

MISSION EDUCATION IN EARLY SIERRA LEONE,
1793-1820

KATRINA KEEFER

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Abstract

Mission education helped to transform the small colony at Freetown and mission outposts at Rio Pongo, the Bullom Shore and elsewhere on the upper Guinea coast into a center of regional development. Freetown was a focal point of migration from North America, England and various parts of Africa that provided an early model of a multicultural society in a colonial context. The activities of the various Christian missions enhanced the educational opportunities for the nascent British colony, especially with the arrival of people taken off slave ships by the British navy after 1808.

People in the area of Sierra Leone already had access to education before the establishment of the British colony in 1808. Muslims attended Qu'ranic school wherever Muslims formed communities, and Islamic education was especially associated with Fuuta Jalon in the interior. Moreover, the Poro and Sande secret societies provided initiation training that amounted to an educational system. Finally, the children of prominent coastal traders and local officials sometimes were educated in Europe, and in this period, especially in Britain. The schools opened by the Christian missionaries, especially the Church Missionary Society (CMS) – intensified the access to education. The efforts of the CMS missions introduced a new approach to instruction that was revolutionary for the region. Importantly, these early CMS missionaries were German-speaking Lutherans. As a result of their work, Freetown became a center of culturally diverse learning.

This thesis examines mission records for the period 1808-1820 in order to analyze the cultural diversity of the Freetown population. Children came from a variety of backgrounds which reflect early settlement and the arrival of the first wave of Liberated Africans. It is argued here that mission education was well established during this period, which was before the arrival

of large numbers of Yoruba and other Africans after 1820. The subsequent activities of the children who studied in the mission schools make it clear that the impact of mission education was dramatic, since many of the children became missionaries, teachers or merchants who provided leadership in the consolidation of Freetown as a center of education and cultural plurality before the landscape of the colony was altered after 1820.

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Introduction

Called the “Athens” of West Africa and later esteemed as one of the first centers of Western learning in Africa, Sierra Leone has held a prominent place in the history of the region for its contribution to the formation of an educated West African elite. In the early nineteenth century in Sierra Leone, a series of events took place which could not have been replicated elsewhere or at any other time: the English Act to Abolish Slavery of 1807, the influx of freed African slaves from vessels seized and adjudicated by the Vice Admiralty Court, and the establishment of a western-style education system which served to knit a tremendously diverse region together. Just as Freetown’s Fourah Bay College – the first western-style university in West Africa - was established in 1827 on the grounds of a school run by the Church Missionary Society, Sierra Leone’s educated elite were in large part built upon a major socio-cultural transformation which took place in the early nineteenth century under the auspices of the same Church Missionary Society. As the organization which oversaw the original schools in-colony and sprinkled throughout the coast, the CMS came to control much of the educational system in the colony, especially after 1816.

The CMS’s contribution, and the work done by its intriguing representatives, was central to the establishment of a society regionally wherein academic achievement was deemed of importance. This study examines the earliest period of that pedagogical system in the context of the tremendous social changes taking place. The mission schools which were founded from 1804 onward were innovative and utterly unique in the diversity of their respective student bodies. The confluence of that diversity, the socio-linguistic differences of the teachers, the tensions ongoing between CMS and colonial authorities, along with the activities of the British Anti-Slavery

Squadron together created a complex and intriguing climate for change. In effect, the situation was something of a “perfect storm” on the ground at that time, and this dissertation demonstrates each of the many forces at play which ultimately transformed the social landscape. That transformation became the framework and organized system into which increasing numbers of Liberated Africans – including a vast number of Yoruba after 1822 – came and were acculturated.

Sierra Leone was not without its own forms of education when English-speaking settlers began to arrive and work to establish what would eventually become Freetown. The regional Poro initiation society, and its female equivalent Sande, served as important approaches to training youth in their adult responsibilities. Likewise, the Qur’anic schools established by Muslims regionally trained young people in a pedagogical approach of memorization which was very similar to that practiced in Europe from antiquity onward. Finally, those with sufficient resources could send their children abroad for education, usually in Europe and often in slave trading centers such as Liverpool. Each of these pre-existing options came with an implicitly stratification due to the social standing and wealth of a pupil’s parents. In Poro, only the sons of the elite could afford to enter higher ranks, and in the Islamic schools, educational achievement beyond the standard level required access to wealth to afford it. Education abroad, likewise, was not an option available for any but the elite.

When the CMS’s German-speaking missionaries began to teach at Bashia in 1806, they brought with them a radical new method of education. Called variously the Bell method or the Lancaster method after the two men who developed it almost simultaneously, this system required one schoolmaster, and rewarded pupils for their academic accomplishments by giving top students the responsibility of leading classes. Students were to be paired in order that a strong

student could help a weaker, and both might benefit by this approach. Not only did this method permit many hundreds of pupils to hypothetically be overseen by a single schoolmaster, but it also rewarded students solely on what they were able to accomplish; their work ranked them as opposed to the standing or purses of their family.

This so-called Monitorial System was new to Europe at the time, and considered advantageous for use in colonial settings due to the reduced need for multiple teachers. It proved transformative in Sierra Leone. However, not only were the lessons taught to the students at Bashia, Kanoffee, Wonkafong, Yongroo Pomoh, Leicester and elsewhere important, but the composition of the classrooms was also central to the change which took place.

Due in part to the time it took for letters to make their way to and from England with the First Napoleonic War raging, and in part to the linguistic issues between English CMS authorities and native German speakers on the ground, instructions were often interpreted fluidly in Sierra Leone by the missionaries. Swift choices often needed to be made, and despite orders otherwise which arrived too late to matter, Malchior Renner, Johann Prasse, and Leopold Butscher concluded an agreement in 1806 to take charge of a former factory on the Rio Pongo for use as a schoolroom. The American slavetrader who made this generous offer to them, one Benjamin Curtis, did so on condition that they teach his sons English. The missionaries were sent by the CMS to convert and work among the Susu of the area –they were not instructed to hold school for the children of slave traders! By the time any refusal could be insisted upon by London, the school was established, and Bashia had a good number of students present. This offers one example of how the situation evolved and changed, and the place of the schools which the missionaries founded and ran.

The pupil lists compiled by the missionaries reflect Sierra Leone's regional diversity, and

are important especially in light of the educational system these men (and their wives) brought with them. By purchasing slaves and then redeeming them, and by welcoming the sons and daughters of Nova Scotian or Jamaican Maroon settlers from Freetown, the missionaries created classrooms populated by the children of the elite, the children of slave traders, the children of former slaves, and children who had themselves been enslaved, and then rewarded their students for their performance alone. In theory, a former slave could become First Class, and teach or remonstrate with the children of the elite or of slave traders. Though the CMS in London did not plan for such a situation, and did not instruct the missionaries in the establishment of these schools, the schools themselves offered a cultural melting pot which was unique at that time, and the graduates of this system became the nucleus of a new elite.

Children such as Stephen Caulker offer a very positive example of how exposure to that level of diversity may have shaped those within the new system. By becoming a teacher in turn and spreading what he had learned to his own people, Caulker is a shining example of the transformations which were ongoing, including conversion and Westernisation. African agency is important to remember in this narrative, however – Caulker's classmate Richard Wilkinson is another important example of a student who chose to use his education for his own purposes, which ran contrary to the abolitionist ideology behind the CMS. It is a trifle ironic given Wilkinson's later prominence as a slave trader that his ships were responsible for carrying the first settlers of Liberia.

The pupil lists and correspondence which were the core of this study permit insight into an extremely complex picture. All the players involved were engaged in a time of considerable turmoil as abolition was being enforced as of 1807, and the colony was transforming under direct Crown authority after 1808. The German-speaking missionaries were an often tense group of

men divided by their own residual European regionalisms, and tended to align with one another based on their respective homelands. As the Liberated Africans began to pour into the colony, rapidly overshadowing every other demographic combined, both colonial authorities and settlers were forced to re-imagine themselves and their place in the region. The colonial authorities often found themselves at loggerheads with the missionaries, as they were determined to utilize these men for the acculturation of the recaptives, while the missionaries wanted to remain in the hinterlands.

It speaks to the importance of the CMS schools that in 1816 Governor MacCarthy and Reverend Edward Bickersteth together agreed to centralize the missions into Freetown explicitly to oversee the recaptives. Increasing hostility due to the work of the British Anti-Slavery Squadron had placed the far-flung missionaries at risk, but I can only believe that the closure of the schools each man had worked so hard to establish must have been trying. Each of the early missionaries who worked in Sierra Leone ultimately died there after earning the reported respect and affection of his student body. Their journals, letters and student reports offer a glimpse into the complicated social dynamic of the times, and the individuals both student and teacher who were attempting to navigate them. Their eventual success may be seen in the esteem with which education was eventually held in Sierra Leone by the mid nineteenth century. The CMS schools and those who passed through or oversaw them were fundamental in building that new Protestant educated elite which nurtured this “Athens” of West Africa.

Sierra Leone's Historical Context

Situated along the upper Guinea coast in West Africa, the region known today as Sierra Leone has played a pivotal role in the trans-Atlantic abolition of slavery. First visited by

Europeans in the fifteenth century, the region historically had a diverse and mixed population. Important elite men governed the small groups of differing peoples, each with their own dialect of the spoken languages which Europeans assumed represented distinct “nations.”¹ The coastal peoples who dominated the land most commonly seen by European authors were the Temne, Sherbro and Susu. The region saw Islamic expansion from the inland regions after the *jihād* of the eighteenth century from Senegal and the Upper Niger River, which saw the formation of a Muslim theocracy centred at Fuuta Jalon,² and a Muslim-dominated region, Moria, as well as major settlements like Forekaria, just north of the Freetown settlement. The Fula merchants from Fuuta Jalon, and the Mandinka and Susu from Moriah controlled much of the trade connecting to the Saharan networks. Their connections to those trade systems moving kola, salt, gold, camwood, rice, necessary staples, and importantly, slaves, were formed through marriages and alliances with other Muslim traders.³ These merchants thus oversaw the trade corridors moving between the coastal peoples who traded with the Atlantic systems, and the major networks inland. Bound by their shared religion, they were able to control wealth and access to power at trade centers in Moriah (such as Kambia and Port Loko along the Scarcies river), up into the region controlled by Fuuta Jalon.⁴ Into this diverse inter-relationship of coastal and inland trade networks must be added the prominent trading families that sprang up along the coast from the

¹ Christopher Fyfe, *A Short History of Sierra Leone* (London: Longman Group, 1967), 2. The term "nation" will be used in this thesis as a way of representing what is in the documentation without exploring further issues of ethnicity and identity.

² Paul E. Lovejoy and Suzanne Schwarz, “Sierra Leone in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” in *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Colonialism in Sierra Leone*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy and Suzanne Schwarz. (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2014), 8.

³ Walter Rodney, *History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545-1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 20, 24, 62; Paul E. Lovejoy, “Kola in the History of West Africa (La kola dans l'histoire de l'Afrique occidentale),” *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, 20, 77/78 (1980): 97, 102, 108; Bruce Mouser, “A History of the Rio Pongo: Time for a New Appraisal?” *History in Africa*, 37 (2010): 330.

⁴ Allen M. Howard and David E. Skinner, “Network Building and Political Power in Northwestern Sierra Leone, 1800-65,” *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 54, 2 (1984): 11, 12.

marriage of Europeans and local elite. Acting as intermediaries between local peoples and trading vessels, these families often had European names, and controlled land and wealth. Three major zones of trade may be seen in the region, including the Atlantic Ocean system, which intersected with the coastal system comprising powerful families and peoples engaged in trade through the various waterways, and the systems of the interior dominated by Muslims, connecting with the trade networks further inland.⁵

Though this study begins with the foundation of Freetown in 1793, 1808 serves as the starting-point for this thesis' central study period, as it was the moment when the ethnic landscape of the region began to change radically for a variety of reasons which were increasingly overshadowed by the influx of liberated Africans. These peoples varied in their origins; they had primarily been captured in the nearby regions, but many others hailed from as far away as Congo and the Cameroon River. Their numbers rapidly exceeded those of the Nova Scotians, Europeans, and Maroons combined before long as the Vice Admiralty Court continued. Prior to the establishment of the Court of Mixed Commission at Freetown in 1820, the settlement was comprised of Nova Scotians, Maroons, European administrators, local peoples, members of prominent trading families, and Muslim peoples. It was a rich and diverse mixture, and grew more diverse with the influx of formerly enslaved Africans, recorded with great detail under the Vice Admiralty Court. Upon that judicial body's replacement by the Court of Mixed Commission in 1820, much of the detail for each recorded individual vanished, while documents from the mission schools became formulaic and in turn lost their individual richness. The landscape of the colony changed, and with the increasing waves of liberated Africans, the unique socio-cultural

⁵ Winston McGowan, "The Establishment of Long-Distance Trade between Sierra Leone and Its Hinterland, 1787-1821," *The Journal of African History*, 31, 1 (1990): 27.

dynamic prior to 1820 had been replaced by a new situation. In 1821, all British West African colonies were united, with Freetown as their capital, but such a huge area proved ungovernable, leading to a separation again in 1827. Additionally, the conflicts after 1820 which consumed Oyo in Nigeria sent a massive wave of Yoruba into the slave trade, and many found their way to Sierra Leone, forming a cohesive group which further altered the cultural landscape. This study therefore ends at 1820, demonstrating the early tensions and challenges prior to the major changes of the 1820's, considering the period which formed the basis of the transformations that Sierra Leone underwent, and the pivotal role of education in that experience.

Dissertation Chapters

In chapter one, the historical context of Sierra Leone from 1787 to 1808 is considered in detail, establishing the regional and cultural tensions of this portion of the upper Guinea coast. This chapter explores the context for early settlement on the Sierra Leone peninsula and related settlements at Rio Pongo and elsewhere by discussing the origins of the settlement on the upper Guinea coast in the period down to 1808, when the administration of the Sierra Leone Company was formally transferred to the British Government and the Colony of Sierra Leone was founded. The chapter is divided into sections which outline the history of the settlement and the relationship of the settlement to the states and societies that dominated the coast and the interior of the region stretching from roughly Cape Mount in the south to Rio Pongo in the north. The settlement at Freetown is contextualized first from the European perspective within the confines of British abolition, before turning to an examination of the settlers themselves. It situates them within the complex social setting of the coast, detailing the nearby peoples such as the Temne, Sherbro and Bullom. The chapter then analyzes the Muslim states of the interior such as Moriah,

Fuuta Jalon, and their importance, as well as explaining the role of the powerful Eurafrican merchant families of the coast. It examines how economic factors and nearby trade systems affected the settlement, and closes with the failure of the Sierra Leone Company and the annexation of the settlement by the British Crown in 1808.

In chapter two, the central role played by the Protestant sects in Freetown and in Britain is outlined. Protestantism accompanied both the European and the settler populations, and proved to be transformative in the growth of the colony. The chapter interrogates each of the Protestant groups within the settlement, beginning with the Nova Scotians and the Maroons. Their status as nonconformist members of sects such as that of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, the Methodists and the Baptists are each described in turn. The chapter then critically considers the European evangelical group which had the greatest effect on Sierra Leone, the so called "Clapham Sect," which was instrumental in abolition, in the establishment of the Colony, and in the foundation of the Church Missionary Society which became so prominent in Sierra Leone. The chapter addresses the inability of the CMS to find English missionaries to serve in Africa, and their arrangement with the Berlin Missionary Seminary, which was deeply in debt and lacked any funds with which to send their German-speaking missionaries overseas. Each CMS missionary is analyzed expressly in light of his history with the CMS, beginning with Malchior Renner and Peter Hartwig, whose arrival in 1804 began the CMS mission in Sierra Leone. The chapter ends with a discussion of the various tensions at play between the colonial government and the CMS missionaries, and ends with the 1816 retrenchment of the CMS into Freetown.

In chapter three, the experience of education in the region is described. Prior to, during and after the settlement of Freetown by Protestant Nova Scotians and immigrants from England, local peoples relied on education through secret society schools. This chapter first explores the

pre-existing educational systems of the region. It details practices like the Poro “bush schools” which were the universal educational system for many of the African and Eurafrican peoples of the region. The influence of Islamic education and its role and place within the region and colony are also detailed, alongside the other main means of education: schooling in Europe. The chapter then describes the educational systems which the settlers brought with them to Freetown after settlement. It addresses the settlers’ own schools prior to the establishment of mission schools, and then turns to how the Church Missionary Society’s arrival fundamentally changed the fabric of the colony and hinterlands. The all-important new ingredient which the CMS schools brought with them was the so-called “Monitorial System,” which is explained next in this chapter. A system within which advancement was dictated by academic merit alone, and responsibility was given to successful pupils no matter their origins or wealth, this innovation played a central role in the transformations this thesis traces. The final section of the chapter details the centralization of schools into Freetown after the 1816 visit of Edward Bickersteth, and his accommodation with the colonial authorities, who had been seeking to educate the increasing population of recaptives in the colony.

In chapter four, the schools are analyzed in individual detail. Initially, the chapter offers further insight into the missionaries who established and oversaw these schools. Rather than their CMS records, however, they are here considered in light of their origins, which arguably played a considerable role in determining where each one settled and worked, and why. They were not Germans in any unified sense of the word despite CMS documents implying a shared German culture between them. Germany of the time was fragmented and deeply divided, and was facing the beginnings of Prussian aggression along with the first stirrings of the Napoleonic Wars. The missionaries are therefore discussed in light of their respective and differing cultural

backgrounds and regionalisms within the context of European conflicts of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The first school which these men founded was established north-west of the Freetown colony in 1806, though the first pupil list for the school only reached London in 1809. The group of missionaries at that school, Bashia, taught a large group of pupils and this chapter examines their records in turn. Subsequent schools were established by CMS through the region, along Rio Pongo and the coastline including Isle de Los as well as Freetown itself at Leicester Mountain. These schools are explored on a location by location basis dictated by their establishment. Each settlement experienced differences in its local and regional influences over its years of operation. Details such as the use of patronymics shared by nearby slavetraders, and enrollment figures are addressed within this chapter, which offers a detailed examination of the actual pupil lists sent to London.

In chapter five, general patterns which may be understood from the data are explained, offering interpretations of the student lists from each school. The children's origins are offered as a means of reconsidering their distribution within the schools by geographic location. Pupils ranged from being explicitly European, to belonging to the coastal Eurafican families, and were often fathered by slave traders. They included the sons and daughters of local headmen and village chiefs and elites alongside individuals who were formerly enslaved. Categorizations used by the missionaries are explained and interpreted in this chapter, as these broad definitions encapsulate the cultural diversity of the period. This chapter details how many children were enrolled in each school, and what proportions of each category may be found in each school. The chapter also categorizes pupils in terms of general outcomes. Some were removed from the schools by their families, while others were dismissed for their behaviour. Still others were successfully apprenticed, often locally, demonstrating one element of success among the

individuals who passed through the CMS school system. The chapter ends with the students who succumbed to the many diseases and dangers of that time and of the region.

In chapter six, the eventual effect of a mission education is best seen through individual biographical accounts of students. The Africans and Eurfaricans whose trajectories carried them through the CMS mission schools went on to become tradespeople or educators themselves. This chapter considers a sampling of both the most successful, and the most tragic of the narratives which may be followed through the records of students. The chapter also offers an example of one Eurafrican pupil who elected to take his CMS education into slavetrading, demonstrating that individual agency and ambition was present in the CMS student body. West African society was directly affected by the actions of students who passed through the mission schools from those who in turn founded African and Eurafrican schools along the coast to those who like Richard Wilkinson became slavetraders. Freetown was shaped by the widespread education of liberated Africans within the CMS after 1816, and mission schools produced graduates whose work helped develop a societal emphasis on the value of education.

Overview of the Literature

Due to its pivotal position in examinations of the abolition movement, the slave trade, and the spread of British influence in West Africa, Sierra Leone has been a focus for historical consideration almost since its foundation.⁶ The early studies and accounts from within the region

⁶ F.B. Spilsbury, *Account of a Voyage to the Western Coast of Africa; Performed by His Majesty's Sloop Favourite in the year 1805* (London: Richard Phillips, 1807); *Report of the Committee of the African Institution, Read to the General Meeting* (London: William Phillips, 1807); *Third Report of the Directors of the African Institution, Read at the Annual General Meeting* (London: Ellerton, 1809); *Fourth Report of the Directors of the African Institution, Read at the Annual General Meeting* (London: Ellerton, 1810); *Fifth Report of the Directors of the African Institution, Read at the Annual General Meeting* (London: Ellerton and Henderson, 1811); *Sixth Report of the Directors of the African Institution, Read at the Annual General Meeting* (London: Ellerton and Henderson, 1812);

provided an initial point for this thesis to draw upon, offering insight into the motivations and intentions of the European agendas in play. Of the body of the literature written about Sierra Leone and more broadly concerning West Africa, this study is particularly informed by the work of Christopher Fyfe, whose “History of Sierra Leone” and later “Short History of Sierra Leone” provided a sweeping context within which to consider the events taking place.⁷ Having not only a sense of who lived in the region prior to the arrival of European and settler populations, but a sense of the political structures already in place offered a nuanced and valuable perspective for this work. Like Fyfe, Walter Rodney’s seminal study of the upper Guinea coast served as a comprehensive foundation for this project. Within that context, theories and ideas held and discussed by Paul Lovejoy have proven invaluable in establishing methodological instruments, and in analyzing the data comprising this project.⁸ His work set more broadly in West Africa and in the trans-Atlantic framework has provided insights into critical analyses of complex matters of ethnicity and its meaning, as well as identity around and within the slave trade. Alongside Lovejoy’s fundamental ideas concerning biography and the individuality of human experience, this project has heavily relied upon Lovejoy’s collaborative work with Suzanne Schwarz in

Special Report of the Directors of the African Institution, made at the Annual General Meeting (London: Ellerton and Henderson, 1815); Thorpe, Robert. *A Reply Point by Point to the Special Report of the Directors of the African Institution* (London: F.C. And J. Rivington, 1815); Mathison, Gilbert. *A Short Review of the Reports of the African Institution and of the Controversy with Dr. Thorpe, with Some Reasons against the Registry of Slaves in the British Colonies*. London: Wm. Stockdale, 1816; *A Review of the Colonial Slave Registration Acts in a Report of a Committee of the Board of Directors of the African Institution* (London: Ellerton and Henderson, 1820).

⁷ Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962); Fyfe, *A Short History of Sierra Leone* (London: Longman Group, 1967).

⁸ Paul E. Lovejoy, “Scarification and the Loss of History in the African Diaspora,” in *Activating the Past: History and Memory in the Black Atlantic World*, ed. Andrew Apter and Lauren Derby. (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 99-129; “The Initial ‘Crisis of Adaptation’: The Impact of British Abolition on the Atlantic Slave Trade in West Africa, 1808-1820,” in *From Slave Trade to ‘Legitimate’ Commerce: The Commercial Transition in Nineteenth-Century West Africa*, ed. Robin Law. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 32-56; “Methodology through the Ethnic Lens: The Study of Atlantic Africa,” in *Sources and Methods in African History: Spoken, Written, Unearthed*, ed. Toyin Falola and Christian Jennings (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 105-117.

addition to her own work. Schwarz's analyses of major colonial figures like Zachary Macaulay, her contextualization of how Sierra Leone fit into the trans-Atlantic world and the British slave trade, and her studies of individual trajectories have provided many nuances which this project relies upon. Schwarz's work on the outcomes experienced by liberated Africans has offered another refinement which has further informed many aspects of this project, especially when considering the experiences of the CMS students.⁹ Similarly, this project has relied upon many scholars' work concerning the migration of Black Loyalists from America to Canada or Britain respectively, and from either locale to Sierra Leone. This study is therefore indebted also to the work of James St. G. Walker, Richard West, Cassandra Pybus and others who have examined and traced the route of the first colonists to Freetown.¹⁰ Additionally, the work of David Skinner and Alusine Jalloh has informed notions of the place of Islam and education in Sierra Leone and its interior in tandem with Allen Howard, Winston McGowan, and Lovejoy.¹¹ Stephen Tomkins,

⁹ Paul E. Lovejoy and Suzanne Schwarz, "Sierra Leone in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Colonialism in Sierra Leone*, 1-29; Suzanne Schwarz, "'A Just And Honourable Commerce': Abolitionist Experimentation In Sierra Leone In The Late Eighteenth And Early Nineteenth Centuries," (paper presented at The Hakluyt Society Annual Lecture 2013); Suzanne Schwarz, "Introduction" in *Zachary Macaulay and the Development of the Sierra Leone Company, 1793-4, Part I: Journal, June-October 1793*. 2nd Edition, ed. Suzanne Schwarz. (Leipzig: Leipzig University Press, 2000); Suzanne Schwarz, "Reconstructing the Life Histories of Liberated Africans: Sierra Leone in the Early Nineteenth Century," *History in Africa* 39 (2012): 175-207; "Extending the African Names Database: New Evidence from Sierra Leone," *African Economic History* 38 (2010): 148-149.

¹⁰ Cassandra Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and their Global Quest for Liberty* (Beacon Press, Boston 2006); James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists; The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone 1783-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976); Harvey Amani Whitfield, "Slavery in English Nova Scotia, 1750-1810," *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* (2010): 23-40; Whitefield, "Black Loyalists and Black Slaves in Maritime Canada," *History Compass* (October, 2007): 1980-1997; Stephen J. Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists: London's Blacks and the Foundation of the Sierra Leone Settlement 1786-1791* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994); *The Book of Negroes*; Richard West, *Back to Africa: A History of Sierra Leone and Liberia* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1970).

¹¹ David E. Skinner, "Islam and Education in the Colony and Hinterland of Sierra Leone (1750-1914)," *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines* 10, 3 (1976): 501; Paul E. Lovejoy, "Islamic Scholarship and Understanding History in West Africa before 1800," in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: Volume 3: 1400-1800*, ed. José Rabasa, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 212-232; David E. Skinner, "Islam in the Northern Hinterland and its Influence on the Development of the Sierra Leone Colony," in *Islam and Trade in Sierra Leone*, ed. Alusine Jalloh and David E. Skinner. (Trenton: Africa World Press, Inc., 1997), 1-21; Winston McGowan, "The Establishment of Long-Distance Trade between Sierra Leone and Its Hinterland, 1787-1821," *The Journal of African History* 31, 1 (1990): 25-41.

Iain Whyte, M.G. James, E. Baldwin among others aided in comprehending the disproportionate importance of the so-called Clapham Sect.

The early twentieth century legal analysis by K.J. Beatty, a barrister from London, of the region's male initiation society was a useful tool for exploring colonial attitudes to Poro cultural traditions, along with similar accounts from the same time period.¹² These offered a frequently racialized insight into the roots of British fears concerning trans-ethnic societies of the interior, which both contrasted with and underscored biases present in earlier accounts by travellers, missionaries and visitors to the colony during the nineteenth century.¹³ This European perspective was placed into a more nuanced understanding through exploring the anthropological literature and historical perspectives centering on the same initiation society.¹⁴ By considering the simultaneous trans-ethnic political structure of Poro in tandem with perspectives offered by outsiders entering into the region, this literature offered a glimpse into many of the same tensions which this project engages with. Nuances of the conflicts which took place between abolitionist intentions and economic drives further aid this project, and a variety of scholars have considered

¹² K. J. Beatty, *Human Leopards: an Account of the Trials of Human Leopards before the Special Commission Court; with a note on Sierra Leone, Past and Present* (Kessinger Publishing, 2003 [1915]); D. Burrows, "The Human Leopard Society of Sierra Leone," *Journal of the Royal African Society* 13, 50 (1914): 143-151.

¹³ Alexander Gordon Laing, *Travels in the Timanee, Kooranko, and Soolima countries, in Western Africa* (London: John Murray, 1822); Richard Lander, *Records of Captain Clapperton's Last Expedition to Africa* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830); Robert Clarke, "Sketches of the Colony of Sierra Leone and Its Inhabitants," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, Vol 2 (1863): 334-335.

¹⁴ Braithwaite Wallis, "The 'Poro' of the Mendi," *Journal of the Royal African Society* 4, 14 (1905): 183-189; Kenneth Little, *The Mende of Sierra Leone.: A West African People in Transition* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951); E. Ojo Arewa and Everett E. Hale, "Poro Communications (West Africa). A Spiritual Channel Where Men Are the Means of Transmission," *Anthropos* (1975): 78-96; Robin Law, "Human Sacrifice in Pre-Colonial West Africa," *African Affairs* 84, 334 (1985): 53-87; M. C. Jędrej, "Medicine, Fetish and Secret Society in a West African Culture," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 46, 3 (1976): 247-257; Caroline Bledsoe, "The Political Use of Sande Ideology and Symbolism," *American Ethnologist* 11, 3 (1984): 455-472; Richard M. Fulton, "The Political Structures and Functions of Poro in Kpelle Society," *American Anthropologist, New Series* 74, 5 (1972): 1218-1233 ; George W. Harley, *Notes on the Poro in Liberia* (Cambridge: Peabody Museum of American Archeology Papers, 1941); Beryl Larry Bellman, *The Language of Secrecy: Symbols and Metaphors in Poro Ritual* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1984); Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of African Societies to 1870* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997).

the factors which shaped the fabric of the region at that time.¹⁵

Contextualizing the geography and role of the Church Missionary Society in the region was of considerable importance to this project, and Bruce Mouser's work on the subject has proven central in understanding the political tensions at play within a the regional stage.¹⁶ His examination of the period of transition facing the CMS's mission in Sierra Leone provided a means of interpreting the documents which this thesis relies upon and understanding the pressures under which the missionaries operated. His work, and the article by his wife Nancy Fox Mouser, on the Reverend Peter Hartwig remains one of the only studies done to date on the German-speaking missionaries who worked for the CMS in its early years, and his publications on the Rio Pongo's complex social systems were invaluable to this project. The other central data source for this project has been the Registers of Liberated Africans, and the works by scholars currently analyzing them. The ongoing project headed by Eltis on understanding the origins of liberated Africans through an analysis of their names has been of considerable importance in refining many aspects of this study.¹⁷

¹⁵ Leslie Bethell, "The Mixed Commissions for the Suppression of the Transatlantic Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century," *The Journal of African History* 7, 1 (1966): 79-93; Kenneth C. Wylie, "The Slave Trade in Nineteenth Century Temneland and the British Sphere of Influence," *African Studies Review* 16, 2 (1973): 203-217.

¹⁶ Bruce L. Mouser. "A History of the Rio Pongo: Time for a New Appraisal?" *History in Africa* 37, (2010): 329-354; "Origins of Church Missionary Society Accommodation to Imperial Policy: The Sierra Leone Quagmire and the Closing of the Susu Mission, 1804-17," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 39 (2009): 375-402; "Rebellion, Marronage and Jihād: Strategies of Resistance to Slavery on the Sierra Leone Coast, c. 1783-1796," *The Journal of African History* 48, 1 (2007): 27-44; "Who and Where Were the Baga? European Perceptions From 1793 To 1821," *History in Africa*, 29 (2002): 337-364; "Trade, Coasters, and Conflict in the Rio Pongo from 1790 to 1808," *The Journal of African History* 14, 1 (1973): 45-64; Bruce Mouser and Nancy Fox Mouser, *The Case of Reverend Peter Hartwig: Slave trader or misunderstood idealist? Clash of Church Missionary Society/Imperial Objectives in Sierra Leone, 1804-1815* (Madison: African Studies Program, 2003); *The Reverend Peter Hartwig 1804-1815: A Sourcebook of Correspondence from the Church Missionary Society Archive*, ed. B. and N. Mouser, (Madison: African Studies Program, 2003); Nancy Fox Mouser, "Peter Hartwig, 1804-1808: Sociological Perspectives in Marginality and Alienation," *History in Africa* 31 (2004): 263-302.

¹⁷ David Eltis, Richard Anderson, Alex Borucki, Daniel Domingues da Silva, Paul Lachance, Philip Misevich, Olatunji Ojo, "Using Pre-Orthographic African Names to Identify Origins of Recaptives in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: The Registers of Liberated Africans, 1808-1862," Presented at the *Sierra Leone Past and Present International Conference*, Freetown, April 24, 2012; G. Ugo Nwokeji and David Eltis, "The Roots of the African Diaspora: Methodological Considerations in the Analysis of Names in the Liberated African Registers of Sierra

In refining a primary instrument employed for this study, an understanding of the anthropological literature which analyzes body modification within its context as a signifier of identity has been fundamental. Extensively discussed within that field for most of the modern period, scarification and tattoo and their place in West African cultural traditions form an important means of decoding the detailed data held within the Registers.¹⁸ Used in conjunction with the work by Eltis et al, and refined within the trans-Atlantic Slave Voyages Database, this consideration provided this project with a means of considering the diversity of the individuals studied.

Sources and Collections

A part of the abolitionist movement included the interception and seizure of slave ships bound for the Americas, and the removal of their human cargo. Courts were convened in Freetown, in the British colony of Sierra Leone, between 1808 and 1862 for the purpose of adjudicating these vessels and theoretically "liberating" the persons captive on board. Clerks meticulously entered

Leone and Havana," *History in Africa* 29, (2002): 365-379.

¹⁸ Samuel Johnson. *The History of the Yorubas From the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [1921] 2010); C.H. Armitage, *The Tribal Markings and Marks of Adornment of the Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast Colony* (London: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1924); W.D. Hambly, *The History of Tattooing and its Significance with Some Account of Other Forms of Corporal marking* (London: H.F & G Witherby, 1925); C.K. Meek, *The Northern tribes of Nigeria: An Ethnographic Account of the Northern provinces of Nigeria Together with a Report of the 1921 Decennial Census* (Frank Cass and Co. Ltd. [1925] 1971); R.S Rattray, *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland, Vol II.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932); Pierre Donaint, *Les Cadres Geographiques a Travers Les Langues Du Niger: Contribution a la Pedagogie de l'Etude du Milieu* (Niamey: Institut Nigérian de Recherches en Sciences Humaines, 1975); Cornelius Oyeleke Adepegba, "A Survey of Nigerian Body markings and their relationship to other Nigerian Arts." Ph.D. thesis, (Indiana University, 1976); Michel Thévoz, *The Painted Body* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1984); Henry John Drewal, "Beauty and being; Aesthetics and Ontology in Yoruba Body Art" in *Marks of Civilization: Artistic Transformations of the Human Body* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988); Victoria Pitts, *In the Flesh: The Cultural Politics of Body Modification* (New York: Palgrave MacMillian, 2003); Margo DeMello, *Encyclopedia of Body Adornment* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2007); Olatunji Ojo, "Beyond Diversity: Women, Scarification, and Yoruba Identity," *History in Africa* 35 (2008): 347-374.

each individual in a series of Registers, noting descriptions of each man, woman, and child, often including the presence of scarification, burns, wounds, brands or tattoos on their faces and bodies, and in some cases, even a sketch of the more interesting patterns. The data contained in the Registers noted the names, heights, approximate ages, and general descriptions of these individuals. Early Registers dating between 1808-1819 provide data about the disposal of these former slaves, although not all Registers are consistent in the information entered in the several columns. These documents were created for the “Liberated Africans Department” and include the “Register of Liberated Africans, 1808-1812, Numbers 1-3772;” the “Register of Liberated Africans 1812-1814, Numbers 3773-6274;” the “Register of Liberated Africans 1814-1815, Numbers 4684-7507” and its partial duplicate “Register of Liberated Africans 1814-1816;” another partial duplication series in “Register of Liberated Africans 1815-1816, Numbers 7508-9758;” the “Register of Liberated Africans 1816-1817,” and “Register of Liberated Africans 1816-1819, Numbers 9759-11905;” and a portion of the “Register of Liberated Africans 1819-1822.” All have been digitized and copies are housed in the Tubman Institute at York University.

