichí; de Zarco (1938: 337) writes it as *Crió*, but glosses it as "criollo, mulato" suggesting that it refers to the population rather than to the language, while Yakpo (2009: 644) lists *krió* as both the people and the language.

The fact of its people-only application in 19th century Sierra Leone has been noted by Gberie (2010: 151):

Official censuses throughout the nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries never recognized the Creole as one coherent ethnic group. There were instead descriptions like "Akus," "Maroons", "Kossohs", "Popo" etc. The government-owned *Gazette* always prefixed Creole with a more established ethnicity in describing people in the colony, as in this "official notice" announcing rewards for some escaped convicts in the 30 September, 1875, issue: James Henry Cole, an escaped prisoner, is described as "Aku Creole;" and Aaron Sangster, "convicted at the sessions of March last of larceny, and sentenced to three years penal servitude," is described as "Kossoh Creole."

Possibly the word was applied by the European administrators in early Freetown who were familiar with the use of the word in the Americas. Equally possibly it originated a self-ascription by just one incoming group of Black colonists, perhaps the Maroons, and that it became generalized with the passage of time; although according to Cassidy & Le Page (1980: 130) the term *Creole* has become 'disuse[d]' in Jamaica today, the author of *Biesik Jumiekan* (Chang 2014: 17) indicates that the word is still in use: "Di habrij Jumiekan, di taak wa deh taak deh kaal i Patwa, deh kaal i Kryuol" (*i.e.* "The average Jamaican, the language that they speak, they call it Patwa, they call it Creole." The word was first recorded in that country as early as 1721 by John Atkins (1735: 244), who wrote of "[t]he Cræoles (those born here) which are properly the Natives of the Island." Its first written use was in Portuguese (as *crioulo*), meaning variously 'a half-breed in the Congo' (1632) and 'a black man born in Brazil' (1643), discussed further in Valkhoff (1966: 38-47).

It survives in Belizean Creole, a (largely) Jamaican offshoot, for both the language and the people. The Belizean dictionary has

Kriol n. 1) Creole; ethnic group traditionally in the colonies, people born of European or African descent or a mixture of both; today in Belize the term refers specifically to anyone with any mixture of African and any other ancestry (Herrera *et al.*, 2007: 196).

The word also exists in the modern Suriname Creoles as *Kriyoro* in Sranan and *Kriyoo* in Ndjuka, and was listed in Schumann's 1783 dictionary of Sranan as *Kriólo*. The common label "Patois," if not applied independently by the Europeans, may also have been introduced from Jamaica with the Maroons.

Not everyone finds the ethnonym Creole to be accurate in its Sierra Leonean context; Fyfe (2006: 26-27) for example writes

from the early 1840s the name 'Creole' came to be given to the children of recaptives born in Sierra Leone. It is an inappropriate name. The word is used in many quite different contexts in other parts of the world and, more importantly (*sic*), it seems to imply a non-African origin.

Certainly the usual meaning of *Creole* is a person, whether African or European, born *outside* of his homeland, usually in the Americas; thus its application to the children of the Liberated Africans in Sierra Leone is a somewhat broad interpretation of the word. But like the gradual fading of the Maroon/Settler distinction over time, so the blending of the many sources of Krio ethnicity have led to the emergence of just one overriding label.

The first writer to represent the word's actual pronunciation in Sierra Leone and the first to apply it to the language ("*Creo*" in his own spelling) was Buckle, in 1939. He wrote (1939: 20)

its corruption or abbreviation 'Creo,' which is more popular than 'Creole,' might perhaps be accepted to embrace the descendants of liberated Africans who are born in Sierra Leone . . . I think we should allow this term 'Creo' to supersede 'Creole'.

The first to have used *Krio*—with that spelling—for the people as well as the language was Akintola Wyse, as Fyfe (2006: 26-27) reported:

In the late 70's, Wyse . . . began using it as a name for the people. He adopted it gradually: successive published articles show him first shedding the explanatory 'Krios (Creoles)' and then the final's' in the plural. This gave to the Krio the style which is customary when referring to other African peoples (the Temne, the Mende). Others soon began to copy. Thus over a brief period he firmly outlawed the time-honoured 'Creole' and 'Creoledom' and established instead 'Krio' and 'Kriodom', using 'Krio' not only as a noun but as an adjective—'Krio language', 'Krio culture'—as the only acceptable usage.

Buckle was also the first to have rendered Krio phonetically (*op. cit.*, 22): *a si, a bin si, a go si, a dɔn si, a bin dɔn si, a go dɔn si, i, una*...). Thomas Decker followed suit, at first spelling the word *Creo*, later changing it to its present form as he developed his regularized orthography.² This was not the first suggestion for its name, however; Africanus Horton wanted—inexplicably—to call the language *Noang* (Thompson, 1930: 55), while Sawyerr (1940: 164) wrote "I propose to call the language by the term SARO . . . I shall therefore call the Patois *Saro* in future." In the 19th century Sibthorpe wrote (1970: 28) that it was called *Africo-German, lingua-franca* or *Aku English*; this latter—by which the Gambian dialect of Krio is still known—was remarked upon by Nicol (1949: 901) who created the exotic-looking *Krīyo* as his preferred name for the language.³

The first (located) use of the label *Creole* in Sierra Leone dates from 1840, in a report on the state of education in the Colony in that year by Mr. J. Miller, Inspector of Schools: "The Creole children receive rapidly those ideas of their own superiority to which all are so prone" (Miller 1841: 1). The next is found in Clarke (1843: 33), where he comments on the same emerging social distancing from the indigenous population: "[t]he Creoles are taught in schools separate from the Liberated African children. This distinction inspires the Creole children with ideas of their own superiority." One year later Elizabeth Melville (1844: 202) wrote

[She was] attended by her sister-in-law, a plainly-dressed and rather nice looking *Creole* (as all the children of liberated Africans, born after their parents' arrival in the colony, style themselves), who, if fully aware of the great difference in their respective situations, humbly follow her.

At its entry in Fyfe & Jones' *Krio-English Dictionary* (1980: 203) the following is given:

Krio (Us [ually] < E. Creole, cf. J[amaican] creole. But Nicol, F.S.F.O., 1949 gives Y[oruba] *Akiriyo* 'those who habitually go about paying visits after a church service,' a reference to a Krio custom which continues to the present. Phonologically this derivation is much more plausible than Krio < Creole, especially as the disappearance of a final /1/ has not been found to occur elsewhere in the language . . .).

n. the Krio people, their language; that which pertains to the Krios.

In his review of that dictionary and based upon that entry, Kelly (1981: 361) agreed that there was for the word "a more plausible source in Yoruba *akiriyo* rather than in its usual derivation from English."

Nicol was right in that there is a Yoruba word meaning 'one who wanders around and is replete with food,' viz. *ākiriyo* (with nominalizing prefix and adjustment for tone—*Krìdò* has a final high tone), but when his essay is consulted, we do not find anywhere the quote attributed to him by Fyfe & Jones, viz. "those who habitually go about paying visits after a church service."

None of the existing Yoruba dictionaries include references to churches or visits in their entries for the word. What Nicol actually says (*op. cit.*, 903) is: 'The word "Kriyo" is of the Aku origin and is made up of two words, a verb and an adjective; from the verb "kiri" (to walk about) and the adjective "yo" (full or satisfied) Kri-yo, "to walk about

In a book published subsequent to Fyfe's response, Gibril Cole (2013: 17-18) defended the Yoruba origin of the word:
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It should be noted that the term *Krio* is not an adaptation of *Creole* . . . the evidence suggests otherwise. While *Creole* has been used historically in reference to persons of mixed African/European descent, the term *Krio* has no such antecedents. Its etymological roots are decidedly African (that is to say, Yoruban) . . . it is derived from the original Yoruba *Akiriyo*.

Interpretation of the word *Krio* has been the subject of considerable discussion (e.g. Skinner & Harrell-Bond 1977, Wyse 1979, Fyfe 1980, Shrimpton 1987, Goerg 1995, Abdullah 2014 and Magbailey-Fyle 2014), and it is possible that political and historical factors underlie the enthusiasm with which the specifically Yoruba origin has been promoted. It is not the purpose of this brief note to examine these aspects of the argument, but I do want to call for a reexamination of the linguistic evidence and suggest that, rather than an ultimately exclusive Yoruba origin for the word *Krio* we have perhaps a case of convergence: the word *creole* (which after all has existed in the English lexifier creoles for far longer than the Yoruba language has been spoken in Freetown), and the Yoruba folk etymology which reinforced and perhaps to some extent redefined the word after influence from that language upon *Krio* began during the period of settlement in the colony by Liberated Africans.

The Crowther dictionary of Yoruba (1843: 141), written a century earlier, glosses the entry *Kiriyo* as a 'corruption of 'Creole,' indicating that the word was introduced into Yoruba—almost certainly from *Krio* directly (rather than from Portuguese as Abrahams suggests). Since unlike *Krio* Yoruba phonology cannot admit a word-final /l/, the form */*kiri o lo*/ could have been retained. Nicol's word *yo* survives in the (somewhat archaic) *Krio* form *yóyó* 'full[blooded], pure, of a Creole person': *mí na yóyó Krió*, "I'm a 100% *Krio*" (not listed in Fyle & Jones).

Fyle & Jones themselves enlarged upon Nicol's basic meaning ("walk about and be full or satisfied") adding that it refers specifically to socializing after Sunday church, not its meaning in Yoruba. Nicol too is not entirely innocent of creating "evidence" to support his case; in his article, he composes an exchange in Yoruba (with English translation) between two neighbours complaining about the children playing outside instead of working—evidently the source of Wyse's statement—which "one *might* have heard" (emphasis added). Yet at the end of the dialogue, he goes on to present his hypothesis as fact, saying: "From the above conversation you can see how the word 'Kriyo' originated."

The argument that "linguistically, words borrowed from English do not lose a final *L* sound in *Krio* pronunciation" and "the disappearance of a final /l/ has not been found to occur elsewhere" in *Krio* is false; the entry *kabudu* 'coterie of friends' is listed on page 160 in the same book, and the source-form "caboodle" is given; similarly *tróki* 'tortoise' is listed on page 377, which is from *[trókɪ] < *[torkɪ] < *[tortɪ] < 'turtle' with metathesis and the Jamaican Creole shift of alveolar to velar stop (although Fyle & Jones in fact list "turkey" as its source-form). *Pekupeku* 'speckled,' *demba* 'a ladle' < "demble"), and *ramshaku* 'ramshackled' are also all found in the dictionary, and we could add to the list *katapo* 'catapult, slingshot' (not in Fyle & Jones), *natay* 'nut oil,' *pamay* 'palm oil,' *te* 'until'—and the now obsolete <*scroo masser*> 'schoolmaster' which was the spelling in a *Krio* poem jointly composed by the Murraytown Methodists in 1860. /l/ is also absent medially in *sef* "self," *pɔlayn* 'plumb line,' *ways* 'whilst,' *entris* 'entrails,' *ep* 'help,' *fim* 'film,' *wuf* "wolf,' *twɛv* 'twelve' and *bangus* ~ *banguls* 'bangle.'

The loss or vocalizing of final /l/ might be due to Cockney or other British dialect influence, or to the AAVE (African American Vernacular English) phonology of the Nova Scotia Settlers; it might be added that the word's underlying /l/ resurfaces in the entry *kriolayz* on page 204 in the dictionary. Frederick Jones (1983: 30) noted:

Wyse's mention of the fact that "the term 'creeo' or 'creo'—the name that the interior people know them by"—in which the final 'l' has been dropped did become known, early this century, as an alternative one to 'creole.' In fact the dropping of dark /l/ after a back vowel in English-derived words regularly occurs in Cameroon Pidgin, which has been heavily influenced by *Krio*, e.g. *botu/botru* for 'bottle,' *kandu* for 'candle,' *pipu* for 'people.'

A solely Yoruba source for the word *Krio* is unlikely on a number of grounds, grammatically as well as semantically and phonologically (even though Fyle & Jones maintain that "phonologically this derivation is much more plausible than *Krio* < *Creole*). First of all, the cluster /kr/ is not permissible in Yoruba. The only other Yoruba-derived items in

Krio containing it that I have found (and I reject Fyle & Jones' suggestion that *kràwó* 'burnt food stuck to the bottom of the pot' is of Yoruba origin), namely *àkribótó* 'woman with vaginismus' and *kràwnkráwn* 'gristle,' from the originals *àkííbótó* and *òkèrèkèrè*, with intrusive /r/ (cf. the Krio forms *krikrit* 'cricket,' *kòkrùl* 'cockle (shell),' *kròkròdâyí* 'crocodile,' &c.). Indeed, lexical adoptions into Yoruba from words containing this cluster insert a vowel, thus *Kírísítí* 'Christ.'

Secondly, *yó* does not mean 'be satisfied, content,' which is *tẹlọrùn*. It means 'replete, sated (with food),' which in Krio is *belfûl* (earlier *berẹfûl*). In Yoruba, the word for a satisfied person is *onitẹlẹrùn*, which is composed thus: *o* ('one who') + *ní* ('has') + *itẹlẹrùn* ('satisfaction') = 'the person who is satisfied (with his lot).' Freetown churches do not regularly feed their congregations on Sundays.

Thirdly, the grammatical multifunctionality of items which characterize creole languages is not possible in Yoruba; you cannot use a verb (in this case two verbs serially) as a noun. While *kiri* does mean 'stroll, walk about' (Krio *wírẹn*, from Scots dialect *weeron*), both words cannot be combined grammatically into a further single word but only used separately in a sentence such as *ó nrìn kiri pẹlú itẹlẹrùn* 'he walks about with satisfaction.' The Yoruba (including the early Freetown Yoruba) disparagingly refer to the Krios as *ájírẹ̀sì* 'rice eaters' (< Krio *rẹs* 'rice').

My own opinion? Like so many words in Krio, the name for the people and the language (and *like* the people and the language) probably has a multiple origin, both European and African.

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Endnotes

¹In 1841 the importation of Africans from Sierra Leone [into Guyana] . . . and Africans rescued from slave ships, began. Most of those imported were freed slaves or descendants of freed slaves, most notably of the Jamaican Maroons deported in 1796. The scheme lasted from 1841 to about 1862 . . . In all, about 36,000 free Africans came to the West Indies under this scheme; 14,000 to British Guiana” (*Anon.* 2007: 98-99). This of course raises the question of to what extent Krio may have contributed to the American creole languages.

²Decker recommended that writers “studiously desist” from using symbols from the International Phonetic Alphabet, referring to Buckle’s “inverted v”—which in fact represents a sound not occurring in Krio; Buckle had allowed his English pronunciation of Krio *dɔn* to interfere—nevertheless Decker’s preferred IPA-less orthography, still used by some, has been superseded by the current official spelling which incorporates two of them, *ɛ* and *ɔ* (and formerly also *ɨ*). For more on Krio orthography, see Hancock, 2016.

³Nicol’s middle name, which he spelt Olumokün, reflects his penchant for diacritics.

The 180th Anniversary of the Birth of Dr James Africanus Beale Horton: A Tribute

By Nigel Browne-Davies

The year 2015 marked the 180th anniversary of the birth of Dr James Africanus Beale Horton, (1835-1883), one of the first West Africans to qualify as a medical doctor.⁵ Africanus Horton was born on 1 June, 1835 in Gloucester Village, Sierra Leone to James and Nancy Horton who were Liberated Africans of Igbo origin.⁶ Africanus Horton was educated at the Church Missionary Society Grammar School⁷ and subsequently at Kings College London and Edinburgh University. Alongside his compatriot, William Broughton Davies, (1833-1906), Africanus Horton qualified as a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons of England and also earned a Medical Doctorate. Horton subsequently returned to West Africa for service in the medical department of the British army and retired on 4 December, 1880 with the rank of Surgeon-Major.⁸

Africanus Horton was a polymath; he wrote important publications on medical science and meteorology, argued for greater political autonomy for West Africans and vigorously against the nascent forms of racism emerging in Europe and North America.⁹ As a nineteenth century forerunner of modern pan-Africanism, Horton also

⁵'The Late Surgeon-Major Horton,' *West African Reporter*, 20 October, 1883, hereafter *W.A.R.* Nicol, Davidson (Ed.), *Africanus Horton: The Dawn of Nationalism in Modern Africa: extracts from the political, educational, scientific and medical writings of J. A. B. Horton, 1835-1883*, (Britain: Longmans, 1969), pp. 1-2, 8. Fyfe, Christopher, *Africanus Horton, 1835-1883: West African Scientist and Patriot*, (United States: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 33-36.

⁶Fyfe, *Africanus Horton, 1835-1883*, (United States: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 22. The year 2016 is the 200th anniversary of the founding of Gloucester Village, which was established in 1816.

⁷Horton, James, Student Number 85, 1847, 'Entrance Register of the Sierra Leone Grammar School, 1845-2014,' *Sierra Leone Grammar School Alumni Association North America*, URL: <http://www.regentonians-na.org/data/slgsstudents.php>. 'Sierra Leone Grammar School,' in Fyfe, Magbaily C., *Historical Dictionary of Sierra Leone*, (United States: Scarecrow Press, 2006), pp. 181-182. The Church Missionary Society Grammar School was later renamed the Sierra Leone Grammar School.