Initially, the slaves “re-captured” from those who had first taken them were known as “Captured Negroes,” and their growing numbers required their formal registration by British officials. Kenneth Macaulay, the first official who was responsible for clothing the recaptives and recording indentures for those apprenticed to settlers in Freetown, arrived in 1808 and worked under the authority of Governor Thomas P. Thompson.¹⁹ He and subsequent clerks entered data in English, and presumably approximated ages and names based upon evidence provided by the recaptives. The nine Registers made during the Vice Admiralty Court's administration with entries listed between 1808 and 1819 in the Sierra Leone Public Archives form the basis and

¹⁹ Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, 115.

starting point of this study, presenting insight into the influx of a diverse population into the colony beginning in 1808. Held at Fourah Bay College in Freetown, Sierra Leone, these nine early Registers were only recently reconsidered by modern scholars, and have been digitized under the British Library-funded Endangered Archives Project.²⁰ Though in many cases damaged by time and mold, the documents are generally legible, and their unique terminology and extreme detail with regard to descriptions of each entry is in contrast to Registers made after the Court of Mixed Commission was convened. A research trip to further the digitization of these documents in 2012 offered a unique chance to study them personally, and the legibility of most of the registers is notable despite the climate to which they have been exposed.

Contextualizing much of these data is assisted by sources held in reproduction at a variety of archives worldwide. The papers of the African Institution, along with many other primary sources,²¹ have been digitized and are available using e-book readers such as Google Books,

²⁰ For further information on the Endangered Archives Project of the British library, and this major archival project, see http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_project.a4d?projID=EAP443;r=41 (accessed Sep, 2015).

²¹ Andrew Bell, *The Madras School: Or, Elements of Tuition: Comprising the Analysis of an Experiment in Education, Made at the Male Asylum, Madras; with Its Facts, Proofs, and Illustrations; to which are Added, Extracts of Sermons Preached at Lambeth; a Sketch of a National Institution for Training Up the Children of the Poor; and a Specimen of the Mode of Religious Instruction at the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea* (London: T. Bensley, 1808); Edward Bickersteth, *Memoirs of Simeon Wilhelm, a Native of the Susco Country, West Africa: Who Died at the House of the Church Missionary Society, London, Aug. 29, 1817; Aged 17 Years. Together with Some Accounts of the Superstitions of the Inhabitants of West Africa* (New-Haven: S. Converse, 1819); Thomas Coke, *An Interesting Narrative of a Mission sent to Sierra Leone, in Africa, by the Methodists, in 1811; To which is prefixed, An Account of the Rise, Progress, Disasters, and Present State of that Colony. The Whole Interspersed with a variety of remarkable Particulars* (London: Paris & Son, 1812); Joseph Corry, *Observations upon the Windward Coast of Africa, the Religion, Character, Customs &c. Of the Natives; With a System upon which they may be Civilized, and a Knowledge Attained of the Interior of this Extraordinary Quarter of the Globe; and upon the Natural and Commercial Resources of the Country; Made in the Years 1805 and 1806* (London: W. Bulmer and Co. Cleveland Row, 1807); William Davies, *Extracts from the Journal of the Rev. William Davies, 1st, when a Missionary at Sierra Leone, Western Africa; Containing Some Account of the Country - its Inhabitants - the Progress of Religion among the Negroes - Manner of Governments - State of the Weather, &c, &c, &c.* (Llanidloes: Wesleyan Printing Office, 1835); Henry Seddall, *The Missionary History of Sierra Leone.* (London: Hatchards, 1874); Charles Williams, *The Missionary Gazetteer; Comprising A Geographical and Statistical Account of the Various Stations of the Church, London, Moravian, Wesleyan, Baptist, and American, Missionary Societies, &c with their progress in Evangelization and Civilization* (London: Frederick Westley and A.H. Davis, 1828); Samuel Abraham Walker, *Missions in Western Africa, among the Soosoo, Bulloms, &c: being the first undertaken by the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, Volume 1.* (Dublin: William Curry, Jun. And Company, 1845); Miron Winslow, *A Sketch of Missions, Or, History of the Principle Attempts to Propagate Christianity Among the Heathen* (Andover:

while reproductions of early scholarly work and manuscripts have been made available digitally under the purview of the Hull City Archives, Hull History Centre, in the United Kingdom. The Huntington Library in San Marino within the United States holds a digital reproduction of many papers of Thomas Clarkson which have been made available for the research central to this thesis, and the National Archives at Kew in the United Kingdom hold many similarly important archival sources which have been digitized and provided to me by fellow scholars such as Richard Anderson, Suzanne Schwarz, and Paul Lovejoy to assist in this project.

The other major collection which has provided much of the material central to this thesis is the earliest documents held by the Church Missionary Society Archives, in the Special Collections portion of the Cadbury Research Library at the University of Birmingham in Birmingham, UK. Though the collection includes individual holdings and papers of missionaries submitted after 1820, the period between 1804-1820 proved extremely fruitful both in terms of a richness of data, and also with regard to the idiosyncrasies visible within the mission itself. Journals, letters back to the Secretary of the Society in London, and complaints about one another offer a uniquely human glimpse into the experience on the ground among the CMS missions to Sierra Leone which is less prevalent after a more structured system of recording is introduced after 1820. The journals of these men permit nuanced views inside their motivations,

Flagg and Gould, 1819); Anna Maria Falconbridge, *Two Voyages to Sierra Leone During the Years 1791-2-3 In a Series of Letters* (London: Self-Published, 1794); John Matthews, *A Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone on the Coast of Africa; Containing an Account of the Trade and Productions of the Country, and of the Civil and Religious Customs and Manners of the People; In a Series of Letters to a Friend in England* (London: B. White and Son, 1788); *Journal of James Watt: Expedition to Timbo Capital of the Fula Empire in 1794*. ed. Bruce L. Mouser, (Madison: African Studies Program, 1994); R.B. Spilsbury, *A Voyage to the Western Coast of Africa; Performed by His Majesty's Sloop Favourite, In the Year 1805. Being a Journal of the Events which Happened to that Vessel, from the Time of Her Leaving England til Her Capture by the French, and the Return of the Author in a Cartel* (London: Richard Phillips, 1807); Joseph Corry, *Observations upon the Windward Coast of Africa, the Religion, Character, Customs &c. Of the Natives; With a System upon which they may be Civilized, and a Knowledge Attained of the Interior of this Extraordinary Quarter of the Globe; and upon the Natural and Commercial Resources of the Country; Made in the Years 1805 and 1806* (London: W. Bulmer and Co. Cleveland Row, 1807).

while criticisms of their behaviour and failings by colleagues and colonial officials offer opposing perspectives and considerations of the totality of each man's impact. The first two missionaries to travel to West Africa under the auspices of the CMS were Malchior Renner and Peter Hartwig, and their difficulties and problems fill much of the very earliest documentation. Letters from the Governor of the Freetown Colony to London concerning the poor behaviour of the two missionaries, specifically Hartwig, deepen the sense of a tense and often volatile environment at that time. Hartwig's eventual dismissal from the CMS and his entry into slave trading is recorded in these papers, following his protests to Secretary Josiah Pratt that he was innocent of any suggested wrongdoing. At the same time, committees of settlers wrote to Pratt to condemn Hartwig, demonstrating overt pressures at work.²² This evidence prior to the establishment of schools demonstrates the complex situation facing missionaries, and the documents themselves have been microfilmed, making them available outside of the Special Collection in Birmingham. The original manuscripts are in excellent condition however, with only minor weathering along some of the journals, and were easily accessed for study in 2011 and 2013 during trips to Birmingham to examine them.

Beginning in 1809, the CMS settlements were stable enough, and the missionaries finally fluent enough in local languages, to cohesively record pupil lists. Each missionary employed a different approach to this task, privileging data idiosyncratically. Leopold Butscher (1806-d.1817)²³ initially recorded the place of origin of his pupils, along with their presumed ethnic

²² Hartwig, P. Letters to Pratt, CMS/CA1/E1/71; Renner, M. Letter to Pratt, CMS/CA1/E1/60; "Anonymous" letter to Pratt, copied by a CMS clerk, CMS/CA1/E1/90; Committee of Correspondence for Missions to Africa and the East. Minutes of meeting concerning Renner and Hartwig, September 30, 1806, CMS/CA1/E1/79; Ludlam. Letter to Josiah Pratt. CA1/E1/89; Committee of Sierra Leone. Letter to Josiah Pratt, CMS Secretary. February 16, 1807, CMS/CA1/E1/96.

²³ The vast majority of the missionaries recording this data died in service while in Sierra Leone. The only exceptions are Klein, who left in 1820, Hughes, whose connection to the CMS was dissolved in 1818, and Bull, who returned to England in 1820.

background and age, and little more. Later on, he added the subjects each pupil was studying, and mention of their parents. Charles Wenzel (1809-d.1818) similarly identified place of origin and age, adding date of arrival in his records, though his consistency on these dates from year to year is entirely variable. He is the first to remark upon the character of his students, including pertinent details of their family history. Malchior Renner (1804-d.1821) only lists his male students' names, but adds accomplishments and age to his list of female children. He also lists servants and affiliated working people within the settlement in his records. Gustavus Nylander (1806-d.1825) enters names, ages, date of arrival, parentage, and nation along with home village in his lists. Later lists also include important classifications such as "captured slave," and general remarks concerning all the children and what languages they speak. Godfrey Wilhelm (1811-d.1834) records each student's name, and then offer a richly detailed description, pupil by pupil, including age, family, and Wilhelm's remarks on character and accomplishments. John Klein's (1811- 1821) lists offer names without ages, and only include each pupil's origin and parentage. Robert Hughes (1815-1818) records names, ages, birthplace, and what books each class he teaches is studying. Records from Leicester Mountain only list names, ages and nation of children, classifying them by whether they are enrolled within the school or not. The pupil list from Kapparoo offers names, arrival dates, ages, nations, birthplaces, individual remarks and a year by year classification of what class students are in. Like Wilhelm, George Bull (1818-1820) remarks on each student in great detail, describing nation, age, character and anecdotes concerning each pupil. He also offers general remarks about all the children, and his identification of them. Christopher Taylor's (1818-d.1825) lists offer names, ages, nation, student accomplishments, and general remarks. The records from the Christian Institution at Kissy provides names, ages, nation and birthplace, and the general accomplishments of each class.

Finally, Henry During's (1816-d.1823) records provide names, ages, nation and home, and a short description of each student's character and aptitudes. In all cases, the term “nation” has been drawn expressly out of the missionaries’ own terminology and indicates an approximation of ethnicity or people. Rather than attempt to unpack how each missionary used the term, it is here reproduced in an effort to remain true to the primary source material.

Methodology

This thesis relies on a great deal of original data compiled in a variety of list formats. Acquired during archival work in Freetown, Sierra Leone, and in Birmingham, United Kingdom, the primary documentation was digitized both by myself and by other scholars who have since provided electronic copies of photographed collections, much of which is on deposit at the Tubman Institute. Though contextualized by journals and letters written around these lists, analysis of the data itself necessitated organization into transcribed and searchable databases. The data used in this study emerge from the Church Missionary Society archives, comprising records made by a variety of German-born missionaries trained in England to evangelize and educate in Sierra Leone. The first methodological step was to transcribe the manuscript evidence used, recording it in a table which used the same terminology as each missionary employed. The style employed was a semi-diplomatic transcription, as closely as possible duplicating spellings, punctuation marks and scribal errors as they occurred in the original documentation. Under this format, letters which proved impossible to interpret have been recorded as [...], following standard semi-diplomatic conventions. Raised letters have been entered as superscript, and brevigraphs have been preserved in the same placement with which they were written. Lineation has not been retained, as it varied too much between each recording missionary, and confluations

of “home country” have been separated into “nation” and “birthplace/home village” to reconcile ambiguities. Capitalization has not been regularized, and contractions have not been expanded in this transcription.

The transcription table has been exported into a spreadsheet and from there into a searchable SQL database. Using this format, compiled pupil lists have been created on a school by school basis, replacing “age” with “date of birth” to allow for multiple years' records to be compiled, though in the case of lists encompassing only one year, “age” has been maintained as the missionary recorded it. Nation, place, gender, individual assessment, general remarks, and the relevant data concerning a pupil's date of arrival and date of departure into a given school, along with which missionary recorded the information and when is all included in this reorganization of data.

Analysis of students is approached by considering pupils by their affiliation as recorded by missionaries (trader, settler, liberated, redeemed). The children of slave traders are analyzed in the context of the literature exploring their sometimes notorious parents, along with examinations of trader families along the upper Guinea coast.²⁴ Language spoken, nation, home villages and gender all provide categories within which these individual children may be classified. Similarly, settler children may be considered within the context of literature which focuses on the settlement of Freetown and the colonists entering that region. Liberated children are analyzed within the framework of the Registers of Liberated Africans, which record recaptives entering the colony on a year by year, vessel by vessel basis. By comparing the date of

²⁴ Larry W. Yarak, “West African Coastal Slavery in the Nineteenth Century: The Case of the Afro-European Slaveowners of Elmina,” *Ethnohistory* 36, 1, *Ethnohistory and Africa* (1989): 44-60; Peter Mark, “The Evolution of 'Portuguese' Identity: Luso-Africans on the Upper Guinea Coast,” *The Journal of African History* 40, 2. (1999): 173-179.

arrival of a group of liberated students into a given school with the year of a vessel's capture, and searching the captive children and their ages and genders aboard these vessels, correlations of individuals may be found. This data is further enhanced by employing my approach of employing scarification as a marker of identity. The entries for recaptives in the Registers prior to 1820 diligently record the scarification and body marks of each individual. By reconciling this silent language inscribed upon the body with colonial documents and traveller accounts, a more cohesive picture of a given individual's geographic origin may be unpacked.²⁵

Scarification and body marking permit an analysis of an individual's personal history. Less ambiguous than names as a method of understanding origins, scars recorded for artistic or amateur ethnographic purposes by clerks for the registers along with others in the region offer a potential passport of sorts identifying individuals. Each pattern and its location may indicate kinship, belief system, entry into specific societies,²⁶ and correspond to what missionaries recorded as "nation." As such, scarification is a methodological tool which is employed specifically to all recorded individuals in the CMS data who are also present in the Registers.

This thesis operates within a framework of revisionist scholarship which seeks to understand the role of European colonization set against a background of long-established Muslim influence. Though the focus is on missionary documentation and correspondence, the role of Islam in this region is one of economic and commercial pressures which the colony's leadership continually courted, and Islam's long tradition of education in Sierra Leone and its hinterlands provide a further context. Tolerance of Muslim settlers and education within the

²⁵ Katrina H.B. Keefer, "Scarification and Identity in the Liberated Africans Department Register, 1814-1815," *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue canadienne des études africaines* 47, 3, (2013): 537-553.

²⁶ Keefer, "The Identification of Poro Marks in the Liberated African Registers of Sierra Leone, 1808-1819," (forthcoming).

colony, and the presence of powerful Islamic trade centers in nearby regions offers another consideration against which the mission schools and their transformative power must be analyzed.

Chapter 1

The Founding of the Sierra Leone Colony, 1787-1808

The Colony of Sierra Leone was founded for humanitarian reasons relating to the campaign to abolish the slave trade, and opposition to slavery in Britain. After a disastrous first attempt at settlement on the Sierra Leone peninsula in 1787-89, a new attempt was made in 1793 when former slaves and free Blacks arrived from Nova Scotia, comprising the settlement until the arrival of Jamaican Maroons in 1800. The settlement in 1793 was under the auspices of the Sierra Leone Company, which was formed by abolitionists and others interested in developing the commercial prospects of Africa. This Committee largely relied on Black settlers to form the population of the experimental colony. This chapter explores the context for early settlement on the Sierra Leone peninsula and related settlements at Rio Pongo and elsewhere. It examines the colony on the upper Guinea coast in the period down to 1808, when the administration of the Sierra Leone Company was formally transferred to the British Government and the Colony of Sierra Leone was founded. The chapter is divided into four sections that outline the history of the settlement and the relationship of the settlement to the states and societies that dominated the coast and the interior of the region stretching from roughly Cape Mount in the south to Rio Pongo in the north.

“Early Settlement and the Sierra Leone Company,” examines who the settlers were, where they came from and why they came to the region. After first examining the Abolitionist trends in Europe, specifically Britain, this section turns to the establishment of philanthropic institutions such as the Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor. The section describes the

Figure 1: Upper Guinea Coast, 1820



Source: Henry B. Lovejoy, Africa Diaspora Maps

three major groups of settlers who founded the colony: the so-called “Black Poor,” the Nova Scotian settlers, and the Maroons exiled from Jamaica. It describes the founding of the first settlement at Granville Town, and its successor Freetown. The complex inter-relationship between the founders of the Sierra Leone Company in England, their appointed governors in

Africa, and the black settlers who migrated to complicated the situation on the ground. This section addresses these ongoing frictions and misunderstandings, which plagued the relationship between the settlers and the Sierra Leone Company, as they affected the development of the town as well as the direction of the Company's policies toward nearby peoples.

“Interactions with Local Peoples,” examines the relationship between the settlement at Freetown and the indigenous political and social context of the region. The section demonstrates how local Temne political structure allowed the settlement of the immigrants on the peninsula, but shows how conflicts led to hostility over cultural misunderstandings, despite the mutualism based on trade that allowed interaction. Because the settlement was confined to the hilly peninsula, the settlers had access to relatively poor agricultural land, which affected interaction with the Temne in particular. The section considers the Bullom and Sherbro people locally, as their lands were agriculturally desirable and important to the settlement. It then details the prominent and powerful coastal families of Eurafricans who dominated much of the trade with Europeans, as their conflicts and influence played a part in the wellbeing of Freetown’s residents. The Eurafricans and the majority of the local peoples all were participatory in the intra-ethnic male initiatory society known as Poro, which served as a quasi-government for its member peoples. The section therefore describes the political role and importance of Poro in providing legitimacy for rulers of the peoples who shared in the society. The final topic described by this section is how Muslim traders and kingdoms such as Fuuta Jalon to the northeast dominated the region’s trade networks leading into the interior. The long-distance trade of the region, which the Sierra Leone Company was deeply interested in developing, a variety of goods, as well as enslaved individuals.²⁷ In light of the policies of the settlement leadership toward encouraging

²⁷ Lovejoy and Schwarz, “Sierra Leone in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” 6. Regional commerce

trade in commodities other than slaves, which in the rhetoric of the day was called “legitimate commerce,” the regional influence of Muslim communities and traders necessitated specific efforts to establish trade agreements.

“The Slave Trade of the Upper Guinea Coast, and the ‘Province of Freedom,’” addresses the regional impact of the trans-Atlantic slave trade from the late eighteenth century to British abolition in 1807. It first considers the scale of the trade, which from this region between c.1790 until 1808 involved the removal of an estimated 266,000 enslaved Africans.²⁸ The origins of the people taken from the region and sent to the Americas provides context for the eventual efforts to abolish the slave trade locally. The commerce in slaves along the African waterways and at Sherbro Island, the Banana Islands and especially at Bunce Island in the Sierra Leone River was a source of considerable tension. These specific slave factories highlighted the problem of attempting to establish first Granville town, then later Freetown in the midst of a region in which firms were actively engaged in the trade, with Bunce Island in particular a major challenge. The Eurafrican families of the coast were key figures in the slave-trade, often tracing their European ancestors to slave traders present along the coast. Central to their importance was their relationship with European and American firms for whom they served as middlemen. The London firm of Grant, Sargent, and Oswald, and the important Charlestown firm of Henry Laurens dominated this trade.²⁹ Finally, the Muslim trade should once again be considered, this

involved such commodities as cattle, kola nuts, salt, gold, imports from Europe, dye woods and gold, along with foodstuffs and other locally produced items.

²⁸ <http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces?yearFrom=1514&yearTo=1866&mjbyptimp=60200.60306>; Lovejoy and Schwarz, “Sierra Leone in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” 8.

²⁹ Henry Laurens, *The Papers of Henry Laurens. Vol II: Nov 1, 1755-Dec 31, 1758*. ed. Philip Hamer, (South Carolina Historical Society, 1968), 266. The importance of these firms is demonstrated by the fact that the heads of both firms were representatives of the Paris treaty of 1784 that ended the war that established the United States as an independent county and provides the background for the evacuation of blacks first to Nova Scotia and then to Freetown.

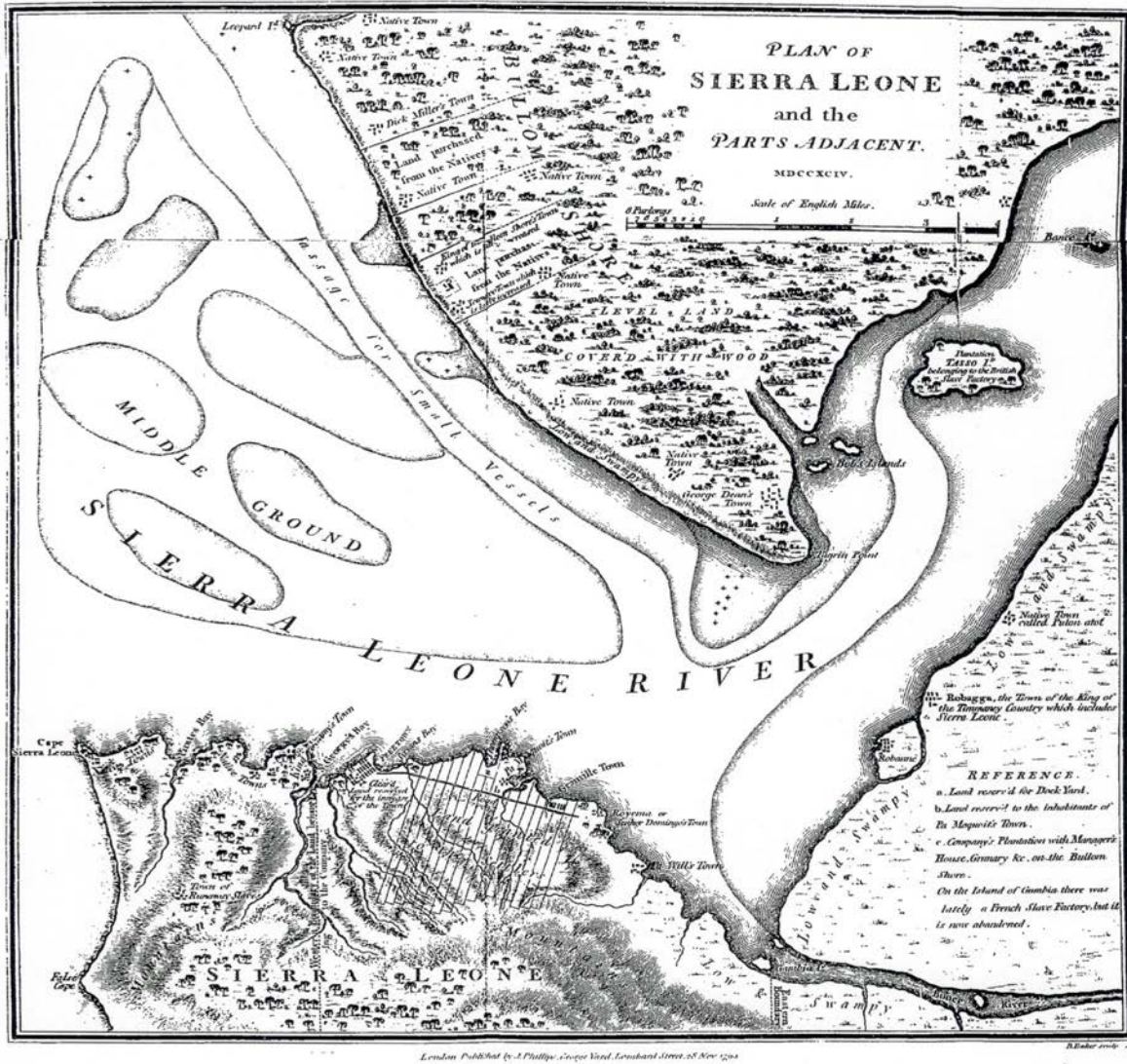
time in light of its key role in bringing slaves to the coast and throughout the region. For many of the powerful Muslim caravan stops, kingdoms, and traders, the slave-trade was extremely lucrative, and Islamic prominence served as a counterbalance to the ongoing efforts to halt the trade by the British.

Lastly, the chapter deals with the transfer of formal government from Company rule to colonial status in the context of the abolition of the British slave trade in 1807. This section considers why the Sierra Leone Company failed, and under what circumstances its authority was replaced by that of the British Crown. In ceding its territory to the British Government, the Sierra Leone Company ended its role in governance over Freetown. The bill concerning Abolition which was central to the role which the colony took after 1808 is explained, along with how events in Britain served to shape the nature and character of Freetown. The establishment of the Colony in 1808 was related to the suppression of the slave trade in the midst of the Napoleonic wars. Moreover, the establishment of the colony resulted in the stationing of a squadron of the British Navy at Freetown. This chapter's contextual examination of the early nineteenth century in this region ends at 1808 when the colony was formally claimed by the British crown and began to expand efforts to address the local slave trade through the Vice Admiralty Court and its adjudication of seized vessels.

Abolitionist Movement, Dissenters, and Cultural Change

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, a confluence of events took place in Britain which culminated in the formation of a number of causes dedicated to abolishing the slave trade. Those responsible for much of the impetus and publicity of the antislavery movement were largely men and women whose evangelical Anglican faith demanded charity toward those less

Figure 2: Plan of Sierra Leone



Source: Sierra Leone Company, *An Account of the Colony of Sierra Leone from its First Establishment in 1793- Being the Substance of a Report Delivered to the Proprietors*, (London: James Philips: 1795)

fortunate than themselves.³⁰ For many of these individuals, bettering their fellows had motivations which were both economic as well as religious.³¹ This mindset emerged from a free-labour ideology which was increasingly prevalent in Britain at that time.³² The philanthropists engaged in lending their financial and personal efforts to abolition tended to be wealthy and rarely missed a chance to make a profit personally. At the same time, however, they contributed to causes, and believed firmly in using large portions of their wealth to better the world. Made up of both Dissenters and evangelical Anglicans, this group favoured evangelical social action, founding orphanages, hospitals and schools throughout the English speaking world.³³

Among their early members were men like William Wilberforce, who was associated with other members of the Clapham Sect which drove the Abolitionist movement.³⁴ An evangelical like his fellow Clapham members, Wilberforce went into politics to advance the

³⁰ Stephen Tomkins, *The Clapham Sect: How Wilberforce's Circle Transformed Britain* (Oxford: Lion Hudson, 2010), 16; Derek R. Peterson, "Abolitionism and Political Thought in Britain and East Africa," in *Abolitionism and Imperialism in Britain, Africa, and the Atlantic*, ed. Derek R. Peterson. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010), 3; Thomas Clarkson, *The History of the Rise, Progress & Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade, by the British Parliament* (Philadelphia: James P. Parke, 1808), 11; Charles Stuart, *A Memoir of Granville Sharp, To which is Added Sharp's "Law of Passive Obedience," and an Extract from his "Law of Retribution"* (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1836), 6.

³¹ This socio-economic assumption has become a major foundation of much of the scholarship on early abolitionism. The corpus of this historiography is well beyond this overview's capacity to comprehensively detail. Examples of the economic approach to early scholarship on abolition include Eric Williams' work, David Eltis, Roger Antsey, David Brion Davis, Seymour Drescher, James Walvin, Howard Temperly, and Thomas Haskell among other historians. Drescher offers an overview of the scholarship in his article on the early abolitionists. See Seymour Drescher, "People and Parliament: The Rhetoric of the British Slave Trade," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 20, 4, (1990): 561-562.

³² David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 3-4, 81-83; Seymour Drescher, *The Mighty Experiment: Free Labor Versus Slavery in British Emancipation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 4; Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (University of North Carolina Press, 1944), 22, 178-189.

³³ Dissenters in this context include the wide variety of new sects which had risen up in the mid to late eighteenth century. They included Methodists, Calvinists, Quakers, and other branches of Protestantism. For examples of their social reforms, see William Wilberforce, *A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians, in the Higher and Middle Classes in this Country, Contrasted with Real Christianity* (London: Fisher, Son, & Co., 1834), 252, 322; Thomas Clarkson, *The History of the Rise, Progress & Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade, by the British Parliament* (Philadelphia: James P. Parke, 1808), 176.

³⁴ The Claphams were related by blood and by marriage, maintaining a closely knit community of family and friends.

agenda of social reform. A primary element of Wilberforce's circle included the need to make the world a better place. As such, so-called "Rational Dissenters" together formed a complex inter-relationship of faith and a desire for social reform which transcended idealism or capitalist interests.³⁵ This picture of early abolitionism was more complex than either economic or evangelical ideology alone, and was colored by nuances of major cultural reforms present at the time, along with new ideas fuelled by the French and American Revolutions, as Christopher Brown has demonstrated.³⁶ Evangelical Anglicans, Dissenters, and men and women carried by ideas of social change or virtue contributed to the establishment of institutions meant to offer a better life to British children and to the so-called "Black Poor" of England. These reforms spread into British colonial regions, and went hand-in-hand with the urge to stem and halt the trans-Atlantic slave trade.³⁷

By Thomas Clarkson's accounting, those interested in antislavery and affiliated with the first 1787 committee dedicated to its end were Granville Sharp, William Dillwyn, Richard Phillips, Samuel Hoare, John Barton, George Harrison, Joseph Hooper, John Lloyd, James Phillips, Joseph Woods, and Philip Sansom.³⁸ Following the path of earlier thinkers who were

³⁵ Anthony Page, "Rational Dissent, Enlightenment, and Abolition of the British Slave Trade," *The Historical Journal* 54, 3 (2011): 742-744; Roger Antsey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760-1810* (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1975), 385; James Walvin, "The Public Campaign in England Against Slavery, 1787-1834," in *The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, ed. David Eltis and James Walvin. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981), 38.

³⁶ Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Williamsburg: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 17-18. Brown's contention that anti-slavery ideology found its root in the American Revolution offers an intriguing complication to an already-complex picture of economic, cultural and religious forces at work. The offer of freedom for American slaves willing to support Britain was a strong moral motivation for abolitionists, while producing a mass of veterans from that war to join the so-called "Black Poor."

³⁷ Chaim D. Kaufmann and Robert A. Pape, "Explaining Costly International Moral Action: Britain's Sixty-Year Campaign against the Atlantic Slave-Trade," *International Organization* 53, 4 (1999): 632; David Spring, "The Clapham Sect: Some Social and Political Aspects," *Victorian Studies* 5, 1 (1961): 35-36; Timothy Whelan, "William Fox, Martha Gurney, and radical Discourse of the 1790s," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42, 3 (2009): 397-398, 401.

³⁸ Thomas Clarkson, *The History of the Rise, Progress & Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade, by the British Parliament* (Philadelphia: James P. Parke, 1808), 162. This first committee, which also included Thomas Clarkson himself, were Quakers except for Sansom, Clarkson and Sharp, by his recollection. He states that while the first meeting and committee whose members he lists do not include more prominent names like

opposed to slavery, they brought the values of the Enlightenment to bear at a time when their influence was sufficient to enact laws against slavery, and did so with their beliefs serving (alongside other considerations) as a major impetus and unifying force.³⁹

Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor and the Early Sierra Leone Company

Many former slaves who placed their trust in the offer of freedom extended by the British side of the American War for Independence elected to accompany their emancipators to England. They joined a mass of escaped and former slaves from the West Indies and elsewhere who lived in London, generally called the “Black Poor,” which included both the disenfranchised and such luminaries as Gustavus Vassa (alias Olaudah Equiano). Some fared poorly, and their plight as former veterans aroused sympathies among better-off citizens in London, who eventually formed the Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor. Early public concern about this group coalesced in England into an organized form after the London Public Advertiser asked its readers in January of 1786 to assist in charitable work.⁴⁰ Initially, the relief work in question was to aid *lascars*, or sailors from the Indian subcontinent, but rapidly shifted its target, assisting “distressed Blacks” from the Americans as well as those from India. The “Black Poor” became a term which comprised not only former slaves, veterans of the American War of Independence, and Africans, but also sailors and workers from India and the Indian subcontinent. The majority

Wilberforce, he had already spoken with them on other occasions and received their support.

³⁹ John Coffey, “Tremble, Britannia!: Fear, Providence and the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1758-1807,” *The English Historical Review* (2012): 845. Coffey returns to the less considered elements of abolitionism which he believes played a greater role than economic historians would tend to endorse: namely, that for many antislavery activists in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, fear of divine punishment was a very real motivator. Coffey and other more recent scholars such as Boyd Hilton have shifted the conversation to return to issue of Providence and evangelism as major factors in the picture of British abolition.

⁴⁰ Stephen J. Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists: London's Blacks and the Foundation of the Sierra Leone Settlement 1786-1791* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994), 63.

of the Committee's members were or had been bankers or merchants, and several had previously been involved in charitable hospital work.⁴¹ From providing loaves of bread and broth to London's poor in its inception, the Committee was able before long to rent rooms, establish a hospital, and distribute clothing.⁴² This group of philanthropists helped to fund an effort in 1787 to transport members of the Black Poor and similarly disenfranchised Londoners of European descent to journey to Sierra Leone after noting the frequency of interest expressed by their black beneficiaries in returning home to the places from which they had been taken.⁴³ For those determined to end the slave trade, Sierra Leone was an ideal location from which to fight slavery due its relative importance in the West African Slave Trade.⁴⁴ The abolitionist choice of the region situated on a coast known for its export in enslaved Africans, with their intention one of blocking the trade at one of its sources.⁴⁵ While this first colonizing project proved ultimately fruitless, and its ideals impossible to implement on the ground, the effort to aid London's Black Poor served as a model for subsequent philanthropic and abolitionist efforts on the coast of West Africa.

British abolitionist members of the subsequent Sierra Leone Company which took up

⁴¹ Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists*, 64-69.

⁴² Norma Myers, *Reconstructing the Black Past: Blacks in Britain 1780-1830* (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1996), 23.

⁴³ Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor, 24 May, 1786, *Proposals for taking Black Poor to Grain Coast of Africa*. T 1/631, National Archives; Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists*, 71; "Minutes of the Black Poor Committee" 26 July, 1786, T1/634/1903/86, National Archives. Mavis Campbell argues that aside from Granville Sharp's genuine philanthropy in this endeavour, many other members of the Committee were essentially attempting to hasten a removal of a group of peoples they found immensely distasteful or an "embarrassing nuisance." See Mavis Christine Campbell, *Back to Africa: George Ross and the Maroons: From Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1993), iv.