⁸Johnston, William, *Roll Of Commissioned Officers In The British Medical Service Of The British Army: Who Served On Full Pay Within The Period Between The Accession of George II And The Formation Of The Royal Army Medical Corps, 20 June, 1727 to 23 June, 1898: With An Introduction Showing The Historical Evolution Of The Corps*, (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1917), p. 425. 'The Late Surgeon-Major Horton,' *W.A.R.*, 20 October, 1883. Horton's rank as a Surgeon-Major was equivalent to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

⁹McKay, Brenda, *George Eliot and Victorian Attitudes to Racial Diversity, Colonialism, Darwinism, Class, Gender, and Jewish Culture and Prophecy*, (United States: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003), p. 127.

demonstrated a strong sense of African nationalism.¹⁰ Horton's *West African Countries and People* was a summary of the achievements of West Africans and an important defence of African peoples against the virulent attacks against West Africans by European anthropologists such as James Hunt.¹¹

Horton also had a great aptitude for commercial endeavours, and his investments in the London Stock Exchange and gold mining prospects in the Gold Coast ensured that he left a substantial fortune at his death.¹² His vision for the establishment of a technical school in Sierra Leone was thwarted by legal battles over his estate, but his legacy is exemplified in his publications and in the biographies written of his life.¹³

¹⁰Horton, James Africanus Beale, *West African Countries and Peoples British and Native: And a Vindication of the African Race*, (1868. Reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 1-2. 'The Late Surgeon-Major Horton,' *W.A.R.*, 20 October, 1883. For authoritative studies on James Africanus Beale Horton, see Fyfe, Christopher, *Africanus Horton, 1835-1883: West African Scientist and Patriot*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), Nicol, Davidson (Ed), *Africanus Horton: The Dawn of Nationalism in Modern Africa: extracts from the political, educational, scientific and medical writings of J. A. B. Horton, 1835-1883*, (Britain: Longmans, 1969) and Adeloje, Adelola, *Doctor James Africanus Beale Horton: West African medical scientist of the nineteenth century*, (Pennsylvania: Dorrance, 1992).

¹¹Fyfe, *Africanus Horton, 1835-1883*, p. 64.

¹²Fyfe, Christopher, 'Horton, (James) Africanus Beale (1835–1883)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, January 2008, URL: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/61022>. Horton died on 15 October, 1883 at the age of forty-eight and was buried on 16 October, 1883 at Circular Road Cemetery, Freetown in the family vault of his first wife. He died leaving investments in the London Stock Exchange and property in Freetown. Horton also invested in a bank and in railway companies for the purpose of building a private railway in certain areas of the Gold Coast.

¹³Fyfe, *Africanus Horton*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. ix-xi, 156-159. Nicol, *Africanus Horton: The Dawn of Nationalism in Modern Africa*, (Britain: Longmans, 1969), pp. 1, 12-15 and Adeloje, Adelola, *Doctor James Africanus Beale Horton: West African medical scientist of the nineteenth century*, (Pennsylvania: Dorrance, 1992), pp. 18-19.

Horton was twice married, and on both occasions, he married into distinguished Sierra Leonean families.¹⁴ After his death, Horton's progeny¹⁵ also achieved recognition for their achievements and contributions.¹⁶ Horton's grandson, James 'Jimmy' Horton Boucher, was a jazz musician who joined the Sam Wooding Orchestra as a

¹⁴'Births, Marriages, and Deaths: Marriages,' *Lancet*, (J. Onwhyn, 1875), 26 July, 1862 'Births, Marriages, and Deaths: Marriages,' *Lancet*, (J. Onwhyn, 1875), 3 July, 1875. Horton's first wife was Fannie (Fanny) Marietta Pratt, (1842/3-1865), the eldest daughter of William Henry Pratt, (d. 1865) a wealthy Igbo Liberated African merchant fondly known as 'Ibo Pratt,' and Fannie Pratt, née Potts, the daughter of Abraham Potts, a sergeant in the 4th West India Regiment. After the death of Fannie Horton in 1865, Horton married Selina Beatrice Elliott, (29 September, 1851-20 June, 1910), the third daughter of John Bucknor Elliott (28 August, 1822-24 March, 1890) and Susan Elliott, née Cole, (16 May, 1823-19 May, 1875). Selina Elliott was the granddaughter of Reverend Anthony Elliott, (1776/7-30 August, 1856), a Nova Scotian preacher, and Honourable William Williams Cole, (26 July, 1794/6- 8 May, 1864), a wealthy English merchant and Member of the Governor's Council. Selina Elliott's siblings included Esther Deborah Campbell, née Elliott, (c. September, 1860/1-11 September, 1926), who was married to Dr William Frederick Campbell, (15 February, 1858-13 February, 1926), a mixed-race Sierra Leonean medical doctor who was a personal friend of the Gladstone family. Mary Edith Elliott, (1792/3-10 April, 1875), the grandmother of Selina Beatrice Elliott, died aged 82 years on 10 April, 1875 which prevented Africanus Horton from marrying Selina Beatrice Horton on 19 April, 1875. Instead Horton married Selina Beatrice Elliott at Saint George's Cathedral on 29 May, 1875.

¹⁵'Death of Mrs. Johnson Nee Turpin,' *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 4 August, 1928, hereafter *S.L.W.N.* 'Death of Miss Baby May Johnson,' *S.L.W.N.*, 30 May, 1936.' In Memoriam: May Eleanor Yvonne Johnson,' *S.L.W.N.*, 6 June, 1936 Horton has descendants in Britain through Nannette (Nanette) Susan Adelina Boucher, née Horton, (13 May, 1876-21 August, 1924), who was Horton's daughter from his second marriage to Selina Beatrice Elliott and possibly in West Africa through May Marietta Turpin, née Horton the daughter from Horton's first marriage to Fannie Marietta Horton, née Pratt. May Turpin married Francois Turpin, the scion of a notable Senegalese *Métis* (Creole) family on 17 June, 1888 and had a daughter, Clarice Johnson, (d. July or August, 1928) who was the mother of May Eleanor Yvonne Johnson, (13 August, 1917-29 May, 1936). Eleanor Yvonne Johnson died at the age of eighteen without issue, and may have been the only child of Clarice Johnson and her husband Samuel T. Johnson. However, it is possible that there are Sierra Leonean descendants of Africanus Horton through the lineage of Clarice Johnson. James Horton Boucher, the son of Nannette Boucher, had at least two children, and was possibly also the father of Burney and Bijou, two grandchildren of Nannette Boucher who are mentioned in Boucher's obituary that appeared in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* in 1924. Burney or Bijou may also be a reference to Suzanne Joan Leigh, (b. 1922), the daughter of Antoinette Leigh, née Boucher.

¹⁶Cummings-John, Constance Agatha, *Memoirs of a Krio leader*, (United States: Sam Bookman for Humanities Research Centre, 1995), p. 3. Although Constance Agatha Cummings-John stated in her memoirs that she was a descendant of Dr Africanus Horton, Cummings-John descended from Moses Pindar Horton, (d. 1868), a Liberated African of Aja-Popo descent originally from Dahomey in the modern Republic of Benin. Moses Horton, the elder brother of Constance Agatha Cummings, married Edna Elliott Horton, (13 September, 1904-1994), a daughter of Joseph Emanuel Horton Elliott, the godson of Africanus Horton.

violinist,¹⁷ and led a colourful life as a musician.¹⁸ Nannette Eugenie Dorothea Boucher, alias Ena or Enid, the younger sister of James Boucher, was a chorus girl and dancer for the 'Chocolate Kiddies', a jazz troupe.¹⁹

Antoinette Madeleine Boucher, the elder sister of James Horton Boucher, married Thomas William Dupigny-Leigh, a Sierra Leonean merchant²⁰ who had naturalised as a Liberian citizen and was later bestowed with several

¹⁷Lindstrom, Bo, 'James Boucher - the mysterious violinist with Wooding,' *Bo Lindström's Jazz Research Page*, URL: <http://www.jazzresearch.se/james-boucher---the-mysterious-violinist-with-wooding>. The Sam Wooding Orchestra was a popular jazz band led by Sam Wooding, an African American jazz bandleader. James Horton Boucher, described by Garvin Bushell, a notable jazz musician, as an "English Negro, about six-foot-two and 190 pounds" led bands in Copenhagen, Denmark and Paris, France and Boucher was often the sole black member of these bands.

¹⁸Macmillan, Allister, *The Red Book of West Africa: Historical and Descriptive, Commercial and Industrial, Facts, Figures and Resources*, (Britain: W.H. & L. Collingridge, 1920), p. 292. Lindstrom, Bo, 'James Boucher - the mysterious violinist with Wooding,' *Bo Lindström's Jazz Research Page*, URL: <http://www.jazzresearch.se/james-boucher---the-mysterious-violinist-with-wooding>. Percy James Boucher, (1902-c. 1973/6), often referred to as James Horton Boucher, was the son of Africanus Horton's second daughter, Nannette Susan Adelina Horton, and William Henry Boucher, (1874-5 March, 1949), a Liverpool-born produce merchant of Caribbean and Scottish descent. William Henry Boucher was born in 1874 to Reverend Henry Boucher of St. Lucia, (b. 1850) and a Scottish lady. W.H. Boucher first travelled to Africa in 1890 when he joined Messrs. John Holt & Co., Ltd in Sette Cama in the modern Republic of Gabon. In 1897, Boucher joined Lagos Stores and Tomlinson, a commercial firm, and he was employed by the firm for twenty years. Boucher subsequently joined Paterson Zochonis and later operated his own business that included operations to export products such as ground-nuts. He had three other children with Nannette Boucher: Antoinette Madeleine Beatrice 'Dicky' Boucher, (1900-c. November, 1994) born in Freetown, Sierra Leone, William Henry Boucher (1903-1907) born in Middlesex, England and Nannette Eugenie Dorothea Boucher (23 June, 1906-1 June, 1985), born in London, England and who later became a naturalised citizen of the United States). A biographical sketch and photograph of William Henry Boucher appeared in Allister Macmillan's *Red Book of West Africa*.

¹⁹Lindstrom, Bo, 'James Boucher with Wooding,' *Bo Lindström's Jazz Research Page*, URL: <http://www.jazzresearch.se/upl/website/james-boucher---the-mysterious-violinist-with-wooding/Boucher1.pdf>. Mabel Mercer, the English cabaret singer, resided for a period with Nannette Boucher in London, England. Thus, Antoinette Madeleine 'Dicky' Boucher and Ena Boucher developed a strong bond and lifelong friendship with Mabel Mercer. When Mabel Mercer died on 3 February, 1900, both Antoinette Madeleine Boucher, who immigrated to the United States following the dissolution of her marriage to Thomas Dupigny-Leigh, and Ena Boucher inherited from Mercer's estate. Antoinette Leigh possibly remarried in the United States and she was recorded as Madeleine Graden, a widow, in the 1940 Census of the United States.

²⁰'EAP443/1/3/30, Register of Births, Freetown District, 28 April, 1887 to 19 April, 1888,' *British Library Endangered Archives Programme*, URL: http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_item.a4d?catId=189246;r=32757.

'EAP443/1/12/17, Register of Deaths, Freetown District, 2 November, 1887 to 23 September, 1888,' *British Library Endangered Archives Programme*, URL: http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_item.a4d?catId=189340;r=12052. Thomas William Dupigny-Leigh, (10 January, 1888-23 December, 1968), was the son of Thomas 'Tommy' Hamilton Leigh, (c. 1847/8-14 April, 1906), Chief Clerk of the Commissariat Department, Army Services Corps Department, of Wilberforce Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone and his second wife, Juliette Leigh, née Dupigny, (1867/8-16 January, 1888), a member of the Dupigny family of Sierra Leone that was of Afro-Dominican descent and possibly of partial European origin. Juliette Dupigny was a descendant of Alexander Dupigny and William Lewis Dupigny of Roseau, Dominica and she was a sister or cousin of Florence Dupigny, (1863-18 December, 1926), who married Rudolf (Rudolph) John Dworzak, (1865-20 September, 1910), a European employee of Broadhurst Sons, & Co, and had five children including Marie Dworzak (b. 1895/6), Rudolf John Dworzak (b. 1899), Louis Dworzak, and Anton H.

Dworzak (b. 1903/4). The Dupigny family was also related to the Jolly family of Afro-Caribbean descent through the marriage of William Benoit Jolly (d. 10 March, 1865) and Anne Estelle Jolly, née Dupigny, of Oxford Street, Freetown who had at least one son born on 30 January, 1859. Thomas Hamilton Leigh was a paternal grandson or possibly a great-grandson of a Nova Scotian Settler woman and William Henry Leigh, (1780/1-30 May, 1818,), an English slave trader based at the Isles de Los in Guinea. William Henry Leigh had several children with his Settler partner including William Leigh, George Leigh, Samuel Leigh, Henry Leigh, John Leigh, Lieutenant Benjamin Curtis Leigh, (d. 28 November, 1832), named after the American slave trader on the Isles de Los, and Ann Dougan, née Leigh, (1815/6-c. 14 July, 1881), who married Robert Dougan, (1785/6-17 July, 1871) at St. George's Cathedral on 13 April, 1835. Thomas Hamilton Leigh may have also been a descendant of John Hamilton, a European merchant in the Colony of Sierra Leone during the early nineteenth century. Thomas Hamilton Leigh was married at least three times; his first marriage was to Elizabeth Caroline Pike, (8 November, 1859-16 June, 1886), a seamstress who was most likely the daughter of Thomas Pike, the European harbour master and Elizabeth Pike, née Fox. Hamilton Leigh's second marriage was to Juliette Dupigny, and his third marriage was to Elizabeth 'Betsy' Macfoy, possibly a descendant of Thomas Macfoy or a daughter of Samuel Augustus Benjamin Macfoy, (c. 1843-16 January, 1893), which occurred at Wesley Church on 14 February, 1889. Thomas Hamilton Leigh was the father of several children including Herbert Hamilton Leigh (d. 27 January, 1921), Chief Clerk of the Treasury Department of Nigeria, possibly the son of Elizabeth Pike or perhaps a mother from an earlier relationship with Thomas Hamilton Leigh, a son born on 21 August, 1879 (possibly Herbert Hamilton Leigh), Elizabeth 'Lizzie' Caroline Elliott, née Leigh, (d. 1 July, 1915), who married Alfred Humphrey 'Fred' Elliott (b. 21 October, 1880), Esther (Easter) Smith, née Leigh, (c. 1881/2-1973), nicknamed 'Big Mama' who married Robert Smith, a grandson of William Smith the Registrar of the Court of Mixed Commissions, a daughter born on 21 February, 1884 (possibly Elizabeth Caroline Leigh or Theresa Leigh) and a son named William Henry Leigh (14 January, 1886-2 May, 1886) with Elizabeth Leigh, née Pike. Thomas Hamilton Leigh was also the father of Thomas William Dupigny-Leigh with Juliette Leigh, née Dupigny, and Evelyn Leslie Foy Leigh, (possibly the male child born on 5 August, 1889), Annie Leigh, Leontine Leigh, Nora Mignon Leigh, who married Rowland Eugene Harding, who qualified as a lawyer and became a jurist, and Ida Hamilton Leigh (d. June or July, 1928), the youngest daughter of Thomas Hamilton Leigh, with Elizabeth 'Betsy' Leigh, née Macfoy. Thomas Hamilton Leigh, who was appointed as a Justice of Peace of the Colony in 1897, is the ancestor of notable Sierra Leoneans including the late Dr Evelyn Arthur Moffat Leigh and John Ernest Leigh, the former Sierra Leonean ambassador to the United States.

honours by President William Tubman.²¹ Leslie William Leigh, a son of Thomas William Dupigny-Leigh, was the first Sierra Leonean Commissioner of Police.²² Africanus Horton's relatives in Freetown also achieved success; Horton's godson and brother-in-law, Joseph Emanuel Horton Elliott, (1877-1923) served as the City Treasurer for the Freetown City Council from 1916 until his death in June 1923.²³ Edna Elliott-Horton, a daughter of Joseph E.H.

²¹'Col. Dupigny Leigh (Blokou) is dead,' *Liberian Age*, 24 December, 1968. 'Col. T.W. Dupigny-Leigh Laid To Rest,' *Daily Listener*, 30 December, 1968. 'Col. T.W. Dupigny-Leigh Laid To Rest,' *Daily Listener*, 31 December, 1968. 'T.W. Dupigny-Leigh Laid To Rest,' *Liberian Age*, 31 December, 1968. Thomas William Dupigny-Leigh, fondly known as 'Dupi' or 'Blokou' was educated at the Wesleyan Boys' High School (now the Methodist Boys' High School) and possibly graduated at the age of fifteen. He later undertook courses at the Albert Academy and in 1908 at the age of twenty studied at Howard University and at Rush Medical College, University of Chicago with the intention of qualifying as a medical doctor. However, perhaps due to his failing health and financial circumstances he had returned to Freetown by 1913 and worked as an agent for the Mandingo Development Company when he first travelled to Liberia on 24 October, 1917. He married Antoinette Boucher in April 1920 in Paddington, London, England and became a naturalised citizen of Liberia in that same year. He served as Inspector of Revenues and later as Curator of Intestate Estates in Montserrado County, Liberia. Dupigny-Leigh also served in the militia and was eventually commissioned as a Colonel of the Armed Forces of Liberia in 1959. Dupigny-Leigh was a Member of the House of Representatives for Montserrado County, and served as Social Secretary to President William V.S. Tubman of Liberia. Dupigny-Leigh, who later read law and was admitted to the Bar as an Attorney-at-Law in the Second Judicial Circuit, Grand Bassa County, served as President of the Labour Congress and also founded the Peddlers Association of Liberia. Dupigny-Leigh, whose marriage to Antoinette Boucher was dissolved, was the ancestor of the prominent Dupigny-Leigh family of Sierra Leone and Liberia and he had at least thirteen children including his son, Leslie William Leigh, (23 February, 1921-13 April, 1980), who was the first Sierra Leonean Commissioner of Police. Dupigny-Leigh's twelve other children include Theresa Leigh-Sherman, Marie Leigh-Parker, (11 January, 1945-3 June, 2014), Edwin 'Eddie' Hamilton Dupigny-Leigh (d. July/August, 2010) and the late Thomas William 'Bill' Dupigny-Leigh (22 February, 1949-17 May, 2001). He died at ELWA Hospital in Monrovia, Liberia on 23 December, 1968 and was buried at Palm Grove Cemetery in Monrovia, Liberia on 29 December, 1968 (and was later reinterred at Kaiser Memorial Lawn Cemetery in Monrovia, Liberia on 17 April, 2015). Dupigny-Leigh was the younger brother of Herbert Hamilton Leigh, who entered the Government Service of Nigeria in 1895 and is the ancestor of one branch of the Leigh family that remained in Nigeria. Herbert Hamilton Leigh, F.R.G.S, F.R.S.A., was married to Beatrice Hamilton Leigh, a seamstress whose advertisements appeared in the Nigerian press, and the couple had at least two children including Herbert Hamilton Leigh Jr, who received a gratuity for his education from the colonial government of Nigeria following the death of his father. Herbert Hamilton Leigh Jr. subsequently became an educationalist in eastern Nigeria.

²²Ivor Cummings, 'Per ardua and Astra,' *West Africa*, Issue 3284, (30 June 1980), pp. 1177-1178 'Leigh, L.W. (1921-80),' in Ralph Uwechue, (Ed.) *Makers of Modern Africa: Profiles in History*, (Second Edition), Britain: Africa Books Ltd., 1991), pp. 394-5. Leslie William Leigh, fondly known as Bill Leigh, served as a bomber pilot with Bomber Command in the Royal Air Force and earned a mention in the War Despatches. He left the Royal Air Force with the rank of Flight Lieutenant and subsequently served in the Colonial Police Service in the Gold Coast before being appointed as the first Sierra Leonean Commissioner of Police. Bill Leigh married Sarah Theresa, (c. 18 November, 1923-August, 2007), in 1953 and was the father of Antonio William Leigh, Martin Leigh, and Mrs. Roberts, née Leigh.

²³Alec. D. Yaskey, 'Joe Elliott: An Appreciation,' *S.L.W.N.*, 16 June 1923. Joseph Emanuel Horton Elliott, (26 February, 1877-4 June, 1923), had been born in the Banana Islands to John Bucknor Elliott and his second wife, Elizabeth Quin, née Gale, (c. December, 1839-12 July, 1905), a Sierra Leonean possibly of Maroon descent who was previously married to William Henry Quin, (1824-23 March, 1871), a European merchant and brother of Thomas F.

Elliott, became the first West African woman to graduate from university when she graduated from Howard University and was a founding member of the West African Youth League.²⁴

Quin, a European merchant. Elizabeth Quin was possibly the daughter of William Gale, a Maroon. Horton Elliott attended the Wesleyan Methodist Boys High School where he was a contemporary of Moses Awoonor Renner, who later attended St John's College, University of Cambridge and subsequently qualified as a barrister. Following the death of Horton Elliott's father and maternal elder half-brother, he was trained in book-keeping and joined Paterson Zochonis as a Travelling Accountant or Auditor in 1892 and was eventually appointed as Chief Accountant. After serving as an accountant with Paterson Zochonis for twenty-five years, Horton Elliott accepted the position of City Treasurer of the Freetown Municipal Corporation in 1916 following the death of John William Moses Horton, (1862-24 November, 1916), (no relation to Africanus Horton). Horton Elliott married Beatrice Elliott and when he died on 4 June, 1923 was survived by several children including his daughter, Edna Elliott, Horton Elliott's younger brother, Alfred Humphrey Elliott, was married to Elizabeth Caroline Leigh, the half-sister of Thomas William Dupigny-Leigh.

²⁴Patton, Adell, *Physicians, Colonial Racism, and Diaspora in West Africa*, (Florida: University Press of Florida, 1996), p. 199. Cummings-John, Constance Agatha, *Memoirs of a Krio leader*, (United States: Sam Bookman for Humanities Research Centre, 1995), pp. 43-4, 56.

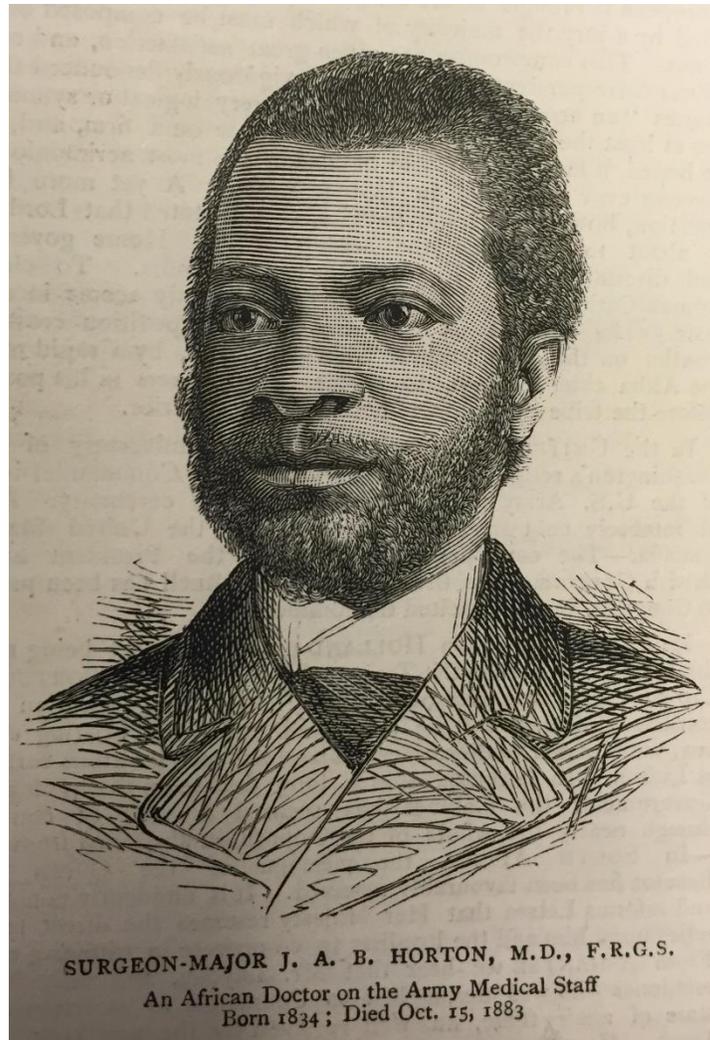


Fig. 1. Dr James Africanus Beale Horton²⁵

²⁵*The Graphic Illustrated News*, 29 December, 1883.

The sketch of Dr Horton reproduced in this article was first published in *The Graphic Illustrated News* on 29 December, 1883.²⁶ It was a testament to Horton's legacy that his death reverberated not only in West Africa, where he was greatly respected by his countrymen, but also in Europe, where Horton had challenged prevailing theories among his contemporaries who erroneously believed in the inferiority of Africans.²⁷ Africanus Horton's life and legacy strongly refuted the racist claims of his misguided contemporaries and his efforts at challenging late Victorian theories on race are a testament to Horton's importance as an early African nationalist.²⁸

²⁶*The Graphic Illustrated News*, 29 December, 1883. There is another sketch of Dr James Africanus Beale Horton that was reproduced in Thomas Josiah Thompson's *The Jubilee and centenary volume of Fourah Bay College, Freetown, Sierra Leone*, (Freetown, Elsiemary Printing, 1930), p. 148.

²⁷Fyfe, pp. 59-64. Nicol, Davidson (Ed), *Africanus Horton: The Dawn of Nationalism in Modern Africa: extracts from the political, educational, scientific and medical writings of J. A. B. Horton, 1835-1883*, (Britain: Longmans, 1969), p. 7.

²⁸Wyse, Akintola, *The Krio of Sierra Leone: An Interpretive History*, (Washington D.C.: Howard University Press, 1989), p. 44. Horton contributed to variety of subjects affecting Africans and was described by a well-known Sierra Leone scholar of having "contributed to the African's pride in his race and to African nationalism to an extent equal to, if not greater than Edward Blyden, the acknowledged prophet of African nationalism."

Appendix I

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Sampson, Low, and Co., London.

Fig. 2. Advertisement for *Diseases of Tropical Climates and their Treatment*²⁹

²⁹'Diseases of Tropical Climate and their Treatment,' *African Times*, 1 February, 1875.

Appendix II



Fig. 3. Horton Hall, Gloucester Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone (house with the bay window and portico, second from left)³⁰

³⁰Reproduced from Nicol, *Africanus Horton: The Dawn of Nationalism in Modern Africa*, (Britain: Longmans, 1969), facing p. 118. Horton Hall, Gloucester Street, Freetown was the mansion of Dr James Africanus Beale Horton.

Appendix III

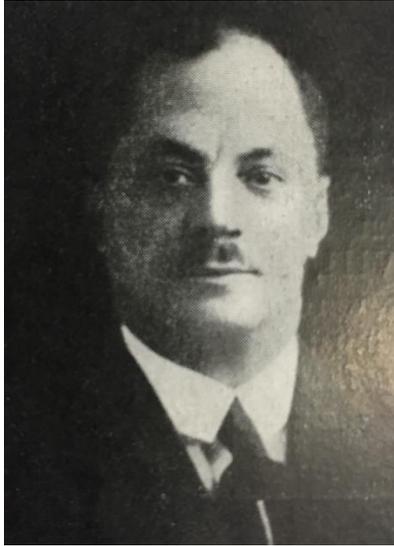


Fig. 4. William Henry Boucher, Son-in law of Dr James Africanus Beale Horton³¹

³¹Macmillan, Allister, *The Red Book of West Africa: Historical and Descriptive, Commercial and Industrial, Facts, Figures and Resources*, (Britain: W.H. & L. Collingridge, 1920), p. 292.

Appendix IV



Fig. 5. James Henry Boucher, a grandson of Dr James Africanus Beale Horton³²

³²Lindstrom, Bo, 'James Boucher - the mysterious violinist with Wooding,' *Bo Lindström's Jazz Research Page*, URL: <http://www.jazzresearch.se/james-boucher---the-mysterious-violinist-with-wooding>

Appendix V



Figs. 6-7. Nannette Eugenie Dorothea Boucher, a granddaughter of James Africanus Beale Horton³³

³³'Chocolate Kiddies chorus girls,' *Songbook*, URL: <https://songbook1.wordpress.com/chocolate-kiddies-chorus-girls-1925-1/>. Photographs provided by Rosalind Boon, a third great granddaughter of Acting Governor Thomas Cole of Sierra Leone. Rosalind Boon also provided photographs of Ena Boucher published in Bushell, Garvin, *Jazz From The Beginning*, (Oxford: Bayou Press, 1988), facing pp. 112-113.

Appendix VI

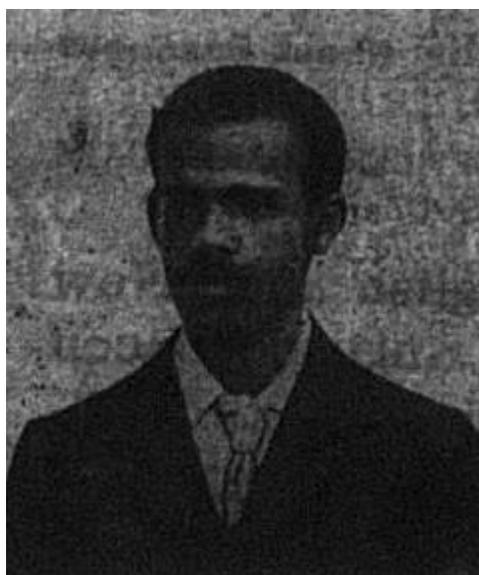


Fig. 8. Joseph Emanuel Horton Elliott³⁴

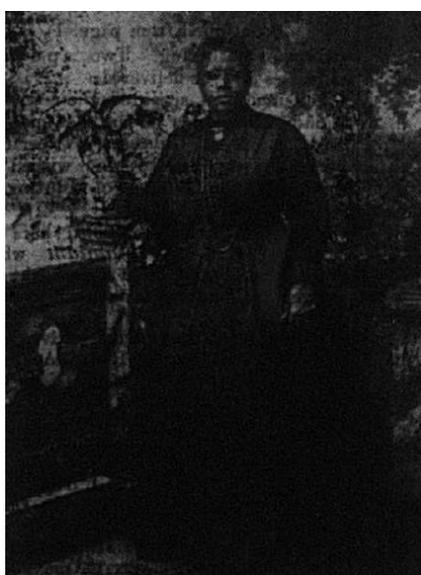


Fig. 9. Esther Deborah Campbell, née Elliott³⁵

³⁴'Lest We Forget,' *Sierra Leone Daily Mail*, 28 January, 1933. A photograph of Joseph Emanuel Horton Elliott also appears in 'Lest We Forget,' *Sierra Leone Daily Mail*, 27 May, 1933.

³⁵'Lest We Forget,' *Sierra Leone Daily Mail*, 28 January, 1933.

Appendix VII



10. Col. T.W. Dupigny-Leigh³⁶



Fig.

Fig. 11. Col. T.W. Dupigny-Leigh (backrow, third from right)³⁷

³⁶Dignitary speaks into a microphone, President Tubman and other dignitaries sit behind him [T.W. Dupigny-Leigh],¹ *William V.S. Tubman Photograph Collection, Liberia Collections, Indiana University Image Collections Online*, URL: <http://webapp1.dlib.indiana.edu/images/item.htm?id=http://purl.dlib.indiana.edu/iudl/lcp/tubman/VAA7927-4567>.

³⁷'Ambassador C.L. Simpson, Charles D. Sherman, Richard S.S. Bright at the 1956 inaugural ball at the Executive Mansion,' *William V.S. Tubman Photograph Collection, Liberia Collections, Indiana University Image Collections Online*, URL:

Appendix VIII



Fig. 10. Lt. Col. T.W. Dupigny-Leigh³⁸



Fig. 11. Commissioner L.W. Leigh³⁹

[http://webapp1.dlib.indiana.edu/images/item.htm?id=http://purl.dlib.indiana.edu/iudl/lcp/tubman/VAA7927-4533&scope=\\$scopeId](http://webapp1.dlib.indiana.edu/images/item.htm?id=http://purl.dlib.indiana.edu/iudl/lcp/tubman/VAA7927-4533&scope=$scopeId).

³⁸'Col. Dupigny Leigh (Blokou) is dead,' *Liberian Age*, 24 December, 1968.

³⁹Ivor Cummings, 'Per ardua and Astra,' *West Africa*, Issue 3284, 30 June 1980, p. 1178. This photograph was also reproduced in 'Leigh, L.W. (1921-80),' in Ralph Uwechue, (Ed.), *Makers of Modern Africa: Profiles in History*, (Second Edition), (Britain: Africa Books Ltd., 1991), p. 394.

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Acknowledgements

Special acknowledgement is given to Rosalind Boon, a third great granddaughter of Acting Governor Thomas Cole of Sierra Leone, who provided photographs and pertinent information on Honourable William Williams Cole, Nannette Eugenie Dorothea Boucher and aspects of William Henry Boucher and Nannette Susan Adelina Boucher's lives in England and also to Chadia Talib, a great-great granddaughter of Thomas Hamilton Leigh for providing information about her great-grandmother, a daughter of Thomas Hamilton Leigh.