⁴⁴ Crucial to success for the members of the Company most interested in antislavery was evidence of Africans as Christian, moral, and equal to their British counterparts. This desire, in tandem with more economic motivation for colonization, and the stated hope of urging alternative sources of commerce upon coastal African traders, fuelled the interest in Africa by prominent philanthropists. Michael J. Turner, "The Limits of Abolition: Government, Saints and the 'African Question', c. 1780-1820," *The English Historical Review* 112, 446 (Apr., 1997): 320, 326.

⁴⁵ The British influence in the area was an additional reason for selection of that coastline in particular. While the slave trade was fueled considerably more from Central African nations such as Congo or Angola, the Portuguese control over those regions made founding an antislavery colony there unlikely at best.

many of the aims and intentions of the Committee were interested in attempting what Suzanne Schwarz has called an experiment “to test out methods of eradicating the Atlantic slave trade.”⁴⁶ Shares had been sold to raise capital of £235,000 for the new attempt, and Schwarz’s analysis of the 1,833 shareholders demonstrates that their interests were largely economic as well as philanthropic. The involvement of leading entrepreneurs and capitalists, along with prominent Jews, shows interest not so much in the cultural Christian connection suggested by the Company's leading figures as in commercial gain from the new settlement.⁴⁷ Propaganda by the Sierra Leone Company promoted the region as one which was worth investing in due to its abundance. The chosen site for settlement was lauded as being fertile for trade in its agricultural products; primarily sugar production.⁴⁸ Explicitly intended to “civilize” the West African people of the region, as well as assisting the abolition of the slave trade, the settlement not only offered former slaves a place to live, but presented an opportunity for the colonial expansion of British influence. Much of the Sierra Leone Company's efforts involved working to persuade Africans engaged in the slave trade to turn to other commerce. To achieve this end, the Company struggled to establish a settlement by the end of the eighteenth century, and facilitated expeditions inland to try to find alternate sources of revenue that did not involve slavery. As Schwarz argues, there was an ongoing program of attempting to develop African participation in abolition.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Suzanne Schwarz, “‘A Just and Honourable Commerce’: Abolitionist Experimentation in Sierra Leone in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries,” (paper presented at The Hakluyt Society Annual Lecture 2013), 1.

⁴⁷ Schwarz, “Abolitionist Experimentation,” 8, 16. C. Magbaily Fyle has noted that the abolitionists could not convince the British government to found a second attempt, which necessitated the engagement of business interests in a new colony. It therefore follows that not all of those involved in the Sierra Leone Company shared the antislavery views of men like Sharp, Clarkson or Wilberforce. See C. Magbaily Fyle, *A Nationalist History of Sierra Leone* (Freetown: self-published, 2011), 46.

⁴⁸ Sierra Leone Company, *Substance of the report delivered on Wednesday the nineteenth of October, 1791*, 43.

⁴⁹ Schwarz, “Abolitionist Experimentation,” 6.

Black Poor, Nova Scotians and Maroons

After the American War for Independence in 1783, former slaves took the opportunity to escape their former owners' reach, leaving for both Britain and for Nova Scotia.⁵⁰ When the Sierra Leone settlement was re-established in 1791 due to the continuing efforts of English abolitionists after the failure of the first settlement, a second wave of 1,131 settlers came from Nova Scotia after being recruited by John Clarkson, younger brother of the abolitionist Thomas Clarkson.⁵¹ These former slaves who had left the newly formed United States in 1783 for promised land grants in Nova Scotia had found themselves in a difficult position at Birchtown, Nova Scotia, without much land and facing hostility from the European settlers already present. They were also situated in an environmentally challenging new land with poor soil and harsh winters.⁵² As James Walker has noted, the friction between Black Loyalists and the white population focused largely on issues of labour. Former soldiers rioted in Shelbourne, Nova Scotia, in 1784 in protest of the cheaper labour which the black settlers offered.⁵³ Freed blacks were also in danger of being re-enslaved in a society where slavery persisted; the threat of re-enslavement was a very

⁵⁰ Isaac Land and Andrew M. Schocket, "New Approaches to the Founding of the Sierra Leone Colony, 1786-1808," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 9,3 (2008), accessed Sep 2015, *Project MUSE*. Web. 21 Sep. 2015. <<https://muse.jhu.edu/>>; Cassandra Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and their Global Quest for Liberty* (Beacon Press, Boston 2006); James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists; The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone 1783-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 6-7.

⁵¹ Charles Stuart, *A Memoir of Granville Sharp, To which is Added Sharp's "Law of Passive Obedience," and an Extract from His "Law of Retribution"* (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1836), 42; A.P. Kup, "John Clarkson and the Sierra Leone Company" *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 5, 2 (1972), 208.

⁵² Laird Niven and Stephen A. Davis, "Birchtown: The History and Material Culture of an Expatriate African American Community," in *Moving On: Black Loyalists in the Afro-Atlantic World*, ed. John W. Pulis. (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1999), 60.

⁵³ Walker, *The Black Loyalists*, 48; *The Book of Negroes*; Harvey Amani Whitfield, "Slavery in English Nova Scotia, 1750-1810," *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* (2010): 23-40; Whitfield, "Black Loyalists and Black Slaves in Maritime Canada," *History Compass* (October, 2007): 1980-1997.

real one.⁵⁴ After Clarkson visited the various blacks in the region, speaking to churches and congregations, many of those who heard him speak enthusiastically of Sierra Leone were decided on journeying there. An ambitious list was drawn up of those wishing to emigrate to Sierra Leone, mostly made up of men and women from Nova Scotia, many of them comprising full congregations and their respective preachers.⁵⁵ The first list, made in 1791, tallies the would-be settlers at 151 men, 147 women, 220 children, and twenty-six additional interested people “who got to Halifax by stealth,” totalling 544 settlers.⁵⁶ Eventually this number nearly doubled, and required fifteen ships in January 1792 to make the journey, with many eager settlers abandoning large plots of land in Nova Scotia for presumably better land and less racial tension in Sierra Leone.

The final wave of colonists from the Americas to Sierra Leone were 500 Jamaican Maroons who were sent to the colony by way of Nova Scotia after being exiled from Jamaica. Following the second Maroon War, during which the Maroons of Trelawny declared war on the British, the Governor, Alexander Lindsay, chose to deport the Maroons in a bid to preserve the island despite promising not to deport the rebels.⁵⁷ These exiles were therefore sent to two ships waiting for them, which sailed to Nova Scotia. Despite arriving in midsummer 1796 in Halifax, the Jamaican Maroons were shocked enough by the subsequent winter – which was notably

⁵⁴ Walker, *The Black Loyalists*, 40-41, 50-52; Carole Watterson Trotter, “Hidden from History: Black Loyalists at Country Harbour, Nova Scotia,” in *Moving On: Black Loyalists in the Afro-Atlantic World*, 40-41, 44.

⁵⁵ James Sidbury, “‘African’ Settlers in the Founding of Freetown,” in Lovejoy and Schwarz, *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Colonialism in Sierra Leone*, 130.

⁵⁶ Commission of the Sierra Leone Company, “The List of Blacks in Birchtown who gave their names for Sierra Leone in November 1791” CO 217/63, NA.

⁵⁷ James D. Lockett, “The Deportation of the Maroons of Trelawny Town to Nova Scotia, then Back to Africa.” *Journal of Black Studies*, 30, 1 (1999): 8-10. As Lockett explains, the decision to deport the rebels was made due to Lindsay's consideration of the treaty concluded between the Maroons and his commanding officers as a meaningless plot. Little protest was made by the non-Maroons of Jamaica due to the role the Trelawny Maroons had accepted as slave-takers working for the governmental authorities prior to their war. See also Richard West, *Back to Africa: A History of Sierra Leone and Liberia* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1970), 70

harsh and severe - and they refused to co-operate with efforts to settle them in Canada. After repeated petitions and pleas to the authorities to be removed to a climate they considered more hospitable, the Maroons were eventually sent to Sierra Leone.⁵⁸ They were ordered to bring with them implements for agriculture and husbandry, as part of the ongoing effort to promote a self-sufficient colony along the upper Guinea coast. The Maroons had remained a cohesive group in Nova Scotia, and arrived in Sierra Leone as a well-disciplined force under their own officers.⁵⁹

Granville Town 1787-89

Granville Sharp, a philanthropist and constitutional scholar known for his generosity and concern for the Black Poor, obtained a grant from the British treasury in the early 1780s, and led the attempt to establish a colony in West Africa which he named the “Province of Freedom.”⁶⁰ Sharp envisioned a common-wealth of sorts, to be self-governing, and drew up a set of idealistic rules and codes of behaviour for the settlement. In 1787, the Black Poor (self-identifying as English), left Portsmouth in three transport ships for Sierra Leone. They numbered almost three hundred black men, approximately forty black women, and nearly one hundred white women, along with some English tradesmen. Sierra Leone had been selected by Sharp as a result of his reliance on the recommendation of a botanist member of the Committee, Henry Smeathman.⁶¹

Unfortunately, Smeathman, whose recommendations to the Committee were flawed,

⁵⁸ Locket, “Deportation of the Maroons,” 11-12; Leann Martin, “Why Maroons?” *Current Anthropology* 13, 1 (1972): 143; Mavis Christine Campbell, *Back to Africa: George Ross and the Maroons: From Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1993), i, x.

⁵⁹ West, *Back to Africa*, 70.

⁶⁰ Charles Stuart, *A Memoir of Granville Sharp, To which is Added Sharp's “Law of Passive Obedience,” and an Extract from His “Law of Retribution”* (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1836), 35

⁶¹ Henry Smeathman, “Letter to the Commissioners of the Treasury,” London 17 May 1786, T 1/631, National Archives; Douglas Starr, “The Making of Scientific Knowledge in an Age of Slavery: Henry Smeathman, Sierra Leone and Natural History,” *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 9, 3 (2008).

knew that the soil of the region was poor for the intended plantation crops, and that disease was prevalent.⁶² The effort to transport the Black Poor was problematic enough that Gustavus Vassa, in charge of arranging supplies, was fired after complaining vehemently over the treatment of the Black Poor by Smeathman's successor, Joseph Irwin.⁶³ The Black Poor took both Sharp's idealistic codes of governance as well as actual tradesmen whose purpose was to train the settlers.⁶⁴ Upon their landing, the colonists named their new home Granville Town, but within two years, the settlement was burned by the Temne after disease ravaged the population – including and most importantly killing the tradesmen upon whom Granville Town's success hinged.⁶⁵ Richard West writes that many of the settlers had also immediately left to join with local slavers upon their arrival in Sierra Leone due to the failure of agriculture in the settlement.⁶⁶

This failure had its origins in part due to the mortality of European settlers who brought the requisite expertise to cultivate the necessary crops, but additionally because of the climate

⁶² Richard West, *Back to Africa: A History of Sierra Leone and Liberia* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1970), 22; Richard Phillips, "Dystopian Space in Colonial Representations and Interventions: Sierra Leone as 'The White Man's Grave'," *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, 84, 3/4, Special Issue: The Dialectics of Utopia and Dystopia (2002): 194; Suzanne Schwarz, "Introduction," in Zachary Macaulay, ed. Suzanne Schwarz, *Zachary Macaulay and the Development of the Sierra Leone Company, 1793-4, Part I: Journal, June-October 1793*. 2nd Edition (Leipzig: Leipzig University Press, 2000), 4.

⁶³ Thomas B. Thompson, "Letter to Officers and Commissioners of HM Navy," 21 March, 1787, T1/643/681/87, National Archives; West, *Back to Africa*, 24.

⁶⁴ Granville Sharp, *A Short Sketch of Temporary Regulations (until Better Shall be Proposed), For the Intended Settlement of the Grain Coast of Africa, Near Sierra Leona 3rd Ed.* (London: H. Baldwin, 1788).

⁶⁵ Stuart, *Memoir of Granville Sharp*, 40.

⁶⁶ West, *Back to Africa*, 31-32. West reports that of the white settlers, almost all immediately joined the slave trade, led by the settlers' doctor. Many of the Black Poor joined the slave factories locally due to the comparative financial stability – the local depots offered four times the pay in return for trade items from local elites than abolitionists due to long-standing ties. With the agricultural failure at the settlement, poor conditions, and a nearby source of income and security, the enticement to the settlers is understandable, though Granville Sharp was deeply disturbed by the news. Henry Demane, as West notes, was an individual whom Sharp had personally rescued from kidnapping in 1786, and the report that he had become a prosperous slave trader on the coast motivated Sharp to write to the settlers reproaching them for their choices. Evidently his horror did little to dissuade those who had joined the factories, as Demane was still a slave trade twelve years later. See also Prince Hoare, *Memoirs of Granville Sharp, Esq Composed from his own Manuscripts, and other Authentic Documents in the Possession of his Family and of the African Institution* (London: Henry Colburn and Son, 1820), 345.

and season.⁶⁷ The settlers arrived at the beginning of the rainy season due to delays in their departure from England, the seed they brought did not thrive, and as Ottobah Cugoano pointed out in the same year the settlement was established, not enough had been done to cement relations with the local peoples prior to the founding of Granville Town. The land had been paid for by Captain Thomas Benjamin Thompson of the *Nautilus*, who negotiated with the local Temne King Tom, but no efforts had been made to understand whether the land had been purchased in full, or was rented.⁶⁸

Had a treaty of agreement been first made with the inhabitants of Africa, and the terms and nature of such a settlement fixed upon, and its situation and boundary pointed out; then might the Africans, and others here, have embarked with a good prospect of enjoying happiness and prosperity themselves, and have gone with a hope of being able to render their services, in return, of some advantage to their friends and benefactors of Great Britain. But as this was not done, and as they were to be hurried away at all events, come of them after what would; and yet, after all, to be delayed in the ships before they were set out from the coast, until many of them have perished with cold, and other disorders, and several of the most intelligent among them are dead, and others that, in all probability, would have been most useful for them were hindered from going, by means of some disagreeable jealousy of those who were appointed as governors, the great prospect of doing good seems all to be blown away.⁶⁹

Cugoano's prognosis was proven correct with the attack by Temne upon the settlement, and its resultant destruction.

⁶⁷ Ottobah Cugoano, *Thoughts and sentiments on the evil and wicked traffic of the slavery and commerce of the human species, humbly submitted to the inhabitants of Great Britain* (London: 1787) 138-140; West, *Back to Africa*, 28; Emma Christopher, "A 'Disgrace to the very Colour': Perceptions of Blackness and Whiteness in the Founding of Sierra Leone and Botany Bay," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 9, 3 (2008) Project MUSE. Web. 21 Sep. 2015. <<https://muse.jhu.edu/>>.

⁶⁸ West, *Back to Africa*, 28. The agreed-upon price amounted to £60 in goods, which were made up of 24 laced hats, 3 dozen hangers with red scabbards, 10 yards of scarlet cloth, 8 muskets, a barrel of gunpowder, 25 iron bars, 117 bunches of beads, one cask and one puncheon of rum.

⁶⁹ Cugoano, *Thoughts on the Evil Traffic*, 140.

Freetown 1791-1808

After the destruction of Granville Town, the remaining settlers both black and white fled to nearby Bunce Island, taking refuge among the slave traders there. Only sixty had survived by the time the second effort to settle the region was attempted in 1791. They were sought after by Alexander Falconbridge under orders of the St. George's Bay Company, later rechristened the Sierra Leone Company, to reform a settlement on behalf of the Company, now led by Sharp as president, and William Wilberforce along with other leading English members of the abolitionist Clapham Sect among the directors.⁷⁰ Falconbridge negotiated with King Naimbana through a palaver to confirm Captain Thompson's purchase of land for settlement for a further consideration of approximately £30 and the condition of Naimbana's son educated in England.⁷¹ By the early part of 1791, Falconbridge had secured sixty-four new and former settlers to rebuild a new settlement, among whom were seven white English women whom Anna Maria Falconbridge described as having identified themselves to her as former prostitutes from London.⁷² Alexander Falconbridge, believing that the men and women he had recruited to re-establish the settlement would be sufficient, was horrified to learn of the actual numbers of eager Nova Scotians sailing for Africa upon his return to England, and his wife describes the idea as a “premature, hair-brained, and ill digested scheme, to think of sending such a number of people all at once, to a rude, barbarous and unhealthy country, before they were certain of possessing an

⁷⁰ Anna Maria Falconbridge, *Two Voyages to Sierra Leone*, 9; Stuart, *Memoir of Granville Sharp*, 42; Warren Thomas Smith, “An Appraisal of Thomas Coke's Africa Mission, 1796-1811,” *Church History* 40, 3 (1971): 306.

⁷¹ Falconbridge, *Two Voyages*, 61; Sierra Leone Company, *Substance of the report delivered on Wednesday the nineteenth of October, 1791*, 4-5.

⁷² Falconbridge *Two Voyages to Sierra Leone*, 65; Cassandra Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom; West, Back to Africa*, 25; Sierra Leone Company, *Substance of the report delivered by the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company to the General Court Held at London on Wednesday the nineteenth of October, 1791* (London: James Phillips, 1791), 3. Her categorization of these women sketches out some of the social tensions which would have been present in both incarnations of the colony even between English colonists and their leaders.

acre of land.”⁷³ As with the first attempt, disease remained a major concern for the settlers.

Accounts from the early nineteenth century report numerous deaths during the rainy season, and widespread disease afflicting colonists.⁷⁴ Of twenty-eight missionaries sent to Sierra Leone by the London-based Church Missionary Society between 1804-1820, six died in the same year they arrived, five died the following year, and four died within three years of their arrival in the colony.

Company Relationship with Settlers 1792-1808

By 1792, the Sierra Leone Company had established Freetown on land on the southern side of the estuary at the mouth of the Sierra Leone River.⁷⁵ Lack of clear direction on the part of the Company as to what sort of colony was being built caused immediate problems, along with the appointment of an eight-man council selected in England which collectively posed challenges for John Clarkson (who acted as a co-ordinator and leader), as reported in his correspondence.⁷⁶ Irregularities in monetary conversion between local trade bars and English shillings, conflicting directives from the Company in England, along with stated intentions by the Company to purchase slave factories like Bunce Island outright in order to close it, and a misguided belief that local peoples would be amenable to developing an export economy all served to present difficulties for the new colony.⁷⁷ Freetown was also poorly equipped to house the incoming Nova

⁷³ Falconbridge, *Two Voyages to Sierra Leone*, 125.

⁷⁴ Joseph Corry, *Observations upon the Windward Coast of Africa, the Religion, Character, Customs &c. Of the Natives; With a System upon which they may be Civilized, and a Knowledge Attained of the Interior of this Extraordinary Quarter of the Globe; and upon the Natural and Commercial Resources of the Country; Made in the Years 1805 and 1806* (London: W. Bulmer and Co. Cleveland Row, 1807), 101-103, 105; “Appendix A: List of CMS Missionaries to Sierra Leone 1804-1820,” *CMS West Africa Sierra Leone Index, 1803-1820*, 3.

⁷⁵ Suzanne Schwarz, “Introduction,” in *Zachary Macaulay and the Development of the Sierra Leone Company*, 5.

⁷⁶ Kup, “John Clarkson,” 214.

⁷⁷ The local peoples were already engaged in a profitable relationship with the local traders and the buildings, called

Scotians, and high mortality resulted from these inadequacies by April of 1792.⁷⁸

Clarkson was unable to enforce his authority, and was a poor administrator, but was well liked by the Nova Scotian settlers due to his sympathetic relationship with them. Following his dismissal by the Company in April of 1793, he was succeeded by William Dawes, a Company official, who alternated leadership with Zachary Macaulay. The transition from Clarkson to Dawes and Macaulay was unfavourably received by the settlers, presenting another source of mistrust and tension between the Company and those attempting to settle on the Freetown peninsula. Despite Clarkson's shortcomings as an administrator, the remaining landless Nova Scotian settlers believed that his promises to finally give them their promised land would be forgotten upon his dismissal. Petitions were drawn up, and in the face of shortages caused by the Napoleonic wars in 1793, rebellion seemed likely.⁷⁹ As Schwarz has argued, the Company's first consideration of the area was highly selective and uncritical, failing to notice that the Company's primary geographic source, the 1788 account and map by Matthews, was mistaken concerning sugarcane growing wild in the area.⁸⁰ Company reports by 1794 acknowledged this erroneous assumption concerning the fertility of the region and its potential for sugarcane cultivation, which further contributed to growing tensions with the settlers, and increasing financial problems for the Company.⁸¹ Company members found that their high hopes of a tropical paradise to be exploited for financial returns were vastly unrealistic; attempts to cultivate sugarcane were

factories, within which company factors bought and sold goods including slaves. Abolitionist hopes of easily convincing them to abandon this long-standing relationship met with little initial success when put into practice.

⁷⁸ Macaulay, *Journal Part I*, 6; Phillip Misevich, "The Sierra Leone Hinterland and the Provisioning of Early Freetown, 1792-1803," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 9, 3 (2008) *Project MUSE*. Web. 21 Sep. 2015. <<https://muse.jhu.edu/>>.

⁷⁹ Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 51; Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 166-167.

⁸⁰ Schwarz, "Abolitionist Experimentation," 17-18.

⁸¹ Sierra Leone Company, *Substance of the report delivered by the Court of Directors: of the Sierra Leone Company to the General Court of Proprietors, on Thursday the 27th March, 1794* (London: James Phillips, 1794), 15-16.

problematic, and the soil quality was not what they had believed it to be.⁸² Settlers encountered the same issue of land use, compounded by renewed fears of nearby active slave-trading.

Due to the lack of a formal charter, authority was ambiguous concerning the protections which might be presumably offered to runaway slaves from nearby factories, though English laws could be enforced upon colonists and officials within Freetown. While the owners of the factories were generally friendly to the colonists, and sold them commodities, the Nova Scotian settlers were inclined to shelter runaways due to their own appreciation for the abolitionist cause. The laws of the colony also held little jurisdiction over fellow Europeans, and deserting sailors from passing ships attempting to claim refuge in Freetown placed the Company and the Governor in a difficult position.⁸³ Acting Governor Zachary Macaulay dismissed Robert Keeling and Scipio Channel in 1794 from the Company for their assault on the Liverpool slave ship Captain Grierson, frustrating the settlers and provoking demonstrations which required a public appeal by Macaulay to calm them.⁸⁴

The situation worsened when a fleet of captured English vessels led by an American slave trader with a grudge against the Colony approached in the same year. Manned and controlled by Jacobin French, this force landed, plundered, and burned Freetown.⁸⁵ Bunce Island also fell to the assault, offering no shelter for the settlers. With few remaining supplies and a devastated town, the colony had been struck a considerable blow, and ten of the forty European officials died by the end of the year.⁸⁶ To make matters worse, on top of food shortages, the French attack

⁸² Schwarz, "Abolitionist Experimentation," 24-27.

⁸³ Schwarz, "Introduction," in *Zachary Macaulay and the Development of the Sierra Leone Company*, 16; Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 172-173; Lovejoy and Schwarz, "Sierra Leone in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," 16-17.

⁸⁴ Schwarz, "Introduction," in *Zachary Macaulay and the Development of the Sierra Leone Company*, 15; Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 56; West, *Back to Africa*, 56.

⁸⁵ West, *Back to Africa*, 60; Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 59.

⁸⁶ Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 60.

and destruction, the associated increase in price of Company goods due to the war,⁸⁷ land use tensions with the Temne were once more arising after Naimbana's death in 1793.⁸⁸ As the colonial government had not held to Temne traditions in the relationship of land use,⁸⁹ Temne resentments spread, and an attack by the local peoples seemed likely by the end of the 1790s. The settlers were also increasingly frustrated upon the imposition of “quit-rents” in 1796 by the Company, which was struggling to meet its increasing financial burden. Having been initially assured that they would not bear the weight of heavy tax burdens by John Clarkson when they were recruited four years earlier, the struggling Nova Scotian settlers found themselves expected to pay what amounted to a perpetual mortgage for the land allotted.⁹⁰

Ownership of land was the final straw. It had been a fundamental reason for many of the former Nova Scotians' immigration, and the “quit-rents” seemed to undermine this all-important matter. In 1800, the settler population revolted against the new Governor, Thomas Ludlam, and the Company.⁹¹ The arrival of the Maroons into this volatile situation gave Ludlam hope, and he sent them, with soldiers from the ship on which they had come, against the rebels. Thirty-one settlers were banished from the colony for life, sent to Goree and to the Bullom Shore. Two of the settlers were hanged for committing capital offences under English law.⁹² The Maroons were

⁸⁷ In 1793, European nations were embroiled in the War of the First Coalition (1793-1797), which followed on the heels of France's revolutionary wars, as the rest of Europe attempted to restore the French monarchy. The participants in this struggle, which served as a prelude to the Napoleonic wars, were Prussia, Austria, Great Britain, Spain, Sardinia, and the Netherlands.

⁸⁸ Schwarz, “Introduction,” in *Zachary Macaulay and the Development of the Sierra Leone Company*, 10

⁸⁹ Discussed further in the chapter, the Temne tradition did not share European concepts of land as a commodity which could be purchased by an outsider in perpetuity.

⁹⁰ Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 130, 218-220; “Names of Settlers Located on the 1st Nova Scotian Allotment,” Sierra Leone Public Archives; Schwarz, “Introduction” in *Zachary Macaulay and the Development of the Sierra Leone Company*, 11.

⁹¹ Cassandra Pybus, “‘The Day of Jubilation is Come’: Isaac Anderson and Rebellion in Sierra Leone” (paper presented at Harriet Tubman Seminar, York University, Toronto, March 21, 2006).

⁹² Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 85-87; R.B. Spilsbury, *A Voyage to the Western Coast of Africa; Performed by His Majesty's Sloop Favourite, In the Year 1805. Being a Journal of the Events which Happened to that Vessel, from the Time of Her Leaving England til Her Capture by the French, and the Return of the Author in a Cartel* (London:

centred in Granville Town, instead of along the Bullom Shore as Ludlam had first intended.⁹³

The Governorship passed to William Dawes after Ludlam, who led the settlement until 1803.

Ludlam was succeeded by Captain William Day, who in the same year of 1803 was succeeded by Ludlam once more. Day and Ludlam each held the position of Governor again in turn, with Day taking charge in 1805 and Ludlam leading again from 1806-1808.⁹⁴ The removal of quit-rents in 1803 coincided with an easing of the tensions with the Temne, and agriculture and cultivation resumed. The new appointment of Governor Day in 1803 further suggested a new beginning to the previously difficult relationship between settlers and Company, and the exile of the leaders of the 1800 rebellion silenced many of the loudest opposing voices to the Company rule, which led to an increase in morale as the Company and settlers began to work in unison against the challenges they faced.⁹⁵

Agriculture in the post-1800 period continued to prove problematic, and the settlement primarily relied on the importation of British foodstuffs. Attacks by locals made settlers afraid to attempt to farm, and even woodcutters required armed escorts.⁹⁶ By 1805, the situation had begun to improve primarily because of the Maroons' influence; increasingly few Nova Scotian settlers worked as agriculturalists, preferring to hold their land and have others work it.⁹⁷

Richard Phillips, 1807), 30.

⁹³ "Plan of 1st Maroon Allotment King Tom's Point," Sierra Leone Public Archives.

⁹⁴ CMS C A1/E1 *Calendar Appendix E*, 4.

⁹⁵ The presence of the disciplined Maroons proved a further incentive to harmonious relations in the 1800-1808 period, as their decisive efforts against both rebellious Nova Scotians and Temne alike had cowed many Nova Scotians, and their support of the authorities served to enforce Company rule. However their manners and behaviour provided the Nova Scotians with a contrast to their own interests and experience. Cultural differences between Nova Scotian and Maroon, and between Sierra Leonean and local peoples, served to convince the Nova Scotians of their own superiority in Walker's study. See Walker, *The Black Loyalists*, 254-255; Fyfe also notes the divisions among the Freetown settlers, but contends that by 1808, they had become their own unique system. See Christopher Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 91-100.

⁹⁶ James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists*, 244-245.

⁹⁷ Wallace Brown, "The Black Loyalists in Sierra Leone," in *Moving On: Black Loyalists in the Afro-Atlantic World*, 122.

Tensions remained present between the Nova Scotians and the Maroons whose 1800 arrival had changed social dynamics in the settlement, but by 1803, any legal differentiation between Nova Scotian and Maroon was abolished. However, while legal status was the same, the colony's social divisions remained strong, as may be seen from the identification of Maroon or Settler children in the schools which form the core of this thesis. Maroons spread upward through the region, into the lands around Rio Pongo by 1809's earliest pupil list. There, a boy whose name is recorded by 1811 as "John Ellis" is described as "An orphan; a Maroon from Sierra Leone."⁹⁸ How the boy in question arrived at the Bashia settlement is never explained, but serves to illustrate cultural nuances in the colony and region beyond the 1803 legal unity of Settlers and Maroons.

Interactions with Local People

This second section discusses the local peoples whom the settlers were surrounded by at Granville Town, then Freetown. The nearest local people were the Temne, with whom the initial agreements had been made to settle on the Freetown peninsula.⁹⁹ The next peoples considered are the Sherbro and Bullom, as they were similarly nearby, and their own tensions directly influenced the colony's wellbeing, while north into the Rio Pongo, the Susu played a role in settlement patterns which influenced Freetown.¹⁰⁰ The local coastal trading families of

⁹⁸ Leopold Butscher to Sec. Pratt, "A List of the Children at the Settlement in Bashia" 1809, CMS/CA1/E2/22.

⁹⁹ Asiana, "Land Tenure Relations in Sierra Leone," 220; Rodney, *History of the Upper Guinea Coast*, 1-4; Allen M. Howard, "The Relevance of Spatial Analysis for African Economic History: The Sierra Leone-Guinea System," *The Journal of African History* 17, 3 (1976): 369; Kenneth Little, *The Mende of Sierra Leone*, (New York: Routledge, 2013[1968]), 26.

¹⁰⁰ John Matthews, *A Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone on the Coast of Africa; Containing an Account of the Trade and Productions of the Country, and of the Civil and Religious Customs and Manners of the People; In a Series of Letters to a Friend in England* (London: B. White and Son, 1788), 21; Bruce L. Mouser, "The 1805 Forékariah Conference: A Case of Political Intrigue, Economic Advantage, Network Building," *History in Africa* 25 (1998):

mulattoes, descended primarily from British traders and local elite, are considered next, as their conflicts at times offered considerable challenges to Freetown's early years. Though their important role in the region was first filled by Afro-Portuguese intermediaries, an increase in the number of British companies trading locally saw a concomitant rise of families tracing their lineage to English forefathers; these families became central to the coastal system. The section then considers the importance of the Poro secret society of the upper Guinea coast, which was an inter-ethnic quasi-government. Poro and its female equivalent, Sande, both presented a decentralized authority with which the settlers had to engage. Finally, the section discusses the local Muslim traders and cities, which controlled all systems of trade inland into the largely Muslim interior. Establishing ties with these networks was the lynchpin of the Sierra Leone Company's economic goals, and the nearby Muslims played a major role for Freetown.¹⁰¹

Temne and the Landlord-Stranger Relationship

The largest group and nearest local people, the Temne, were traders and rice farmers.¹⁰² Walter Rodney describes their trade in camwood and in kola nuts, and they largely lived in secondary forest and bush which grew in an area of numerous rivers and tributaries and many swamps and marshes in the valley bottoms. The Temne were well positioned to dominate coastal

226-227.

¹⁰¹ Gustav Kashope Deveneaux, "Public Opinion and Colonial Policy in Nineteenth-Century Sierra Leone," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 9, 1 (1976): 46; Allen M. Howard and David E. Skinner, "Network Building and Political Power in Northwestern Sierra Leone, 1800-65," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 54, 2 (1984): 2; Bruce L. Mouser, "Introduction," in *Journal of James Watt: Expedition to Timbo Capital of the Fula Empire in 1794*, ed. Bruce L. Mouser. (Madison: African Studies Program, 1994), 10; Sierra Leone Company, *Substance of the report delivered on Wednesday the nineteenth of October, 1791*, 27, 53.

¹⁰² Rodney, *History of the Upper Guinea Coast*, 160, 206; J. Little John, "Temne Space," *Anthropological Quarterly* 36, 1, (1963): 1.

trade, as Kenneth Wylie has noted. The northwestern Temne occupied much of the navigable Scarcies and Port Loko Creek, while the southeastern chiefdoms were situated across the Rokel, controlling most of the approaches into Freetown from the interior.¹⁰³ Their goods were not desired by Europeans trading along the coast, but due to their location, the Temne quickly became middlemen, uniting inland systems with the Atlantic.¹⁰⁴ Due to their position by Freetown, the settlers were reliant upon them for trade goods and access to the broader interior trade systems. According to Gustav Deveneaux, the Temne, along with other local peoples, were the key to economic viability, and trade networks developed which moved cattle, rice, gold, beeswax, peanuts, beniseed, palm nuts and kernels from the interior by the late eighteenth century. Liquor, cotton cloth, pots, mirrors, guns and ammunition were manufactured in the colony and traded in exchange.¹⁰⁵

Politically, the Temne were led by a system of leaders whom Europeans customarily described as “Kings,” but who might be better termed “chiefs,” or “headmen,” or by the Temne title of respect “Bai,” similar to the Bullom “Ba.”¹⁰⁶ The relative authority exercised by headmen, subchiefs, and other authority figures allowed treaties to be made with individuals whom the settlers assumed were of considerable importance. Authority was based on resident lineages, usually in the person of a senior member of one of the founding families, who became the headman of the village. Beyond this fundamental village basis for all political power, there was a structure of kingship derived from specific clan lineages who had successfully imposed

¹⁰³ Wylie, “The Slave Trade in Nineteenth Century Temneland and the British Sphere of Influence,” 203-204.

¹⁰⁴ Winston McGowan, “The Establishment of Long-Distance Trade between Sierra Leone and Its Hinterland, 1787-1821,” *The Journal of African History* 31, 1 (1990): 25; Kenneth C. Wylie, “The Influence of the Mande on Temne Political Institutions: Aspects of Political Acculturation,” *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 7, 2 (1974): 258.

¹⁰⁵ Deveneaux, “Colonial Policy in Sierra Leone,” 46, 51; Mouser, “Introduction,” 11.

¹⁰⁶ Kenneth C. Wylie, *The Political Kingdoms of the Temne: Temne Government in Sierra Leone, 1825-1910* (New York: Africana Pub. Co.), 5, 25, 87; Matthews, *Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone*, 73, 77.

their authority over a group of villages which were then bound into a chiefdom.¹⁰⁷ King Naimbana, with whom the settlers negotiated, was in fact a sub-chief according to Wylie.¹⁰⁸

There were considerable differences between British and Temne traditions of land ownership. Land was parcelled out to local families or lineages for use, as opposed to individuals in this structure, but held in trust by leaders on behalf of their people.¹⁰⁹ Land-use was a grant for the use of the land offered in the Temne tradition in return for payment. According to Seth Asiama, such a grant, however, did not confer ownership of the land but only conferred the right to use the land.¹¹⁰ This approach was considerably different from the British understanding of land ownership, in which payment for land implied freehold of land; for the local peoples, long-standing traditions established an arrangement between a local landlord, and the “stranger,” who would pay for use of land, but did not own it.¹¹¹ Contemporary sources such as Anna Falconbridge suggested that the original land agreement had not been binding in the opinion of the Temne, leading to the initial conflict.¹¹² Frustration had also arisen among the Temne when the settlers refused to compensate them for the water source on the peninsula. King Jimmy, who

¹⁰⁷ Wylie, “Temne Political Institutions,” 260-266; Esu Biyi, “The Temne People and How They Make Their Kings,” *Journal of the Royal African Society* 12, 46 (1913): 193.