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The Records of the Office of the Registrar-General of Sierra Leone: A Note on the Preservation of Historical Documents in Sierra Leone

By Nigel Browne-Davies

The historical importance of preserving archival records in Sierra Leone has been reinforced by recent developments aimed at digitising and preserving documents and artefacts that are important for scholars of Sierra Leone. Although there are important records on Sierra Leone held at archives such as the British Library and The National Archives of the United Kingdom in Kew, the Sierra Leone Public Archives and the Office of the Registrar-General hold a wealth of archival material for academics interested in the study of Sierra Leone. In recent years, there have been considerable efforts to preserve aspects of the rich heritage of Sierra Leone, dating from the precolonial era to the present period of independence.⁴⁰ About thirty-two thousand colonial era documents held at the Sierra Leone National Archives in Fourah Bay College were preserved as a result of grants from the British Library Endangered Archive Programmes.⁴¹ Furthermore, there are projects currently underway to digitise further documents in the Sierra Leone Public Archives and other scholars have focused on preserving the historical records pertaining to the Sierra Leone Railway.⁴² However, although there have been efforts to digitise and preserve archival records held in the Sierra Leone Public Archives,

⁴⁰EAP284: Before the war, after the war: preserving history in Sierra Leone', British Library Endangered Archives Programme, URL: http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_project.a4d?projID=EAP284;r=41 EAP443: Nineteenth century documents of the Sierra Leone Public Archives', British Library Endangered Archives Programme, URL: http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_project.a4d?projID=EAP443;r=41

⁴¹EAP284: Before the war, after the war: preserving history in Sierra Leone', British Library Endangered Archives Programme, URL: http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_project.a4d?projID=EAP284;r=41 EAP443: Nineteenth century documents of the Sierra Leone Public Archives', British Library Endangered Archives Programme, URL: http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_project.a4d?projID=EAP443;r=41

⁴²EAP782: Preserving nineteenth-century records in the Sierra Leone Public Archives,' British Library Endangered Archives Programme, URL: http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_project.a4d?projID=EAP782;r=3788

there have few, if any, attempts to digitise and preserve the records of the Registrar-General's Office in Freetown, Sierra Leone.

It is the aim of this article to briefly summarise the efforts thus far of digitising and preserving archival records in Sierra Leone and to outline some of the records held in the Registrar-General's Office and the importance of digitising and preserving the records held at the Office of the Registrar-General.

The British Library Endangered Archives Programmes

The British Library Endangered Archives Programme has provided scholars interested in Sierra Leone or areas of research related to Sierra Leone to apply for grants to preserve endangered archival records held in Sierra Leone. The EAP284, EAP443, EAP626, and the EAP782 are the four projects launched through the British to preserve archival records held in Sierra Leone.⁴³

EAP284, the pilot project to preserve documents held in the Sierra Leone Public Archives, was launched in 2009 in order to determine the extent of damage to archival records in the Sierra Leone Public Archives and to digitise a sample of the records in the Archives.⁴⁴ Following the completion of the initial EAP284 Programme, the EAP443 was launched in 2013 and the conclusion of this project in early 2015 resulted in the preservation and digitisation of several records held at the Sierra Leone Public Archives.⁴⁵ The records held

⁴³EAP284: Before the war, after the war: preserving history in Sierra Leone', British Library Endangered Archives Programme, URL: http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_project.a4d?projID=EAP284;r=41'EAP443: Nineteenth century documents of the Sierra Leone Public Archives', British Library Endangered Archives Programme, URL: http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_project.a4d?projID=EAP443;r=41

⁴⁴EAP284: Before the war, after the war: preserving history in Sierra Leone', British Library Endangered Archives Programme, URL: http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_project.a4d?projID=EAP284;r=41

⁴⁵EAP443: Nineteenth century documents of the Sierra Leone Public Archives', British Library Endangered Archives Programme, URL: http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_project.a4d?projID=EAP443;r=41

at the Sierra Leone Public Archives that were digitised through the EAP443 Project include the birth and death records dating between 1858-1891, Liberated African registers, and the registers of alien children brought to the Colony of Sierra Leone in the nineteenth century.⁴⁶

Furthermore, EAP782 is another Endangered Archives Programme with the aim of continuing the efforts of the EAP284 pilot project and in particular, the EAP443 Project to digitise pertinent records in the Sierra Leone Public Archives.⁴⁷ It is the aim of the EAP782 Project to digitise census records, school records, and court records held in the Sierra Leone Public Archives.⁴⁸

Beyond the projects aimed at preserving records held in the Sierra Leone Public Archive, there has also been a separate EAP626 Project aimed at preserving the archival records of the Sierra Leone Government Railway which was launched in 2013.⁴⁹ This project

The digitisation of records in the Sierra Leone Public Archives has enhanced opportunities for scholarly research on Sierra Leone and access to archival material held in Sierra Leone.⁵⁰ The digitisation of records in the Sierra Leone Public Archives has also increased the number of online repositories and databases that provide information that is pertinent for scholars of Sierra Leone⁵¹ Online repositories such as the Liberated Africans

⁴⁶EAP443: Nineteenth century documents of the Sierra Leone Public Archives', British Library Endangered Archives Programme, URL: http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_project.a4d?projID=EAP443;r=41

⁴⁷EAP782: Preserving nineteenth-century records in the Sierra Leone Public Archives,' *British Library Endangered Archives Programme*, URL: http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_project.a4d?projID=EAP782;r=3788. The British Library Endangered Archives Programme's funding of EAP 782 to preserve and digitise documents in the Sierra Leone Public Archives is reflective of the general fragility of these documents.

⁴⁸⁴⁸EAP782: Preserving nineteenth-century records in the Sierra Leone Public Archives,' British Library Endangered Archives Programme, URL: http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_project.a4d?projID=EAP782;r=3788

⁴⁹The Sierra Leone Railway Museum has used social media websites such as Twitter and Facebook to create awareness of the aims of the Museum. The Sierra Leone Railway Museum has also been instrumental in the creation of Wikipedia pages such as 'Sierra Leone Railway Museum,' 'Sierra Leone Government Railway,' and 'Rail transport in Sierra Leone.'

⁵⁰Harriet Tubman, Database. Academic conference held on Sierra Leone. Cite published papers by Schwartz.

⁵¹<http://www.blackloyalist.info/> and <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/index.htm>

website provide vital information for scholars interested in researching the history and heritage of the Liberated Africans and their descendants in Sierra Leone, Brazil, and Cuba.⁵² The extant records of the Liberated African Department have provided scholars with the data to analyse the ethnicity, age and physical description of the Liberated Africans that were released in Sierra Leone. Thus, the digitisation of records held in the Sierra Leone Public Archives have yielded dividends for scholars of Sierra Leone and the transatlantic slave trade.⁵³

Thus, although there are important archival collections in Sierra Leone that remain endangered, considerable progress in the physical preservation and digitisation of documents has occurred. The reorganisation of the Monuments and Relics Commission is a further indication that the preservation of the national heritage of Sierra Leone has increasingly gained some traction beyond the academic sphere.⁵⁴ The revitalised Monuments and Relics Commission may have an important role in the preservation of archival material in Sierra Leone.⁵⁵

Records of the Office of the Registrar-General

However, although there the records of the Sierra Leone Public Archives have been preserved and are in the process of further digitisation, as of March 2016, there have been few, if any, efforts to digitise the wealth of archival material held in the Office of the Registrar-General of Sierra Leone. Although the records in the Office of the Registrar-General

⁵²About the Project, ' *Liberated Africans*, <http://www.liberatedafricans.org/>

⁵³For more information on the Liberated Africans Project by Professors Paul Lovejoy and Suzanne Schwartz, see the Liberated African Website at <http://www.liberatedafricans.org/index.html>.

⁵⁴Following the passage of the ___ Act 1947, the Monuments and Relics Commission had an important role in the declaration of twenty heritage sites in Sierra Leone. However, since the formation of the Monuments and Relics Commission and the declaration of twenty heritage sites, there have been few achievements or efforts to preserve the history and heritage of Sierra Leone until 2014.

⁵⁵As of 14 March, 2016, the website for the Monuments and Relics Commission of Sierra Leone is <https://mrsl.wordpress.com/>. The significance of the Monuments and Relics Commission of Sierra Leone has been re-established and is reflected in the opening of new offices and the launching of a website for the Commission

are important for the national heritage of Sierra Leone and for scholarly research, these records have been largely overlooked in efforts to preserve historical documents in Sierra Leone. However, similar to the records held in the Sierra Leone Public Archives, further delay in efforts to digitise and preserve these document may result in the deterioration and complete loss of these documents to future generations of Sierra Leoneans and scholars of Sierra Leone.

Among the valuable historical documents held at the Registrar-General's Office are probate records dating from the early nineteenth century (as early as the 1840s), marriage registers dating to the 1820s, and land records dating from as early as 1819.⁵⁶ These records are valuable for historians seeking to reconstruct and document the colonial period in the Sierra Leonean historical narrative and are also important for genealogical purposes as the documents can be used to trace ancestors dating from the colonial era.⁵⁷ The unique value of the records held at the Office of the Registrar-General for genealogical research and historical work that involves reconstructing family histories cannot be understated and has been corroborated by non-Sierra Leonean genealogists and historians.⁵⁸

The importance of digesting and preserving archival material held in the Office of the Registrar-General is reflected in an articles that have appeared in the local Sierra Leonean press. An article in the *Awoko* newspaper highlighted the precarious nature of birth and death

⁵⁶Beard, Timothy Field, Demong, Denise, *How to Find Your Family Roots*, (United States: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1977), p. 607.

⁵⁷Browne-Davies, Nigel, A précis of sources relating to genealogical research on the Sierra Leone Krio people,' *Journal of Sierra Leone Studies*, Volume 3, Edition 1, (2014), pp. 101-2, 124-126.

⁵⁸Beard, Timothy Field, Demong, Denise, *How to Find Your Family Roots*, (United States: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1977), p. 607. Timothy Beard and Denise Demong stated that birth and marriage certificates could be obtained from the Office of the Registrar-General in Freetown. Some of the seminal historical works on Sierra Leone have utilised the records held at the Office of the Registrar-General in Sierra Leone.

records held at the Registrar-General's Office.⁵⁹ The birth and death registers held in the Office of the Registrar-General of Sierra Leone date from 1892-1961, as the birth and death registers dating from 1858-1891 are held at the Sierra Leone Public Archives.⁶⁰ The deterioration of these records would significantly damage the value of the archival material held in the Sierra Leone Public Archives and would render certain aspects of research on Sierra Leone as arduous, if not impossible.

Conclusion

Since the late 2000s there has been a considerable increase in concerted efforts to preserve historical documents in the Sierra Leone Public Archives.⁶¹ These efforts at preserving the archival material in Sierra Leone has culminated in the salvage of several volumes of colonial documents.⁶² The importance of archival materials held at the Office of the Registrar-General of Sierra Leone and the fragility of these documents is reflective of the necessity for the records of the Office of the Registrar-General to be preserved. It is hoped that greater attention will be given to the extant records held at the Registrar-General's

⁵⁹'Births & Deaths records in bad condition', *Awoko*, 6 July, 2009, URL: <http://awoko.org/2009/07/06/births-deaths-records-in-badcondition/>

⁶⁰This is with the exception of the birth registers for the Eastern District which ended in 1894 for the Sierra Leone National Archives collection.

⁶¹'EAP284: Before the war, after the war: preserving history in Sierra Leone', British Library Endangered Archives Programme, URL: http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_project.a4d?projID=EAP284;r=41. 'EAP443: Nineteenth century documents of the Sierra Leone Public Archives', British Library Endangered Archives Programme, URL: http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_project.a4d?projID=EAP443;r=41

⁶²'EAP284: Before the war, after the war: preserving history in Sierra Leone', British Library Endangered Archives Programme, URL: http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_project.a4d?projID=EAP284;r=41. 'EAP443: Nineteenth century documents of the Sierra Leone Public Archives', British Library Endangered Archives Programme, URL: http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_project.a4d?projID=EAP443;r=41.

Office and that efforts will put in place to ensure the preservation of these documents for national and the benefit of posterity.⁶³

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http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_project.a4d?projID=EAP782;r=3788

⁶³A survey should be conducted of the sources held at the Office of the Registrar-General that date from 1787-1961. These records should include wills and other probate records, birth and death records, marriage records, land records, and other court records.

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Editor's Note

The advent of digital communication and especially its 'social media' dimension, means that we are able to encourage a dialogue based on some of the articles produced in editions of the JSLS.

This is one such case, please email the Editor, with comments on the following. In this way we are developing an organic source of opinion – none of which may necessarily be that of the Editor or the Editorial Board

Na Sens Mek Buk; Nohto Buk Mek Sens

Abdul Karim Bangura, Ace Faulkner, Abdul Iscandari, Eric Johnson, Alhaj Osman Ibrahim Kabba, Sheku Kallon, Sheikh Umarr Kamarah, leonenet@lists.umbc.edu

Abstract

A casual examination of the following proverb in Krio, *Na sens mek buk; nohto buk mek sens*, which can be transliterated into English as 'It is sense/intelligence that makes/writes a book; it is not a book that makes/writes sense/intelligence,' at first glance appears not to make much sense, especially to the Westerner. How can one make/write a book, if s/he has never read one in her/his lifetime? However, deeper semantic and pragmatic analyses of the sentence reveal that it entails a great deal of auxiliary contents that make it linguistically quite meaningful. What follows is a summary of some of the linguistic perspectives we offered on Leonenet (a listserv that was designed to foster discourse on matters dealing with Sierra Leone).

Introduction

Speakers of Krio (and, of course, English) use their dictionaries to look up words like *obsequious*, *pseudoparenchyma*, or *mumbletypeg*. They are not likely to consult the dictionary about the meanings of such words as *book* and *sense*. They feel that they know these words and their interconnectedness, and in this their feelings are both correct and wrong. Their knowledge is implicit; they have had early and frequent exposure to these words in countless utterances, and they continually prove their knowledge by using them in utterances which are accepted and understood by other speakers of the language. And for most speakers that is quite enough; they have no explicit knowledge, no ability to discern the many linguistic meanings of these words when strung together. Only semanticists (linguists who study the relations of signs to the objects to which the signs are applicable) and pragmaticists (linguists who study the relation of signs to interpreters) are concerned with such meanings, with being able to recognize their numerous uses and to account for their roles in the meanings of sentences.

This article is an exploration of the meanings of the following proverb in Krio, *Na sens mek buk; nohto buk mek sens*. It was popularized by the late President Siaka Stevens of Sierra Leone, but it was always there. Thus, as an African proverb, it is the property of the community, not of an individual. Right off, one knows that the sentence has more than one sense, seen for example in the transliteration offered earlier: (a) It is sense that makes a book; it is not a book that makes sense; (b) It is intelligence that writes a book; it is not a book that writes intelligence.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), without question the most thorough account of the meanings in which English words have been recorded, gives 19 senses in current use for *book* and 30 in current use for *sense*, in addition to six

others which are archaic or obsolete. OED definitions contain essentially two kinds of information in addition to their copious citations: (1) they give equivalent expressions--synonyms or paraphrases; and (2) they indicate a context in which the equivalent is valid. On the whole, OED gives little attention to the paradigmatic relationships of the words.

Semantic and pragmatic analyses of the proverb under study, or any linguistic form for that matter, cannot be accomplished by combing through textual material alone. We need to take or devise a number of examples that contrasts stand out plainly—contrasts of context and contrasts in the potential for transformations. The goal should be to establish that the sentence has such-and-such a number of senses, each at least partially distinct from any other. The analysis would be considered >complete= if it could be shown that the inventory arrived at is not too large--no unnecessary multiplication of categories—and that it is large enough—to account for all possible data. In this squib we do not expect to achieve such a goal, but we want to examine some meanings of the proverb under investigation.

Philosophical

Although Stevens used the proverb in a particular context (place, time, and society), it can be interpreted on its own without reference to a specific context. Knowledge, whether frozen and trapped between the covers of a >book= (as in literate societies), or stored only in the brain of an individual/individuals in society (as in non-literate societies), is the product of critical observation, analysis, and interpretation of phenomena (physical, mental, etc.). We may decide to call our ability to do the preceding 'intelligence.' In Krio, one meaning of *sens* is 'intelligence.' Note that knowledge is tentative, hence the continuous replacement of old knowledge/facts by new one(s). >Intelligence,= on the other hand, is not tentative information/facts, but a mental capability. Thus, >intelligence= (*sens*) can create >knowledge= (*buk*), but not *vice versa*.

Also, if one were to interpret *buk* here to mean >knowledge= in general and *sens* to mean >critical thinking/observation/analysis, = then s/he would end up with an interpretation like this one: >knowledge derives from critical observation and analysis, = for the first part of the proverb. The second part of the proverb will then be interpreted as >critical observation and analysis do not derive from knowledge. = Thus, the full interpretation will read as follows: >knowledge derives from critical observation and analysis, but not *vice versa*. =

In essence, this proverb, by its very nature, is flexible; it can be applied in a variety of contexts. It can also be modified to suit temporal dimensions (time). For example, a society in the future which may be using only CD-ROMS instead of books might say: *Na sens mek CD-ROM, nohto CD-ROM mek sens*.

Thus, Stevens= application of the proverb to the situation at the time can be interpreted in many ways. In one sense, the proverb asks us to make a distinction between acquiring tons of information/facts relating to a field of study, and being a critical thinker. It has also been assumed that acquiring a Ph.D. necessarily implies possessing a critical mind. Stevens= use of the proverb drew our attention to the fact that the ability to critically analyze, evaluate, and make measured judgement, is not necessarily the possession of the so-called intellectual (or >book man=). Of course, Stevens= aim was to minimize the importance of Western-type education in solving African problems.

Psychological

Every effort at synthesizing the proverb has revealed the analysts= feelings about Stevens, rather than his quote. It is disingenuous not to admit that the proverb is meant to be fodder for bar-room arguments (as in >the chicken and the egg=). As a matter of fact, many illiterate folk have produced the materials that have provided the basis for

further academic investigation in the literary/literate world. That these folk did not actually physically write/make the books does not deny them their right to honorable mention as vital sources.

By saying that *Na sens mek buk*, our focus is directed to the fact that the art of writing a book is usually undertaken by the intelligent, educated and literate, who have enough literary exposure to recognize the value of making material available to increase the knowledge base of others interested in that subject matter. *Nohto buk mek sens* points at the fact that many so-called >book men= are apt to sound otherwise.

Causality

One of the requirements for a cause and effect relationship is that the cause must precede the supposed effect. Since >sense,= or human intelligence, obviously predates written language, it is reasonable to conclude that it is more likely that indeed *sens mek buk* rather than *buk mek sens*. Thus, it seems that Stevens was correct.

Targeted Audience

Stevens used the proverb for a target group of uneducated citizens of the Sierra Leonean society who jumped to their feet when he came to power by defeating Albert Margai in the general election of March 1967. Stevens taunted education in much the same way as the dropouts of the society do today.

While Stevens was craftily turning the young minds and the nation against education, the educated individuals did nothing to stop him. Although Stevens used the proverb to his advantage, the wisdom behind it is that one may have all the education in the world but it takes some amount of street savvy to understand how to apply that education to benefit society. For Stevens, it was used to benefit himself and ensure that he stayed in power.

There are many educated people in this world, but only a small number of them have the common sense approaches to the challenges they face on a daily basis, and it is even worse with Sierra Leonean government officials. Stevens appointed the most PhDs. in his administration, but some of them turned out to be most corrupt and passive while he wreaked havoc on the nation. Judges let Stevens get away with orchestrating murders and Highway (a well-known thug) went to jail. A member of the Stevens= administration wrote a tell-all book about the corruption of the administration, but he absolved himself from it. Others sold out the students when they brought pressure to bear on Stevens to call for elections in 1977 by informing him about students' plans to stage massive protests.

Conclusion

The making of dictionaries has been going on for over two centuries, whereas the sort of semantic and pragmatic analyses suggested in this squib are quite new. Dictionaries define a word by giving explanations or paraphrases, expressions which are generally substitutable in certain contexts. Definitions are probably most successful for lexical items which are at least ingrained into the structure of the language, words which, like *sarsaparilla*, have a single sense and occur in a limited variety of contexts. These are just the entries which are most likely to be consulted by those who use a dictionary. Words like *book* and *sense* can be explained only by showing their intricate relationships with other parts of the language, and for such words semantic and pragmatic analyses are most needed. We cannot say how close to complete our analyses, but we believe we have demonstrated one thing: speakers of Krio who use the words *book* and *sense* (and that, of course, includes all speakers of English) have an implicit knowledge of the words *book* and *sense* which far exceeds their explicit knowledge.

Also, although this paper is not a comparison of African and Western worldviews on the proverb investigated, the findings led us to ponder these worldviews or interpretations in terms of societal values. As we noted in the abstract, *Na sens mek buk; nohto buk mek sens*, which can be transliterated into English as ‘It is sense/intelligence that makes/writes a book; it is not a book that makes/writes sense/intelligence,’ at first glance appears not to make much sense, especially to the Westerner. This is because as a number of African thinkers have pointed out, Western scholars, beginning with Plato, in their hollow and lopsided search for material progress, privileged “reason” above everything else and abandoned original meanings of humanity. These African scholars thus argue that the African Renaissance, which should inform our thought process, must therefore recapture those basic elements of African humanism (*ubuntu*—i.e. humanity or fellow feeling, eternal life, and immanent moral justice) as the opening of the way to a new humanistic universalism. They add that in order to achieve this counter-discourse, we must engage in work that can help and contribute to reshaping the direction of education on the African continent and in the Diaspora towards a more culture-specific and culturally relevant curriculum of liberation. They further suggest that we must develop new methodologies and techniques for accessing, utilizing, and storing all knowledge based on an African epistemology and cosmology. This would call for the development of an all-inclusive approach, which recognizes all sources of human knowledge as valid within their own contexts (e.g., Bangura, 2005; Cabral, 1969; Césaire, 1972; Diop, 1974; Du Bois, 1997; Fanon, 1964/1967; Fatnowna and Pickett, 2002; Guéye, 1999; Mbiti, 1970; Nabudere, 2002; Nkrumah, 1962; Prah, 1998; Serequeberhan, 2002; Woodson, 1933).

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THE COMMON GOOD: A FORGOTTEN TOOL IN SIERRA LEONE

REV. FR. FRANCIS M. SEHDU SESAY

This article is offered as a small contribution to the area of ethical research. While the return and growth of interest in Moral Theology which followed the promulgation of the document: *Gaudium et Spes*⁶⁴ by His Holiness Pope Paul VI on the 7th of December 1965 opened the way for a mutually enriching dialogue between Christian ethics and modern modes of living, as yet there have been little effective collaboration and actualization between people and their leaders working specifically in the field of ethics in Sierra Leone.

Unveiling the richness of the material that relates *Gaudium et spes* and the notion of the common good, it is not surprising that some writers on human activities should feel obliged to devote some attention to the document; for the document's place in the history of humankind and its decisive influence on modern thought in particular give its teaching special prominence. But a glance at the rather different ways in which Sierra Leoneans characterize the link between the notion of the common good and *Gaudium et spes*, and the problems which go with them, is enough to underscore the need for a careful study of the primary sources. Prompted by the above thinking, this exposition explores the following concerns:

1. An overview of *Gaudium et spes*
2. Where does the notion of the common good come from?
3. How is the notion of the common good disseminated in the document?
4. What are its ethical challenges for Sierra Leone today?

The ultimate objective is to foster an understanding of the document's response to the notion of the common good which brings about a personal and community fulfilment. Attention will be focused on its grounds, guiding convictions and practical content based on its theological foundations and context.

⁶⁴The full name of the document is: Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, *Gaudium et Spes*, 7th December 1965. For footnotes *Gaudium et Spes*, and the numeric divisions will be used throughout.

1. *An overview of Gaudium et spes.*

The Pastoral Constitution, *Gaudium et spes*, on the 'Church in the Modern World' was published in December, 1965. Such a publication date has the advantage of reflecting considerations from earlier common good discussions; and it is interesting to look at the treatment of the notion of the common good in this perspective⁶⁵.

Gaudium et spes underlines the role of the modern person in society as contributing to the spread of knowledge and the speedy exportation and importation far and wide of habits, thoughts and feeling. One of the criteria of the modern world is the intense development of interpersonal relationships due in no small measure to modern technical advances. It is the special contribution of *Gaudium et spes* to place social actions and especially the demands of the common good into modern culture as a cultural and social happening. From this perspective, modern man opens up the riches of different cultures to each and every individual, with the result that a more universal form of culture is gradually taking shape, and through it the unity of humankind is being fostered and expressed in the measure that the particular characteristics of each culture are preserved.⁶⁶

The document, *Gaudium et spes*, sees many opportunities favourable to the development of a universal culture. From such a perspective, one might ask how the "modern document" developed in the course of the modern days and what are the implications and possibilities in human societies especially in view of modern developments and leading to a "new Culture" – the notion of the common good – which is in a growing way determined by the activities of man⁶⁷.

According to the document, the common good is the totality of those conditions of social living whereby people are enabled more readily and more fully to achieve their perfection and appointed ends.⁶⁸ This definition adds to the achievements of people's perfection of their appointed ends, since people have also the task of placing themselves at the service of other people.

Written in two parts, *Gaudium et spes* is a lengthy document that comprises several thoughts. The first part discusses the Church's understanding of the human person in relation to the world. The second part includes discussion of marriage and family, the development of culture, socio-economic life, political community, and the promotion of peace.

⁶⁵ Mich Marvin, *Catholic Social Teaching and Movement*, Mystic, CT, Twenty-Third Publications, 1998.

⁶⁶ SCHUCK Michael, *That They Be One, The Social Teaching of the Papal Encyclicals 1740 – 1989*, Washington, DC, Georgetown University Press, 1991.

⁶⁷ HOLLENBACH David, *Commentary on Gaudium et spes*, in Himes, *Modern Catholic Social Teaching*, 266.

⁶⁸ *Gaudium et spes*, 26; 74; DH 6.

Given the content and the form of the document, it can be called, in the words of Theologian David Hollenbach, “the most authoritative and significant document Catholic social teaching issued in the twentieth century”⁶⁹.

2. *Where does the notion of the common good come from?*

An examination of the evolution of thought regarding the common good can be helpful in understanding its dynamic quality and in understanding the origins and basis of the concept of *Gaudium et spes* on the notion of the common good. The philosophers/Theologian and samples included in this discussion are surely not exhaustive but are representatives of the evolution of thought on the common good. In addition, some insights of each author are used, and others are set aside, limiting the discussion to the common good. These include samples of how the notion of the common good ethics was perceived and taught in the days of Plato, Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas, bringing in some contemporary understandings to highlight the common perceptions and their accompanied variations.

It is good to start by establishing the fact that, the notion of the common good is not completely new and limited to *Gaudium et Spes*. One can say it is as old as humanity itself; different communities have experienced the notion in different ways. In any case, this notion since antiquity still carries a definition. The etymological origin of the word “common” is the Old French *commun* and Latin *communis* meaning with service “as if serving each other.”⁷⁰

Determination of the best way to serve each other, however, is tied to social issues and the issues of the times, conditions that indicate a dynamic quality to the common good; it changes with human conditions and issues. In addition to changing social and political issues, evolving spiritual views have affected its different modes of operation throughout the centuries. This fluidity of views makes the common good both a victim and beneficiary of process; we bring to it our constantly unfolding understanding of what the good is, for society is a system of relationships that produces a common and changing understanding.

In ancient Greece, Plato (c.428-348/347 B. C.) and Aristotle (384-322 B. C.) emphasized the priority of society over the individual. The state was thought to be a creature of nature and prior to the individual because the individual could not be self-sufficient in isolation. Therefore, the individual was like a part in relation to a whole. Society provided the context to meaning. It is the means by which individuals come to see themselves as those whom it has nurtured and

⁶⁹ HOLLENBACH David, *Commentary on Gaudium et spes*, in Himes, *Modern Catholic Social Teaching*, 266.

⁷⁰SKEAT, Walter, W., *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995.

developed; it teaches its members to seek their own matured responsibilities as members of a polity, the activities of which are to be justified as the instrument enabling them to seek their common good together.⁷¹

Aristotle conceives of the common good as an ethic distinct from the theoretical sciences. Its methodology, according to him, must match its subject matter — good actions towards the common good — and must respect the fact that in this sphere many generalizations hold only for the most part. We undertake the enterprise of the common good in order to improve our lives and the lives of others, and therefore its principal concern is the nature of human well-being. In this case the concept of the common good is set along-side that of virtues. What we need, in order to live well, is a proper appreciation of the way in which such goods as friendship, pleasure, virtue, honour and wealth fit together as a whole.⁷²

The Roman Catholic tradition of ethics, conceived in Aquinas' terms of "natural law" and "practical reason," is based on goods to be sought for all persons. It represents a commitment to an objective moral order, knowable by reasonable reflection on human experience, especially on the goods which constitute human flourishing, and the institutions necessary to secure, protect, and distribute them.⁷³

"Common good", as is discussed by Aquinas, is very often a safer translation of *bonum commune* than "the common good". For there is the common good of a team, but equally the common good of a university class, of a university, of a family, of a neighbourhood, of a city, of a state, of a church and of humankind throughout the world. The difference in each case between the group's common good and an aggregate of the wellbeing of each of its members can

⁷¹ The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy Web site, at <http://plato.stanford.edu/contents.html>, created by Stanford University as a student resource. It provides philosophy theories and biographical sketches on many philosophers from A to Z.

⁷² Ross, W.D., revised by J.O., URMSON, *In The Complete Works of Aristotle, The Revised Oxford Translation, vol. 2*, Jonathan Barnes, ed., Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1984.

⁷³ The basic human goods which first practical principles identify and direct us to are identified by Aquinas as (i) life, (ii) "marriage between man and woman and bringing up of children [*coniunctio maris et feminae et educatio liberorum*]" (not at all reducible to "procreation"), (iii) knowledge, (iv) living in fellowship (*societas* and *amicitia*) with others, (v) practical reasonableness (*bonum rationis*) itself, and (vi) knowing and relating appropriately to the transcendent cause of all being, value, normativity and efficacious action. His lists are always explicitly open-ended. They sketch the outlines and elements of the flourishing of the human persons in whom they can be actualized. Even complete fulfillment – the *beatitudo perfecta* that Aquinas places firmly outside our natural capacities and this mortal life – could not be regarded as a further good, but rather as a synthesis and heightened actualization of these basic goods in the manner appropriate to a form of life free from both immaturity (and other incidents of procreation) and decay. (ST1-II q. 94 aa. 2 & 3).

be understood by considering how, in a real friendship, *A* wills *B*'s wellbeing for *B*'s sake, while *B* wills *A*'s wellbeing for *A*'s sake.

Communities such as those just mentioned are groups, each of them a whole [*totum*] made up of persons (and perhaps of other groups), their unity being not merely one of composition or conjunction or continuity, but rather of *order*, in two dimensions: (i) of the parts (members) as coordinating with each other, and (ii) of the group and its members to its organizing purpose or end (*finis*).⁷⁴

3. *How is the notion of the common good disseminated in the document Gaudium et Spes.*

A brief survey of how the notion of the common good is found in the document reveals that it is visible in different pillars. For the purpose of this exposition, however, the following will be discussed: The vocation of humankind, the interdependent character of the community of humankind and towards personal and community growth.

In the pillar of the vocation of humankind, it is disclosed that the chief elements of one's calling are to particular roles of service. Hence it is important to note that discovering a role is very different from merely knowing what one wants in life. People can know what they want and set out to achieve it without considering others or while viewing others' needs and interests as secondary, as mere helps or hindrances to self-fulfilment. In discovering the chief elements of his or her role, however, a person must consider others and accept the fact that an indispensable sign of being called to anything is a favourable response from the other or others who must decide whether to accept the offer. This is so because each and every person's vocation mainly is to use his or her gifts to serve others and build up the society⁷⁵

The discussion in the pillar of the interdependent character of the community of humankind is centered on the morality of every open-ended community. The moral ground of every open-ended community is the essential incompleteness and interdependence of individuals, their need for one another not merely to achieve specific and limited objectives, but for fulfilment as persons. Such interdependence requires sharing in goods precisely as common. The

⁷⁴GRISEZ, Germain, "The First Principle of Practical Reason: A Commentary on the *Summa Theologiae*, 1-2, Question 94, Article 2", *Natural Law Forum*, 10 : 168-201; reprinted Finnis, J. (ed.), 1991, *The International Library of Essays in Law and Legal Theory: Natural Law*, vol. 1, Aldershot, England: Dartmouth Publishing; New York University Press, New York: 191-224; reprinted Dunn, J., and Harris, I. (eds.), 1997, *Great Political Thinkers 4: Aquinas*, Cheltenham, England: Edward Elgar, 393-426.

⁷⁵Cf. *Gaudium et Spes* 11.

appropriate response to the requirements of the common good is not merely sympathy for others but solidarity - true self-giving which, if mutual, constitutes communion. Solidarity, here, is not to be confused with conformism; it has room for royal opposition since its focus is not on social authority structures as such, but on the common good which underlies them.⁷⁶

This is a firm and enduring commitment both to other persons and to the good, so that what is realized through common effort really will benefit others as well as oneself. This commitment implements love of neighbour, for it undertakes the work of love: to serve others rather than dominate them, to sacrifice oneself for them rather than exploit them. Solidarity is itself implemented not only by accepting and doing one's part in common action, but by encouraging others and supporting them in doing their parts, without infringing on their proper spheres of responsibility.

The exposition towards personal and community growth as one of the pillars is that, the human person as a rational and spiritual being has the responsibility to protect and seek what is good and what fosters growth. This character in the human person is very much evident in people and it extends to all spheres of life – religious, social, political and economic circles. In any case, since the human person does not live for himself/herself only but lives in and for a community,⁷⁷ he/she is obliged to also cater for the good and growth of the community. In so doing humanity submits, rationally, to own growth to the growth of the community thereby arriving at the common good. This duty in no way decreases, rather it increases the importance of their obligation to work with all people in the building of a more human world.⁷⁸

4. *The common good: its ethical challenges for Sierra Leone today.*

The document, *Gaudium et spes*, was promulgated almost fifty years ago. It is a document promulgated on the circumstances of its own period. In any case it includes aspects of the past, present and the future. In this respect, it can be seen that some of the discussions above are still challenges for Sierra Leoneans today vis-à-vis the common good

⁷⁶Cf. *Gaudium et Spes* 23, 24, 25.

⁷⁷SPINKA, Mathew. *Church in Communist Society*, A Study in J.J. Hromadkas Theological Politics, Hartford Seminary Press, Hartford, 1954.