¹⁰⁸ Wylie, *Temne Government in Sierra Leone*, 87, 234; Frederick William Butt-Thompson, *Sierra Leone in History and Tradition* (London: H. F. & G. Witherby, 1926), 42-50. Alexander Falconbridge in the 1790s suggested that the burning of the settlement had arisen due to settlers' connection with some Americans with whom King Jimmy, who led the attack, had a dispute, though the Sierra Leone Company believed the cause to be due to a conflict with a British slave captain. See Anna Maria Falconbridge, *Two Voyages to Sierra Leone During the Years 1791-2-3 In a Series of Letters* (London: 1794), 85; Stuart, *Memoir of Granville Sharp*, 40; Sierra Leone Company, *An Account of the Colony of Sierra Leone from its First Establishment in 1793*, 2.

¹⁰⁹ Esu Biyi, “Têmné Land Tenure,” *Journal of the Royal African Society* 12, 48 (1913): 409.

¹¹⁰ Asiama, “Land Tenure Relations in Sierra Leone,” 226; Bruce Mouser, “Landlords-Strangers: A Process of Accommodation and Assimilation,” *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 8 (1975): 429.

¹¹¹ Asiama, “Land Tenure Relations in Sierra Leone,” 223; V.R. Dorjahn and Christopher Fyfe, “Landlord and Stranger: Change in Tenancy Relations in Sierra Leone,” *Journal of African History* 3,3 (1962): 391-397; Walter Rodney, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast 1545 to 1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 83; Matthews, *A Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone*, 78-79.

¹¹² Falconbridge, *Two Voyages* 84; Seth Opuni Asiama, “Colonialism And The Modern State: Land Tenure Relations In Sierra Leone,” *Africa: Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'Istituto italiano per l'Africae l'Oriente* 61, 2 (Giugno 2006): 221; Sierra Leone Company, *Substance of the report delivered on Wednesday the nineteenth of October, 1791*, 6-7.

had a claim to this traditional watering place, had not signed the 1787 agreement, and when the settlers refused to continue to pay rent for what they believed they had purchased fully, the Temne seized settlers as compensation prior to the eventual destruction of the settlement.¹¹³

The settlers agreed, under Zachary Macaulay by 1794, to pay 100 bars of goods annually to the Temne, which would lessen ongoing tensions.¹¹⁴ Once again, issues of land ownership and unpaid rents were at stake. In 1801, Temne chiefs instructed local labourers working in Freetown to return home; this was a signal that a major conflict was coming which the company largely missed.¹¹⁵ This conflict was further fuelled for King Tom and his ally Bai Firama by fears that the colony's establishment and survival foreshadowed a Temne loss of land. Unfortunately for the Temne, their effort to drive the foreigners out before this took place backfired, with the Maroons and Nova Scotians working together to unseat the Temne and burn their holdings. Forced to sue for peace, the Temne found themselves indeed displaced from their former lands, though King Tom continued to threaten the settlement from the Bullom Shore into 1802. After that loss, while the Temne remained present in the surrounding areas, their potential for harm to the colony was largely removed.

Bulloms, Sherbro and other local people

Though an ethnolinguistic analysis by P.E.H. Hair indicates that the Bullom and Sherbro people are so intertwined as to be indistinguishable (referring to them both as Bullom), other

¹¹³ Walker, *The Black Loyalists*, 104-105; West, *Back to Africa*, 32; Pybus, "From Epic Journeys of Freedom Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and Their Global Quest for Liberty," *Callaloo* 29, 1 (2006): 119.

¹¹⁴ Schwarz, "Introduction," in *Zachary Macaulay and the Development of the Sierra Leone Company*, 5.

¹¹⁵ Walker, *The Black Loyalists*, 243.

historians like A.P Kup differentiate between them by their geographical distribution.¹¹⁶ Kup's historiographic analysis traces the various waves of migration and invasion in the region, and on his map of the coast, he places the Bullom to the north of the Freetown peninsula, and the Sherbro along the coast to the south. Contemporary sources in the nineteenth and early twentieth century similarly differentiate, and make the same geographic distinction which Kup does, placing the Bulloms on the shore and coast north of the Freetown peninsula.¹¹⁷ The Sherbro regions were largely influenced by Eurafican coastal families, and the colony dealt more with the powerful families of that region than with the people.

The “Bullom shore” near Freetown was proposed for settlement, with land offered to interested would-be settlers in the late eighteenth century by the Bullom.¹¹⁸ It was considered to be suitable for plantation agriculture but not for intensive settlement, and treaties and agreements were made with the authorities there by the colonists. Freetown under the Sierra Leone Company was eager to successfully raise plantation crops, and established farmland upon the opposite side of the broad river mouth from the settlement.¹¹⁹ Governor Dawes and Macaulay were frequent visitors to the Clarkson Plantation on the Shore, and reported success in their agricultural

¹¹⁶ A.P. Kup, “An Account of the Tribal Distribution of Sierra Leone,” *Man* 60 (1960): 116. Hair's study places the Bullom south AND north of Freetown, on Sherbro Island itself, though his work considers an earlier period; Hair notes that no Mende-speaking peoples were described on Sherbro Island prior to 1790. See P.E.H. Hair, “The History of the Baga in Early Written Sources,” *History in Africa* 24, (1997): 384; P.E.H Hair, “Ethnolinguistic Continuity on the Guinea Coast,” *The Journal of African History* 8, 2 (1967): 255-257. W.A. Hart and Christopher Fyfe further refer to the Bullom people as being closely related to the Kissi peoples, and trace their separation to the arrival of the Kono people, whose speak a Mande language and now occupy the region between the Kissi and Bullom. See W.A. Hart and Chrispher Fyfe, “The Stone Sculptures of the Upper Guinea Coast,” *History in Africa* 20, (1993): 77-78. Other scholarly literature refers to the Sherbro as 'southern Bullom' in considering differences in its major secret societies, or situate the Bullom along the coast and make no note of the Sherbro. See Nancy Ingram Nooter, “Uncommon Choices,” *African Arts* 16, 3 (1983): 71; Frederick Lamp, “An Opera of the West African Bondo: The Act, Ideas, and the Word,” *TDR* (1988) 32, 2 (1988): 84.

¹¹⁷ T.J. Alldridge, *The Sherbro and its Hinterland* (London: MacMillan and Co., Ltd, 1901), 3, 33.

¹¹⁸ George E. Brooks, Jr “The Providence African Society's Sierra Leone Emigration scheme, 1794-1795: Prologue to the African Colonization Movement,” *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 7, 2 (1974): 196-197.

¹¹⁹ Zachary Macaulay, *Zachary Macaulay and the Development of the Sierra Leone Company*, 5, 13.

efforts.¹²⁰ Despite their early hopes, however, the Bullom Shore ultimately proved unsuitable for plantations, and trade replaced settler-run farming.¹²¹ Freetown was dependent upon the trade offered by the Bullom and Sherbro alike for its foodstuffs.¹²² Friendly relationships with the local people appear in documents from the mission school at Yongroo Pomoh from 1814 onward. According to these records, the local elites sent their sons to be educated, including King George of Bullom's sons Peter and Kumpah, both aged twelve. The children there were educated in English or in the Bullom language.

The 13 Bulloms 2 Sherbros and 3 Cossos speak Bullom.¹²³ The others speak their own language and are obliged to speak either English or Bullom, and it would be a pity[*sic*] to introduce any other language among them or to divide them into Timanee boys and Bullom boys.¹²⁴

The settlement at Yongroo Pomoh not only served to educate the children of the Bulloms but some children from Freetown, demonstrating interactions beyond trade alone between the colony and nearby peoples.

Further north, the Susu were the primary people inhabiting the region along the Rio Pongo. Missionaries wrote about their "native" Susu pupils from local villages, including the children of a headman on Rio Nunez, a "Mr. Pierce." Accounts of his sons include notes on traditional remedies used for injuries, as shown by Wilhelm's entry about Bagony Pierce:

Sebastian's brother, about 11 years of age, very healthy & strong, and of a very lively disposition & sagacious head. He reads, writes & speaks English fluently; and shews much attachment to us. In the company of the Basheia boys is his element, though he fights his companions more than he caresses them. Last year, when he had a very malignant sore on his foot, we put him under the care of a woman in the town, who is skilled in medicines & surgery. But Bagony so hindered the cure of his sore by daily running away from the town to

¹²⁰ Schwarz, "Introduction," in *Zachary Macaulay and the Development of the Sierra Leone Company*, 12.

¹²¹ Alldridge, *The Sherbro and its Hinterland*, 64-101.

¹²² Philip Misevich, "The Sierra Leone Hinterland and the Provisioning of Early Freetown, 1792-1803," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 9, 3 (2008): 2.

¹²³ "Cosso" was a colonial term which referred to the local Mende.

¹²⁴ Nylander to Pratt, "List of Children at Yongroo Pomoh," 1 July, 1815, CMS/CA1/E5/12.

visit his play-fellows, that more than half a year passed before it was effected.¹²⁵

Most of the first few pupil lists show that the missionaries primarily taught the children of local elites, with six of the “native boys” on the first school list being children of nearby African leaders. Most were the sons of Mr. Pierce, M. Fantimāni from the nearby village by Kakara, or other nearby chiefs, whom the missionaries know enough to title as “Mungké” by 1815 as opposed to “chief.” Many of these children had English names, but not all. Of Fantimāni’s sons, Jac, Thomas and Andrew seem to bear English names, while their siblings Dabu and Jolorum do not. These boys’ 1815 Bashia entries offer insights into personality and natures. Thomas, for example, is recorded as being

Son of M. Fantimāni's headwoman, also of about 11 years. A rash temper, mischievous & foolish. He was almost drowned last year by rashly venturing himself into the deep when bathing. He is a stuttering reader, & clumsy writer.¹²⁶

His sibling Jolorum receives high praise from Wilhelm:

Likewise belonging to M Fant, about the age of 9 years. He is by far the liveliest of his children & the most forward in learning. He is very sagacious in defending himself when accused of any mischief, & he is ready for telling a plausible lie in order to extricate himself out of the danger of being found guilty: yet if he cannot find out a very plausible one, he will make a free & fair confession, & plead pardon, which others are not inclined to do, though they see that this part of his conduct meets with due encouragement.¹²⁷

Eurafrican Merchant families

Along the upper Guinea coast, trade was dominated for centuries by powerful families

¹²⁵ Wilhelm to Pratt, Bashia School, 1815, CMS/CA1/E4/74.

¹²⁶ Wilhelm to Pratt, Bashia School, 1815, CMS/CA1/E4/74.

¹²⁷ Wilhelm to Pratt, Bashia School, 1815, CMS/CA1/E4/74.

comprised for the most part of individuals from mixed descent.¹²⁸ Prominent along the Rio Pongo, a community of European and Eurafrikan trading families and kinsmen controlled much of the trade in the region, as Bruce Mouser has shown.¹²⁹ Following upon the success of the Afro-Portuguese *lançados* whom Walter Rodney describes, British, French and American traders were welcomed into local families, marrying and fathering children who became natural middlemen.¹³⁰ Important traders whom Mouser follows along the Rio Pongo include Benjamin Curtis (an Afro-American born near Boston), John Irving (an Englishman), and an American, William Skelton.¹³¹ David Lawrence (a Eurafrikan son of an English trader), Mr. Ferrie, Emmanuel Gomez Jr. (Eurafrikan son of a Portuguese trader from Bissau), the notorious English slave-trader John Ormond Sr., Sam Perry, Samuel Holeman, Mr. Wilkinson, and Louis Gomez (a Portuguese trader), all feature prominently along the Rio Pongo region's major routes, and most married local women and had Eurafrikan families.¹³² As a rule, the established African trading families, themselves often descended from *lançados*, married their daughters or their slaves to European traders in this region, sharing the wealth flowing from coastal trade networks.¹³³ The Caulkers, the Tuckers, the Clevelandes and the Rogers families all traditionally traced their

¹²⁸ This situation was not unique to the upper Guinea coast, but was the norm to the east also. As Silke Strickrodt has demonstrated, the so-called Western Slave Coast's trade was controlled along the coast by these mixed families. See Silke Strickrodt, *Afro-European Trade in the Atlantic World: The Western Slave Coast c 1550-1885* (Suffolk: James Currey, 2015), 4, 5, 13-14, 85-89, 94-101.

¹²⁹ Bruce L. Mouser, "Trade, Coasters and Conflict in the Rio Pongo from 1790 to 1808," *The Journal of African History* 14, 1 (1973): 45-46.

¹³⁰ Walter Rodney, *History of the Upper Guinea Coast 1545-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 74-93, 105, 114, 116-118; Mouser, "Trade, Coasters and Conflict," 46.

¹³¹ Mouser, "Trade, Coasters and Conflict," 50.

¹³² Mouser, "Trade, Coasters and Conflict," 51-52.

¹³³ As Peter Mark elaborates, Afro-Portuguese *lançados* became synonymous with "traders" in this region, maintaining a Portuguese identity based upon their cultural and socio-economic standing relative to their neighbours, as opposed to relying on physical characteristics. This became an interesting dichotomy according to Mark, as European traders evaluated these coastal traders based upon their skin colour as opposed to the identity they claimed. These differences played a role in constructions of self among slave traders of the region, as well as how they were viewed by travellers and their European counterparts. See Peter Mark, "The Evolution of 'Portuguese' Identity: Luso-Africans on the Upper Guinea Coast from the Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century," *Journal of African History* 40 (1999): 173-174, 176, 182-186.

descent to English traders who intermarried with local coastal families, as Adam Jones has explained.¹³⁴ The school records from 1815 at Bashia however suggest a wider variety of European roots for the families present and active along the coastline. Among the more common English surnames and mentions of English or Portuguese fathers appear those of French parentage. One Eurafrikan boy, John Cooper, is recorded by Wilhelm as:

An orphan, between 7&8 years of age, lightcoloured, the son of a French trader. His look is pleasant. His disposition rather serious. He is faithful, and he carefully avoids telling lies. In reading he stutters, and improves in learning but by slow degrees; yet still is he careful to avoid punishment. He is my patient and trusty chamberkeeper during my absence from home.¹³⁵

Like John Cooper, another boy is described in the same document as possessing a French father.

The child, Jacob, is:

Lightcoloured, past 3 years of age, the youngest child in the school. His father was a Frenchman. His mother is still living in Tage-Kiring. This child learned to speak English with astonishing rapidity; but the daily task of learning his letters is to him a very drudgery. He is lively and cheerful; yet he stands still too much in need of maternal attention.¹³⁶

These examples serve to demonstrate the complexity of the trade systems of the coastal region, and the ongoing presence of a variety of European nationalities fathering Eurafrikan families. Children like Jacob and John were enrolled alongside scions of the long-established mulatto families that dominated the Atlantic trade, who predominantly bore English surnames. While these powerful families have occupied the literature, first generation unions between English traders and African women also produced children whose lives may be traced within the pupil

¹³⁴ Adam Jones, "White Roots: Written and oral Testimony on the 'First' Mr. Rogers," *History in Africa* 10 (1983): 151.

¹³⁵ Wilhelm to Pratt, 1815, CMS/CA1/E4/74.

¹³⁶ Wilhelm to Pratt, 1815, CMS/CA1/E4/74.

lists. In some cases, details entered also offer insights into the tumultuous situation for the trader parent, as with four-year-old William East:

4 years old, the son of an English slave-trader, who got ruined in his estate by various misfortunes. The child's mother felt so much attached to her darling, that she would always have him at home with her. The father, therefore, took him to Sierra Leone, and gave him under the care of Mr. Butscher. On the 16th of May Mr. East died, having for some days lamentably suffered from the consequences of burning his whole body with gun-powder with which, in drunkenness and quarrel with the natives, he threatened to hurt them, and did really hurt one man together with himself.¹³⁷

Unlike such troubled new families, the coastal families were stable and well established. The Caulkers trace their descent from a Thomas Corker, who married into a powerful Sherbro family. The Rogers had largely settled into the Gallinhas, according to Jones's examination of oral traditions concerning each prominent family, while the Cleveland's forefather landed at the Banana Islands.¹³⁸ These trading families, it must be noted, could be as often led by a female trader as by a male. A Mrs. Williams and a Mrs. Crowder are mentioned as factory owners in the correspondence of the Church Missionary Society concerning Peter Hartwig. Betsy Heard, also called Calamina, was also a formidable trader and owner of a factory in the region.¹³⁹

Poro and Sande Societies

James Cleveland's prominence and affiliation with the intra-ethnic regional Poro society demonstrates how deeply integrated these coastal families were in traditional systems, and their

¹³⁷ Wilhelm to Pratt, 1815. CMS/CA1/E4/74.

¹³⁸ Jones, "White Roots," 155. Jones notes that the Cleveland ancestor likely arrived much later than the seventeenth-century forefathers of other powerful families; the first mention of the Cleveland originator is dated by Jones to 1738.

¹³⁹ Bruce L. Mouser, *Case of the Reverend Peter Hartwig, Slave Trader or Misunderstood Idealist? Clash of Church Missionary Society/Imperial Objectives in Sierra Leone 1804-1815* (Madison: Africa Studies Program, 2003), 36-38, 47.

placement within regional power structures.¹⁴⁰ Major public and political figures along the upper Guinea coast from chiefs and kings to mulatto family leaders were subject to the authority of the inter-ethnic male initiatory society of Poro.¹⁴¹ Poro is primarily a male society, and its female equivalent is the Sande (also called Bondo) society in the region.¹⁴² Both act to govern and regulate participants, but Poro played a far greater role for the settlers' interactions with local peoples.¹⁴³ Richard Fulton asserts that throughout all studied ethnic groups, Poro served to provide legitimacy to each chiefdom.¹⁴⁴ The root of Poro's power is in the regulation of the spirit world and the material world. The authority of ranking members of Poro directly connects with a pre-existing belief system in spirits and their intersection with day-to-day life. Primarily interpreted by George Harley through the ritual masks which represented spirits in ceremonies, the central tenet which underpins Poro's secular authority is the command over spiritual power seen by the presence of masked Poro members at governing ceremonies.¹⁴⁵ Fulton records the

¹⁴⁰ Kenneth Morgan, "Liverpool Ascendant: British Merchants and the Slave Trade on the Upper Guinea Coast, 1701-180," in *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Colonialism in Sierra Leone*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy and Suzanne Schwarz. (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2014), 38.

¹⁴¹ Kenneth Little, "The Political Function of the Poro. Part I," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 35, 4 (1965): 359; Vernon R. Dorjahn, "The Initiation of Temne Poro Officials," *Man* 61 (1961): 37; Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 11; Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 2.

¹⁴² Matthews, *Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone*, 72; Frederick Lamp, "Cosmos, Cosmetics, and the Spirit of Bondo," *African Arts* 18, 3 (1985): 28. Importantly, while Sande (also called Bondo) served like Poro to initiate adults in participatory peoples, Poro interacted with outside forces and regulated trade and political functions. Sande's primary function besides initiation is governing marriage of young women. See M. C. Jędrej, "Medicine, Fetish and Secret Society in a West African Culture," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 46, 3 (1976): 250-252; Little, "The Changing Position of Women in the Sierra Leone Protectorate," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 18, 1 (1948): 2-4.

¹⁴³ This is not to suggest that the Sande society is without political authority in the region. However, as much of the scholarship concerning the female society suggests, Sande's purpose was largely internal, and regulated sexuality, cultural norms, and interactions between men and women as well as elites and nonelites within participatory peoples. See Caroline Bledsoe, "The Political Use of Sande Ideology and Symbolism," *American Ethnologist* 11, 3 (1984): 455-456; Lamp, "An Opera of the West African Bondo," 83-85; J.V.O Richards, "Some Aspects of the Multivariant Socio-Cultural Rôles of the Sande of the Mende," *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines* 9, 1 (1975): 106; Alldridge, *The Sherbro and its Hinterland*, 138.

¹⁴⁴ Richard M. Fulton, "The Political Structures and Functions of Poro in Kpelle Society," *American Anthropologist* New Series, 74, 5 (1972): 1228; Matthews, *Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone*, 82-85.

¹⁴⁵ George W. Harley, *Notes on the Poro in Liberia* (Cambridge: Peabody Museum of American Archeology Papers, 1941), 3-4, 8.

fundamental importance of the spirits represented within Poro. Poro further worked as a judiciary, enforcing cultural norms and adjudicating supposed wrongdoing, often leading to execution. Regulatory practices also fell under Poro control. Diplomacy and matters of alliances between chiefdoms were also reported by Fulton to be a Poro matter, fitting with the assertion of Poro acting as a shared system and means of recognition from village to village.

In the 1960's, Christopher Fyfe defined the governing role of Poro as being consistent throughout the history of the region, and serving to frame social order. In his examination, Poro constrained the authority of chiefs and rulers among participatory peoples.¹⁴⁶ Poro played an immediate role in interactions with slave traders and merchant elite in the eighteenth century.¹⁴⁷ From both historical and anthropological studies, Poro is assumed to have been a long-established regulatory social system among the peoples of the region. Inter-ethnic, it transcended the control of individual leaders, serving to maintain stability or allow unified action among its membership.¹⁴⁸ Like its female equivalent, Sande, Poro served to unite initiates and educate them in their traditional roles, its own hierarchy intersecting with local government.¹⁴⁹ The society's influence stretched beyond any single people, and fundamentally served to differentiate its members from Muslims, who comprised the other major network of the region. Prior to the settlement of Granville Town, the coast and hinterland could be seen as either belonging to Poro, or to Islam.

¹⁴⁶ Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, 3; Fulton, "The Political Structures and Functions of Poro," 1218-1219, 1228.

¹⁴⁷ J. Newton, "Political Organization in the Sherbro," in *Sierra Leone Inheritance*, 99-100.

¹⁴⁸ Donald L. Horowitz, *The Deadly Ethnic Riot* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 248; Imodale Caulker-Burnett, *The Caulkers of Sierra Leone: The Story of a Ruling Family and Their Times* (Bloomington: Xlibris Corporation, 2010), pp. 28-30; Richard West, *Back to Africa: A History of Sierra Leone and Liberia* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1970), 214.

¹⁴⁹ Beryl Larry Bellman, *The Language of Secrecy: Symbols and Metaphors in Poro Ritual* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1984), 8, 14, 25, 39; Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of African Societies to 1870* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997), 259.

Muslims and Trade

In the interior of the upper Guinea coast, a vast network of trade routes stretched into the south Sudan, controlled wholly by Muslims.¹⁵⁰ The goods which moved along these routes were a mixture of sahelian and coastal products ranging from kola nuts, camwood, rice, fish, gold, salt, cattle to the ever-ubiquitous slaves. This economic system was connected to the coastal network through a variety of important settlements and kingdoms, which were in turn ruled for the most part by Muslims. Major Muslim kingdoms spread in the region, including Fuuta Jalon, and Kaabu, and smaller kingdoms like Moriah.¹⁵¹ Islam in Sierra Leone spread generally not by force but by trade and political alliance, which allowed intermarriage, land acquisition and ever-increasing economic, social and political integration of Muslims into local power structures.¹⁵² Islam's spread was dependent upon the central importance of Muslims in this trade network, Allen Howard argues, and trading became a fundamental element of Muslim identity in West Africa.¹⁵³ There were tensions between the various Islamic kingdoms of the region relating to control over access to important trade routes and networks.¹⁵⁴ Such internecine conflicts served to strengthen smaller intermediary states such as Solima, which restricted access to Sierra Leone

¹⁵⁰ David E. Skinner, "Islam and Education in the Colony and Hinterland of Sierra Leone (1750-1914)," *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines*, 10, 3 (1976): 501; Paul E. Lovejoy, "Islamic Scholarship and Understanding History in West Africa before 1800," in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: Volume 3: 1400-1800*, 227.

¹⁵¹ David E. Skinner, "Islam in the Northern Hinterland and its Influence on the Development of the Sierra Leone Colony," in *Islam and Trade in Sierra Leone*, 4.

¹⁵² Skinner, "Islam and Education," 501-503, 507; Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 65.

¹⁵³ Allen M. Howard, "Trade and Islam in Sierra Leone, 18th-20th Centuries" in *Islam and Trade in Sierra Leone*, 21-23, 25-27.

¹⁵⁴ Moriah's leadership notably blockaded access to Freetown from the Fula of Fuuta Jalon, intercepting messengers from both European and Fula governments and offering false information instead. The rulers of Moriah justified their actions by suggesting that the opposition by Sierra Leone's authorities to the slave trade was a threat to both the Mandinka and Fula. See Winston McGowan, "The Establishment of Long-Distance Trade between Sierra Leone and Its Hinterland, 1787-1821," *The Journal of African History* 31, 1 (1990), 30.

and the profitable coastal trade, and also simultaneously prevented potential rival Muslim states from acquiring European weapons.¹⁵⁵ Islam was a shared cultural currency among this commerce-driven diaspora of Muslims, offering a sense of unity which permitted a common legal system governing trade.¹⁵⁶

Due to the ubiquitous nature of Islam in the region, and its spread into coastal elite families, major Muslim figures also became important players in the ongoing conflicts between settlers and the local peoples. A member of the prominent Dumbuya Muslim trader lineage, Dala Modu, not only was active within Freetown itself, but became personally involved in the Temne conflict which saw the Temne ultimately lose possession of Freetown peninsula.¹⁵⁷

Slave Trade of the Upper Guinea Coast, and the “Province of Freedom”

The upper Guinea coast was closely intertwined with and part of the Atlantic world. It was an important region supplying slaves to the Americas, and home to a major network of traders moving enslaved individuals to coastal points of sale overseen by powerful elites. This section first contextualizes the scope of the trade from the upper Guinea coast through the data

¹⁵⁵ McGowan, “The Establishment of Long-Distance Trade,” 32; E. A. Ijagbemi, “The Freetown Colony and the Development of ‘Legitimate’ Commerce in the Adjoining Territories,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 5, 2 (1970): 245.

¹⁵⁶ Gibril R. Cole, “Religious Plurality and Economic Sustainability: Muslim Merchants in the Colonial Economy of Nineteenth Century Freetown,” *African Economic History* 36, (2008): 79.

¹⁵⁷ Dala Modu, whom Bruce Mouser describes as a headman related to the Bullom and an important member of the Djula Dumbuya lineage who threatened the existing Temne-controlled trade networks at Freetown, became involved after the Temne attacked his holdings. He had already played a central role in Freetown in establishing a Susu settlement, as David Skinner has also discussed. As a result of that Temne attack, Dala Modu offered fighters to assist the Company in the attack, which led to the defeat of King Tom's forces. See Bruce L. Mouser, “The 1805 Forékariah Conference: A Case of Political Intrigue, Economic Advantage, Network Building,” *History in Africa*, 25, (1998): 225-226, 230, 233; Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 89; Spilsbury, *Voyage to the Western Coast of Africa*, 29; Allen M. Howard and David E. Skinner, “Network Building and Political Power in Northwestern Sierra Leone, 1800-65,” *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 54, 2 (1984): 17.

available concerning the number of individuals sold from the major trade centers. Figures are available which clearly show the importance of the region for the slave trade, and broken down by region, they serve to show its magnitude. Bunce Island and Sherbro Island are then considered within this context and their own histories, as the major factories along the coast had a direct bearing on events taking place in Freetown. This section then returns to the prominent coastal trader families, but considers them in light specifically of their role and importance in the slave trade which was so central to the upper Guinea coast. Finally, the part played by Muslim traders is discussed, as the networks which moved slaves from inland to the coast and thus into the Atlantic world were crucial to maintaining the supply of slaves meeting external demand.

Statistics by different regions

Along the upper Guinea coast and extending south-eastward toward the aptly named “Slave Coast,” the islands situated in the broad river mouths served as sheltered harbours for European slave traders in the region. Slaves were generally acquired inland, then marched to the coast to await buyers, and held there in coastal barracoons or pens.

Table 1: Sierra Leone Slave numbers by Port of Embarkation, 1700-1810

Port of Embarkation	Embarked slaves
Banana Islands	5 805
Bance/Bunce Island	15 184
Cacandia	108
Côte de Malaguette	42
Delagoa	453
Gallinhas	4 245
Îles de Los	46 167

Iles Plantain	345
Rio Nunez	2 757
Rio Pongo	10 198
Scarcies	157
Sherbro	4 903
Sugary (Siekere)	269
Sierra Leone estuary	86 722
Mano	862
River Kiskeya	787
Cape Mount (Cape Grand Mount)	33 378
Sierra Leone, port unspecified	120
Total	212 502

Source: Eltis et al., *Trans-Atlantic Slave trade Database* (www.slavevoyages.org)

These numbers indicate the relevance of this stretch of coastline to the trans-Atlantic slave trade.¹⁵⁸ The higher numbers from certain ports indicate the presence of major slave factories which saw the funnelling of enslaved individuals from other regions into and through these points. The trade along this coast was primarily controlled by the British, specifically firms out of Liverpool, with a smaller percentage (less than ten) controlled by French, American and Dutch traders.¹⁵⁹ The British company of Grant, Sargent, and Oswald, and the important Charlestown firm of Henry Laurens were major figures in the trade.

¹⁵⁸ Lovejoy and Schwarz, "Sierra Leone in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," 23-24. As Morgan notes in the same volume, the Sierra Leone coast was, prior to 1750, comparatively less a source of slaves than regions in west central Africa. He elaborates on the growth of the trade after 1750, which expanded from 2931 prior to 1676, to 24,008 between 1676 and 1750, to 65,174 from 1751-1775, and expanded to 71,279 between 1776 and 1809. See Morgan, "Liverpool Ascendant," 29.

¹⁵⁹ Sean Kelley, "The Dirty Business of Panyarring and Palaver: Slave Trading on the Upper Guinea Coast in the Eighteenth Century," in *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Colonialism in Sierra Leone*, 91-92.

Bunce Island and important Factories

As early as 1628, trading centers, called “factories” existed on Sherbro Island, run by Wood & Co under the authority of the local King Towa, trading predominantly in camwood for dye, and in ivory.¹⁶⁰ They took their characteristic name by housing agents, or “factors” for major trading companies, who remained *in situ* and exchanged goods with travellers and traders from the surrounding region. Forts were built under Charles II's rule on Tasso Island and on Sherbro, but the fort on Tasso was taken by the Dutch in 1664, necessitating a move to nearby Bunce Island by the English traders. The operating company, the Royal Adventurers, became the Royal African Company, and moved its factory from Sherbro to York Island in 1688 off the north-east corner of Sherbro Island.¹⁶¹ Of the two factories, Bunce was notorious, overseeing an estimated 148,000 enslaved individuals from its inception until abolition.¹⁶² Primarily run by English interests, the fortified forts were attacked by French forces in 1704, and relied upon Afro-Portuguese middlemen for trade connections into the eighteenth century. Independent traders and pirates periodically attacked and took Bunce Island, which was reclaimed and further fortified in the 1720's by English slave traders. The Royal African Company was driven from Bunce in 1728, when the island was taken by an Afro-Portuguese named Lopez. Repurchased and reclaimed by the 1750's once again, albeit by private traders, Bunce continued to be an object of conflict between English and French companies, with the French blocking trade by settling on Gambia Island in 1772, closer to the mouth of the river.¹⁶³ This settlement had no

¹⁶⁰ Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 4; Mouser, “Trade, Coaster and Conflict,” 48.

¹⁶¹ Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 4; Morgan, “Liverpool Ascendant,” 30.

¹⁶² Lovejoy and Schwarz, “Sierra Leone in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” 9.

¹⁶³ Bunce Island was also central to a major revolt in 1809, as the continuing efforts of abolitionists at Freetown nearby served to offer hope to the enslaved Africans held at the factory. See Philip Misevich, “Freetown and 'Freedom?' Colonialism and Slavery in Sierra Leone, 1790's to 1861,” in *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Colonialism in Sierra Leone*, 195-197.

access to water, and soon withered, all troops withdrawn within a few years. Bunce finally passed into the ownership of English traders John and Alexander Anderson in 1785.¹⁶⁴ Bunce's importance stemmed not only from its location in the Sierra Leone river, but as Lovejoy and Schwarz note, it was atypical for the region due to its unusually high number of enslaved Africans, and its fortification.¹⁶⁵ Factories were established in the Banana Islands, the Îles de Los, and on Plaintain Island. A "bulking center" controlled by British firms like Bunce, the Îles de Los were favored due to their climate, position, and access to trade caravans, as well as their offer of a safe anchorage in deep waters which afforded limited chance of escape for the enslaved held there.¹⁶⁶

Coastal Eurafrican traders and their contacts

Directing trade to so-called bulking centers like Bunce and the Îles de Los, the prominent members of the merchant families acted as middlemen between European captains and slave traders from further inland.¹⁶⁷ The system evolved from one established by Portuguese traders intermarrying with African families along the coast over the course of three centuries, though by the early nineteenth century, the rise in British economic interests in the coast had largely shifted the European origins of these families from Portuguese to English. Known and trusted by

¹⁶⁴ Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 6; Morgan, "Liverpool Ascendant," 39-40.

¹⁶⁵ Bunce Island is located at the far edge of the navigable portion of the river, allowing seagoing ships' access but limiting access to lucrative interior commerce. Lovejoy and Schwarz, "Sierra Leone in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," 11. Bunce was also central to much of the coastal trade, housing thirty traders in the 1730's, as Morgan notes. See Morgan, "Liverpool Ascendant," 35, 39.

¹⁶⁶ Morgan, "Liverpool Ascendant," 40; Bruce L. Mouser, "Keep hur Bottom Well paid with Stuff: A Letter of Instruction for a Slaving Venture to the Upper Guinea Coast in 1760," in *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Colonialism in Sierra Leone*, 54.

¹⁶⁷ Morgan, "Liverpool Ascendant," 36; Tara Helfman, "The Court of Vice Admiralty at Sierra Leone and the Abolition of the West African Slave Trade," *The Yale Law Journal* 115, 5 (2006): 1136; Mouser, "Trade, Coasters, and Conflict," 48.

captains, these traders were unable to muster large numbers of slaves, necessitating a number of places of purchase, but were major figures in overseeing the trade.¹⁶⁸ As Morgan points out, a primary reason for the dominance of Eurafican families in the coastal slave trade was the lack of credit protection systems like pawnship to any degree, due to the decentralized legal and political structures of the upper Guinea coast. Perceived as more trustworthy, members of prominent merchant families like Curtis, Tucker, Ormond, Fraser, Owen, the Caulkers, and the Clevelands were relied upon as intermediaries by slave captains, and profited considerably as a result.¹⁶⁹ James Cleveland was described by contemporary travellers as navigating the fine line between European and African interests; educated in England like many of his family, he is contextualized alongside many other Eurafican traders both male and female; all shared this unique ability to act as middlemen in the slave-trade.¹⁷⁰ Others were active under the authority of African elites to whom they were related.¹⁷¹

Muslims and the slave trade

The coastal trade network which moved slaves to specific factories from which they were purchased by ship captains was fed in part by an extensive and important trade system leading

¹⁶⁸ Fyfe explains that the primary influence these traders had was due to their dealing in slaves, and their internecine conflicts (such as that between Caulkers and Clevelands) shaped the region's social dynamics. See Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 10.