⁷⁸Cf. *Gaudium et Spes* 30, 31, 32.

ethics. In “ancient times”, for most Sierra Leoneans, the common good is that for whose sake the many individuals form the community and act together. And in choosing to act for the common good of any community, each member also at the same time acts for his or her own good.

In our generation where a greater percentage of Sierra Leoneans continues to be afflicted by acute hardships and anxieties arising from the ravages of individualism or the threat of it, Sierra Leone as a nation faces an hour of supreme crisis in its advance toward building a “culture of growth” through an act of a common life. Some of these hardships and anxieties come from excessive economic inequalities and from delay in applying suitable remedies. “Others come from the desire to dominate and from contempt for persons and, if we ask for deeper reasons, from human envy, mistrust, pride [corruption] and other selfish passions.”⁷⁹

The notion of the common good reveals the character of working together. A character which depends greatly on the individual and the collective effort to actualize a goal and or goals since fulfilment cannot belong to the individual apart from the others. It is a good or set of goods in which a community’s members share.⁸⁰

In Sierra Leone today, due to individualism⁸¹, a major thinking is missing: that the dynamism necessary for the establishment of people’s dignity is working as individuals towards the common good. Such a disposition is none other than charity, which is also very much at the heart of the notion of the common good. Charity is not just a simple feeling of benevolence or pity. It aims at enabling each and every one to benefit effectively from worthy conditions of life due in justice: for survival, freedom and development in all circumstances.⁸²

There is no doubt that most Sierra Leoneans, with their reasoning power, are capable of designing and executing very good models of human life. But it is also true that times, situations and events usually interfere with their plans and affect them either for better or for worse. Thus Sierra Leoneans, by engaging in so many activities for self-benefit and the benefit of others can along the line also become disoriented.

Moving gradually together and everywhere more conscious already of its identity, the Sierra Leone family cannot accomplish its task of constructing its people a world more genuinely human unless each person devotes himself/herself to the cause of the common good with renewed vigour. Thus it happens that the common good ethics, which is in harmony

⁷⁹*Gaudium et spes*, 83.

⁸⁰*Gaudium et spes*, 26.

⁸¹ This mode of living that is contrary to the common good ethic is made evident in the recent document “Annual report on the accounts of Sierra Leone 2014”, as published by the Auditor General, Sierra Leone, in www.auditservice.gov.sl

⁸²Cf., MARTY, Martin M., *The One and the Many*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997. ISBN: 0-674-63827-1.

with the loftier strivings and aspirations of the human race, must take on a new lustre in our context. The common good of every Sierra Leonean is to be catered for and at the same time protected by the members who belong to it. The responsibility and obligation to respect and advance the community rest on its members. In this respect, therefore, the common good is an ethical enterprise which calls for the involvement of all Sierra Leoneans regardless of tribe, region, religion, political party, sex or status; each according to his or her capacity.

Given the great importance of the obligation of Sierra Leoneans in promoting the common good in the society in which we live, it must not be forgotten that people also have the right to be helped by society. Every Sierra Leonean bears responsibility, not only for oneself but also for the community. This obligation is incumbent upon those in authority as well as upon the subjects. This is because concern for society is concern for one's own welfare, concern for one's neighbour, and ultimately concern for that final goal which every person, every community, and all humankind is called to serve and to bring about.

The notion of the common good, as it is defined by *Gaudiumetspes*, places primacy on the flourishing of individual human beings - spiritually, intellectually, culturally, and financially - through participation in solidarity with others. It stands in direct opposition to any system of human living which denies the conditions for human flourishing. Consequently, as this exposition points out the authentic and noble meaning of the common good, it is passionately summoning all Sierra Leoneans to cooperate with all in securing among themselves a living based on the common good ethic. Every community of Sierra Leoneans is called to aim at a specific goal, target or accomplishment. This common aspiration should spur Sierra Leoneans on with the hope of benefiting themselves and others. This is evident as a fundamental drive in any human setting of whatever period.

CONCLUSION

The notion of the common good, being as old as humanity, must always be designed and carried out by Sierra Leoneans in their specific situation for fundamental specific motivations. This exposition therefore, analysis the situation of Sierra Leoneans as it is lived and affected by the temporal day to day events of the world. Confirming activities which cater for the self and community fulfilment; in this way responding to the intrinsic value of the common good ethics.

Although it is fulfilling to work together it must not be forgotten, however, that alongside this task there are difficulties; these difficulties can range from the individual down to the community. This challenge should be seen as an imperfection of a fallen humanity.

This exposition has its basis from the document - *Gaudiumetspes* - to highlight that the promulgation of the document brought about many things in practice; and that despite some implementations more has to be done for the fulfilment of the individuals and Sierra Leone as a whole.

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Leonenet Symbolisms: An African-centred Perspective

Abdul Karim Bangura

Introduction

Leonenet is the first and most recognized Internet listserv discussing issues dealing mostly with Sierra Leone and to a certain extent other parts of the world. It was launched at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1994 under the sponsorship of Durodami Joscelyn Lisk. With the domain name of leonenet@mitvma.mit.edu, Leonenet was described as a forum for the “discussion of Sierra Leonean issues” (Ali-Dinar, 1996).

When MIT decided to cease its hosting of Leonenet in 2000, Jonathan Peters, a professor at the University of Maryland Baltimore County (UMBC) at the time, volunteered to sponsor and get the listserv hosted at his university. As Peters recounts in a recent E-mail exchange I had with him, he “investigated and volunteered UMBC because there was a near consensus to be an independent listserv paid for by members’ subscriptions. All I did was to get UMBC to adopt the model that the initiator of Leonenet had used at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and have the technicians make a ‘seamless’ switch to UMBC without anyone going anywhere” (Peters’ E-mail, February 02, 2016). Peters adds: “Knowing that I am not a man of routine, I specified that my main condition was that I have nothing to do with the management. If there was a dispute, the matter had to be resolved internally without reference to me as owner of the facility and I maintained this posture till my retirement in January 2007 at which point I believe you carried the baton for the continued link” (Peters’ E-mail, February 02, 2016). Actually, I asked Omar Ka, a professor at UMBC, to continue the sponsorship, since an individual must be based at the University to do so. Peters also mentions: “Of course, in the interim, there WAS a dispute that led to the unfortunate split such that there are now two Leonenets. I will save further comments for the moment that I decide to write on this matter of two listservs for Sierra Leone except to say that at the time and up till this moment I believe that the proper thing to do was to have called the alternative website by a new name” (Peters’ E-mail, February 02, 2016).

For most of Leonenet’s existence, Claude Meama-Kjue has served as its administrator. Under the domain name of leonenet@lists.umbc.edu, he states that “Leonenet is a mailing list for Sierra Leoneans and friends of Sierra Leone. This electronic mailing list is a free forum for discussing, debating, sharing and formulating ideas that concern Sierra Leone” (Leonenet@lists.umbc.edu). After 21 years of service, it is therefore good to systematically assess what the listserv symbolizes to its members.

Indeed, numerous citations and studies on Leonenet appear in books, peer-reviewed journal and other articles, master’s theses, doctoral dissertations, reports by governmental and non-governmental agencies, proceedings of international tribunals, reports of international and regional organizations, university course syllabi, newspaper and magazine stories, the University of Michigan Library publication of the late great Professor Lemuel Johnson’s Leonenet musings, and the Internet (see, for example, Bangura, 2004 & 2009; Bangura and Gandy-Gorgla, 2007; Edozie, 2005; Guberek, 2006; Kponou, 1998; Knörr and Filho, 2010; *Passages*, 2004; Schlein, 2005/2013; Sierra Leone Working Group, 2005; Special Court for Sierra Leone Press and Public Affairs Office, 2007a & 2007b; Tynes, 2007; and Wai, 2012).

Thus, Leonenet being hosted at UMBC is a win-win situation for both the listserv and the University. The listserv gains a great deal of credibility and respect by being hosted at a very prestigious state university with an Ivy League aura by being dubbed as “The Harvard on the Patuxent River” for its very high ranking in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) programs; having established the first and very prestigious Policy Sciences master’s and doctoral programs in the world; and having dominated national and international collegiate chess tournaments for many years, even beating Harvard and Oxford Universities in many tournaments. UMBC in turn gets a great deal of publicity via the numerous sources mentioned above.

In order to methodically assess what Leonenet represents to its members, the paper probes the following major and straightforward research question: (1) What does Leonenet symbolize to its members? To answer this question systematically, the rest of the paper is divided into three interrelated sections: (1) Research Methodology, Data Collection Technique and Instrument; (2) Data Analysis, and (3) Conclusion. Before doing all this, however, a brief discussion on the import of symbols is warranted, since they are the crux of this paper.

Symbols, as some scholars have observed, are critical in promoting social integration, fostering legitimacy, inducing loyalty, gaining compliance, and providing citizens with security and hope (e.g., Edelmam, 1964; Jones, 1964, Merelman, 1966, Cobb and Elder, 1976; Elder and Cobb, 1983). As I have also pointed out, symbols yield deeper dyadic, triadic and polyadic meanings because they convey not only surface contents, but a great deal of auxiliary contents as well (Bangura, 2002a & 2002b). Thus, the major thesis in this paper is the following: Analyses of symbols that fail to account for pragmatic features—i.e. “the choices language users make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interactions, and the effects their uses of language have on other participants in an act of

communication” (Morris, 1938:301; also cited in Bangura, 2015a)—risk ignoring relevant contents that may be central to the symbols’ meanings.

Research Methodology, Data Collection Technique and Instrument

The research methodology employed to ground the analysis of the data collected for this paper is the Africentric approach. The interested reader can consult my essay titled “The Colors of the Flag of Sierra Leone” that appears in the October 2015 edition of this journal and my book titled *African-Centered Research Methodologies: From Ancient Times to the Present* (2011a) for lengthier discussions of the methodology. It suffices to restate here that from the late 1980s to the mid-1990s, many, and consistent, definitions of Africentricity were proffered by Africanists. The first definition was by Molefi Kete Asante who defined “Africentricity [African-centered] as the placing of African ideals at the center of any analysis that involves African culture and behavior” (1987:6). The second definition was by C. Tsehloane Keto who defined the “African-centered perspective [as an approach that] rests on the premise that it is valid to position Africa as a geographical and cultural starting base in the study of peoples of African descent” (1989:1). The third definition was by Wade Nobles who defined “Afrocentric, Africentric, or African-Centered [as being] interchangeable terms representing the concept which categorizes a quality of thought and practice which is rooted in the cultural image and interest of African people and which represents and reflects the life experiences, history and traditions of African people as the center of analyses. It is therein that the intellectual and philosophical foundation [with] which African people should create their own scientific criterion for authenticating human reality” exists (1990:47). The fourth definition was by Maulana Karenga who defined “Afrocentricity...as a quality of thought and practice rooted in the cultural image and human interest of African people [and their descendants]. To be rooted in the cultural image of African people is to be anchored in the views and values of African people as well as in the practice which emanates from and gives rise to these views and values” (1993:36). Finally, Lathardus Goggins II defined “African-centered [as being able] to construct and use frames of reference, cultural filters and behaviors that are consistent with the philosophies and heritage of African cultures in order to advance the interest of people of African descent” (1996:18).

The instrument utilized to collect the data for this study is a non-random/non-probability survey of the estimated 300 Leonenet subscribers across the globe. Respondents were asked to answer the following question: What does Leonenet symbolize to you? Like any survey, the instrument used sought to solicit answers that reflect respondents’ views, perceptions, attitudes, etc. at a particular point in time.

The survey, which constituted a one group post-test only design, was administered from January 27 to February 10, 2016. A total of 52 (17.3%) of the estimated 300 Leonenet subscribers responded to the question. The response rate is within the good range, since generally an E-mail open rate is 15-20% (Benchmark Internet Group, 2015).

Data Analysis

In this section, I first present the precise descriptions of the major concepts gleaned from the survey responses. After that, I place the concepts into African-centered semantic categories which are then discussed in terms of their African-centered thematic meanings. The following are the major concepts with their definitions from the *Google Online Dictionary*. The concepts are presented in the order they were first received from the survey respondents:

Forum for community discussion: a medium where ideas and views on particular issues can be exchanged by a group of people living in the same place or having a particular characteristic in common.

Connection point: a place where a person, thing, or idea is linked or associated with other persons, things, or ideas.

A learning environment for Sierra Leoneans: a domain for Sierra Leone's citizens to acquire knowledge through experience, study, or being taught.

Venue for celebrating wonderful achievements by Sierra Leoneans: a place where inspiring accomplishments by citizens of Sierra Leone are publicly commemorated.

Place for camaraderie: a setting for mutual trust and friendship among people who spend a lot of time together.

A place of anarchy: a setting for disorder due to absence or non-recognition of authority.

Invaluable resource: an extremely useful asset.

Platform for discussing issues: a program to talk about important topics or problems for debate or discussion with another person or group of people.

Influential opinion leader: a principal player with a view or judgment formed about something, not necessarily based on fact or knowledge, and the capacity to have an effect on the character, development, or behavior of someone or something, or the effect itself.

Important medium: an agency or means of doing something of great significance or value.

Unique cyberspace vehicle: the only one of its kind thing used to express, embody, or fulfill something in the notional environment in which communication over computer networks occurs.

Big family: all the descendants of a common ancestor of considerable size.

Moderator Claude Meama-Kajue's selflessness: Claude Meama-Kajue as a person who arbitrates or mediates an Internet forum or online discussion and is concerned more with the needs and wishes of others than with his own.

Informative medium: an agency or means for providing useful or interesting information.

Educating medium: an agency or means for giving intellectual, moral, and social instruction to someone.

Extremely negative contributions: very undesirable or pessimistic articles or other pieces of writing.

Sierra Leone global fireplace: a place for Sierra Leone fire (in this context, meaning bright light) relating to the whole world.

“Breakroom” to chill: a room at a business set aside for very relaxed or easygoing activities.

Non-threatening environment: a habitat lacking a hostile or deliberately frightening quality or manner.

Future of Sierra Leone: time regarded as still to come for Sierra Leone.

Yearning for home: a feeling of intense longing for the place where one lives permanently, especially as a member of a family or household.

Fighting place for a few: a particular position or point in space where a small number of people engage in violent confrontations or struggles.

Online meeting place: a particular position or point in space connected to a network for an assembly of people, especially the members of a society or committee, to engage in discussions with or entertain one another.

African village: a group of houses and associated buildings, larger than a hamlet and smaller than a town, situated in a rural area inhabited by Africans or people of African descent.

Close-knit community: a group of people united or bound together by a feeling of fellowship, as a result of sharing common attitudes, interests, and goals.

Community with cultural values: a group of people living in the same place or having a particular characteristic in common and sharing commonly-held beliefs of what is right or wrong, acceptable or unacceptable, important or unimportant, etc.

A place that respects the power of the Administrator Claude Meama-Kajue: a particular position or point in space where Administrator Claude Meama-Kajue’s ability to do something or act in a particular way, especially as a faculty or quality, is deeply admired.

A place of communal laws: a particular position or point in space where the rules that regulate the actions of members and may be enforced by the imposition of penalties are shared by all members of a community.

Community of elderly respect: a group of people living in the same place or having a particular characteristic in common who feel deep admiration for those who are older elicited by their abilities, qualities, or achievements.

Knowledge continuum: a continuous sequence in which adjacent facts, information, and skills acquired by a people through experience or education are not perceptibly different from one another, although the extremes are quite distinct.

Source of knowledge: a place, person, or thing from which/whom facts, information, and skills acquired by a person through experience or education come or can be obtained.

Center for exchange of knowledge: a point at which facts, information, and skills acquired through experience or education are given and received.

Timbuktu of Trans-Sahara commerce in knowledge: a place to exchange facts, information, and skills acquired through experience or education that is similar to the historical and still inhabited city in Mali that requires travel across the Sahara to reach sub-Saharan Africa from the North African coast, Europe, to the Levant; while existing from prehistoric times, the peak of large-scale trade extended from the 8th Century until the early 17th Century.

A place acquired colonial and postcolonial Westernized knowledge is expressed competitively: a particular position or point in space where facts, information, and skills received through experience or education characteristic of colonies and after the end of colonial rule originating from the West, in particular Europe or the United States, are fiercely communicated.

A place where students from Sierra Leone's schools confluence and/or juxtapose for verbosity attention: a particular position or point in space where facts, information, and skills acquired by students through experience or education at institutions of learning in Sierra Leone are brought together and/or contrasted for wordiness and to be taken as interesting or important.

Modern Sierra Leone proper: a real present-day Sierra Leone.

Kailahun Court Barrie: a traditional court of law in the capital of Kailahun District in the Eastern Province of Sierra Leone where everyone, no matter his/her station in life, has the right to express facts and opinions before a consensus is reached—a form of consensual democracy.

The Sierra Leone State House: the official residence and the principal working place of Sierra Leone's President.

Pandemba Road prison: a building in which people are legally held as a punishment for crimes they have committed or while awaiting trial in Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone.

Court House at the Cotton Tree: the Sierra Leone Supreme Court building near the huge historic Cotton Tree located in the oldest part of Freetown.

Place information is prolifically displayed more than local newspapers can manage: a particular position or point in space where more facts are shown than community printed publications can handle.

Place people quarrel as if they were mortal enemies: a particular position or point in space where individuals angrily argue or disagree as if they were hostile opponents liable to cause death.

Place people demonstrated the philanthropic side of their good human nature: a particular position or point in space where individuals showed the generous and benevolent side of the basic and inherent characteristic of people.

Place people engaged in “Mammy and daddy” cusses: a particular position or point in space where individuals insult mothers and fathers by using offensive words or phrases to express anger or annoyance.

Medium that has grown with modernization: an agency or means that has progressed to maturity through transition from a ‘pre-modern’ or ‘traditional’ to a ‘modern’ entity.

Place younger members less admire the real African culture of old: a particular position or point in space where youthful individuals have a smaller amount of warm respect or approval for manifestations of human intellectual achievement of Africa of long time ago.

Place where people can be too hot tempered and care less about slander: a particular position or point in space where individuals are excessively angry and feel a smaller amount of concern about making a false statement that is damaging to a person’s reputation.

In the preceding paragraphs, I have provided precise and concise definitions of the major concepts delineated from the survey responses to give the reader a more accurate understanding of these concepts. One way to facilitate the greater comprehension of these concepts from an African-centered perspective is to categorize and discuss them in terms of African-centered thematic meanings. At the most basic level, a simple tabulation can identify the undergirding African-centered themes in the survey responses. A focused analysis may reveal a discernible pattern.

As Table 1 reveals, the results from the survey yielded a broad range of major concepts. These seemingly diverse concepts, however, mask the fact that they reflect a relatively small number of African-centered themes: (1) Gnoseology; (2) African Nationalism; (3) *Ubuntu*; (4) Essential Dignity; and (5) Militancy. An interesting aspect about these themes is that they seem to have been shared by other leading Black thinkers in Africa and its Diaspora and also pointed out by other researchers, albeit not holistically by any one author as I have done here.

Table 1 also shows that the theme Essential Dignity has the most diverse major concepts, followed by *Ubuntu*; Gnoseology and Militancy are tied for third place, while African Nationalism comes last. This is not to say that these categories have the most number of major concepts, since each of the concepts in all of the categories appears many times in the survey responses, an analysis of which would call for a Content Analysis—i.e. a quantitative analysis of the frequency of the concepts. It is noteworthy, however, to mention that the selflessness of Leonenet Administrator Claude Meama-Kajue was frequently cited by respondents as what the listserv symbolizes to them. So, the ultimate question then is the following: What are the underlying African-centered meanings of these concepts? The discussion that follows seeks to provide an answer.

Table 1: Major Concepts by Themes

Theme	Major Concepts
Gnoseology	A place of communal laws, Community with cultural values, Yearning for home, Future of Sierra Leone, Non-threatening environment, Platform for discussing issues, Place for camaraderie, Venue for celebrating wonderful achievements by Sierra Leoneans
African Nationalism	Timbuktu of Trans-Sahara commerce in knowledge, Sierra Leone global fireplace
Ubuntu	Place people demonstrated the philanthropic side of their good human nature, Court House at the Cotton Tree, Kailahun Court Barrie, Community of elderly respect, A place that respects the power of the Administrator Claude Meama-Kajue, Close-knit community, African village, Moderator Claude Meama-Kajue's selflessness, Big family, Connection point, Forum for community discussion
Essential Dignity	Medium that has grown with modernization, Place information is prolifically displayed more than local newspapers can manage, The Sierra Leone State House, Modern Sierra Leone proper, A place where students from Sierra Leone's schools confluence and/or juxtapose for verbosity attention, A place acquired colonial and postcolonial Westernized knowledge is expressed competitively, Center for exchange of knowledge, Source of knowledge, Knowledge continuum, Online meeting place, "Breakroom" to chill, Educating medium, Informative medium, Unique cyberspace vehicle, Important medium, Invaluable resource, A learning environment for Sierra Leoneans
Militancy	Place where people can be too hot tempered and care less about slander, Place younger members less admire the real African culture of old, Place people engaged in "Mammy and daddy" cusses, Place people quarrel as if they were mortal enemies, Pandemba Road prison, Fighting place for a few, Extremely negative contributions, A place of anarchy

Source: Author-generated from the Survey Responses

Gnoseology

In several essays (Bangura, 2012a, 2012b, and 2015a), I narrate that according to late Guinean President Ahmed Sékou Touré, in his essay, "A Dialectical Approach to Culture," gnoseology refers to the positive-intuitive thinking that is driven by the African's spiritual mind (1989:7). Indeed, what many of the findings in this study show is that throughout history, the African, whether in the continent or in the Diaspora, has appeared to consistently maintain a positive mental attitude about dealing with rather challenging situations while disregarding the opposing negative form of thinking. In both Africa and the Diaspora, this form of positive reinforcement was seen among colonized and enslaved Africans during the early stages of colonial and Diaspora life when they sang positive songs repeatedly to help them soothe their pains.

Also, as Dickson Bruce, Jr. points out, Du Bois' double consciousness philosophy, an outgrowth of a distinctively African heritage, was geared towards helping to provide a definition to the positive sense of the racial distinctiveness of Africans on the Motherland and in the Diaspora. Bruce also argues that Du Bois was trying to develop and offer the "African" a kind of alternative to American materialism, which was being proffered by Booker T. Washington (<http://xroads.virginia.edu/~UG03/souls/brucepg.html>).

Furthermore, as William Jones argues, the task in which Marcus Mosiah Garvey and other revolutionary Black thinkers engaged "collapsed into a particular form of spiritual enlightenment—I prefer the term gnosiological (the spelling variety of the concept he uses) conversion—insofar as it seeks to free the black mind from those beliefs and attitudes which frustrates the impulse and movement toward liberation" (Jones, n.d.). Jones adds that to identify the founder of this brand of theology—be it Garvey, Joseph Washington, James Cone, Albert Cleague, etc.—makes one to choose a particular conceptualization of Black theology: that is, a theology that "involves a self-conscious effort to define one's position in determined opposition to its complement, an alleged white theology" (Jones, n.d.).

African Nationalism

In several of my essays (Bangura, 2012a, 2012b and 2015a), I point out that the concept of African Nationalism, sometimes referred to as Black Nationalism, was best expressed by Malcolm X in a speech delivered in New York City in 1964 when he asserted that

I'm still a Muslim but I am also a nationalist, meaning that my political philosophy is Black nationalism, my economic philosophy is Black nationalism, my social philosophy is Black nationalism. And when I say that this philosophy is Black nationalism, to me this means that the political philosophy of Black nationalism is that which is designed to encourage our people, the Black people, to gain complete control over politics and the politicians of our own community. Our economic philosophy is that we should gain economic control over the economy of our own community, the businesses and the other things which create employment so that we can provide jobs for our own people instead of having to picket and boycott and beg someone else for a job. And, in short, our social philosophy means that we feel that it is time to get together among our own kind and eliminate the evils that are destroying the moral fiber of our society....(Malcolm X, 1965:10).

It is in the field of Pan-Africanism (the philosophy that all people of African descent shared common interests and should work together in their liberation struggle) that President Gamal Abdel Nasser made his most significant mark. In his book, *Philosophy of the Revolution* (1959), he wrote of Egypt as an African as well as an Arab State, and with the assistance of Dr. Fouad Galal, his adviser on African affairs, he engaged increasingly in the struggle for the emancipation and the unity of the continent, providing facilities for opposition movements from the colonies and White-dominated territories and vigorously espousing their cause on international platforms (Bangura, 2012a, 2012b, and 2015a).

For W. E. B. Du Bois, as the *Encyclopedia Britannica* states, his African Nationalism comprised several strands. The first and most pioneering strand is his pioneering advocacy of Pan-Africanism. He was one of the major organizers of the first Pan-African Conference convened in London in 1900 and orchestrated four Pan-African Congresses convened between 1919 and 1927. The second strand is Du Bois' articulation of cultural nationalism as editor of *The Crisis*, a Black political magazine, through which he encouraged Blacks to develop their own literature and art, and also urged them to see the "Beauty in Black." The third strand is Du Bois' belief that Blacks must develop a separate "group economy" of producers' and consumers' cooperatives in order to combat economic discrimination and Black poverty (<http://www.britanica.com/EBchecked/topic/172481/W-E-B-Du-Bois>).

Ubuntu

The notion of *Ubuntu* exists in all societies in Africa and the Diaspora (Bangura, 2005:31; Bangura, 2008:201; Bangura, 2011b:237; Bangura, 2015a:196; Sigger et al., 2010:10). For example, the word *Ubuntu* itself is from the Southern African Nguni language family comprising IsiNdebele, IsiSwati/IsiSwazi, IsiXhosa, and IsiZulu; in Sesotho, it is *Botho*; in Akan (Ghana), *Biakoye*; in Yoruba, *Ajobi*; in Shangaan, *Numunhu*; in Venda, *Vhuthu*; in Tsonga, *Bunhu*; in Shona (Zimbabwe), *Nunhu*; in Swahili (Kenya), *Utu*; in Kiswahili (Tanzania), *Ujamaa*; in Ugandan, *Abantu*; in Cape Afrikaans, *Menslikgeit*; in the Diaspora, Unity through Universal Confraternity popularized by Marcus Mosiah Garvey (Bangura, 2008:201; Bangura, 2011b:237; Sigger et al., 2010:47).

To restate what I have narrated elsewhere, drawing from many works that have dealt with the concept of *Ubuntu* and similar African thoughts, it can be deduced that *Ubuntu* serves as the spiritual foundation of African societies. It is a unifying vision or world view enshrined in the maxim *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*: i.e. "a person is a person through other persons." This traditional African aphorism articulates a basic respect and compassion for others. It can be interpreted as both a factual description and a rule of conduct or social ethic. It both describes the human being as "being-with-others" and prescribes what that should be (Bangura, 2005, 2008, 2011b & 2015a).

Also, from those works, at least three major tenets of *Ubuntu* can be delineated. The first major tenet of *Ubuntu* rests upon its religiosity. While Western Humanism tends to underestimate or even deny the importance of religious beliefs, *Ubuntu* is decidedly religious. For the Westerner, the maxim, "A person is a person through other persons," has no obvious religious connotations. S/he will probably think it is nothing more than a general appeal to treat others

with respect and decency. However, in African tradition, this maxim has a deeply religious meaning. The person one is to become “through other persons” is, ultimately, an ancestor. By the same token, these “other persons” include ancestors, who are extended family. Dying is an ultimate homecoming. Not only must the living and the dead share with and care for one another, but the living and the dead depend on one another (Bangura, 2005, 2008, 2011b & 2015a).

This religious tenet is congruent with the daily experience of most Africans. For example, at a *calabash*—an African ritual that involves drinking of African beer—a little bit of it is poured on the ground for consumption by ancestors. Many Africans also employ ancestors as mediators between them and God. In African societies, there is an inextricable bond between humans, ancestors and the Supreme Being. Therefore, *Ubuntu* inevitably implies a deep respect and regard for religious beliefs and practices (Bangura, 2005, 2008, 2011b & 2015a).

The second major tenet of *Ubuntu* hinges upon its consensus building. African traditional culture has an almost infinite capacity for the pursuit of consensus and reconciliation. African style democracy operates in the form of (some times extremely lengthy) discussions. Although there may be a hierarchy of importance among the speakers, every person gets an equal chance to speak up until some kind of an agreement, consensus, or group cohesion is reached. This important aim is expressed by words like *simunye* (“we are one”: i.e. “unity is strength”) and slogans like “an injury to one is an injury to all” (Bangura, 2005, 2008, 2011b & 2015a).

The desire to agree within the context of *Ubuntu* safeguards the rights and opinions of individuals and minorities to enforce group solidarity. In essence, *Ubuntu* requires an authentic respect for human/individual rights and related values, and an honest appreciation of differences (Bangura, 2005, 2008, 2011b & 2015a).

The third major tenet of *Ubuntu* rests upon dialogue, with its particularity, individuality and historicity. *Ubuntu* inspires us to expose ourselves to others, to encounter the differences of their humanness in order to inform and enrich our own. Thus understood, *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* translates as “To be human is to affirm one’s humanity by recognizing the humanity of others in its infinite variety of content and form.” This translation of *Ubuntu* highlights the respect for particularity, individuality and historicity, without which a true African society cannot reemerge (Bangura, 2005, 2008, 2011b & 2015a).

The *Ubuntu* respect for the *particularities* of the beliefs and practices of others is especially emphasized by the following striking translation of *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*: “A human being through (the otherness of) other human beings.” *Ubuntu* dictates that, if we were to be human, we need to recognize the genuine otherness of our fellow humans. In other words, we need to acknowledge the diversity of languages, histories, values and customs, all of which make up a society (Bangura, 2005, 2008, 2011b & 2015a).

Ubuntu’s respect for the particularity of the other is closely aligned to its respect for *individuality*. But the individuality which *Ubuntu* respects is not the Cartesian type. Instead, *Ubuntu* directly contradicts the Cartesian conception of individuality in terms of which the individual or self can be conceived without thereby necessarily conceiving the other. The Cartesian individual exists prior to, or separately and independently from, the rest of the community or society. The rest of society is nothing but an added extra to a pre-existent and self-sufficient being. This “modernistic” and “atomistic” conception of individuality underscores both individualism and collectivism. Individualism exaggerates the seemingly solitary aspects of human existence to the detriment of communal aspects. Collectivism makes the same mistake on a larger scale. For the collectivist, society comprises a bunch of separately existing, solitary (i.e. detached) individuals (Bangura, 2005, 2008, 2011b & 2015a).

The emphasis on the “ongoing-ness” of the contact and interaction with others on which the African subjectivity feeds suggests a final important ingredient of the “mutual exposure” mandated by *Ubuntu*: i.e. respecting the *historicality* of the other. This means respecting his/her dynamic nature or process nature. The flexibility of the other is well noted in *Ubuntu*. In other words, for the African humanist, life is without absolutes. An *Ubuntu* perception of the other is never fixed or rigidly closed; rather, it is adjustable or open-ended. It allows the other to be, to become. It acknowledges the irreducibility of the other: i.e. it never reduces the other to any specific characteristic, conduct or function. This underscores the concept of *Ubuntu* which denotes both a state of being and one of becoming. As a process of self-realization *through* others, it simultaneously enriches the self-realization *of* others (Bangura, 2005, 2008, 2011b & 2015a).

Essential Dignity

As I recount elsewhere (Bangura, 2012a, 2012b, and 2015a), the notion of essential dignity is captured quite well by Anna Julia Cooper in her essay titled "Womanhood: A Vital Element in the Regeneration and Progress of a Race" when she says the following:

The race is just twenty-one years removed from the conception and experience of a chattel, just at the age of ruddy manhood. It is well enough to pause a moment for retrospection, introspection, and prospection. We look back, not to become inflated with conceit because of the depths from which we have arisen, but that we may learn wisdom from experience. We look within that we may gather together once more our forces and, by improved and more practical methods, address ourselves to the tasks before us (Cooper, 1995:233-234).

A similar sentiment is echoed by Guinea-Bissauan political leader Amilcar Cabral in his "Identity and Dignity in the Context of National Liberation Struggle" when he asserts that one of the essential characteristics of contemporary history is the people's struggle for national liberation and independence from imperialist rule. This struggle, he contends, hinges upon 'returning to the source' and of identity and dignity in the context of the national liberation movement (Cabral, 1995:73-74).

From South African Chief Albert John Luthuli, the President-General of the African National Congress from 1952 to 1957, we also get the following:

Who will deny that thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately, and modestly as a closed and barred door? What have been the fruits of moderation? The past thirty years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress, until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all. It is with this background and with a full sense of responsibility that, under the auspices of the African National Congress, I have joined my people in the new spirit that moves them today, the spirit that revolts openly and boldly against injustice and expresses itself in a determined and non-violent manner. What the future has in store for me I do not know. It might be ridicule, imprisonment, concentration camp, flogging, banishment, and even death. I only pray to the Almighty to strengthen my resolve so that none of these grim possibilities may deter me from striving, for the sake of the good name of our beloved country, the Union of South Africa, to make it a true democracy and a true nation, in form and spirit, of all the communities in the land (Luthuli Museum 1952 speech: <http://www.luthulimuseum.org.za/luthulis-life-/speeches>).

Essential dignity of Africans is further expressed in poetic forms such as in the President of Senegal and father of *Negritude* President Senghor's "For Khalan" (a guitar with three strings):

We delighted, my friend, in an African presence:

Furniture, from Guinea and the Congo, heavy and polished, dark and light.

Primitive and pure masks on distant walls yet so near.

Tabourets of honour for the hereditary hosts, the princes from the High-country.

Wild and proud perfumes from the thick tresses of silence,

Cushions of shadow and leisure like quiet well running.

Eternal words and the distant alternating chant as in the loin-cloths from the Sudan.

But then the friendly light of your blue kindness will soften the obsession of this presence in

Black, white and red, O red like the soil of Africa

(www.disa.ukzn.ac.za/webpages/DC/asjul58.22/asjul58.22.pdf).