¹⁶⁹ Morgan, "Liverpool Ascendant," 36-37, 38; Mouser, "Trade, Coaster and Conflict," 49-51; Kelley, "The Dirty Business of Panyarring and Palaver," 94-95. Fyfe also transcribed an account of Henry Tucker as described by Nicholas Owen; Tucker is described as being widely travelled, having six or seven wives, and Owen reports how trusted he was by Europeans. See Nicholas Owen, "Henry Tucker," in *Sierra Leone Inheritance*, 100.

¹⁷⁰ Matthews wrote about Norie Corker, who was related to Cleveland, Charles Corker, and Prince George, all of whom are characterized as black or mulatto, who all seem to share James Cleveland's ability to be what was necessary: "With a White Man he is a White Man, with a Black Man a Black Man," See Matthews, "Africans Educated in England," in *Sierra Leone Inheritance*, 101-102.

¹⁷¹ George E. Brooks, "Samuel Hodges, Jr., and the Symbiosis of Slave and 'Legitimate' Traders, 1810s-1820s," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 41, 1 (2008): 101.

into the interior, and controlled by Muslims.¹⁷² Major kingdoms like Fuuta Jalon were crucial to and founded upon the slave trade.¹⁷³ As Wylie has described, caravans of slaves and other valuable merchandise from inland - and Fuuta Jalon specifically - would pass through major dispersal points into the Temne coastal system, there meeting with so-called “Bullom-Boats” to exchange commodities and trade goods.¹⁷⁴ The pre-eminence of Muslim slave traders and their control over trade routes was described by Rodney, who noted Mandinke slavers in accounts he traced to the sixteenth century.¹⁷⁵ In the late eighteenth century, Carl Wadstrom’s account of the region describes warfare conducted by Muslim states specifically to procure slaves for the trade, and he notes some of the major routes he was aware of, including Sierra Leone.¹⁷⁶ Wadstrom describes Muslim traders bringing slaves to the coast and there exchanging them with the middlemen already described. In effect, Muslim traders dominated the intricate system of routes and major inland corridors for trade reaching into the interior, and one of the primary commodities travelling along those pathways was enslaved Africans.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² As Patrick Caulker suggests, early European trade interests largely involved attempting to circumvent the monopoly Muslims had over the lucrative slave trade systems reaching into the interior of Sierra Leone. See Patrick S. Caulker, “Legitimate Commerce and Statecraft: A Study of the Hinterland Adjacent to Nineteenth-Century Sierra Leone,” *Journal of Black Studies* 11, 4 (1981): 398.

¹⁷³ Roger Botte, “Stigmates sociaux et discriminations religieuses : l'ancienne classe servile au Fuuta Jaloo,” *Cahiers d'études africaines* 34, 133-135 (1994): 110; James Watt, *Expedition to Timbo, Capital of the Fula Empire in 1794*, 6.

¹⁷⁴ Kenneth C. Wylie, “The Slave Trade in Nineteenth Century Temneland and the British Sphere of Influence,” 203; Misevich, “The Sierra Leone Hinterland,” 3.

¹⁷⁵ Walter Rodney, “Upper Guinea and the Significance of the Origins of Africans Enslaved in the New World,” *The Journal of Negro History* 54, 4 (1969): 332, 334-335.

¹⁷⁶ Carl Bernhard Wadström, *Observations on the Slave Trade, and a Description of Some Part of the Coast of Guinea, During a Voyage, Made in 1787, and 1788, in Company with Doctor A. Sparrman and Captain Arrehenius* (London: James Phillips, 1789), 2, 8.

¹⁷⁷ McGowan, “The Establishment of Long-Distance Trade,” 27-28; Skinner, “Islam and Education in the Colony and Hinterland of Sierra Leone,” 501.

From Company to Colony

By 1808, Freetown had ceased to be ruled under the authority of the Sierra Leone Company. The British flag flew over the settlement, as a result of the final financial failure of the Company and events concerning abolition taking place in Britain. This final section therefore first examines what led the Company to financial ruin, and what the Crown eventually did to ameliorate the situation. The legal instruments which facilitated the British abolition of slavery are then considered, through the bills introduced into Parliament and the Act itself, and the chapter ends with the annexation of Freetown by the British Crown.

The Fall of the Sierra Leone Company

The efforts of anti-abolitionists had delayed the passing of anti slave trade laws through Parliament, and despite settling in the area, the company did not receive an official charter to settle until 1799, forcing them to feign jurisdiction where none legally existed. Although the directors had received parliamentary approval by the Act 31 Geo. III c. 55 of June 1791, they were unable to expedite either the grant which would hand over the land supposedly ceded to the crown by treaty, or the much needed charter which would legalize their jurisdiction and indemnify the board against any company losses.¹⁷⁸ Company reports even in 1791 described the land as if it had been purchased and held under English common law despite their lack of the official charter which would provide legitimate authority to act on behalf of the English government. Despite their scrambling for leverage in parliament, however, the Sierra Leone Company was able to muster sufficient economic interest in its endeavour to stay afloat

¹⁷⁸ Kup, "John Clarkson," 212.

financially, though the failures of agriculture and potential commercial exports took their toll.¹⁷⁹

Its directors, generally comprised of successful members of the British middle class, were, to paraphrase Kup's description, rash, hasty and ignorant in their approach to the company's policies.¹⁸⁰ Attempting to straddle philanthropy and business interests, the Company found itself frequently misconstruing its own policies when competing interests were at stake.¹⁸¹

The famines prior to 1805 had a disastrous effect on the Company's relationship with the settlers. The burden of supporting both Nova Scotians and Maroons while Freetown was in an effective state of war due to Temne hostility was an increasing hardship. The Company was bringing in little income to offset its losses as it supported the entire settlement.¹⁸² Before long the single remaining purpose of the Company in Freetown was maintenance of the food supply.¹⁸³ Missionary letters to London report the frequent ravages of disease, and conditions of near-starvation, with a cycle of feasts after supply-ships arrived shortly followed by famine once

¹⁷⁹ Schwarz's research shows that shares had been sold to raise capital of £235,000 for the 1792 resettlement, and analysis of the 1 833 shareholders by Schwarz demonstrates that their interests were largely economic as well as philanthropic. The involvement of leading entrepreneurs and capitalists, along with prominent Jews show interest not in the Christian connection suggested by the Company's leading figures, but in commercial gain from the new settlement. See Schwarz, "'A Just And Honourable Commerce'," 1; Schwarz, "Abolitionist Experimentation," 24-27.

¹⁸⁰ Kup, "John Clarkson," 204. Kup's analysis expresses his surprise at how naively the Sierra Leone Company's leadership made assumptions concerning Freetown. He explains that they evidently believed that they could run the Company from a distance in London, and expect a high return for shareholders from taxes and trade.

¹⁸¹ Kup reports Granville Sharp misinforming settlers concerning land allotments when he himself had misunderstood the Board of Directors' intentions, for example. Such problems frequently brought the Company near to ruin in the 1790s, as settlers increasingly mistrusted their leadership, who in turn found themselves overworked and frustrated. Kup describes shocking haste evidently governing many of the Company's increasing problems; from acting without legal authority, to appointing unsuitable personnel to bringing settlers before land was properly claimed all served to undermine confidence in the Company. See Kup, "John Clarkson," 205-206.

¹⁸² Walker, *The Black Loyalists*, 245-247; Joseph Corry, *Observations Upon the Windward Coast of Africa, The Religion, Character, Customs &c., of the Natives; with a System Upon which They May be Civilized, and a Knowledge Attained of the Interior of this Extraordinary Quarter of the Globe; and Upon the Natural and Commercial Resources of the Country: Made in the Years 1805 and 1806* (London: W. Bulner and Co., 1807), 6-7.

¹⁸³ Spilsbury, *Voyage to the Western Coast of Africa*, 10. Though both Spilsbury and Corry's visits to the colony took place in 1805, when conditions were improving, their observations suggest that matters were still difficult for the settlers, and correspond to letters to London by CMS missionaries reporting mass starvation and illness.

again.¹⁸⁴ English grants eased this stress, acting to subsidize the Company enough to function. By 1806, the Company was heavily in debt to the Treasury, quickly devouring the original government grant as goods and fortifications, and the cost of defending the settlement mounted without any appreciable offset in tax or revenue. By 1807 the British government had spent £96,516 on the Company, but its own expenditures on Freetown were roughly double that number.¹⁸⁵ It was understandable therefore that in light of its ongoing inability to support itself or its settlement, the Sierra Leone Company finally failed under the weight of its crushing debts.

British Abolition

Abolitionist sentiment was a strong factor in British governance in the 1790s under the influence of men like William Wilberforce. Philanthropic and humanitarian ideologies were common, and as Michael Turner has noted, the discourse of the time dwelt on commercial and economic benefits to be gained by turning to alternative commodities. Turner notes that even the Prime Minister spoke on behalf of Africans and against the trade.¹⁸⁶

After lengthy consideration, and considerable effort by its champions, Abolition was achieved in 1807 with the passing of the *Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade* after passing through Parliament in June 1806. Strongly and definitely worded, the *Act* set out the terms and parameters of Abolition:

from and after the First Day of May One thousand eight hundred and seven, the African Slave Trade, and all manner of dealing and trading in the Purchase, Sale, Barter, or Transfer of Slaves, or of Persons intended to be sold, transferred, used, or dealt with as Slaves, practiced or carried on, in, at, to or from any Part of the

¹⁸⁴ “Hartwig to Pratt” Jan 1806, Sierra Leone, CMS CA1/E1/25.

¹⁸⁵ Walker, *The Black Loyalists*, 246.

¹⁸⁶ Michael J. Turner, “The Limits of Abolition: Government, Saints and the 'African Question', c. 1780-1820,” *The English Historical Review* 112, 446 (1997): 320-321.

Coast or Countries of Africa, shall be, and the same is hereby utterly abolished, prohibited, and declared to be unlawful...¹⁸⁷

The Act continued by detailing every manner and means for purchasing, trading, selling or conveying enslaved Africans which had been rendered unlawful.

Despite the success of the Abolitionist cause which had in part driven its foundation, the Sierra Leone Company's existence beyond the early 1800's proved unsustainable. A bill was introduced in early 1807 to transfer the control of Freetown from the Company to the English government, though opponents in Parliament urged that the Company be first forced to repay its debts to the Crown. By July of 1807, the transfer was passed, and on August 8, 1807, the colony was formally ceded to the Crown, and the Company likewise taken over by the government save for its purely commercial property. This transfer was formalized on January 1, 1808 in Freetown, with Ludlam handing over the Company Charter and replacing the Company flag with the British flag in its stead throughout the settlement.¹⁸⁸ The first Governor of the new Crown Colony, Thomas Perronet Thompson, took the reins of power from Ludlam.

These events forced the Company's directors to attempt to reinvent themselves as the African Institution, and act which coincided with the success of the Abolitionist cause in Britain. The stated aims of this body were to oversee the settlement already extant, and to work to stimulate trade with nearby peoples, all the while acting as a watch-dog against slavery. The Duke of Gloucester acted as the Institution's first president along with clergymen and, notably, Zachary Macaulay as honorary secretary.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ *An Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade*. 47° Georgii III, Session 1, cap. XXXVI, sec 1.

¹⁸⁸ Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 97.

¹⁸⁹ Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 105.

Chapter 2

A New Kind of Protestantism in Sierra Leone

This chapter addresses the founding of the Christian churches and missions in the “Province of Freedom” under the Sierra Leone Company rule (1792-1808). It also describes the foundation and eventual consolidation of Christian Missions, especially after the establishment of the Colony of Sierra Leone in 1808. Christianity accompanied both the European and the settler populations, and proved to be transformative in the region. The first section, “Nova Scotian Dissenters and Christianity in Freetown,” examines the various Christian groups active in Sierra Leone, beginning with those to which the Nova Scotian settlers belonged. “The Clapham Sect and its Influence” discusses the influential and important Clapham Sect, whose activities inform so much of this broader study. The Claphams organized the Church Missionary Society and were foundational in the Sierra Leone Company and the abolitionist cause. One of their primary instruments in Sierra Leone is examined next in the section entitled The Christian Missionary Society and its Missionaries, as this became the organization which primarily sent evangelizers to the upper Guinea coast both to teach and to convert Africans. This section also offers a biographical overview of the missionaries whom the CMS sent to Sierra Leone. These men built the settlements and interacted with local peoples, and their impact on the CMS mission in Sierra Leone was crucial. As German-speaking pietist Lutherans acting on behalf of an evangelical sect of the Church of England, these men were placed in a difficult situation, though Lutheranism and Anglicanism shared a great deal. Their service to the CMS was foundational in establishing mission settlements in the region, and in bringing CMS Protestantism to its primacy within the colony. From Malchior Renner and Peter Hartwig, whose arrival in 1804 began the

CMS mission in Sierra Leone, to Leopold Butscher and Gustavus Nylander, (who arrived in 1806) who were highly influential in the colony and its schools, this chapter examines these missionaries and their documented activities once they had arrived on the upper Guinea coast. Charles Frederick Christian Wenzel in 1809 is considered, followed by John Wilhelm and John Klein, who arrived in 1811. Though many other German-speaking missionaries were sent to the colony, few survived long enough to create pupil lists or even journals home. Only after 1810 was the CMS able to find Englishmen to serve, and only laypersons were sent, of whom few remained long enough in colony to provide journals or letters. Therefore only the seven most prolific German-speaking missionaries of the 1804-1819 period are considered. The final section, “Frictions between Church and Government,” concerns ongoing tensions which took place between the CMS and the colony’s government that finally eased in 1816 with the retrenchment of the missionaries’ activities to Freetown solely.

The Nova Scotian Dissenters and Christianity in Freetown

This section explores the varieties of non-traditional Protestantism, such as the Baptists, Wesleyan Methodists, and the Countess of Huntingdon’s Connexion which accompanied the Nova Scotian settlers to Sierra Leone from North America. The religious members of Freetown's early settlement included a small number of black Nova Scotian members of the Church of England like Isaiah Limerick and Joseph Leonard (who were unordained),¹⁹⁰ and white European Presbyterian ministers like the unpopular John Clarke, who had arrived with Macaulay

¹⁹⁰ Though the term “Anglican” is better known, it was only applied to members of the Church of England in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

in 1796.¹⁹¹ Visitors were reportedly surprised by the ecumenical tolerance shown by the Nova Scotians. Baptists and Methodists attended common services, and assumed that newcomers would share their approach. Even when missionaries were not present, these settlers built churches and spread their beliefs. Fyfe remarks upon how the early Protestants who came to the settlement shared many of the duties of preaching and faith, though they comprised a variety of sects, often described as “dissenters” or “nonconformists.”¹⁹² The account of the Methodist William Davies supports this assessment of the religious composition of the settlement. Davies wrote in 1815 about the Church Missionary Society¹⁹³ missionary Leopold Butscher not only attending Methodist prayer-meetings, but wholly participating in, and alternating ritual duties with Davies himself.¹⁹⁴ The two together attended group meetings held with the Baptists and Huntingdons of the colony each month.¹⁹⁵ This unprecedented atmosphere seems to have been

¹⁹¹ Bruce L. Mouser, “Origins of Church Missionary Society Accommodation to Imperial Policy: The Sierra Leone Quagmire and the Closing of the Susu Mission, 1804-17,” *Journal of Religion in Africa* 39 (2009): 377. Because the black Church of England Nova Scotians could not be ordained, and were controlled by the Church of England authorities in the region, their ability to convert others was severely limited. Leonard baptized and converted while in Nova Scotia, but was confronted by the Bishop of Nova Scotia. He demanded to be ordained, and was instead replaced by Limerick. The community boycotted the church in response, and both men eventually joined the emigration to Sierra Leone. See Joanna Brooks and John Saillant, “Introduction,” in *“Face Zion Forward”: First Writers of the Black Atlantic, 1785-1798* (Evanston, Northeastern University Press, 2002), 9.

¹⁹² Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 69; Arthur T. Porter, “Religious Affiliation in Freetown, Sierra Leone,” *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 23, 1 (1953): 3, 6, 9.

¹⁹³ While the Church Missionary Society was broadly Church of England, it comprised an evangelical community of the sect.

¹⁹⁴ William Davies, *Extracts from the Journal of the Rev. William Davies, 1st, When a Missionary at Sierra Leone, Western Africa, Containing Some Account of the Country – Its Inhabitants – The Progress of Religion Among the Negroes – Manner of Governments – State of the Weather &c.* (Llanidloes: Wesleyan Printing Office, 1835), 35-38, 43-45.

¹⁹⁵ Baptists, as a congregationalist branch of Protestantism, did not have a general liturgy, while Presbyterians employ a *Directory of Public Worship* (Westminster Directory) which sets out rules for ministers, as opposed to describing a fixed and formalized set of rituals to be performed. The Huntingdon branch of Calvinistic Methodism also used a more Presbyterian approach, favouring hymns and scriptures as opposed to a codified and fixed service. These differences between the sects make the shared duties and services in Freetown considerably more startling. The idea of a German Lutheran like Butscher, representing the evangelical Church of England CMS, sharing duties with a Methodist to the extent of both men together baptizing Liberated Africans en masse, and preaching interchangeably, as well as attending monthly gatherings with local Baptists and members of the Huntingdon Connexion is unique. Religiously, the early nineteenth century in Sierra Leone was for both liturgical and aliturgical Protestants a rare opportunity for concordance. Friendships like that between Butscher and Davies took this ecumenical tolerance even further, as their shared duties administering the sacrament with one being a Methodist,

unique to Freetown, as opposed to having arrived with the Nova Scotian settlers. There, on the other hand, black Church of England, Baptists, Methodists and Huntingdonians battled for the various loyalties of their constituents, sometimes leading to bitter public feuds.¹⁹⁶ The Protestant sects present in the settlement in 1811 were as follows, according to Thomas Coke's account:

Throughout the colony there are three sects besides the Methodists, and in addition to the established church. These three are... the Baptists, the Interceders, and the followers of a woman who pretends to inspiration. The name of the minister belonging to the Interceders is John Ellis - a Black man of considerable piety, but of inferior talents. The number of persons under his care is, probably, about fifty. Those who call themselves Baptists are not so many; and, in addition to this, they have no minister. As to the woman who pretends to inspiration, she has given to her followers no name, and it will be extremely difficult for any one to ascertain their numbers.¹⁹⁷

As James Walker argues, a common element between Black Loyalist Protestant sects in Sierra Leone meant that, despite essentially superficial differences, all denominations were non-traditional in the practice of a form of "New Light" teaching as opposed to more orthodox forms of their respective sects.¹⁹⁸

and the other an ordained Lutheran is an example of individualism; though the two sects had a number of commonalities, the meaning of sacrament was one fundamental difference which friendship in this case seems to have overcome entirely.

¹⁹⁶ Joseph Leonard and Isaiah Limerick of the Church of England fought one another over how blacks should relate to the Church at Preston, NS, while John Marrant and Moses Wilkinson publicly struggled as rivals, mirroring ongoing European schisms between Calvinist and Arminian forms of Methodism. In 1783, The Huntingdonians had severed their connection to Calvinism and disavowed the Arminianism of the Wesleyan Methodists, and Marrant contended with Wilkinson on those grounds. Boston King maintained this debate and aligned himself with Thomas Coke, whose Wesleyanism was more to the liking of the Nova Scotian Methodists. See Brooks and Saillant, "Introduction," in *Face Zion Forward*, 11-12.

¹⁹⁷ Thomas Coke, *An Interesting Narrative of a Mission sent to Sierra Leone, in Africa, by the Methodists, in 1811; To which is prefixed, An Account of the Rise, Progress, Disasters, and Present State of that Colony. The Whole Interspersed with a variety of remarkable Particulars* (London: Paris & Son, 1812) 34. Coke's estimation includes the "established church", the Church of England representatives of CMS, and a brief overview of the various nonconformist groups which had arrived with the Nova Scotians. Fyfe reports on Baptists, the Huntingdon Connexion, and Wesleyan Methodists among that number, but offers no note of "Interceders." The named minister however indicates that to Coke, the Huntingdonians were what he here describes as "Interceders."

¹⁹⁸ James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 195. The New Light doctrine eschewed reliance on even Biblical authority; the preacher received visions from God, as did his congregation, through dreams and the experience of the prayer-meeting. Henry Alline had preached it in Nova Scotia in the 1770's, shaking up the congregations of Black Loyalists there. See Lamin Sanneh, *Abolitionists Abroad: American Blacks and the Making*

Baptists

The Sierra Leone Company sent John Clarkson to Nova Scotia in 1791, where he was befriended by a charismatic Baptist revivalist, David George, who helped him recruit.¹⁹⁹ George served as a leader among his community, and was appointed as such by British authorities.

Hector Peters's congregation joined that of George in making the journey to Sierra Leone.²⁰⁰

There George continued to act as the leader of the Baptists, writing to England concerning the young white missionaries Rodway and Grigg in 1796, and the state of the Baptist meeting-house in Freetown.²⁰¹ According to Cassandra Pybus's study, after he travelled from Freetown to study with the Baptists in England in 1795, George was viewed with suspicion by the Nova Scotian Baptist settlers upon his return to the colony.²⁰²

of Modern West Africa (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 59.

¹⁹⁹ Wallace Brown, "The Black Loyalists in Sierra Leone," in *Moving On: Black Loyalists in the Afro-Atlantic World*, ed. John W. Pulis. (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1999), 107. While a slave, George had been a potent force. Converted by the Connecticut preacher Wait Palmer. (See Cassandra Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and Their Global Quest for Liberty* (Boston: Beacon Books, 2006), 210), George eventually took over Palmer's church, Silver Bluff, and eventually moved his slave congregation to Nova Scotia from its original location in Georgia. See Janet Duitsman Cornelius, *Slave Missions and the Black Church in the Antebellum South* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), 26. George had also learned to read after his conversion, and began in Nova Scotia by preaching to interracial groups, but after attempting to baptize a white Nova Scotian, William Holmes, George was severely beaten by neighbouring whites, and left Sherbourne for Birchtown. There he began to speak not only for his faith but for his race, and engaged Clarkson on those terms when they met. See Robin W. Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History* 2nd Ed. (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997[1971]), 55; William H. Brackney, "Baptists, Religious Liberty and Evangelization: Nineteenth-Century Challenges," in *Baptist Identities: Baptist International Studies from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Ian M. Randall et al. (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2006), 321.

²⁰⁰ Brown, "Black Loyalists in Sierra Leone," 107.

²⁰¹ David George, "An Account of the Life of Mr. David George, from Sierra Leone in Africa; given by himself in a Conversation with brother RIPPON of London, and Brother (Samuel) PEARCE [1766-1799] of Birmingham," in *Unchained Voices: An Anthology of Black Authors in the English-Speaking World of the 18th Century*, ed. Vincent Carretta. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 340, 345-346.

²⁰² Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom*, 210. Any suspicions did not stop George from continuing to act as his people's advocate, raging at Macaulay for the insinuation that his Baptists were blasphemers. See Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom*, 187; Walker, *The Black Loyalists*, 346-347. There were problems with the Baptists sent as missionaries from England, as they reportedly held revolutionary views which threatened Macaulay's leadership at that time. Accordingly, they were instructed to leave the settlement. See Stiv Jakobsson, *Am I Not a Man and a Brother?* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1972), 88-99.

Wesleyans

Along with the Baptists who accompanied Clarkson after his trip to Nova Scotia, Methodists under Moses Wilkinson joined the settlers. Mingo Jordan's Methodist congregation at Preston, N.S., and Boston King's from Dartmouth were persuaded by Clarkson's recruitment efforts, and Wilkinson and Luke Jordan's parishioners elected to emigrate.²⁰³ The first attempt at a mission by European Methodists did not last long, with those who left for Freetown in 1796 returning within six months due to the hardships of life in the new settlement. The Nova Scotians under Wilkinson persevered without guidance from their sect's authorities in England.²⁰⁴ The congregation under Wilkinson was problematic because it was considered undisciplined, and appeals to Thomas Coke led to both the abortive 1796 missionary attempt from England, and a later successful one.²⁰⁵

The interest of Methodists in establishing missions in Sierra Leone bore new fruit in 1811, when three missionaries sailed to Freetown with George Warren of Cornwall. As Warren Thomas Smith described it: "On arrival, November 12, 1811, Warren found two Methodist chapels, three local preachers, six class leaders and 110 members of the Society. The missionaries were welcomed enthusiastically. A permanent British Methodist mission at Sierra Leone finally became a reality."²⁰⁶ Arriving Methodist missionaries in 1811 were welcomed by

²⁰³ Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom*, 213-214, 219. Wilkinson was a remarkable man, reportedly blind and crippled, the former Virginian slave was a fiery preacher whose piety facilitated many conversions including those of Boston King. See Joanna Brooks and John Saillant, "Introduction," in *Face Zion Forward: First Writers of the Black Atlantic, 1785-1798*, ed. Joanna Brooks and John Saillant. (Evanston: Northeastern University Press, 2002), 9.

²⁰⁴ John Pritchard, *Methodists and their Missionary Societies 1760-1900* (Ashgate e-Book, 2013); Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 67.

²⁰⁵ Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 69.

²⁰⁶ Warren Thomas Smith, "An Appraisal of Thomas Coke's African Mission, 1796-1811," *Church History* 40, 3 (1971): 315.

the ordained Lutheran Gustavus Nylander of the CMS, who was the colony's chaplain at that time, and were then greeted by Nova Scotian Methodist preachers, Gordon and Brown, who had been working within the colony for some time and were ecstatic to see missionaries from Europe.²⁰⁷

Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion

Originally Church of England, Selina Hastings, the Countess of Huntingdon, formed a movement influenced by Calvinism in the south of England in the eighteenth century. This became one of the two dominant branches of Methodism. The sect favoured the ordination and education of black preachers.²⁰⁸ One of the most important members was John Marrant, an American-born preacher and author. Marrant sailed for Nova Scotia in 1785, with full authority under the Connexion to perform baptisms, marriages and communions.²⁰⁹ It was there that he ordained Cato Perkins, in 1786 in Birchtown, who was to serve as his assistant and successor. Among the Nova Scotia settlers were the Huntingdonians William Ash, John Ellis, and Cato Perkins, who had been leaders in Marrant's Birchtown branch of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion.²¹⁰ Marrant left Nova Scotia in 1789 for a variety of reasons, and therefore Perkins acted as the leader of the Huntingdonians who travelled to Sierra Leone. This revivalist movement found supporters among the Nova Scotian settlers who had journeyed from Canada to

²⁰⁷ Coke, *An Interesting Narrative of a Mission sent to Sierra Leone*, 38.

²⁰⁸ The first of that number was an Englishman named David Margate, who preached liberation to the American slaves of the south after his ordination in 1774. See Joanna Brooks and John Saillant, "Introduction," in *Face Zion Forward*, 10.

²⁰⁹ John Marrant, *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, A Black, (Now Going to Preach the Gospel in Nova Scotia) Born in New-York, in North-America. Taken Down from his own Relation, Arranged, Corrected and Published by the Rev. Mr. Alldridge*. 4th Edition. in *Face Zion Forward*, 73.

²¹⁰ Wallace Brown, "The Black Loyalists in Sierra Leone," in *Moving On: Black Loyalists in the Afro-Atlantic World*, ed. John W. Pulis, (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1999), 107.

Sierra Leone, and both Baptists and Huntingdonians were established by the end of the eighteenth century in the colony.²¹¹ Thomas Clarkson along with his brother John was friendly with this sect, attending revivals of the Huntingdons together with the other evangelical sects that arrived with the Nova Scotians in the new colony. Though the settlers had been ministered to by students from the Huntingdon's ministerial training college at Trevecca, England, while still in Nova Scotia, it was not until 1839 that the English Huntingdonians and those in Sierra Leone finally reunited.²¹² After the deaths of Perkins and Ash, Ellis survived, living until 1839, when the English Huntingdonians were surprised by an expedition of the colonial church and welcomed their Sierra Leone brethren.²¹³

The Maroons

The Maroons in Freetown tended to take paths which opposed that of the settlers they had arrived in time to quell. While Maroons in Jamaica tended to preserve West African beliefs and rituals to a large degree, those in Freetown were converted into the various sects flourishing in the settlement.²¹⁴ In Nova Scotia, the Trelawny Maroons were introduced to a Church of England chaplain with the aim of conversion, and Robert Dallas's 1803 history of the Maroons indicates

²¹¹ Arthur T. Porter, "Religious Affiliation in Freetown, Sierra Leone," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 23, 1 (1953): 6.

²¹² History of the Sierra Leone Mission, see <http://www.cofhconnexion.org.uk/history/history-of-the-slm.php> (accessed Sep 2015).

²¹³ Thomas E Thoresby, "Sierra Leone," in *The Free Church of England Magazine and Harbinger of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion. The Magazine of the Free Church of England* (London: W. Kent and Co., 1877), 120-121.

²¹⁴ Ineke van Wetering, "Cultural Encounters in the Diaspora: Suriname Creole Religion in the Netherlands," in *Religion, Diaspora and Cultural Identity: A Reader in the Anglophone Caribbean* ed. John .W. Pulis, (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach Publishers, 1999), 69-70; Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 41-42; Barbara K. Kopytoff, "Religious Change among the Jamaican Maroons: The Ascendance of the Christian God within a Traditional Cosmology," *Journal of Social History* 20, 3 (1987): 463, 466-468; Mavis Christine Campbell, *Back to Africa: George Ross and the Maroons : from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1993), 42; Campbell, *The Maroons of Jamaica, 1655-1796: A History of Resistance, Collaboration & Betrayal* (Granby: Bergin and Gravy, 1988), 3-4.

that while in Nova Scotia, they were obliged to attend the parish church.²¹⁵ By 1818 in Freetown, all children, both Maroon and Nova Scotian were educated in-colony under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society's evangelical Anglicanism, according to reports of that period. However, their parents leaned toward Methodism under the Wesleyan model with upward of 400 members in the east end of Freetown.²¹⁶ The Maroons of Freetown were won over by the Methodists, and these Maroon converts built a chapel in the West End. Culturally distinct from the Nova Scotians, the Maroon Methodists declared their chapel to be separate from the Nova Scotian Rawdon Street Methodist chapel.²¹⁷ After the Rawdon Street chapel effectively declared black rule and ousted the European Methodist missionaries, it was the Maroons of the West End who aligned themselves with these missionaries, once more choosing the path opposed to that of the Nova Scotian settlers.

The Clapham Sect and its Influence

The influence exercised by the members of the so-called "Clapham Sect" of evangelical Church of England over the formation of Sierra Leone and its governance is a disproportionately large one.²¹⁸ Comprised initially of "Dissenters" like Selina Hastings (later the Countess of

²¹⁵ Robert Charles Dallas, *The History of the Maroons, from Their Origin to the Establishment of Their Chief tribe at Sierra Leone: Including the Expedition to Cuba, For the Purpose of Procuring Spanish Chasseurs; and the State of the Island of Jamaica for the Last Ten Years: with a Succinct History of the Island previous to that Period. Vol II* (London: A. Stratman, 1803), 43, 221-223.

²¹⁶ *The Washington Theological Repertory Conducted by Clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church for the Year Comencing August, 1819.* Vol I (Washington: Davis and Force., 1819), 287.

²¹⁷ Walker, *The Black Loyalists*, 293-294.

²¹⁸ The historical weight of the Clapham group, also called the "Saints," has been so profound in so many fields that this project can only touch upon them briefly. A brief list of scholars who have studied the Clapham Sect include Stephen Tomkins, E. Baldwin, George Frye, Ernest Marshall Howse, Milton M. Klein, Anne Stott, Michael Murray Hennell, M.G. James, John Patten, Warren Bryan Martin among those who have dedicated full works to the group, while others in a variety of fields which were affected by the Saints have also written about them, including Suzanne Schwarz, Kevin Belmonte, William Hague, Iain Whyte, and many others.

Huntingdon and founder of the Connexion), who supported the curate of Clapham, Henry Venn, the Sect began as a radical movement of Protestantism. It condemned mainstream believers as lacking in the intensity and austerity of their professed faith. These members of the evangelical revival believed in living “holy lives,” but paradoxically insisted that no one could be sufficiently holy to satisfy God, and faith necessitated utmost trust in Christ’s self-sacrifice.²¹⁹

Though the early members of those attached to the fiery rector of Clapham esteemed piety and faith foremost, their children and that circle included social activism in their own approach to Protestantism. Made up of abolitionists like William Wilberforce, John and Thomas Clarkson, Zachary Macaulay, Granville Sharp, John Venn and Henry Thornton, this second generation at Clapham were intimately involved in the formation of the Sierra Leone Company, the formation of the Church Missionary Society, and the settlement of Freetown. Comprised of men and women alike, these passionate and active sectarians shared moral and spiritual values and became closely knitted through intermarriage. Moreover, many were also politically active, becoming MP’s in Parliament and promoting causes from prison reform to the establishment of Sunday schools. Their goals were moral reformation both in Britain and globally, and to a large degree, they achieved their ends. Many were tremendously wealthy, but gave unstintingly in their shared goal of living moral and pious lives which bettered the lives of others.

The Church Missionary Society and its Missionaries

The Church Missionary Society (founded by the Clapham Sect as the “Society for Missions to Africa and the East” in 1799 by Wilberforce among others) presented a rival to pre-

²¹⁹ Stephen Tomkins, *The Clapham Sect: How Wilberforce’s Circle Transformed Britain* (Oxford: Lion Hudson plc, 2010), 18.

existing sects within the colony.²²⁰ The purpose of the Society was explicitly conversion within the colonies, and their mandate was agreed upon to attempt to reconcile what the founding members felt was a lack of interest in Africa by other missionary societies. Despite their intentions, the CMS was unable to recruit any English missionaries of the Church of England to serve their cause. After Carl Steinkopf (the Lutheran pastor at the Lutheran Savoy Chapel) intervened, the CMS was able to come to an arrangement with a seminary in Berlin, which provided them with missionaries to send overseas. They therefore sent these men to the West African coastline which the Clapham Sect was already involved in through its Sierra Leone Company interests. The CMS was an organization founded by evangelical members of the Church of England; the missionaries from the German and Baltic regions were Lutheran.²²¹ At the time, both Protestant Lutheranism and the Church of England had amicable relations, in part due to the long tradition of intermarriage between English and German-speaking royal families, and in part also due to a general agreement in doctrine between the two traditions. Furthermore,

²²⁰ Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, its men and its work, Vol I* (London: The Society, 1899), 68-71. Stock, a CMS historian, offers the names of the founding members of the Society, listing sixteen clergymen and nine laymen present at the 1799 meeting. The meeting was chaired by John Venn of Clapham, and included Wilberforce, Samuel Thornton, Henry Thornton among others whose names figure in later lists of pupils who were rechristened after the Society's founders.

²²¹ Both Lutheranism and Anglicanism are liturgical sects of Christianity, relying heavily upon formalized rituals codified into a script which services must follow. Anglicanism to a large degree relies upon Lutheran liturgical developments, borrowing many aspects from the earlier Protestant sect. Wesleyan Methodism, deriving as it does from the Anglican Church of England, also has a liturgy in use, though each of these three sects differ in which rituals they follow. The Church of England relies upon the Book of Common Prayer, Lutherans derive their liturgy from the Catholic rite as Martin Luther initially set out, and Methodism as envisioned by John Wesley shares many elements of the Book of Common Prayer. The variations of liturgy in many respects fundamentally differentiate these three sects, while Christians who cast aside liturgy form a different entity altogether. Importantly for the situation on the ground in Freetown in the early nineteenth century, Lutheranism had yet to apply Wilhelm Löhe's restorative approach at this time, and was therefore more divided than the Church of England with which it shared so much in common. Due to religious and political upheavals in England a few centuries prior, however, the Book of Common Prayer was a legal document, and much of the splintering of sects away from Anglicanism arose due to concerns over modifications within this document which believers feared would have a political impact. Later Methodism deviated from John Wesley's support of the Book of Common Prayer, meaning that in the early nineteenth century, Methodism, Lutheranism and Anglicanism acted in communion with one another, allowing the unique situation described in the documents of the time.

the evangelical movement within the Church of England shared a great deal in common with the pietist Lutheran movement in German-speaking Europe. This section will therefore provide biographical details on each of the missionaries sent by the years of their arrival, focussing on the seven most prolific and notable individuals.²²² Though the early German-speaking missionaries whom the CMS was forced to send out in lieu of English evangelists often could be problematic, most problems were ameliorated considerably by 1816 as the CMS (and by extension the evangelical Church of England) became the official denomination of the Colony.²²³ This official stance was extended as the colony explicitly sought to educate and indoctrinate newly arrived Africans freed from slave ships, with the CMS given primary charge of Liberated Africans and most of the children in the colony with them.

Official histories of the Church Missionary Society discuss the early missionaries in varying ways. They largely originated in the Berlin Missionary Seminary, which was founded in the pietist Lutheran tradition in Berlin in 1800 and was under the Reverend Johann Jænicke there.²²⁴ When its Berlin-based sponsors ceased to support the Seminary, it briefly relied upon East Frisian donors, before coming to an accommodation with CMS through the efforts of Dr.

²²² Many of those sent died before engaging in any work in the colony, or were lost at sea, or died too soon after their arrival to do anything, and are therefore not described in this overview. Accordingly, only the seven surviving missionaries who compiled multiple student lists have been considered within this thesis.

²²³ Porter, "Religious Affiliation in Freetown," 8. As a result of having to rely on German born missionaries for many of the first men sent out, the CMS arranged in 1806 to set up its own seminary school, overseen by Dawes, former Governor of Sierra Leone. See Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, 88.

²²⁴ *The Missionary Magazine for 1802, a Periodical Monthly Publication Intended as a Repository of Discussion and Intelligence Respecting the Progress of the Gospel throughout the World. Vol VII* (Edinburgh: J. Ritchie, 1802), 382. Jænicke belonged to the pietist movement, but was also strongly affiliated with the ethnic Czech community in Berlin at that time. A Czech from Bohemia, Jænicke was pastor of the Bethlehem Church, the official church of the Bohemian-Moravian community in Berlin. In his own youth, Jænicke was a schoolmaster who modelled himself upon Johann Julius Hecker. In the 1760s, he travelled to teach among the Bohemian community in Breslau, Silesia. He returned to Berlin in 1774, where he studied theology at Leipzig, but was disappointed by the rise of rationalism in Prussia, especially at the University of Halle. He therefore travelled to the southern states of Württemberg and Baden, before returning to Berlin to become pastor at Bethlehem. See Karl Friedrich Ledderhose, *Johann Jænicke, der evangelisch-lutherische Brediger an der böhmischen- oder Bethlehems-Kirche zu Berlin, nach seinem Leben und Wirken* (Berlin: Eduard Beck, 1863), 38-41, 44-45.

Carl Steinkopf.²²⁵ The Seminary had missionaries but no funds with which to send them abroad, and CMS had funds but no interested missionaries.²²⁶ Samuel Walker's 1845 narrative adheres closely to the original documents from which it derives its information, now kept in the University of Birmingham Cadbury Research Library's Special Collections.²²⁷ He explicitly describes the recruitment of the German-speaking missionaries from Berlin, and the difficulties they faced in Africa. In 1899, Eugene Stock of the CMS noted the arrangement between the CMS and Berlin Seminary, and further explained that the new missionaries were unable to speak English upon their arrival in London. His account paints a picture of challenges from the outset:

Germans and Englishmen did not study each others' language then as they do now, and when the two men appeared before the Committee... there was no means of conversing with them. A few days after, however, the Committee received them again along with Dr. Steinkopf, who acted as interpreter... and sent them to lodge at Clapham, where they could learn a little English before going out. When they were ready to sail, Dr. Steinkopf offered to arrange for them receiving Lutheran orders; and the Committee, to avoid what they thought would be the ecclesiastical irregularity of this being done for a Church society within an English diocese, gave them leave to go back to Germany and be ordained there. They went accordingly, and came back Lutheran clergymen, and therefore on a par ecclesiastically with the

²²⁵ Eugene Stock in 1899 wrote that the CMS found the Berlin Seminary through the intervention of Dr. Carl Steinkopf of the Lutheran Savoy Chapel after fruitlessly seeking missionaries for its work in Africa. Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, 82-83. Steinkopf served as pastor in London from 1801-1859, and had previously been secretary to a society at Basle in Switzerland. See J.C.S. Mason, *The Moravian Church and the Missionary Awakening in England, 1760-1800* (London: Royal Historical Society, 2002), 189. Steinkopf brought his knowledge of Pietist Lutheran networks in German-speaking regions with him to London, which facilitated the CMS in its recruitment of missionaries sharing a similar zeal to the evangelicals in England. See Frank Hatje, "Revivalists Abroad: Encounters and Transfers between German Pietism and English Evangelicalism in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," in *Migration and Transfer from Germany to Britain 1660 to 1914: Historical Relations and Comparisons*, ed. Stefan Manz et al. (München, Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 76-78.

²²⁶ The Berlin Seminary's first sponsor, the Baron Von Scirnding (or Schirnding) of Dobrilugk in Saxony had suspended his support of the Seminary for unspecified reasons, and by the time the CMS was put in touch with Jænicke through Steinkopf, the Berlin Seminary was deeply in debt. See Mouser, *The Reverend Peter Hartwig*, 16. Phyllis Jane Wetherell, "The Foundation and Early Work of The Church Missionary Society," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 18, 4 (1949): 356. Jænicke evidently left the Berlin Missionary Seminary to found the Berlin Missionary Society in 1824. See Brian Stanley, "Christian Missions, Antislavery and the Claims of Humanity C. 1813-1873," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Volume 8, World Christianities C.1815 - c. 1914*, ed. Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 444.

²²⁷ Samuel Abraham Walker, *Missions in Western Africa, among the Soosoo, Bulloms, &c: being the first undertaken by the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, Volume 1* (Dublin: William Curry, Jun. and Company, 1845).

German and Dutch missionaries of the S.P.C.K in South India.²²⁸

Most intriguingly, the church historian J.R.H. Moorman, later Bishop of Ripon, offers a revisionist in 1953 version of the CMS's efforts in Sierra Leone and its hinterland. Like Fyfe's version in 1962, Moorman's history indicates that no English missionaries could initially be found to journey to the upper Guinea coast, but his account differs considerably from those relying explicitly on the original archival sources:

At first no English missionaries could be found to go out to West Africa, and the Society had to employ a party of German Lutherans, all of whom, with their wives and children, perished on the River Pongas in 1807. In 1815, however, a Norwich solicitor, Edward Bickersteth, offered his services, was ordained, and became the real founder of Anglican missionary endeavour in West Africa.²²⁹

Moorman cites Stock's 1899 account as his primary source for this patently revisionist description.²³⁰ The 1873 *CMS Atlas* makes no mention of the names of the missionaries who worked on the upper Guinea coast prior to 1816, stating only that

From 1804 to 1816 the Mission was tentative rather than settled, and various of the tribes on the sea-coast were visited, from time to time, by our agents. The earliest Missionaries settled among the Susus on the banks of the Rio Pongo, about 100 miles north of the British colony of Sierra Leone; but after labouring there for eleven years, during which time seven out of fifteen fell victims to the climate, the Mission buildings were destroyed by fire at the instigation of the slave-dealer, and the surviving Missionaries compelled to take refuge in the British colony. A station formed among the Bulloms in 1812, had, in consequence of the hostile action of the Natives, to be given up after six years, but was re-occupied in 1861. In like manner, Port Lokkoh, one of the principal towns in the Timni country, occupied in 1840, had to be given up some years afterwards, but is

²²⁸ Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, 83.

²²⁹ J.R.H. Moorman, *A History of the Church in England*, 2nd Ed (London: Adam and Charles Black, [1953] 1967), 121.

²³⁰ A reading of Stock's history demonstrates that Moorman's citation was inaccurate. Stock correctly names the early missionaries, describing the initial difficulties of the first two German speakers in attempting to converse with the English speaking CMS to which they had applied, and details their lodging at Clapham in order to learn English. He also explains the irregularity of their receiving Lutheran ordination under the auspices of an Anglican Society, and how it was arranged. See Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, 83-84, 86-88.

now open to Missionary effort.²³¹

The *Missionary Atlas* only indicates success in conversion as of 1816, though it attributes this success to Rev. William A.B. Johnson, and not Rev. Edward Bickersteth, as Moorman does.

Bruce L. Mouser explains that within the archival documents, serious discrepancies appeared, and at least as far as Hartwig's trajectory, "that some would have preferred to forget that the Hartwigs had existed at all."²³² He further notes, very importantly to the thrust of this study, that the exigencies of communication in the early nineteenth century meant that in effect, those operating in Freetown, and those operating in London, were in effect in different realities. A letter written asking for instructions from the Committee Secretary in London during an emergency might only be answered two years after the events on the ground were long past. This reality shaped the lives of the men who served the CMS on the upper Guinea coast in profound ways.²³³ Only seven primary missionaries are considered biographically in this thesis, as they presented numerous documents and pupil lists during their work in Sierra Leone. While others arrived with them, they often died before being able to complete letters or journals, and of the few who compiled pupil records, only the seven considered here recorded multiple lists, allowing a comparison of their data.²³⁴

Malchior Renner, Peter Hartwig (1804)

Malchior Renner was thirty-one when he journeyed to the upper Guinea coast to arrive in

²³¹ Church Missionary Society, *The Church Missionary Atlas: Maps of the Various Missions of the Church Missionary Society, with Illustrative Letter-press* (Church Missionary House, 1873), 11.

²³² Bruce L. Mouser, *Case of the Reverend Peter Hartwig, Slave Trader or Misunderstood Idealist? Clash of Church Missionary Society/Imperial Objectives in Sierra Leone, 104-1815* (Madison: African Studies Program, 2003), 3.

²³³ Mouser, *Case of Hartwig*, 12-14.

²³⁴ List of Clerical and Lay Missionaries, *Register of Missionaries*, List I.

1804. He trained at the Berlin Seminary, then spent fifteen months in England at Clapham, studying Susu under William Greaves there. In 1803 he received Lutheran ordination on the continent, and sailed soon after. Upon his arrival, he acted as the Government Chaplain for two years, then oversaw the Rio Pongo settlements between 1808-1818. He finally died at forty-nine in 1821 on September 9, in Kent, Sierra Leone, and was survived by his wife. He served the CMS for almost eighteen years.

Peter Hartwig joined the CMS at twenty five, and studied alongside Renner at the Berlin Seminary Missionary school under Dr. Jænicke. He spent fifteen months at Clapham in England acquiring English, and studied Susu at the School for Africans under William Greaves, a missionary from Edinburgh who had worked in Sierra Leone before returning home. Hartwig received his ordination as a Lutheran in 1804, and sailed to Sierra Leone that year. In 1807, he was dismissed for a presumed affiliation with slave traders, though as Bruce Mouser has compellingly argued, circumstances forced Hartwig's departure from the colony, and his affiliation with slave traders may have been an exaggeration. In 1814, Hartwig begged leave to return to his former duties, and was engaged expressly as a linguist. He died shortly thereafter of yellow fever, and was followed by his English-born wife Sarah (a former governess in Rev. John Venn's family) six weeks later. He translated St. John's Gospel into Susu. In total, he served the CMS for four years.

Both men studied English at Clapham as well as Susu, and the first entry concerning them praises both for their hard work.²³⁵ Much of the early correspondence for the first two years of the CMS mission in Sierra Leone focuses on the volatile interpersonal problems Renner and Hartwig increasingly had. Hartwig was a more accomplished linguist, translating the *Gospel*

²³⁵ Zachary Macaulay to Corresponding Committee, June 10 1803, London. CMS/CA1/E1/1.

of *St. John* into Susu, but he and Renner were so mutually opposed that letters from the Governor to London made note that both men were unable to join any expedition together, or share quarters or journeys.²³⁶ Of the pair, Hartwig has been better examined in large part because of his deviance from the norm, and because his connection to CMS was dissolved explicitly due to suspicion of slave trading. However, Renner's nearly eighteen years of working with the CMS helped to shape and form policy in that region, and bear as much scrutiny.²³⁷

Renner sent multiple letters to Secretary Pratt in London during his two year stay at Freetown, detailing the number of baptisms he performed, and the various illnesses and ailments suffered by both himself and by the Hartwigs. Indeed, Sarah Hartwig's illnesses were so great that she was eventually sent home to England by Governor Ludlam by 1806. Renner's early letters repeated the hardships which Hartwig also described in 1805 – Freetown was a place where food was scarce and sickness frequent at that time.²³⁸ Renner expressed his hopes for supplies to be made available. The situation therefore initially for the pair of missionaries seems to have been a trying one, with Hartwig venturing into the country to the north and east, and Renner remaining in Freetown, ministering to the people there. Hartwig's letters suggested increasing impatience at largely remaining in the colony, and fears of sickness and starvation which increased over time. His orders initially had been to travel with Renner into Susu regions, after all, and the delays in the colony evidently deeply frustrated him. In response, the CMS in January 1806 directed both men to leave the colony and dedicate themselves to mastering the Susu language and teaching African children.

²³⁶ Meeting of the Corresponding Committee, September 1806, CMS/CA1/E1/79.

²³⁷ Hartwig's own letters to London concerning Renner hint at a similarly colourful life on the ground, with allegations of a "girl of colour who had had by a European two children to make her his wife" by Hartwig of Renner. See P. Hartwig to Pratt, July 1806, CMS/CA1/E171.

²³⁸ Hartwig to Pratt, August 1805, Sierra Leone, CMS/CA1/E1/16; Renner to Pratt, August 1805, Sierra Leone, CMS/CA1/E1/17.

Renner's diligence was notable despite pressures from London which seemingly ignored the situation experienced on the ground in Sierra Leone.²³⁹ Renner's letters through 1806 indicated that with the rainy season and steady illness, much as he wished to depart the colony, he was unable to. Now it was primarily Hartwig who wrote to London, generally detailing ethnographic information about the Susu, Fula and others he had encountered. A new perspective was seen in spring 1806, as Governor Ludlam wrote that Hartwig was "indolent," and did not often officiate at church, necessitating Renner's continued stay in Freetown to serve as a preacher.²⁴⁰ Some of the escalating tensions between the two men may derive from events outlined in this data. Indeed, by early summer of 1806, Renner's letters to Pratt reflected his frustration at being confined to the colony while Hartwig journeyed inland, and Renner mentioned increasing disagreements and fights taking place over which was the superior in the mission.²⁴¹ From this point onward, tensions between Renner and Hartwig seem to have spiralled rapidly out of control, despite various directives issued by London and the Society. Hartwig's continued journeys beyond the Colony were in obedience to repeated direction by CMS to learn Susu, Arabic, and determine the character of the local people. Yet his constant absences seem to have placed a heavy burden on Renner, who remained in what he initially described as a colony rampant with sickness and subject to starvation. By fall, the colonial officials wrote to Pratt that Renner and Hartwig were to be accompanied at all times by one of

²³⁹ Though as Mouser has noted, the delay between the writing of a letter and the receiving of a reply, along with letters lost in transit, made obeying orders extremely problematic for the missionaries. The situation was only complicated further by the pressures placed on them by the colony's authorities, some of whom made up an in situ Committee whose orders the CMS men were expected to obey.

²⁴⁰ Governor Ludlam to Rev. John Venn, 20 March, 1806, Fort Thornton, Sierra Leone, CMS/CA1/E1/41. This letter was dismissed by Hartwig in turn as malicious lies and fabrications in July 1806.

²⁴¹ Renner to Pratt, 30 May, 1806, Sierra Leone. CMS/CA1/E1/60; this accords with Eugene Stock's 1899 analysis, which acknowledged that the early years of the Society suffered as a result of inconsistencies about hierarchy among missionaries sent out. See Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, 87-88.

the newly arrived missionaries, as their disagreements had become so violent.²⁴²

Insight into Renner's frustrations correspond with Nancy Mouser's consideration of Hartwig's sense of dissociation from his familiar culture and homeland in his journey abroad.²⁴³

Renner wrote in October 1806 to Pratt, expressing his fears for his parents at Grodenheim in Wurtemberg, given the hardships of the ongoing Napoleonic War in Europe. By December he was again expressing his strong desire to travel from the colony into the hinterland with the newly arrived missionaries Nylander, Butscher and Prasse.

Nylander's letters by January 1807 offer a very different view of Renner, describing him as being overbearing to the new missionaries, and condemning Governor Ludlam for having been overly harsh to Hartwig.²⁴⁴ Nylander described how Renner, Butscher and Prasse had finally left to travel to Bashia to establish a settlement there. He also explained that the colonial officials had forbidden Hartwig from ministering in the colony, offering his own perspective on the evidently difficult situation on the ground for the first few missionaries.²⁴⁵ Shortly thereafter, Hartwig left the colony without permission, and set out for Rio Pongo while having in his possession some of the CMS property. He was dismissed, and later denounced as a slave trader himself, though his final letter offers another interpretation of the events:

I am as put in irons. I will go into the Rio Pongas but I am limited on all sides. So I go with a slave dealer & speak kindly to him, I am called one too. Will I avoid it, there is no other way. But then again I have to please the corrupt fancy of a Committee here. What Disasters.²⁴⁶

²⁴² Committee: Minutes, 30 September, 1806, CMS/CA1/E1/79.

²⁴³ Nancy Fox Mouser, "Peter Hartwig, 1804-1808: Sociological Perspectives in Marginality and Alienation," *History in Africa* 31 (2004): 263-302.

²⁴⁴ "Had I known that our Mission which has been at such a great expence to the honourable Society in London, should be thus carried on, & the missionaries treated in such a way I would rather have stayed at home." Nylander to Pratt, 20 January, 1807, Sierra Leone, CMS/CA1/E1/92.

²⁴⁵ Nylander to Pratt, 27 January, 1807, Sierra Leone, CMS/CA1/E1/94. Nylander wrote fondly of Hartwig at that point, praising his command of English and mentioning that Hartwig was aiding him in correcting his sermons.

²⁴⁶ P. Hartwig to Pratt, January 1807, CMS/CA1/E1/95.

The letter is torn in many places, and the orthography is unlike Hartwig's earlier careful script, offering a sense of the emotions he must have felt as he wrote it. Hartwig was instructed to wait for passage to England, but he refused, and departed in a Mandinka canoe wearing nothing more than the clothes on his back.²⁴⁷ As this personal drama was taking place, Renner and his fellows had settled along the Rio Pongo, and wrote to Pratt enthusing over what they saw to be a decrease in the slave trade locally. Nylander meanwhile, remaining in Freetown, offered a variant account of Hartwig's departure, adding that Hartwig was not only treated poorly by the colonial officials, but also was mistreated by Renner.²⁴⁸ In contrast, Butscher's letter of summer 1807 to Pratt indicated that Hartwig's behaviour the previous year reflected poorly on the CMS. Butscher further reports that Hartwig now worked as an overseer in a slave factory in the region.²⁴⁹ Butscher wrote fondly of Renner's conduct toward the other missionaries with whom he travelled inland, suggesting a very different brother from the man whom Nylander so criticized upon their arrival in 1806.²⁵⁰ The chronology of the various directives given and made by the committee overseeing the Colony, and the General Committee of the CMS present a variety of contradictory directions

²⁴⁷ A. Smith (For C.C.) to Pratt, 16 February, 1807, Freetown, CMS/CA1/E1/96. A resolution was passed shortly afterward which clarified that the Committee had exceeded its powers in attempting to force Hartwig to remain in colony, and in its stripping him of his rank of Missionary. The Corresponding Committee therefore dissolved itself by general resolution in the aftermath of the Hartwig affair, condemning Governor Ludlum in its minutes for having obstructed the missionaries in their financial support. See Corresponding Committee Minutes, February 1807, CMS/CA1/E1/97.

²⁴⁸ Nylander to Pratt, 29 April, 1807, Freetown, CMS/CA1/E1/105.

²⁴⁹ Butscher's own journal indicates that Hartwig came to the Bashia site after his dismissal from the colony, and that the missionaries there offered him a place among them, but that he refused, having decided to go to America. Butscher expressed his fears in that account that if Hartwig elected to stay with a slave dealer in that process, it would tarnish his name. See Butscher, Journal of 10 January to 31 March, 1807, CMS/CA1/E1/117a.

²⁵⁰ Butscher to Pratt, 30 June, 1807, Sierra Leone, CMS/CA1/E1/108. Butscher notes in his letter that Hartwig spoke defending slavery while among the Muslims north of the settlement, which Butscher felt reflected poorly on the CMS as a whole.

Gustavus Reinhold Nylander, Johann Prasse, and Leopold Butscher (1806)

Arriving in 1806 in the region, Nylander was thirty when he made the journey to the upper Guinea coast. Nylander was educated like Renner and Hartwig at the Berlin Seminary. He spent nine months in England, and took Lutheran Orders in 1806. After his arrival, he took over the post of Government Chaplain from Renner, and acted in that capacity until 1812, when he was able to venture to the Bullom Shore and found the Yongroo Pomoh settlement. He remained there until 1818, when he was called back to oversee Kissy Town's settlement after Wenzel's death. He died at forty-nine, in 1825 at Kissy, after nineteen years' service to the CMS. During his time, Nylander offered many ethnographic studies of the local people, and translated and printed in Bullom, working through the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, the Epistles of John, Morning and Evening Prayers, and Watt's Catechism.

Leopold Butscher was German-born, aged thirty, and from Swabia. Like his fellows, he studied at the Berlin Seminary and spent nine months in England, taking his Lutheran ordination in 1806 as Nylander did. Their vessel was shipwrecked off the coast of Ireland, and on Butscher's second sea voyage in 1813 after he took his furlough from his work in Sierra Leone, he was once again shipwrecked, this time off Senegal in the company of his student Richard Wilkinson, whom he had brought with him to England. In the intervening years, Butscher was a teacher at the Bashia settlement alongside Renner. He was given charge of the Christian Institution in Freetown in 1814 after his return to Sierra Leone. He died July 17, 1817 at the age of forty-one, after eleven years working for the CMS.

Johann Prasse was twenty-nine when he joined the CMS. He was of Seisendorf, Lusatia. Like his fellows, he studied at Berlin, and spent nine months in England alongside Butscher and

Nylander. He, Bustcher and Nylander were all shipwrecked on their journey to Sierra Leone on the coast of Ireland in 1806. He died in 1809 on the Rio Pongo at Bashia, and was the first of the CMS to die in service. He served for two and a half years.

Like the others sent out by the CMS during this time, Nylander primarily spoke the German of Berlin, and his first few letters back to London reflect this, with each attached now to its respective translation. His journey to Africa was difficult, with his vessel running into trouble, and he and his fellows were stranded in Madeira for some time in 1806.²⁵¹ Arriving at last in October of that year, Nylander's first message from Africa concerns his worries about the previous missionaries' work, noting that what inroads he saw into Christianity were few at best.²⁵² This is supported in Nylander's April 1807 communication, where he writes of having taken the position of Chaplain, explaining that he has been preaching on Sundays to a largely Methodist audience.²⁵³ Like Renner, he expressed his considerable concern about events in Europe, this time surrounding the Napoleonic War, having heard that Berlin had been captured by Napoleon. None of the first few German-speaking missionaries were able to fully escape their concerns about their homelands or places of education. Unlike Renner, for Nylander, it was the wellbeing of the Berlin Seminary at which he studied that seems to have concerned him in this communication as opposed to his family in Revel.²⁵⁴

However, as Renner had, Nylander began to write asking to be replaced as Chaplain by June 1807, evidently as unhappy being stationed within the colony as his predecessor had been, with a far greater interest in working outside of Freetown among local peoples. In July of 1807,

²⁵¹ Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, 86.

²⁵² Nylander to Pratt, 28 October, 1806, Freetown, CMS/CA1/E1/82.

²⁵³ Nylander to Pratt, 29 April, 1807, Freetown, CMS/CA1/E1/105.

²⁵⁴ Nylander to Pratt, 29 April, 1807, Freetown, CMS/CA1/E1/105.

Nylander offered a volte-face on Hartwig, now describing him as “duplicitous” and questioning his commitment to the CMS, since Hartwig had evidently entered his service as a missionary as largely stemming from fear of joining the Prussian Army.²⁵⁵ Nylander's letter to London at this time emphasized his own work in the colony as Chaplain while the other men were inland. By May 1808, he described having forty children within Freetown whom he was teaching, though no pupil lists were enclosed, and he further explained that he was responsible for Sunday services at the Colony's church.²⁵⁶ He suffered considerable ill health during his time as Chaplain, and wrote to try and ensure that any poor reports of himself by the newly arrived Wenzel would be viewed in a favourable light. Evidently despite the loss of the contentious and misunderstood Hartwig, the various missionaries were still not in harmony. Nylander wrote of tensions between the Governor and himself, and between the Wenzels and himself.²⁵⁷ During the acclimatizations period endured by Wenzel, Nylander was instructed to cease preaching due to his health, and he was able to be relieved for a time from his duties during that period in 1809.

Wilhelm and the other newly arrived missionaries offered another perspective on Nylander in their letter to Pratt from November 1809, which is perhaps ironically not much different than Nylander's of Renner on his arrival. They describe Nylander as tyrannical, quarrelsome and demanding, insisting that they pay to lodge with him, and viewing Mrs. Wenzel's ongoing illness without any compassion at all.²⁵⁸ By the next spring, the Wenzels were in the Rio Pongo, and Nylander was still delayed in Freetown, focused on translating Bullom, and preparing to marry a Phyllis Nazely.²⁵⁹ He writes to London by April 1810 asking for more

²⁵⁵ Nylander to Pratt, 10 July, 1807, Freetown, CMS/CA1/E1/110.

²⁵⁶ Nylander to Pratt, 19 May, 1808, trans. John Tricket, fragment only, CMS/CA1/E1/113.

²⁵⁷ Nylander to Pratt, 20 September, 1809, Freetown, CMS/CA1/E2/9.

²⁵⁸ J.G. Wilhelm and J.S. Klein to Sec. November 1809, CMS/CA1/E2/19.

²⁵⁹ Nylander to Sec. 2 March, 1810, Sierra Leone, CMS/CA1/E2/29.

school books, as it seems he was teaching recaptives in Freetown by this time, and describes seventy-two children between eight to twelve years of age arriving, making the total he taught in Freetown sixty boys and seventy-seven girls. It is a frustration to the modern scholar that no pupil lists exist from that period. His wife taught the girls and he the boys, and Governor Thompson completed a school in Freetown by the end of that July.²⁶⁰

Soon thereafter, Nylander's wife died, and his cough returned, forcing his duties to be reduced once again. His letter dated December 7, 1810 expresses his intense dislike for Sierra Leone in the wake of his loss, and he condemned the rampant poverty and sickness he saw in the colony.²⁶¹ As before, he begged to be relieved from working in the colony, and to travel outside to establish a settlement and teach there. He was married the following summer to the schoolmistress who replaced his wife in overseeing the teaching of recaptive girls, and struggled through that summer to balance his duties in the settlement, his unimproved health, and his clear desire to finally cease his work within Freetown. By December of 1811, Nylander no longer waited for instructions, and ceased preaching altogether, citing complaints that his style was too much like a Methodist. He writes of his steadily increasing grasp of the Bullom language, and by June 1812, had amassed over one thousand words.²⁶² Permission was finally granted for him to depart and found Yongroo Pomoh.

Butscher seems to have immediately left for the Rio Pongo upon his first arrival, journeying into the interior and into land claimed by the Mandinka by December 1806 to act as an arbitrator over the expulsion of a problematic man, Dala Modu, from the colony, on the

²⁶⁰ Nylander to Sec, 11 April, 1810, Sierra Leone, CMS/CA1/E2/31B; Nylander to Sec, 25 July, 1810, Sierra Leone, CMS/CA1/E2/32.

²⁶¹ Nylander to Sec, 7 December, 1810, Sierra Leone, CMS/CA1/E2/44.

²⁶² Nylander to Sec, 2 September, 1812, Sierra Leone, CMS/CA1/E3/15.

charge of slave dealing. Butscher accompanied Renner and Prasse after Nylander relieved Renner of his duties as chaplain, and the trio founded Bashia together in what they then called “Susu country,” though Prasse died soon afterward.²⁶³ Butscher's achievements for the CMS primarily revolve around his impact as a teacher. Despite his linguistic insecurities expressed soon after his arrival, by later accounts from Leicester, Butscher clearly evoked considerable affection from his pupils, and over the years, his letters and journals primarily focus on the training and successes of his students first at Bashia, and then at Leicester Mountain until his death in 1817. His fellow missionaries write glowingly of him, with the Kleins indicating that though he and Renner both managed to win the affection of the local people, Butscher especially merited respect along the Rio Pongo.²⁶⁴ His relationship with his pupils continued after retrenchment, with Wilhelm commenting on the devotion to Butscher that he observed among the pupils in Freetown. Wilhelm wrote of one of his students that:

Notwithstanding what I have advanced in respect of this young man's character, I believe that he, and men of the Leicester Mountain Children, proved far more obedient, pleasing, & careful under the School of the late Rev^d Butscher, to whom, as first Master, they were attached like children to their own father – General experience proves, that the African children & people do not so easily attach themselves to a second & third & fourth Master, as it has been the case in the Christian Institution since M^r Butscher's death.²⁶⁵

Charles Frederic Christian Wenzel, John Charles Barneth (1809)

Like Hartwig and Nylander, Charles Frederic Christian Wenzel was a linguist more than

²⁶³ Nylander to Pratt, 20 January, 1807, Sierra Leone, CMS/CA1/E1/92; Butscher, Journal 10 January 1807-31 March 1807, CMS/CA1/E1/117.

²⁶⁴ CMS/CA1/E2/135.

²⁶⁵ J.G. Wilhelm to Sec., Sierra Leone Leicester Mountain, July 8, 1819, CMS/CA1/E8/18.

anything else. He arrived in 1809 in the colony, around thirty-six years old. He studied at the Berlin Seminary as the other missionaries had, and studied English in England for two years. He took his Lutheran Orders in 1809, and primarily worked in Kakara, Canofee and Fantimania along the Rio Pongo for the first part of his time in Sierra Leone after Nylander's health recovered enough to permit Wenzel and his wife to depart Freetown. In 1816, he was sent to Kissy, as the situation along the Rio Pongo was becoming increasingly tense due to the efforts to stem the slave trade. He died two years later there, at the age of forty-four, on August 1, 1818. His first wife had died in Africa in 1811, and Wenzel remarried an African woman, the first missionary to do so,²⁶⁶ named Beverith, in 1813, who survived him. During his time in Sierra Leone, Wenzel created a *Compiled Susu Dictionary*.²⁶⁷

John Charles Barneth was also Silesian, and forty-three years old when he joined the CMS. He was entered as hailing from Bernsdorff. Like Wenzel, he studied in England for two years, and worked under Mr. Dawes there, before working with Rev. Scott. He received his Lutheran ordination in 1809, and left for West Africa. He died Feb 2, 1810, having only served for half a year. He had offered himself to the CMS when Nylander was going through the same process, but was rejected then upon his wife's ill health. When she died, he renewed his offer to become a missionary, and was accepted with Wenzel.

Unlike Nylander, Wenzel's letters back to London are in clear English, suggesting that he had less difficulty and much more comfort in the language with which he was expected to preach. Wenzel initially stayed for six weeks with Nylander upon his arrival

²⁶⁶ There is some ambiguity in this; Wenzel is the first missionary recorded in the CMS biographical lists recorded to have married an African, but in his own letters, he identifies Mrs. Beverith as being the sister to Nylander's own wife at the time.

²⁶⁷ List of Clerical and Lay Missionaries, *Register of Missionaries*, List I.

due to his wife's illness, and as Nylander was also unwell, Wenzel took over many of his duties within the colony. Eventually able to depart, the Wenzels took ship from Freetown to the new settlement on the Rio Pongo, a voyage which took five days, during which Barneth and the Wenzels were extremely ill. They met Butscher on the way, and were all met by Renner in a canoe near the settlement. Wenzel immediately began helping with thirty-three of the children, and laboured to translate more Susu in order to assist Wilhelm and Klein upon their anticipated arrival at the mission.²⁶⁸

The perspectives offered by the Kleins suggest that Wenzel was friendly to them on their arrival at Bashia, and they reported to London how studious the children under him were, enthusing that many of these could themselves become schoolmasters in turn. By October 1812, the buildings downriver from Bashia at Canofee/Kakara were finally completed, and Wenzel moved there at last. He reported his marriage to a second wife after the loss of his first, and of having baptized approximately four hundred liberated Africans at Bunce Island while travelling to be married under Nylander's authority.²⁶⁹

From 1812's completion of Canofee until his removal to Kissy, Wenzel's priorities were clearly much as they had always been: translation of Susu, evangelizing, and teaching his pupils in that order. He was the first of the German-speaking missionaries to offer no letters home worrying about Europe or his family there, suggesting that unlike Renner, Butscher, and Nylander, Wenzel was able to successfully embed himself in his adoptive country, despite the loss of his English-born wife, and despite the hardships he personally faced. His proficiency in English merited his comfort in teaching expressly in

²⁶⁸ Wenzel to Sec, 18 October, 1809, Bashia, CMS/CA1/E2/16.

²⁶⁹ Wenzel to Sec, 3 October, 1812, Sierra Leone, CMS/CA1/E3/18.

that language, suggesting that his dual legacy, to both students and mission, was his dictionary and the preparation from which his students benefitted.

John Godfrey Wilhelm, Jonathan Solomon Klein (1811)

At thirty-three, John Godfrey Wilhelm hailed from Strasbourg in Alsace, and unlike the rest, did not attend the Berlin Seminary. Instead he studied for four years in England, taking his Lutheran Orders in 1811. He went to the Rio Pongo almost immediately, and taught there with Renner at Bashia during Butscher's journey to England and subsequent assignment to Leicester Mountain. In 1819, the *Royal Gazette* reports Wilhelm and his wife teaching at Leicester along with a Mr. Cates.²⁷⁰ In 1834 on April 25, Wilhelm died in Sierra Leone, at the age of fifty-six, the longest-serving missionary of those who ventured out at that time. His accomplishments included a translation of the *Gospels* and *Acts* into Susu.