Militancy

One of the African nationalists who believed quite strongly that there are times when militancy (vigorously active, combative and aggressive behaviour) is inevitable is Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, Editor of the *Africanist* and National President of the Pan-Africanist Congress (1959-1963), inaugurated *Umkonto We Sizwe* or “Spear of the Nation,” and proclaimed the organization’s responsibility for the acts of sabotage. The non-racial tone of the statement, the proclamation of loyalty to the “national liberation movement,” and the slogan *Afrika Mayibuye!* or “Come Back Africa!” all marked the new organization as African National Congress (ANC) in alignment. Subukwe himself was arrested on the morning of March 21, 1958 and sentenced to three years imprisonment for incitement. At his trial, he refused to recognize the validity of laws passed by an all-white parliament (<http://www.sahistory.org.za/1960-1966-genesis-armed-struggle>).

Frantz Fanon, born in Martinique in 1925 and joined the Algerian Nationalist Movement after studying medicine in France, is quite unapologetic about militancy as a means to fight an oppressor like he and his fellow Algerians did against the French during the Algerian Revolution (1954-1962). In his book, *Toward the African Revolution*, Fanon declares that Algerians must fight “...foreign, enemy troops, who endanger the inner regime and the foundations of the nation, to maintain themselves in the country, against the people’s will” (1964/1967:92-93). He sent the same message to the Tunisians and other Africans who were engaged in the struggle to liberate themselves from Western imperialism.

As it pertains to Du Bois, the Kenyon History Index classifies him as having being “more politically militant” and demonstrated his political beliefs through his involvement in the Niagara Movement, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and as editor of *The Crisis*. The Index also points out that Du Bois’ more militant agitation was well received by other northern freedmen but that Booker T. Washington, however, felt that it did more harm than good and served only to irritate Southern Whites (<http://www2.kenyon.edu>).

The Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) also notes that as President, Woodrow Wilson confronted a generation of militant African American leaders—among who was Du Bois—who had begun to challenge their more conservative elders and the assumptions and expectations of most Whites in America. PBS adds that through the Niagara Movement, Du Bois and other radical African American leaders like William Monroe Trotter pushed for a more militant African American agenda (PBS, 2001).

In fact, as Arnold Taylor states, on many occasions between 1905 and 1935, Du Bois endorsed not only the use of violence in self-defense, but prophesied a war between the races. This was in response to the physical atrocities against African Americans, such as beatings and lynching, more than fraud at the polls or other forms of White chicanery (Taylor, 1976:62-63).

Conclusion

Based on the preceding findings, it is only logical to conclude that Leonenet symbolizes gnoseology, African Nationalism, *Ubuntu*, essential dignity, and militancy to its subscribers. These findings have at least two important implications not only for subscribers to Leonenet, but for those of other African listservs as well.

First, we ought to consider Leonenet as having a dual nature: (1) as a human experience, which not only gives pleasure but also teaches life in varying degrees of intensity; and (2) as the object of study, or of our intellectual curiosity. One might well ask a Leonenet subscriber whether in his/her participation in the listserv’s discussions, s/he recognizes the inseparable nature of these aspects of the medium.

Second, Leonenet can no longer be considered merely an adventitious or decorative object in life or in culture; it must be seen rather as one of the deepest expressions of the ethos of a people. Members of Leonenet cannot ignore this reality: Leonenet is *life*, readily available to its subscribers and full of humanizing tension.

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Some of the Editorial Board

Adam Jones

Professor of African History and Culture at the University of Leipzig, taught in Pujehun as a VSO from 1973 to 1975. He did fieldwork and archival research there for a doctorate in 1977-78 and co-organised four Sierra Leone Symposia in Birmingham (1979-1986). His book "From Slaves to Palm Kernels" (Wiesbaden 1983) dealt with the precolonial history of the Galinhas country.

Ian Hancock

The Hon. Ian F. Hancock has taught as a member of the minority faculty at The University of Texas since 1972. His principal academic areas are English history, grammar and dialectology, language and identity, African and Afro-

Caribbean linguistics, and creolization and language contact. He is Director of RADOC (The Romani Archives and Documentation Center) at The University of Texas, where he is Nowlin Regents Professor of Liberal Arts. He has published widely with over 400 articles, chapters and books authored or edited. In addition to his academic work he is a human rights activist, having represented the Roma at the United Nations as a member of the UN Economic and Social Council and of UNICEF. He has met with world leaders, including His Holiness the Dalai Lama at his home in India. He is North American member of the Vienna-based International Romani Parliament and was a member of the Project on Ethnic Relations' Advisory Board. In addition he addresses the US Congress and the Council of Europe on human rights issues, and has represented the US State Department at the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe in Warsaw and spoken in Brussels, Geneva and New York before the EU and the UN. He was recipient in Norway of the Rafto Foundation International Prize for Human Rights (1997) and of the Gamaliel Chair in Peace and Justice from The University of Wisconsin (1998).

West Chester University (Pennsylvania) created "The Ian Hancock Graduate Fellowship in Holocaust and Genocide Studies" in April, 2007. "The Ian Hancock Roma Education and Social Centre (*Dr. Ian Hancock Romski Edukacijski Omladinski Centar*)" was created and named in his honor in 2009 in Zagreb, Croatia. He has received awards from Yeshiva and other U.S. Universities for his humanitarian efforts.

In 1998 he was appointed by President Clinton as the sole Romani member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council. He serves on a number of editorial boards. He was granted an honorary doctorate with distinction by Umeå University (Sweden) in 2005 and received a second honorary doctorate from Constantine University (Slovakia) in 2009. He currently serves as State Commissioner on the Texas Holocaust and Genocide Commission.

Ian has been kind enough to allow us to produce his 'library' of texts relevant to the study of Krio.

SIERRA LEONEAN LANGUAGES HOLDINGS

HANCOCK COLLECTION

Corrections solicited, send to radoc@radoc.net

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From our Archives

Christopher Fyfe – 1958 – Sierra Leone Studies NS, No.2 - Circular Road Burial Ground

Circular Road Burial Ground

The “View of the New Burial Ground” illustrated here is taken from a coloured lithograph of a drawing made in 1860. The artists’ initials are in the corner-J.E.S.-Miss Julia E. Sass, the first principal of the Annie Walsh Memorial School (to give it the name it now bears), where she presided from 1849 to 1869. She drew it from the rising ground in the middle of the Circular Road Cemetery, looking east over what was then still empty but is now covered with tombstones, up to Heddle’s Farm, the roof of which is just distinguishable at the top of the hill in the middle of the picture.

In the foreground are two memorial crosses--still standing today--to the Right Reverend John Bowen, third Bishop of Sierra Leone, and to his wife, the daughter of a Dean of Peterborough, and their still-born child. He died in May, 1859, she in childbirth eight months earlier. To the right of their enclosure appears a stone (no longer there) to the Reverend John Millward, an English missionary, Principal of the C.M.S. Grammar School from 1855-59, who, with his wife, died two months after the bishop. In front is a stone, which is still there, to the Reverend Christian Ehemann, a German missionary who died in January 1860 after 14 years’ service, chiefly at York and Regent.

Miss Sass’s picture was printed at the end of *The Memorials of John Bowen* which appeared in 1862. It serves as a memorial to one of the unhealthiest years that Freetown has ever known, 1859, when over 500 (including 42 of about 90 European inhabitants) perished of malarial, or of yellow, fever and many more of smallpox. If you walk through the burial ground you can see many memorials of that year. Perhaps the most terrible is the large stone vault, not far from Bishop Bowen’s cross, where a Roman Catholic bishop and all the members of his mission are buried. They came out in 1859 and all died within a few months.



Nearer Circular Road is a monument to R.A.K. Oldfield, another European who died then. He accompanied Macgregor Laird as surgeon on his expedition to explore the Niger in 1833, and helped to write the published account of it. On his return he settled in Freetown and started a small factory in Water Street for making ground-nut oil. The site of his country house along Kissy Road, Kissy Hall, was bought by government in 1889 for another cemetery, for by then this one where he lies was too congested.

There are stones to two Americans, one from New York, the other from Boston, who died of yellow fever in that fatal year 1859. The Bostonian has a verse from Gray's *Elegy* on his. Two other monuments to victims of the epidemic, Nathaniel Salomon and Leo Levi of Liverpool, have verses in Hebrew.

Such stones remind us how cosmopolitan Freetown has always been. Americans were trading on the Coast even before the Colony was founded, and when, a hundred years ago, a flourishing export trade in ground-nuts and palm-oil grew up here, almost as much was exported to the United States as to Great Britain. But another stone, to Frank M. Gates, an American missionary who died in 1890, shows that they did not only come to trade-and if you look up from his stone, there is another tangible reminder of American interest in the near-by Albert Academy.

The Hebrew inscriptions testify to the great part Jews played in opening up trade all along the coast of Sierra Leone during the last century. H. B. Levi, for instance, whom the epidemic also swept away, and his brother John, whom it spared, were well established in business in Freetown by 1859. Nathaniel Isaacs, a Jew from Canterbury, had a large trading establishment on Matacong Island-now part of French Guinea-with an agent, Emmanuel Lyons, in Wilberforce Street. Nathaniel Nathan settled in what was still the Sherbro village of Bonthe in the early 1850s; there is still a monument to his little daughter in the old cemetery in Claffin Lane, Bonthe. Further south two Jewish brothers, John and Nathan Harris, started trading at Sulima; it was largely their efforts that prevented the British government from giving all the land south of the Sherbro to Liberia.

So a walk through this New Burial Ground reveals much of the history of Sierra Leone to the observant eye. It was called "New" to distinguish it from the old burial ground laid out in 1801 at the south end of Howe Street, then still outside the town walls which ran from Fort Thornton along what later became Garrison Street to Susan's Bay. A wall was built round this old burial ground in 1816 and the C.M.S. presented an ornamental gate for it. But mortality was high in the 1820s, and the burial ground small. As the town had expanded beyond the old walls by then, and houses surrounded it, it could not be enlarged. So in 1827 a new burial ground was laid out just east of Circular Road. The old cemetery was reserved for descendants of the original Nova Scotian and Maroon settlers: anyone else was buried in the new. But the memorials of these settler families are now lost, for their resting place has been leveled to make a playground, and its ornamental gate guards the Colonial Treasury in Oxford Street.

One of the first stones put up in the New Burial Ground still survives, a well-preserved memorial slab to Christopher Chadwick who died in February 1828, aged 27. I do not know who he was. There was a Doctor Chadwick working in Freetown in 1801: perhaps this was his son. Near it is a stone nearly as old to James Johnstone, who died six months later. He came out from England in business but entered government service. When York village was started in 1819 for a group of disbanded soldiers he was put in charge. The enormous official house he built at York is in ruins today. His tombstone has lasted better.

At least three governors-Sir Neil Campbell, Major Temple and Sir John Jeremie-and at least one governor's wife, Mrs Blackall, were buried there, but only one of their tombs survives. Inside a railing, overgrown by weeds and shrubs, which have cracked the lid in half, stands the sarcophagus of Octavius Temple, father and grandfather of archbishops of Canterbury, who died after only eight months as governor, in 1834. He is commemorated in the Cathedral too, though the original marble tablet to him was presumably broken at some time, for the present tablet is of wood.

Many of the tombs have been built of laterite, with a memorial stone of marble or basalt, ordered out from Europe, inset. As the laterite has crumbled with age the harder stone has fallen out and broken. That is why so many tombs are mere nameless mounds of shapeless stone. Two years ago I found lying on the ground a handsome black slab engraved to the memory of the Reverend William Peck, a young Methodist missionary who died here in 1829. By kind consent of the Mayor, it has now been moved to a safer place inside St. John's Maroon Church, Westmoreland Street. Only this single stone has survived in the burial ground to commemorate the Methodist missionaries, although William Fox's account of the Mission describes how Peck was laid to rest beside several other deceased colleagues in the shade of "a large African plum tree".

The West African Methodist church is better commemorated. In 1844 a group of Liberated Africans in Freetown, led by Anthony O'Connor, the head clerk in the colonial Surveyor's office, broke away and formed their church, separate from the European mission and from the other Methodist churches in Freetown. One of their churches, Tabernacle, built in 1846, stands near the cemetery. After O'Connor's death in 1855 the congregations decided to affiliate themselves to the United Methodist Free Church in England, get a European missionary out to help them. No monument survives to O'Connor, the founding father of a church which, now separate again, still flourishes today (though the Secretariat records show he imported a tombstone from England for his wife's grave in 1852), but stones are still standing to several of the European missionaries who came out to his church-Potts, New, Truscott, and the families of others.

One handsome, locally made monument dated 1846 and still in good condition commemorates the daughter of Peter Hughes, master mason, who perhaps worked the stone himself. Another of Hughes' achievements is more conspicuous, Holy Trinity Church, Kissy Road, which he built in 1839 under the supervision of a German missionary, and then enlarged, supervising the work himself in 1854. By then there were many in Freetown wealthy enough to import stones more durable than the local laterite, more easily workable than the local granite; their tombs provide the historian with a repository of family history. Such family vaults as the Taylors', which enshrines the patriarchal figure of John Taylor who died in 1876 "at the good old age of about 107 years", and his descendants, exemplify the rise of a notable family. But some families have not recorded on the outside who is buried within, so their names are as unknown as those whose tombs have crumbled away.

Despite neglect and decay memorials still stand to many, now barely remembered, who helped to transform Freetown from the village of wooden huts it was at the beginning of the last century, into the thriving commercial centre it became by the middle of it. Such is the stone to John French who died in 1847 aged 70. An Ashantee, liberated in the Colony in 1810, he was apprenticed to a carpenter. When he had learnt his trade and saved a little money he began making frame houses to sell ready made, to be mounted on a stone foundation, at from £10 to £50 apiece. Soon he was employing other carpenters and had opened a shop to sell spirits. As has always been usual in Freetown, he put his profits into land. His large property on the west side of Liverpool Street was mortgaged in the year of his death for £400. He was headman for the Ashantees in Freetown, and in 1820 Chief Justice Fitzgerald mentioned him particularly as a responsible and reliable juryman.

Not far off is a monument to Thomas Will, the headman of the Freetown "Akus", as the Yorubas were popularly called. A recaptive, like French, starting without capital or education (he could not read or write) he built up a flourishing trading business, so that when he died in 1840 he left £2,000 and a good corner house in Walpole Street, which he had bought two years earlier for £305.

A stone still stands to John Langley, merchant, a "native of the Ebu country" who died in 1843 aged 40. Liberated in 1816, he was educated at Regent in the C.M.S. institution which, moved to Fourah Bay in 1827, was the seed from which the present Fourah Bay College has grown. There he was named Langley after a clergyman in England, a benefactor of the C.M.S. He taught at the village school at Bathurst and then at Kent where the manager (equivalent of a modern district commissioner) found fault with him and had him flogged. He brought and won an action against the manager for illegal assault, but the governor refused to reinstate him, so he went into business and traded up-country. In 1834 government had to intervene to protect him from the Alikali of Port Loko who was at war with the Mendes and had put him in prison for selling them gunpowder.

Three years later a more lenient governor decided to take Langley back into government service, this time not as a teacher, but as manager at Charlotte. This was a bold experiment, for no liberated African had held such a post before. Langley was a poor choice for such an experiment. Much of the village manager's time was occupied by filling in forms for the office in Freetown: at least a dozen separate forms with full information about the village had to go in every month. The simple education he had received made this a difficult task which he often neglected. Memories of his early unjust treatment embittered him against government and made him unco-operative, while even his friends admitted that "the assumption of consequence for which he was conspicuous" made him an arrogant and unkind superior. In 1839 he was removed from office again, and returned to Freetown to retail spirits.

Two years later he fell ill and had a sudden religious conversion, gave up selling spirits, made friends with the missionaries, with whom he had long ago quarreled, and contributed liberally to their funds. It was the year of Fowell Buxton's ill-fated Niger expedition. Langley did all he could to arouse interest towards it in Freetown, called a public meeting, where he gave an address of thanks to the promoters, and raised money to send them. Then he died, still a young man, and was buried in our New Burial Ground.

Many memorials survive to famous Sierra Leoneans of the next generation. Here lie Dr. G.V.T. Manley, one of the first to qualify as a doctor, and the Reverend James Quaker, who died in 1882 after 20 years as principal of the Grammar School. An imposing sarcophagus covers the remains of Isaac Fitzjohn, postmaster of Freetown for 24 years, great-grandfather of a Legislative Councillor of today; a gothic obelisk commemorates Mrs. M.P. Horton, mother-in-law of Sir Samuel Lewis.

Such a cemetery is worth studying, and it is sad to see it so little cared for. The neglect is nothing new. Poor Bishop Bowen, planting lilies on his wife's grave, beside which he was to lie so soon, called it "a wild, neglected cemetery". There has indeed been some improvement since his day, for pigs no longer roam there as they did then; nor are cattle tethered there to graze as I have seen them in one of the four cemeteries of Bonthe. But it is overgrown and unprotected, the tombs crumble and break. Many are no more than nameless heaps of rubble. If they are neglected for another generation that is what all will become, and these irreplaceable monuments to the distinguished dead will have been lost to posterity.

<http://www.theguardian.com/education/2008/oct/28/sierraleone>