Like Wilhelm, Klein was thirty-three. Again, like Wilhelm, he studied not at the Berlin Seminary but in England for four years, and took his Lutheran Orders in 1811. After some time spent with Nylander, he journeyed to the Canofee region to work with Wenzel there, though due to some interpersonal issues, he departed to establish a settlement along the Rio Dembia, then one at Gambier, one at the Isle de Los, and eventually one at Kaparroo. He and his wife, a niece of his English teacher Reverend T. Scott, were polarizing figures from the correspondence, and after ten years with the CMS, his connection was dissolved in Africa.

In 1811, Wilhelm and the Kleins arrived in the colony.²⁷¹ As the Kleins and

²⁷⁰ *Royal Gazette and Sierra Leone Advertiser*. February 27, 1819, Freetown, CMS/CA1/E7/111

²⁷¹ There are some irregularities with this date, as there are letters dated Nov 1809 from Wilhelm and Klein to Pratt in London, which makes the CMS description of their 1811 arrival challenging.

Wenzels did, Wilhelm initially stayed with Nylander in Freetown, and as the rest had, he too complained that Nylander's behaviour was poor toward the newcomers, with no consideration on his part for Nylander's ongoing sickness. Wilhelm's role in the CMS, in the settlements and later in Freetown seem to have been primarily centred around education and teaching. Like Wenzel, he offers no letters inquiring about European affairs or the problems caused by the various geopolitical struggles taking place at that time. His fluency in English seems to have been a strong one after his years in England. His interest was primarily in ensuring that his students succeeded within the educational approach which he brought with him.

Klein offers accounts of the Fula attacks on the settlements, and the tensions along the Rio Pongo, along with a description of the marriage between the son of a local headman and Elizabetha, one of the Bashia girls described as “captive.”²⁷² Klein's accounts of the activities both of slave traders and of members of the Royal African Squadron offer a sense of the increasing tensions surrounding the two settlements on the Rio Pongo, as he explained that local Africans came to complain at their people being captured by traders, necessitating intervention by Wilhelm and Klein with Mungké Hati, a local elite. The missionaries were unable to stop the depredations of the naval forces which, by then, had burned four factories along the river and caused the traders to react against the locals, and instead of easing tensions, their efforts to assist increased them. Hati took the side of the CMS, but the naval officer responsible for the burning of factories arrived and indicated that he was ordered to help the missionaries by the colony,

²⁷² Klein to Sec, 1 March, 1814, Canoffee, CMS/CA1/E3/119.

which cast doubt on missionary protestations of neutrality.²⁷³

By the end of 1814, the Kleins had left the Rio Pongo region, and journeyed from town to town, attempting to establish schools and settlements, but having little success. Klein's overall impact is difficult to measure due to the nature of his letters to London – they largely serve as observations of events as opposed to any indication of his own achievements or desires.

Frictions between Church and Government

Collaboration between church sect and colonial officials were present almost from the outset of the renewed colony after 1792. Economic and evangelical incentives were determined by Governor Macaulay, who for example in 1795 outlined a new source of prosperity for the Freetown. In tandem with the Methodist leader Thomas Coke, plans were drawn up to establish missions among the Fula, whom Macaulay had visited, and with whom he had built the ground-work for legitimate trade.²⁷⁴ This project did not fare well, in large part due to the problematic character of the individuals who were selected to be Methodist missionaries, as opposed to CMS. After a variety of interpersonal problems, the Methodist mission into the Fula lands was halted five months after it began by the threat of French attack.

Official Government Chaplains for the colony whose position was not predicated on a specific sect include John Clarke, a Presbyterian who travelled to Freetown in 1796, Malchior Renner, a Lutheran acting for the evangelical CMS in 1804-1806, his fellow Lutheran Nylander in 1806-1812, to Rickards,²⁷⁵ 1812-1813, to the Lutheran Butscher in 1813-1817, to Church of

²⁷³ Klein to Sec, 1 March, 1814, Canoffee, CMS/CA1/E3/119.

²⁷⁴ Smith, "Thomas Coke's Africa Mission," 308.

²⁷⁵ Beyond Nylander's mention of this name, little else is known about who he was or what denomination he followed. He does not appear in any CMS lists. He evidently was unable to take his position, as later histories note

England John Collier and William Garnon from 1817-1819.²⁷⁶ What was important was not denomination to begin with, but availability, until the formal affiliation in 1816 of CMS with the colony's leadership, after which point CMS missionaries tended to be placed as chaplains and superintendents of schools.

The Clapham-inspired CMS might be presumed to have been welcomed by the Freetown government. However, officials did not always care for the missionaries sent to preach among them, and the leadership of the CMS itself often issued orders which precluded any harmony between missionaries and the settlers in Freetown. Renner was chastised by Pratt in 1806 for baptizing “ignorant and ungodly” Maroons.²⁷⁷ The letters and directives from London continued in much the same vein at that time, ordering the missionaries not to preach to congregations which might include “dissenters,” or Methodists. Governors regularly insisted upon missionaries remaining in Freetown to serve as colony chaplains, in contrast to the wishes of each missionary placed in that role.²⁷⁸ Mouser has eloquently summarized the competing pressures within the colony, which was unable to find a Chaplain to minister to its citizenry’s spiritual needs.²⁷⁹ Kenneth Macaulay from Freetown wrote to his brother Zachary in London in 1815, who forwarded the letter to the CMS, describing each of the missionaries. Renner is described as being an alcoholic by Macaulay, a vice which the others all evidently shared. Butscher was

only that the colony was without a chaplain between Nylander's departure and Butscher's arrival. See Henry Seddall, *The Missionary History of Sierra Leone* (London: Hatchards, 1874), 74.

²⁷⁶ Both men were Anglican, but neither were members of CMS, and are listed by CMS as “friends.” See CMS Calendar Appendix B.

²⁷⁷ Pratt to Renner and Hartwig, January 1806, CMS/CA1/E1/21.

²⁷⁸ Nylander to Pratt, 19 June, 1807, CMS/CA1/E1/107c; Nylander to Pratt, 10 July, 1807, Freetown, CMS/CA1/E1/110; Nylander to Sec, 7 December, 1810, Sierra Leone, CMS/CA1/E2/44.

²⁷⁹ Bruce L. Mouser, *The Case of Reverend Peter Hartwig: Slave trader or misunderstood idealist? Clash of Church Missionary Society/Imperial Objectives in Sierra Leone, 1804-1815* (Madison: African Studies Program, 2003). Mouser’s monograph largely serves to lay out the conflicts in the colony between the Company and the Society in the early years, which culminated in the crisis around Peter Hartwig, Thomas Perronet Thompson’s accusations concerning Governor Ludlam’s corruption, and Thompson’s dismissal by the Clapham men who had appointed him.

reportedly only interested in money, and how much money he could accrue, and was dismissed by Macaulay as “worldly.” Far from the glowing reports offered by his fellow missionaries, Butscher was here reported as being respected by no one at all, and his progress at Leicester Mountain was condemned as slow and barely competent.

Nylander was evaluated as being the best of the missionaries, Wenzel similarly praised, and Macaulay wrote that he knew nothing of Wilhelm's character. Klein was dismissed altogether as a drunk, and “the laughing-stock of all who call at the islands.” His wife is described by Macaulay as ruling him, and being overly proud, obsessed with trying to make her husband head of all the missionaries. Macaulay explains that the real reason for the Kleins' departure from the Îsles de Los was due to lies Mrs. Klein made up about local merchants being involved in the slave trade when they were not. This letter shows clear biases, of course, with Macaulay emphasizing the futility of the Rio Pongo mission, and re-iterating the need for the missionaries to centralize themselves in Freetown, where he claims two thousand children await education. He closes by emphasizing that the “Mandingoes” have so successfully spread Islam along the Rokel River and villages that the Rio Pongo mission is an even greater exercise in futility.²⁸⁰ The upshot of this scathing letter was the dispatch of Bickersteth to Sierra Leone by Pratt, which saw the closing of the outlying schools and an accord between CMS and the colonial authorities at the expense of the men on the ground, who were expected to teach many hundreds of students and act as de facto colonial officials after 1816. The outlying schools had already been under pressure by that point as a result of the escalating struggle between the competing interests of slave traders and antislavery forces in the region.

²⁸⁰ K. Macaulay to Z. Macaulay. 21 December, 1815, Sierra Leone, CMS/CA1/E5/59.

Chapter 3

Bush Schools, *Karanthes* and Mission Schools

The missions and schools themselves must be considered in the context of existing educational practices of Muslims and secret societies among non-Muslims in Sierra Leone. “Existing Educational Frameworks,” describes the variety of educational systems which were employed along the upper Guinea coast until 1806. Prior to, during, and after the settlement of Freetown by Nova Scotians and immigrants from England, local peoples relied on education through secret society schools. This chapter details practices such as the educational systems used by the Poro secret society, and their role in the region. The structure of Islamic education – its location, organization, and its role and place - is detailed in relation to Fuuta Jalon and the Muslim commercial towns of the interior. The alternative educational approach favoured by many elites was one of sending children abroad to Europe to enjoy an education which would theoretically prepare them to interact with European traders. “Early Education in Sierra Leone and the Protestant Newcomers,” concerns itself with the variety of schools founded first by the Freetown settlers, and later those by missionaries. The Nova Scotian settlers brought their own pedagogical approaches, which served to educate alongside the European system employed by members of the Sierra Leone Company. However, an explicit aim of the Church Missionary Society was teaching and learning, and this second section therefore next examines the foundation of each CMS mission school after 1804 in detail. In chronological order, the missions at Bashia, Canoffee, Yongroo Pomoh, and the various schools run by the Kleins in a variety of locations are described here. Central to the CMS and its missionaries was the importation of new trends in pedagogy which were simultaneously taking place in Europe. Foremost among them were twin systems which were developed at nearly the same time: that of Lancaster, and that of Bell (also called

the Madras System), which were specified and employed by CMS missionaries. These so-called “Monitorial” systems are described as a fundamental element of the CMS mission schools. The chapter ends with the 1816 accommodation between the CMS and the colonial authorities in, as it marked the end of this earlier period of schooling, and the beginning of a standardized and formalized education system within the colony.

The so-called “bush schools” were central to both the Poro male initiation society and its female counterpart Sande (or Bundo), and together acted as a system of societal education. By contrast, the Muslim school system was largely situated in the interior, but was also associated with Muslim teachers and clerics who travelled into the coastal regions. The third traditional approach to schooling was the practice which many Africans employed of sending their children to Europe to be educated there. All of these methods required wealth, and as a result, social status was an implicit element in the educational frameworks which existed in the region.

Poro, Sande and the Bush Schools

Prior to the waves of African migration from the interior which saw the introduction of Mandinka and Fula peoples into the hinterland of Sierra Leone and the establishment of their Islamic states, the peoples in the region had practiced a form of local belief system largely concerned with managing the interstices between the spheres of material and spiritual concerns.²⁸¹ These so-called “secret societies” embraced both males and females, overseeing the transition from childhood into adulthood. As such, they served and even today still serve as an educational system used by many

²⁸¹ For more on these two societies, see chapter 1. Early European accounts of Poro date to the sixteenth century, and show the long tradition of that society along the upper Guinea coast. See André Alvares D'Almada, *Tratado Breve dos Rios de Guiné Do Cabo-Verde: Desde O Rio do Sanagá Até Aos Baixos de Sant'Anna* &. (Porto: Typographia Commercial Portuense, 1841 [1594]); Valentim Ferdinand, *Beschreibung der Westküste Arfika's vom Senegal bis zur Serra Leoa*, trans Friedrich Kunstmann. (München, 1856 [1508]).

peoples in the region.²⁸² As Edward Coleson explains, the Societies were compulsory at the lowest level for both boys and girls, and were therefore a universal system of education in participatory peoples.²⁸³

Like its fellow society Sande, Poro was gender specific, though exceptions exist.²⁸⁴ Despite its status as a male society, not all members of Poro were men. Traditionally, select women were initiated into Poro either due to their barrenness, or as a result of accidentally witnessing secret rituals meant only for males. These necessitated a transition of their status into de facto males, and was associated with a high rank within Poro.²⁸⁵ As a powerful and multivalent regional system of education, policing, and belief, Poro and similar societies served for centuries as the primary place where the community impressed an understanding of laws, morality, and societal expectations upon the next generations. The masked members of Poro assumed the characteristics of the spirits, which are now often called “devils,” by anthropologists and outsiders studying the society. The spirit who selected boys to be taken to the bush school was customarily described as the “bush devil,” while the initiated boys' scarification upon their completion of schooling was meant to resemble the bush devil's teeth.

Poro acted as an organization which educated, governed, and regulated life through this large region, spanning multiple ethnic groups but was not itself a singular centralized authority. When boys

²⁸² Gerald O. Windham, “Education and The Changing Society In Sierra Leone,” *Kansas Journal of Sociology* 4, 3 (1968): 116. Windham clarifies that prior to their entry into the Poro or Sande initiatory system, children in groups along the upper Guinea coast were educated by their families or villages in such skills as were needed. Therefore hunting, fishing, food preparation and other needs were customarily taught as a matter of course to the next generation.

²⁸³ Edward Coleson, “The Impact of European Education in West Africa,” *History of Education Journal* 6, 2 (1955): 169. Both Poro and Sande were long-established in the region, and early nineteenth century European accounts emphasized its importance and universality. See Joseph Corry, *Observations upon the Windward Coast of Africa, the Religion, Character, Customs &c. Of the Natives; With a System upon which they may be Civilized, and a Knowledge Attained of the Interior of this Extraordinary Quarter of the Globe; and upon the Natural and Commercial Resources of the Country; Made in the Years 1805 and 1806* (London: W. Bulmer and Co. Cleveland Row, 1807) 134, 137.

²⁸⁴ There is another pathway for a woman to enter Poro, according to Harley, whereby a female child might be identified by a diviner as holding a male spirit and would be therefore be raised as a male, including Poro initiation. See George W. Harley, *Notes on the Poro in Liberia*, 11.

²⁸⁵ Lynda Day, *Gender and Power in Sierra Leone: Women Chiefs of the Last Two Centuries* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 34-7; Kenneth Little, *The Mende of Sierra Leone* (New York: The Humanities Press, 1967), 245; Fyle, *Nationalist History of Sierra Leone*, 71-72.

reached a specific age, they were removed from their families to enter the “Poro bush,” where they were subject to masked adult males; these men, in the guise of spirits, educated the youths concerning the roles to be played in their adult lives. As William Murphy explains, the bush schools were controlled by Poro or Sande in alternation throughout the year.²⁸⁶ Richard Fulton observed that for many outsiders, only the location within which children learned their adult roles could be generally ascertained.

All sacrifices and ceremonies are held within the "sacred grove" of the Poro society; only the "bush school" of the Poro is visible. This institution is the ritualistic, cultural socialization mechanism used to initiate adolescents into the adult community. The "schools" are conducted to teach men and women (in separate sessions lasting now for some weeks, but traditionally for some years) farming, cooking, herb techniques, sex education, hunting, and rules of the culture not already assimilated (with special and added emphasis on authority structures) - in short, anything that a person needs to know in order to survive in this culture. It is not hard to comprehend the power of the Poro when we realize the variety of functions that it performs, educationally, religiously, medically, and politically.²⁸⁷

However, advancement within Poro came at a price, with the highest levels of the society only available to those who were able to afford the time spent in training, and the cost of membership.²⁸⁸

While all males were initiated into the bush school, many only emerged after induction into the most basic rank of Poro. Others, usually the sons of headmen, returned for further training and initiation into the ranks within Poro to which their elite fathers or relatives belonged.

²⁸⁶ Murphy also discusses elements of the bush schools, noting how the timing of male and female initiates within the schools – which could hold hundreds of children potentially – was designed so that Poro and Sande could alternate control over the sacred land. See William P. Murphy, “Secret Knowledge as Property and Power in Kpelle Society: Elders versus Youth,” *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 50, 2 (1980): 196.

²⁸⁷ Richard M. Fulton, “The Political Structures and Functions of Poro in Kpelle Society,” *American Anthropologist, New Series* 74, 5 (1972): 1222.

²⁸⁸ Murphy, “Secret Knowledge as Property,” 193, 195. Murphy notes that position in Poro was often directly connected to land ownership among the people he studied, and therefore implicitly, Poro rank was based on economic factors. As Windham noted earlier, certain ranks within the initiatory educational systems were not available for some families based upon societal status. See Windham, “Education and The Changing Society In Sierra Leone,” 116. He also describes a feature of the secret societies of the region: that higher ranked members were considered to own both history and “medicine.” See Murphy, “Secret Knowledge,” 197.

Islamic Education in Sierra Leone and its Hinterland

Islamic educational systems were introduced into the hinterlands of Sierra Leone as a major means of conversion.²⁸⁹ The Mande migrating to this region brought with them an influx of Muslim ideas and institutions, among which were social reforms, and formal schooling as carried by Islamic clerics.²⁹⁰ Expansion and conversion were a slow process in part due to pre-existing educational systems like Poro, which offered a contrasting institution to rival the new approach.²⁹¹

Education was a fundamental aspect of the spread of Muslim traders from the interior. The necessary elements of conversion required that pupils learn Arabic, how to read and write, ways of dividing days into hours in order to pray appropriately – in short, a primary element of the spread of Islam necessitated a system of formal education.²⁹² David Skinner describes the ways whereby Islamic influence spread through the upper Guinea coast in his work of the 1970s, focusing on Sierra Leone:

Mandingo, Susu, and Sarakuli settlement in the colony and hinterland of Sierra Leone resulted from the activities of numerous traders, *karamokos* (Muslim teachers and priests), and warriors. A process of community-building begun before the eighteenth century became increasingly important for the development of Islamic institutions and concepts thereafter. Its impetus was the system of long distance trading and the missionary activities of *karamokos*, who established mosques and *karanthes* (schools) and taught about Islam wherever they traveled.²⁹³

²⁸⁹ David E. Skinner, "Islam and Education in the Colony and Hinterland of Sierra Leone (1750-1914)," *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines* 10, 3 (1976): 501-502.

²⁹⁰ As Mark Halstead has pointed out in his broad-ranging analysis of how Islamic education intersects with ideas concerning education in Western culture, education within an Islamic worldview encompasses the progressive initiation of the pupil into the truths of the faith. Therefore, he points out, "at the heart of the Muslim concept of education is the aim of producing good Muslims with an understanding of Islamic rules of behaviour and a strong knowledge of and commitment to the faith." See J. Mark Halstead, "An Islamic Concept of Education," *Comparative Education* 40, 4, Special Issue (29): Philosophy, Education and Comparative Education (2004): 518-519.

²⁹¹ There was a steady level of hostility between Poro-participatory peoples and Muslims along the coast. Temne were derided in Islamic sources, and in turn often acted to interfere with the movement of Muslims merchants through their lands.

²⁹² As Skinner has described, Islamic ritual and the Arabic language itself were often held to have mystic properties by local peoples. Control over these elements, through Islamic education, conferred power. See Skinner, "Islam and Education," 502.

²⁹³ David E. Skinner, "Mande Settlement and the Development of Islamic Institutions in Sierra Leone," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 11, 1 (1978): 38.

The spread of Islam was furthered in the area by the clear advantages it offered, welding villages and converts into a trade network reaching far inland.²⁹⁴ Local converts evidently saw the advantages in this, incorporating Muslim traders through marriage into kin-groups, and they sent pupils to centres of Islamic education like Forekaria, Fuuta Jalon and Touba for intensive training, after which many returned to Sierra Leone as Muslim missionaries themselves, establishing schools in turn.²⁹⁵ Within regions controlled by strong Muslim city-states or kingdoms such as Moriah or Fuuta Jalon, Qur'anic schools were situated in every town and villages. Muslim scholars oversaw the educational system and were afforded a substantial degree of respect.²⁹⁶ Local rulers therefore sent their sons to study in such schools, and employed Muslim scholars as political advisors and scribes for Arabic correspondence.²⁹⁷ The schools themselves, as Skinner explains, comprised

three distinctive types of educational institutions. First, there were the primary schools (known as *karanthe*), directed by a *karamoko* (learned man) or *alfa* (scholar) where pupils learned the Arabic alphabet, recognition of Arabic words, how to recite the Quran and the fundamental concepts and rituals of Islam. Secondly, there were places of worship, such as mosques and prayer fields (*sallekene*) where continuing education for young and adult Muslims was imparted by means of sermons and rituals and where the message of Allāh was reinforced and rejuvenated. Thirdly, one finds specialized religious schools where scholars were trained in law, theology and Arabic literature.²⁹⁸

Skinner further elaborates that the *karanthe* served as the basic educational institution for the transmission of most Islamic rituals and concepts for young people. Students began their study around

²⁹⁴ This also coincides with what Halstead has described as the exhortation to employ knowledge in the same way one should put money to use. In his analysis, a fundamental part of how education and Islam intersect is in the importance of using received knowledge to bring others to the faith. See Halstead, "Islamic Concept of Education," 521.

²⁹⁵ Skinner, "Mande Settlement," 44.

²⁹⁶ David E. Skinner, "Islam in the Northern Hinterland and its Influence on the Development of the Sierra Leone Colony," in *Islam and Trade in Sierra Leone*, 10; Richard Bright, "Expedition to Moria in 1802," in *Guinea Journals: Journeys Into Guinea-Conakry During the Sierra Leone Phase, 1800-1821*, ed. Bruce L. Mouser. (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1979), 19-20.

²⁹⁷ Skinner, "Islam and Education," 503.

²⁹⁸ Skinner, "Islam and Education," 503.

the age of six, and in effect joined their teachers' households for up to six years. The system employed in these schools was one of rote learning, and pupils were primarily male.

[P]upils only learned the Arabic alphabet and how to copy Arabic phrases, many students did learn how to read and write. The teacher also lectured on the meaning of the copied passages and on the fundamentals of the faith. The primary schools often had students from non-Muslim families who had sent them to a *karamoko* for political or social reasons and these children usually formed the core of converts in a village or district. When the *karamoko* judged that a pupil had satisfied the requirements of the school, he advised the family and a graduation ceremony was held. The pupil recited passages from the Quran and demonstrated his or her knowledge of Islamic precepts and of Arabic script, and the parents were expected to show their appreciation with a suitable gift (a slave, a piece of fine cloth, a goat or some equivalent gift). The *karamoko* then released the pupil with his blessing.²⁹⁹

The system for most ended at that point according to Skinner's description, though education acted as an ongoing process at mosques and in the lives of the faithful.³⁰⁰ Leopold Butscher reported in 1815 that local Muslim education did not include a study of grammar, noting that he showed an Arabic Grammar to local Muslims and that they indicated the rarity of that method of teaching.³⁰¹ Islamic education therefore required literacy above all, followed by the need for memorization, and understanding of holy texts. Impeccable recitations were to be commended, and pupils were not permitted to select the texts which they were required to memorize.³⁰²

²⁹⁹ Skinner's detailed examination of the Islamic educational system in use in Sierra Leone and its hinterland also describes the levels of higher education available to the elite, including differences between scholars and teachers. He also notes the prevalence of highly educated cherno or tierno specialists, their title deriving from the Fulbe. It denoted an expert of law and theology, and one who had mastered the Islamic sciences. There were other similar ranks for the well educated within the Muslim social structure, as education was a respected and arguably fundamental element of the religion. See Skinner, "Islam and Education," 504-506.

³⁰⁰ Halstead, "Islamic Concept of Education," 522-523, 524.

³⁰¹ Butscher, Leopold. *Account of the Mandingoes, Susoos, & other Nation[s] on the West Coast of Africa: An Account of a Part of Western Africa Inhabited by the Mandingoes, Zumbias, Kaniyas, Susus, Nellos & Lantamers, by the Missionary Butscher, who Resided, from 1806 to 1812, at the Settlement called Bashia on the Pongo River, about 60 Miles from the Sea Shore, and about 160 Miles North of Sierra Leone*, ed. Bruce L. Mouser. (Leipzig: Leipzig University Papers, 2000), 7.

³⁰² This system of education was, it must be mentioned, in use for centuries, and paralleled that employed in European education, which similarly demanded unquestioning rote memorization of important texts. See Eric Hilgendorf, "Islamic Education: History and Tendency," *Peabody Journal of Education* 78, 2 (2003): 64-66; Falconbridge, *Two Voyages*, 61; Sierra Leone Company, *Substance of the report delivered on Wednesday the nineteenth of October, 1791*, 4-5.

Education Abroad

The other major source of education for the children of those along the upper Guinea coast who sought schooling was Europe.³⁰³ To that end, traders often transported the children of those able to afford their passage and education to places like Liverpool.³⁰⁴ Usually sons of elite families or people in the region, or the children of traders stationed at slave factories like the Îsles de Los, the students travelling to Europe were sent to further their roles in the trade systems of the coast. Educations abroad gave the children of middlemen and elite Africans an advantage over their countrymen, due to their facility in speaking English, and their ability to read and write in the language of the captains with whom they traded. Those educated in this manner included such examples as members of the Corker/Caulker family, James Cleveland, and other notable persons.³⁰⁵ Eligibility for this form of education understandably required contacts with European captains, along with sufficient friendship that a valuable family member could be trusted in the care of a European guardian as opposed to risking their forcible entry into the slave trade as a commodity.³⁰⁶ That trust was not infrequently betrayed, as Gretchen Gerzina points out. The cost of maintaining African students could grow rapidly, and while a number of Sierra Leone elites sent their sons and daughters to England for their education, not all arrived safely. Unscrupulous ship captains could sell their passengers, and some examples of Africans who were enslaved in this fashion were subsequently romanticized in English popular

³⁰³ Europe was a center of education for the children of active coastal slave traders and merchants along the West African coastline, as Strickrodt notes. See Silke Strickrodt, *Afro-European Trade in the Atlantic World: The Western Slave Coast c. 1550-1885* (Suffolk: James Currey, 2015), 5.

³⁰⁴ Morgan, "Liverpool Ascendant," 37.

³⁰⁵ Morgan, "Liverpool Ascendant," 37-38; Denise Jones, "Robert Bostock of Liverpool and the British Slave Trade on the Upper Guinea Coast, 1769-93," in *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Colonialism in Sierra Leone*, 73.

³⁰⁶ Imodale Caulker-Burnett, *The Caulkers of Sierra Leone*, 63-64. Caulker-Burnett explains how African children were rarely educated in mechanical systems or what she describes as any occupation which would benefit their countrypeople; rather, they experienced religious and literary education in reading and writing, and often converted to Christianity during their time in Britain.

culture.³⁰⁷ It required wealth and elite standing to ensure such a friendship, and importance enough to prevent the sale of a prospective pupil.

Early Education in Sierra Leone and Protestant Newcomers

When the Abolitionist members of the Clapham Sect launched their idealistic effort to settle in West Africa, education was foremost in their ideology. Their mission was contiguous with the need for schooling among the settlers they brought to the Freetown peninsula. This section therefore addresses the variety of educational approaches and systems which arrived with the Protestant settlers and their Abolitionist patrons. Schooling was a necessary feature of life which accompanied the various Protestant sects to Freetown. However, the ideology of the Clapham Sect demanded more of the settlement, and their instrument, the Church Missionary Society, had been formed explicitly to educate and “civilize” through its missions. What made the CMS system different from prior educational systems in place was the embrace and use of new developments in teaching and learning. The systems of Lancaster and Bell radically differed from the earlier institutions and approaches in play along the upper Guinea coast. Relying neither on status nor on wealth, both systems advanced pupils by their academic achievements, allowing a unique environment within which social standing was of lesser importance than this in the classroom. This section ends with the 1816 accommodation between the CMS and the colonial authorities, which led to the closure of outlying schools, and the missionaries were forced to return to Freetown to teach. That accommodation also resulted in all recaptives who had passed through the Vice Admiralty Courts being placed under the care of the CMS with the approval of the Governor of Sierra Leone.

³⁰⁷ Gerzina notes the tales of Oroonoko, a prince of Anamabo, Job ben Solomon and others whose narratives were taken up and romanticized into plays, dramas, or other forms of entertainment. See Gretchen Holbrook Gerzina, *Black London: Life before Emancipation* (Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 12-14.

The Settlers and their Schools, 1790s to 1804

The first immigrants to Sierra Leone from Nova Scotia brought a handful of teachers with them, who established schools upon their arrival in the settlement.³⁰⁸ Nova Scotians like Jordan or Beverhout, and religious men like Boston King were appointed to become schoolmasters by the authorities.³⁰⁹ Education remained a central matter during the first few decades of the settlement's growth for the colonial leadership, as is seen by the many reports by missionaries bemoaning the unceasing pressure to remain in Freetown as teachers. Unfortunately, many of the early schoolmasters were considered ill prepared, with King sent for education in England by Macaulay, who condemned his religious fervour as unbalanced with pedagogical training.³¹⁰

Nova Scotian preachers of all three major sects often doubled as schoolmasters, as described by the Sierra Leone Company in its 1794 report, which notes (with implicit criticism) the presence of teachers among the religious Nova Scotians.³¹¹

What ever education or instruction any of them have received, appears to have been chiefly, if not entirely, got since the era of their emancipation. A few of them with a part of their earnings put themselves to school, with the view either of increasing their religious knowledge, or of laying the ground for some future improvement in their condition: and these are now the preachers and schoolmasters of the Sierra Leone colony.³¹²

³⁰⁸ Coleson, "European Education," 173.

³⁰⁹ Suzanne Schwarz, *Zachary Macaulay and the Development of the Sierra Leone Company 1793-94, Vol 1* (Leipzig: Leipzig University Papers on Africa, 2000), 43, 61, 62-3; Pybus, *Epic Journeys*, 213.

³¹⁰ Macaulay, *The Development of the Sierra Leone Company*, 66.

³¹¹ Sierra Leone Company, *Substance of the report delivered by the Court of Directors: of the Sierra Leone Company to the General Court of Proprietors, on Thursday the 27th March, 1794* (London: James Phillips, 1794), 49.

³¹² Sierra Leone Company, *Substance of the Report*, 66.

Subsequent reports of the Sierra Leone Company continually emphasize the same need for education among the evangelist settlers as well as the local children, and do not differentiate between which denomination was responsible for schooling.

The Presbyterian John Clarke was made superintendent of schools by Macaulay in 1796, causing tension with the local Nova Scotian Dissenters who preached and taught smaller Sunday schools. As Cassandra Pybus has described, members of the Huntingdon's Connexion and the Wesleyan Methodists flatly refused to send their children to Clarke's catechism classes.³¹³ The Sierra Leone Company had provided some few schoolmasters to the settlers, among them John Garvin, a former Church of England turned Methodist who was recommended to the Baptist Missionary Society.³¹⁴ Garvin and his fellow Company schoolmasters resented Clarke's sudden primacy as superintendent. In reaction to their hostility, Macaulay closed the two hundred-pupil school he had opened, earning Clarke still more unpopularity among the settlers whose children were affected by this move.³¹⁵

According to their missionary William Davies, the Wesleyan Methodists' school system was designated for the children of Nova Scotians and Jamaican Maroons. Reportedly, this first school was poorly attended and failed to prosper until Davies's arrival in the colony in 1815. He reports that

On enquiry, I found that the school, which was kept at the expense of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, was not appropriated to the negro children; but that the children of the settlers and Maroons, who could much better afford to pay than many in England and Wales who gave to the good cause, were gratuitously receiving in it a superior education. This school was, in consequence, by my direction, discontinued; and, on application, I obtained the salary allowed by the Government to Mr. Hirst, and a school of negro children was commenced in our chapel. Thus I and my wife had the honour of commencing the first proper Negro's [*sic*] School.³¹⁶

³¹³ Pybus, *Epic Journeys*, 189.

³¹⁴ Garvin especially was displeased by Clarke's determination to impose regulations concerning marriage which would prevent the polygamous arrangements then in use within the colony, which saw bigamy and informal common law relationships more often than formal Christian weddings. See K.R.M. Short, "A Note on the Sierra Leone Mission and Religious Freedom, 1796," *The Baptist Quarterly* 28, 8 (1980): 357.

³¹⁵ Clifford, *Black Loyalists*, 179.

³¹⁶ William Davies, *Extracts from the Journal of the Rev. William Davies, 1st, when a Missionary at Sierra Leone, Western*

After his arrival in Freetown, Davies oversaw the Colonial School, which taught settlers and Maroons along with recaptives, and comprised approximately two hundred children, supported by Governor MacCarthy's encouragement.³¹⁷ As Davies's journal reports through 1815, his school, like the coeval CMS schools, was increasingly devoted to teaching recaptives. This was a growing trend in all documents related to education in the colony no matter the denomination, because the steadily rising numbers of Liberated Africans necessitated their incorporation into the British colonial society of Freetown. Davies remained in Sierra Leone only three years. During that time he worked in tandem with the CMS and Huntingdon missionaries, and served the colony in its ongoing efforts to educate Liberated Africans, as described in a letter by Governor MacCarthy appended to Davies' diary:

...in 1815, there being then no European schoolmaster in the town, he most readily, on my application, without fee or reward, took charge, for a short time, of the colonial schools; that, on my procuring a school master, and he being then released from that office, he accepted, in conjunction with his late most respectable lady, in the same disinterested manner, the superintendance of the Captured Negro Female School; that, having borne with Christian fortitude the irreparable loss of his lady, he continued to bestow his care and attention on that school, until the establishment of other schools, in the country towns, enabled me to provide an asylum for those interesting beings.³¹⁸

The Church Missionary Society and New Trends in Education

It is no surprise therefore that the standard school system in Freetown increasingly relied upon the CMS missionaries, given the shared foundation of both the Sierra Leone Company and the CMS

Africa; Containing Some Account of the Country - its Inhabitants - the Progress of Religion among the Negroes - Manner of Governments - State of the Weather, &c, &c, &c (Llanidloes: Wesleyan Printing Office, 1835), 5.

³¹⁷ Davies, *Extracts*, 30. For a chronological list of Governors, see Appendix 3. Davies reports on Nylander's struggle to prevent King George of Bullom from burying his daughter alive for witchcraft, and records Nylander's success. See Davies, *Extracts* 23. These excerpts further emphasize the increasingly important role played by CMS even as it was regarded by other missionaries belonging to different denominations, and pave the way for the 1816 accord which saw CMS made the official colonial religious authority.

³¹⁸ Davies, *Extracts*, 73.

itself. The primary method employed by the CMS was a system of teaching which permitted a single schoolmaster or superintendent, and promoted successful students to roles of responsibility.³¹⁹ The policy of the CMS was educational in its approach to evangelization, and from the first missions, CMS clergymen were exhorted to teach both settlers and Africans. The first CMS schools were built along the Rio Pongo among slave traders and Susu, while later mission schools were established nearer to Freetown on the Bullom Shore, or at the slave factories of the Îsles de Los. Samuel Walker, a CMS historian, wrote in 1845 that during his period in Freetown prior to 1812, Nylander “opened a school for native children in Free town, for which purpose a house was provided by the governor, it being found that there was no instruction afforded to the Maroon children; their parents not choosing to send them to the schools of the settlers, there being enmity between the Maroons and the Nova-Scotians.”³²⁰

When Nylander was finally able to leave Freetown, he was teaching one hundred and seventy-seven pupils, and his letter to London celebrating his departure wishes success to his replacement, a man not associated with the CMS, named Rickards.³²¹ This individual goes unmentioned in scholarly work either because he never accepted that post, or because he was comparatively unimportant in the estimation of the colonial authorities, who continued to work toward a standing arrangement with CMS to oversee the education of the Liberated children within Freetown.³²² This burden for any teacher was staggering.

By the time of Bickersteth’s 1816 arrival in Africa, the role given to the chaplain at Freetown had grown significantly, and Governor MacCarthy was interested in increasing it even more. From 1810 until c. 1812, several schools had been built at Freetown, and Nyländer was responsible for them all as agent of both the administration and of the African Institution in London, which provided teachers. When Nyländer went to Bullom Shore in 1812, Butscher became the settlement’s chaplain, superintendent of government sponsored schools that then held nearly 500 students

³¹⁹See below for a more detailed examination of these systems.

³²⁰ Samuel Abraham Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 217.

³²¹ Nylander to Sec., 10 February, 1812, Sierra Leone, CMS/CA1/E2/116.

³²² Beyond Nylander mentioning Rickards, he is entirely absent. Given the mortality rate in the region, he may simply have died before he was able to replace Nylander.

and—as of November 1813—missionary to all Africans residing within Freetown. In November 1814, Governor Maxwell agreed to protect missionaries in the Rio Pongo, build a new church at Freetown, increase the salary for the chaplain and assign all Liberated Africans to the care of the CMS. By that date there were more than 10,000 Liberated Africans within the settlement, of which nearly 1,000 were then attending schools. In contrast, only 200 were enrolled in schools in the Rio Pongo. The plan specifically suggested that the best of these students in Freetown would be taught to become teachers, catechists and ministers, and that schools would also teach the use of native languages.³²³

Given the responsibilities of the position, it is perhaps not surprising that Nylander wished to leave it as vehemently as he did.

The first of the CMS schools to be completed was Bashia, built on the site of a former slave factory. Overseen by Renner, Butscher, Wenzel and Wilhelm at various points until its eventual destruction by fire in 1817, Bashia was attractive and important to the local people. The land ceded for its use was offered in return for education to be provided by the CMS missionaries, making Bashia a school from its beginning. By 1809, Renner's letters to Pratt indicate that Butscher was instructing eight local boys at the two settlements of Canofee and Bashia on the Rio Pongo. By summer, Butscher's own account describes him often at Fantimania nearby, negotiating with M. Fantimani concerning which children ought to be sent to which school. In this letter, the same problem which each of the other German-speaking missionaries faced linguistically was once again raised: Butscher offered to resign his post teaching English to the local Susu boys due to his concerns over his grasp of the tongue, and hoped that one of the newer missionaries might be better suited than he was to train the local children in speaking English.³²⁴ The schools had been explicitly requested to teach pupils in English, which must have been considerably challenging for the first few waves of CMS teachers, as all spoke English as a second language, and in Butscher's case, only after nine months of training.

³²³ Mouser, "Church Missionary Society Accommodation," 390.

³²⁴ Rev. L. Butscher to J. Pratt. 30 June, 1809, Fantimania, CMS/CA1/E2/2A.

In replacing Butscher in the Rio Pongo in 1811, Wilhelm expressly brought a new system of education from England to train the boys with. This Bell-Lancaster approach was an innovation being enthusiastically reviewed by the CMS at the time. Wilhelm's primary purpose seems to have been teaching and learning in the Bashia settlement. His early letters revolve around the achievements to date of the pupils he had taken over teaching, and his desire for a printing press to facilitate implementation of the new method.³²⁵ By 1812, this had changed very little, with Wilhelm's letters to London explaining that teaching is taking all his time, and he had only had little opportunity to learn Susu, instead focusing on the fifty-two children under his care. He enthuses over his students, and his pleasure in teaching. Unlike the previous missionaries for whom teaching was often one of many duties, it seems that for Wilhelm, it was his primary role.

In 1809, after discussion among themselves, Wenzel and Barneth took over the Kakara settlement near what would become Canofee, with Butscher and Renner in charge of Bashia nearby. Wenzel's letter to London dated December 1809 indicated considerable progress on his dictionary.³²⁶ By March of the following year, Barneth had died, and Wenzel was dispirited, lamenting that at Kakara there were only two children willing to be educated, while Bashia boasted forty. The loss of Barneth evidently impeded Wenzel's efforts to acquire Susu, and prevented his leaving to observe the local culture. By October 1810, Wenzel only had one pupil remaining, and wrote to London to say he intended a trip to the east to evangelize, and to try to attract more students. His visit to a certain Mungké Bala in mid-October seems to have given him hope, as his wife's girls' school was able to attract more pupils as a result of the visit.³²⁷ Wenzel had gained twelve students by the following

³²⁵ Renner to Sec. 14 February, 1812, Fantimania, CMS/CA1/E2/132; Wilhelm to Sec. 9 February, 1812, Bashia, CMS/CA1/E2/133.

³²⁶ Despite his apparent success, however, Wenzel admits that by relying on the dictionary to try and converse with locals, he as often hears laughter as they give him the word he was trying to use. See Wenzel to Pratt, 2 December, 1809, Kakara, CMS/CA1/E2/25.

³²⁷ Wenzel to Sec. 31 October, 1810, Kakara, CMS/CA1/E2/42 Wenzel to Sec. 1 November, 1810, Kakara, CMS/CA1/E2/43.

spring from whom he not only was learning Susu, to whom he was teaching English. By the end of 1811, Wenzel's school flourished, with one hundred and twenty pupils, and he chose to accept the offer of "Perry's factory" to serve as a larger house within which to teach, which would have put Canofee on equal footing to Bashia with both schools being housed in former factories.³²⁸ However, this offer fell through by the close of the year, with Perry unable to displace his workers, but a neighbouring site was offered by a local leader Munkgé Bache, and Wenzel began building there for a larger school-house.³²⁹

Nylander was initially stationed at Freetown as the chaplain where he had a variety of local children and adults in school. After losing his first wife to illness, he was able to journey to the Bullom Shore as he had wished to for some time, where he established a settlement and school near Yongroo.³³⁰ After he had asked multiple times to be permitted to teach outside of the colony, upon his departure, his school in Freetown was given to tutors sent from England. Nylander was well received by the Bulloms, who appeared pleased at his settling among them, and promised to commit their children to his care for instruction. He commenced his school at Yongroo Pomoh with two boys and two girls liberated and reportedly of the "Congo nation," whom he brought with him from the colony, by permission of the governor.³³¹

After arriving in Sierra Leone in 1811, Klein first journeyed to Canofee, where his wife worked alongside Wenzel, teaching the girls at the school there. The Kleins were then moved to Bramia, where they established the Gambier settlement, believing that they would quickly see a number of interested students. This hope did not manifest itself, as Samuel Walker explains.

As the headman, William Fernandez, had shown so much anxiety for the residence of a missionary in his place, sanguine hopes were entertained that this would prove a valuable Christian station. However, man's calculation was proved defective, for it soon became evident that few scholars could be obtained; and the distance of the settlement

³²⁸ Wenzel to Sec. 14 November, 1811, Freetown, CMS/CA1/E2/107.

³²⁹ Wenzel to Sec. 30 December, 1811, Kakara, CMS/CA1/E2/111.

³³⁰ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 232.

³³¹ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 280.

from any native town rendered the situation very inconvenient, so that, after waiting for a short time, Mr. and Mrs. Klein were induced, by the offer of a building on one of the Isles de Los, which lie off the mouth of the Dembia, to remove thither. Here they remained for six months, and had collected nearly fifty children, when the owner of the premises wanting them for the purposes of trade, gave them notice to quit them.³³²

Despite Walker's generous appraisal of the pupil numbers at the short-lived Îsles de Los school, the Kleins only amassed a student body of twenty boys and fourteen girls – considerably short of the number ascribed. Mrs. Klein primarily taught girls, and her methods were often chided by others for being overly harsh. Reports on the couple emphasize that of the pair, she was very much the more assertive.

The Monitorial School System

In the late eighteenth century, two similar approaches developed almost at the same time, by two disparate educators. Dr. Andrew Bell, an army chaplain in Madras (now Chennai in India), theorized in 1789 that if strong students could be given the responsibility of teaching less capable fellows, both the strong student and the weaker pupil would improve. This method not only saved money, but also in theory would allow a single teacher to supervise many hundreds of students and pupil-teachers.³³³ Bell's idea was similar to that of Joseph Lancaster, a young English Quaker who applied very much the same theory at a school he began in London. The primary difference between Bell and Lancaster was that Bell, as a Church of England priest, strongly espoused the usage of religious teaching within his formal system of education, while Lancaster championed a non-sectarian approach which eschewed the English Catechism. Each method found considerable support, but it was

³³² Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 374.

³³³ Moorman, *A History of the Church in England*, 325.

Bell's system, in what came to be known as the Bell-Lancaster dual-system (also known as the Monitorial System), which was employed by missions under the CMS.³³⁴

Bell's system was also dubbed the “Madras System,” after the location of its development. A primary difference beyond the denomination was that this approach also encouraged extremely large class sizes.

This system rests on the simple principle of tuition by the scholars themselves. It is its distinguishing characteristic that the school, how numerous soever, is taught solely by the pupils of the institution under a single master, who, if able and diligent, could, without difficulty, conduct ten contiguous schools, each consisting of a thousand scholars.³³⁵

The large classes at Freetown must have been the product of both the CMS reliance on the Monitorial system and on the ever-increasing numbers of liberated Africans. The Madras system divided students by their achievements, and each was evaluated in terms of their proficiency at Reading, CIPHERING and Religious rehearsal. Discipline involved detailed descriptions of offences expressed in moral terms. Importantly, Bell's Madras System discouraged the reliance on whips and beatings, or long tedious lessons, which he felt only reduced the efficacy of learning. This is not to suggest that Bell removed corporal punishment from his approach – far from it. But he emphasized a reduction of whippings, suggesting that his method would make flagellation unnecessary due to pupils emulating an exemplary instructor and then modelling their own behaviour after his. Bell favoured imprisonment of students whose behaviour was problematic, writing that “should it be found necessary, from flagrant crimes, or dangerous examples, or with hardened offenders, solitary confinement may be the last resort, as less painful and degrading, and yet more irksome and effectual, than severe flagellation.”³³⁶ From accounts

³³⁴ Moorman, *A History of the Church in England*, 325.

³³⁵ Andrew Bell, *The Madras School: Or, Elements of Tuition: Comprising the Analysis of an Experiment in Education, Made at the Male Asylum, Madras; with Its Facts, Proofs, and Illustrations; to which are Added, Extracts of Sermons Preached at Lambeth; a Sketch of a National Institution for Training Up the Children of the Poor; and a Specimen of the Mode of Religious Instruction at the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea* (London: T. Bensley, 1808), 2.

³³⁶ Bell, *The Madras School*, 12.

by missionaries teaching along the upper Guinea coast, it is interesting to note that this element of the Madras System was rarely applied as Bell advised.

Bell's approach, he believed, would allow an easier and less expensive education, and produce "good scholars, good men, good subjects, and good Christians; in other words, to promote the temporal and spiritual welfare of our pupils." His own analysis of the system required that the teachers be parochial clergymen, and expressly considered the System's use for teaching within colonial environments as a starting-point. Its development in India among what Bell called "half-caste children" demonstrated potential use among the economically disadvantaged in England. Bell arranged schools into classes or forms, and suggested that pupils be "promoted or degraded from place to place, or class to class, according to his proficiency." Students therefore presumably could learn as a group at their own pace, among fellows who had made similar progress.

Each class would be broken into pairs, with a more skilled student seated beside a less skilled, assisting in lessons and generally encouraging greater achievement. Classes also "had an assistant teacher, whose sole business it is to attend his class, to prevent idleness, to instruct and help the tutors in learning their lesson, and teaching their pupils; and to hear the class, as soon as prepared, say their lesson." And overseeing all pupils would be a single student instructor, assisted in turn by what Bell called "ushers," who would "inspect the school, watch over the whole, and give their instructions and assistance wherever wanted, as the agents and ministers." This hierarchy in the Madras System was overseen by the schoolmaster, "whose province it is to direct and conduct the system in all its ramifications, and see the various offices of usher, sub-usher, teachers, assistants, tutors, and pupils carried into effect."³³⁷

³³⁷ Bell, *The Madras School*, 7, 15, 16.

Teaching on the upper Guinea coast necessitated adaptation and innovation from any formal system. Correspondence indicates that as of early 1812, the missionaries both in the Rio Pongo and teaching in the colony were purportedly employing the Lancaster method of formal education as opposed to Madras, and wrote to London to express their hopes that it would produce native born evangelists and teachers in turn.³³⁸ Nylander also apparently employed the Lancaster approach at Yongroo Pomoh as of its growth into 1813, but was concerned that he was not applying the method correctly, writing in May of that year to London for expert advice.³³⁹ In communications from London, Butscher was, by 1813, described as being the CMS Superintendent of Schools in the Colony, and the CMS at this time wholly endorsed and supported the use of the Lancaster System of formal education. This was believed to facilitate fundraising for CMS from interested parties in England.³⁴⁰ Though he accepted official government chaplaincy in early 1813, Butscher wrote in 1814 to inform the Society that the Governor desired a trained schoolmaster, and was intending to use a large colony house for a school on the Lancasterian plan, provided that the CMS staff it.³⁴¹

In 1815, under the Monitorial System, the Bashia school had five teachers, all themselves former pupils, including Sebastien Pierce, George Lancaster, Stephen Caulker, Tenge Damba, and Tala Curtis. Wilhelm used “Gay's Spelling-Book” there, along with having boys read Scripture after which the missionary explained its meaning. The pupils, as with the Madras System, were broken into Classes by academic achievement; there were three such Classes at Bashia.³⁴² Though the Rio Pongo school initially insisted upon English only among the pupils, under Wilhelm (following his replacement of Butscher at Bashia), the students were encouraged to use both Susu and English, in

³³⁸ Renner to Sec., 8 June, 1812, Bashia, CMS/CA1/E3/8.

³³⁹ Nylander to Sec., 12 May, 1813, Bullom Shore, CMS/CA1/E3/79.

³⁴⁰ Sec. To Butscher. 16 August, 1813, London, CMS/CA1/E3/97.

³⁴¹ Butscher to Sec., 1 February, 1814, Sierra Leone, CMS/CA1/E3/115.

³⁴² Wilhelm to Sec, March 2 1814-January 2 1815, CMS/CA1/E4/74A.

order to become better translators and teachers of their fellows. Wilhelm also had his students employ the Catechism, rendering his educational approach considerably closer in religious tenor to that espoused by Bell's Madras System than to the non-sectarian Lancaster method which was at that time employed by CMS.

By 1815, the details of what students were taught at the various CMS schools emphasized prayer and use of the Catechism, but all official correspondence and Bickersteth's own diary continued to suggest that the CMS followed the Lancaster System as opposed to the Madras developed by Bell. Bickersteth wrote in 1816 that "The Colonial Boys' and Girls' Schools are on the plan of the British and Foreign School Society. I was told that the Madras system would not answer in those schools, from the divided state of religious opinions in the colony."³⁴³ According to Arthur Porter's later examination of mission schools, the usual approach employed was that developed by Bell, not Lancaster, despite missionaries' own documents.³⁴⁴ And in the 1819 *Royal Gazette*, all schools in Sierra Leone listed are described as employing the "Madras, or Dr. Bell's" system.³⁴⁵ Though all documents and analysis support the CMS in having brought the Monitorial System to the upper Guinea coast, there is clearly some ambiguity as to which method was employed on the ground.

Rapprochement and Accommodation, 1816

Edward Bickersteth's report in 1816 corresponded to the pressures which the Colony had been placing for some time on the CMS missionaries. As Bruce Mouser explains:

By nearly all accounts, the decision to abandon the Rio Pongo and to instead focus CMS attention on Freetown was both reasonable and amicable, reached by prudent and honorable men. Those reasons may have applied well to the 1816-17 period, but pressures from Freetown and its administrators to curtail, delay, restrict or outright

³⁴³ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 397.

³⁴⁴ Porter, "Religious Affiliation in Freetown," 6.

³⁴⁵ *The Royal Gazette or Sierra Leone Advertiser*, March 6, 1819, Freetown, CMS/CA1/E7/111.

halt missionary activities in Susu Country dated to at least two decades earlier and only a few years after the earliest settlers had arrived from England and Nova Scotia/Jamaica.³⁴⁶

In 1816, a crisis point had been reached for the missionaries along the Rio Pongo. Local headmen began to remove their sons from the school under the steady pressure of slave traders who suspected the missionaries at Bashia to be in collusion with the continuing efforts at Freetown to suppress the trade. Upon Wilhelm's departure from Canoffee, Renner had taken over, but a number of children died that year of disease, causing the locals to suspect some problem with Renner, and leading to the removal of twenty-five children. This tension erupted after an English war ship intercepted an American slaving vessel on the river, causing the local people to protest, as their economic wellbeing was dependent upon the trade. In the wake of this event, matters escalated into January of 1817, with suspicion and then threats of violence offered against Wilhelm and Renner, until on February 13, 1817, they were forced to flee the Bashia settlement.³⁴⁷ Though they returned after debate in Freetown, by 1818 it was finally decided to abandon Rio Pongo altogether, and transfer property and approximately sixty school-children to Sierra Leone.³⁴⁸

At Yongroo Pomoh, Nylander's declining health forced him to rely increasingly on the assistance of Stephen Caulker, who had been assigned to him by Bickersteth as an aide.³⁴⁹ Though he made progress on his translations of the Bullom language, Nylander had seen little success in

³⁴⁶ As Bruce Mouser has elaborated, the agreement between Governor MacCarthy and Bickersteth was fueled by MacCarthy's passion for educational reform at Freetown, the problems ongoing along the Rio Pongo, and Bickersteth's report. See Mouser, "Origins of Church Missionary Society Accommodation," 376.

³⁴⁷ Wilhelm, "Journal," in Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 478. Walker's volume is invaluable in its transcriptions of journals and letters which were in presumably better condition when he transcribed them, and his synopsis and narrative approach to ongoing events in the region offers a contextual aide when used in tandem with archival documents.

³⁴⁸ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 515.

³⁴⁹ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 483. Bickersteth appointed various children to each missionary as ushers, choosing from the Bashia pupils primarily. Walker gives the transcription from Bickersteth's journal as follows, assigning "Jacob Renner" to Canoffee, "Emanuel Anthony" to Kapparoo, "Stephen Caulker" to Yongroo Pomoh, "John Rhodes" to the Christian Institution (later Leicester Mountain), "James Curtis" to Kiskey Town, and "George Lancaster" to Regent's Town. See Bickersteth, "Journal," in Walker, *Missions in West Africa*, 461.

conversions among the people at Yongroo Pomoh, reporting the unceasing primacy of Poro beliefs. Worse, slavers began to operate around Yongroo, and Nylander found himself under similar tensions to those faced along the Rio Pongo. Rather than let matters progress as they had at Bashia and Canofee, The CMS abandoned Yongroo Pomoh in the face of increasing hostility from the local people. At Goree as well, the prospering school was reportedly encountering difficulties. Treaties restored Goree to the French, and Hughes immediately found as of 1817 that his students had diminished from over 100 to only 28, and were decreasing steadily as parents shifted their interest in their children learning English, to wishing them to be taught in French. The option of returning to Sierra Leone was given to Hughes, but, fearing that if he took the offer, his wife would again become ill, he instead sailed back to England.

The *Washington Theological Repertory* reports in its 1819 survey of mission schools in Freetown the following information for each town in the colony, consistently indicating that the inhabitants are liberated Africans.

Table 2: Survey of Mission Schools 1819.

Town	Inhabitants	Schoolmaster(s)	Pupils
Charlotte	205	Christopher and Mrs. Taylor	88
Leopold	308	Malchior Renner, Minister (CMS) William Allen, native assistant	103 scholars (50 mechanics)
Regent's Town	1177	Minister, W.A.B. Johnson. Native teachers, William Tamba, William Davis, David Noah.	
Gloucester	356	Henry During, Minister (CMS) Mrs. During, schoolmistress	202

Leicester Mountain	Village: 59	Godfrey Wilhelm, Minister, (CMS) George S. Bell[sic], schoolmaster, John Maxwell, native usher	“nearly thirty”
Wilberforce	203	Henry Charles Decker, Minister	55
Kent	200	Wilhelm Randle, superintendent	“nearly 70”

Source: *The Washington Theological Repertory Conducted by Clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church for the Year Commencing August 1819, Vol. 1* (Washington: Davis and Force, 1819), 328-330.

The report indicates under “Leopold” that “The negroes are advancing in civilization. Mr. Renner has baptized many of them. As he has been called to officiate in Freetown till the chaplains arrive, during his absence from Leopold, morning and evening worship and the Sunday service are carried on by William Allen, a native, who received some education in England, under the patronage of the African Institution.”³⁵⁰ For Regent’s Town, it offers further details concerning the missionaries and Africans there.

Mr. Johnson having found it necessary as has been stated, to accompany Mrs. Johnson to England, the best provision was made for the care of his flock, during his absence that circumstances would admit. Mr. Bull having taken charge of the seminary at Leicester Mountain, Mr. Cates had removed, as was supposed, to Regent’s Town, to assist Mr. Johnson; and Mr. and Mrs. Morgan, having been relieved in the schools at Freetown by the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Jesty, were associated with Mr. Cates in the care of Regent’s Town, during the absence of Mr. and Mrs. Johnson – Mr. Wilhelm undertaking to render the necessary ministerial service, from Leicester Mountain. William Tamba, William Davis, and David Noah are commissioners, who have given satisfactory evidence of sincere piety, and of competent talents to render them fit teachers of their countrymen... for in this negro town are assembled, by the singular providence of God, converts to the faith of Christ, even from the banks of the unexplored Niger, and not less than twenty different African tongues are spoken by men anxious that their countrymen should be brought to the knowledge of the Saviour!³⁵¹

³⁵⁰*Washington Repertory*, 328.

³⁵¹*Washington Repertory*, 329.

Under the section for “Gloucester,” the Report notes that “Not three years since, this place was a wilderness. Nearly the whole of its present African Inhabitants have, since that period, been rescued from the holds of slave ships.”³⁵² Under Leicester Mountain’s section, the *Repertory*’s text indicates the demand for teachers, writing that “the Committee are very anxious to obtain the services of some able clergymen, who would devote themselves to the preparation of these youths, under the blessing of God, to become benefactors and teachers for their countrymen.” The entry for “Wilberforce” notes that “on Saturday evenings, a meeting for religious edification is held; when about fifty Congo and seventy Cosso people attend.” Clearly by this time, not only had the CMS school system largely turned to educating liberated Africans, it was employing African teachers educated under its own system to bolster the ranks of its educators.

Following the consolidation of CMS schools into the settlements which MacCarthy had envisioned upon his taking charge of Freetown, the colonial approach to education continued to emphasize a close link between CMS and the authorities. Letters from the Liberated Africans Department to London clearly indicate the distribution of children into CMS schools by the mid-1820s, and the Reverend William Betts, by then Freetown’s chaplain, was given instructions concerning the hours during which pupils could be taught depending on their age, with a brief acknowledgement that if Betts found the instructions problematic, he could officially complain using a formal request.³⁵³ Thus, only twenty years after the founding of Bashia along Rio Pongo, the CMS teachers had been incorporated into an over-riding strategy of colonial education, obedient to the dictates of official policies.

³⁵² *Washington Repertory*, 330.

³⁵³ Governor to Rev. William Betts, 1826, Sierra Leone, CMS/CA1/E8/15.

Chapter 4

The CMS Schools 1806-1819

In chapter four, the schools are analyzed in individual detail, as are the schoolmasters whose own cultural biases influenced their interactions with one another and with their students. This analysis offers insight into how the demographics of the region changed over time, as seen in the composition of each school, demonstrating the transformations taking place. Examination of the missionaries themselves permits a closer interrogation of the data upon which this study relies; because they were from such culturally distinct regions within Europe as opposed to England, the biases which they brought to Africa must be established. The first missionaries who acted on behalf of the CMS were German-speaking Lutherans; it was only in 1815 that CMS was able to attract an English-born schoolmaster, Robert Hughes, to work in Africa.³⁵⁴ The early CMS missionaries therefore brought with them a set of cultural values which were unlike those of their governing body in London. They were largely escaping the onset of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe, and the ongoing turmoil which encompassed their respective birthplaces. The region from which these men were originating was a complex and deeply divided place, and this chapter unpacks the cultural legacies each of the early missionaries brought with him to Sierra Leone. These biases would undeniably have resounded to a greater or lesser degree with the students placed in the care of each man, and the civilizing mission of CMS was influenced by how each missionary approached his surroundings. Though their pietist Lutheranism shared some common elements with the evangelical sect of the CMS, these missionaries brought a variety of different perspectives to their work on the upper Guinea coast. The second half of

³⁵⁴ Throughout this project's study period, the CMS was unable to find ordained, English-born Anglican missionaries to serve in Africa. The only Englishmen whom the CMS sent to Africa at this time were schoolmasters, most of whom returned home after relatively short periods of service.

this chapter analyzes the data from the pupil lists which these missionaries sent to London on a school by school basis. The first two missions were established along the Rio Pongo at Bashia and Canoffee as a result of accommodations with local traders, as was the short-lived school at the Îsles de Los, while later outlying settlements at Yongroo Pomoh or at Kapparoo were founded with the assistance of nearby African elites. Following the 1816 accommodation of the CMS representative Edward Bickersteth with Freetown's Governor MacCarthy, the outlying schools were closed and their missionaries relocated to the colony to teach the steadily increasing numbers of Liberated Africans there. The first such school at Leicester Mountain which was established prior to the 1816 retrenchment oversaw many hundreds of students, but upon the centralization of missionaries, its pupils were redistributed among a number of schools situated in Freetown, such as at Kissy, Charlotte, and Gloucester Towns. The following analysis addresses the enrollment of the various missions both prior to and following the 1816 accommodation, and the different compositions of the student body for each school.

Figure 3: Map of the Upper Guinea Coast



Source: Samuel Abraham Walker, *Missions in Western Africa, among the Soosos, Bulloms, &c: being the first undertaken by the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, Volume 1* (Dublin: William Curry, Jun. And Company, 1845), frontispiece.

The Trajectories of the Missionaries

The missionaries who worked in Sierra Leone prior to Bickersteth's 1816 survey were more likely to die than not, and the few who survived were by all accounts complex and nuanced

individuals. With Hartwig vilified as a slave trader by 1807,³⁵⁵ and the rest described in contemptuous terms by the colonial authorities, perhaps the later efforts at revisionism by Moorman are not inexplicable. Chronologically, the missionaries sent to the upper Guinea coast were as follows (the use of bold here indicates missionaries who survived long enough to write letters and journals home upon reaching Sierra Leone, and Italics indicate missionaries who survived or withdrew from service willingly):

Malchior Renner – arrived 1804, died 1821 in Sierra Leone
Peter Hartwig – arrived 1804, connection dissolved in 1807 due to participation in slave trade, rejoined in 1814, died in 1815 in Sierra Leone
Gustavus Reinhold Nylander – arrived 1806, died 1825 in Sierra Leone
Leopold Butscher – arrived 1806, died 1817 in Sierra Leone
Johann Gottfried Prasse – arrived 1806, died 1809 in Sierra Leone
Charles Frederic Christian Wenzel – arrived 1809, died 1818 in Sierra Leone
John Charles Barneth – arrived 1809, died 1810 in Sierra Leone
John Godfrey Wilhelm – arrived 1811, died 1834 in Sierra Leone
Jonathan Solomon Klein – arrived 1811, connection dissolved 1821
John Quast – Ship arrived in 1812, died an hour before arrival.
Conrad Henry Meissner – arrived 1812, died 1814 in Sierra Leone
Herman Meyer – arrived 1812, died 1813 in Sierra Leone
John Christopher Sperrhacken – arrived 1815, died 1815 in Sierra Leone
Robert Hughes – arrived 1815, dissolved connection 1818
John Henry Schulze – arrived 1815, died 1815 in Sierra Leone
William Augustin Bernard Johnson – arrived 1816, died at sea 1823
Henry During – arrived 1816, lost at sea 1823
Christopher Jost – arrived 1816, died 1816 in Sierra Leone
John Horton – arrived 1816, withdrew from service 1818 in Sierra Leone
John Brereton Cates – arrived 1817, died 1819 in Sierra Leone
David Brennand – arrived 1817, died 1817 in Sierra Leone
Charles Henry Decker – arrived 1817, withdrew from service 1822 in Sierra Leone
George Stringer Bull – arrived 1818, returned to England 1820
Christopher Taylor – arrived 1818, died at sea 1825
Thomas Jesty – arrived 1819, died at sea 1820
Henry Barrett – arrived 1819, died 1819 in Sierra Leone³⁵⁶

³⁵⁵ As Bruce Mouser has eloquently argued, the veracity of this accusation is highly questionable. No evidence exists to prove that Hartwig was engaged in the slave trade, and the collective memory of Hartwig seems to have been an agreed-upon consensus among missionaries who were feeling threatened by upheavals in the colonial leadership by 1807. Mouser, *The Case of Reverend Peter Hartwig: Slave trader or misunderstood idealist? Clash of Church Missionary Society/Imperial Objectives in Sierra Leone, 1804-1815* (Madison: African Studies Program, 2003).

³⁵⁶ Church Missionary Society, *Register of Missionaries List I*, 1-11.

The first group of missionaries, who hailed from what would become Germany, Estonia and Poland, must be contextualized further as individuals emerging from central continental regions which were fragmented and in turmoil. Each man was born in a different region of the former medieval kingdoms of northeastern Europe; accordingly, these missionaries brought pre-existing cultural tensions with them to the upper Guinea coast. They also emerged from a turbulent socio-political landscape, within which various new philosophical ideals were rapidly spreading. As Johann Reusch has noted, German-speaking intellectuals in the late eighteenth century were experiencing an obsession with the trope of the “noble savage.”³⁵⁷ Various student associations in late eighteenth century German-speaking cities embraced this fantasy, idealizing life in distant regions.³⁵⁸ Though they faced severe penalties from increasingly authoritarian ruling bodies afraid of a revolution (similar to that which France had undergone), their ideas valorized a departure from a Europe they denounced as “corrupt.” Whether those romantic ideologies influenced the decision of the missionaries who went to the upper Guinea coast on behalf of the CMS is impossible to say, but the popularity of the idea in late eighteenth century German literature, poetry, philosophy and even linguistics must be noted. It is plausible that the various pressures which acted upon the missionaries acted in tandem; the onset of the first Napoleonic War, the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire, and the simultaneous philosophical idea that a better life could be found in tropical regions beyond Europe may have all acted in concert with evangelical zeal for these men.

³⁵⁷ Reusch further explains how the Age of Reason posed serious problems with the idea of colonial conquest over lands and resources which necessitated the denial of human status for the original owners of those territories. A popular trend among German thinkers was a fascination with traveller accounts and amateur ethnographies, informing even Emmanuel Kant’s early ideas of race. See Johann J.K. Reusch, “Germans as Noble Savages and Castaways: Alter Egos and Alterity in German Collective Consciousness during the Long Eighteenth Century,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42, 1 (2008): 92-93.

³⁵⁸ As Reusch points out, the etymology of the German words used for the noble savage differ from English or French’s “savage/sauvage,” which indicate cruelty or bestial nature. As he states, “only *Guter* or *Nobler Wilder* [good or noble Wild Man/Woman] or *Eingeborener* [aboriginal or native] exists. “Wild” in German, as in English, denotes untamed, a term charged with admiration and awe - often steeped in mythology - that is deliberately absent from the vocabulary of English and French colonial terminology characterizing native peoples.” Reusch, “Germans as Noble Savages,” 91. Moreover, these ideas influenced a celebration of German as a language, and heralded an ideological return to Germanic “tribal” roots.

Figure 4: Germany c. 1803



Source: William R. Shepherd, *The Historical Atlas* (New York: Henry Holt, 1926).

The CMS missionaries ranged from what had once been Swabia (situated near Switzerland and Bavaria), to as far north and east as Revel, now the capital of modern Estonia. Each of these men was giving up his regional vernacular to a large degree, and preaching the gospel under the auspices of a

variant subset of Protestantism. In her examination of Hartwig, Nancy Mouser details the possible trauma this missionary would have experienced in being so separated from his native Prussian language and culture.³⁵⁹ But Hartwig was hardly the only one undergoing this pressure; each of the missionaries spoke in German initially,³⁶⁰ and language and dialectal differences must have informed regionally-based divisions between the men.³⁶¹ The parts of Europe from which these first representatives of the CMS originated had undergone radical social and political changes during the eighteenth century; the rapid expansion of Prussia and the dying throes of the Holy Roman Empire transformed national boundaries, affected the practice of Christianity, and imposed languages through conquest. Whether a missionary spoke Swabian German or Silesian German, regional dialects would have shaped his cultural identity and how he interacted with his fellow CMS missionaries.³⁶² As Eugene Stock noted in his 1899 history of the CMS, the process of acquiring English was not an easy one for the Lutheran missionaries, adding another complexity to the linguistic picture for Renner, Hartwig, and their fellows. English remained a difficulty for each man in Sierra Leone, and complaints were often made about their accents when they gave sermons, while letters home acknowledge each man's respective concerns about his grasp of the language spoken in Freetown.

³⁵⁹ Nancy Fox Mouser, "Peter Hartwig, 1804-1808," 263-302

³⁶⁰ No records show whether the German they spoke was a Prussian dialect common to Berlin, where most studied at seminary, or whether they adopted New High German in common speech.

³⁶¹ S. W. Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana; or A Comparative Vocabulary of Nearly Three Hundred Words and Phrases in more than One Hundred Distinct African Languages* (London: Church Missionary House, 1854), 5. As Koelle notes in passing, the regional identities in Africa may be compared to Germany, where, as he states, "the Wurtembergerians or Bavarians would never suffer themselves to be called Prussians."

³⁶² Prior to the nationalist efforts in later nineteenth century Europe to impose selected dialects of languages as homogenous identifiers, there were many disparate variations in linguistic dialects, each serving as a cultural marker. See Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 14-15, 21, 35, 40-42, 47-50. Hobsbawm major challenges in comprehension during his examination of German as a language, explaining that "To this day native speakers of German from, say, Kiel, may have the greatest difficulty in understanding even educated Swiss Germans speaking the plainly German dialect which is their usual means of oral communication." See Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*, 52. See also Stephen Barbour and Patrick Stevenson, *Variation in German: A Critical Approach to German Sociolinguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 5, 75-78, 87-89.

Figure 5: Europe c. 1800 showing origins of CMS missionaries



Source: Treharne et al., *Muir's Historical Atlas, Ancient and Classical*. (London: George Phillip and Son, 1962).

The Swabian Missionaries: Malchior Renner

Renner's official birthplace, as noted in the CMS documents, Württemberg, was a duchy in what is now southwestern Germany's Baden-Württemberg state. Traditionally, the region's capital was Stuttgart. The CMS documents concerning Renner make no greater differentiation for him than offering this large region for his birthplace. Samuel Walker describes him as "a German, a native of the

Duchy of Wirtemberg, and about thirty years of age.”³⁶³ Eugene Stock gives the same general information, providing no data on Renner’s city of birth. Like Walker, Stock describes Renner as originating in “the Duchy of Wurtemberg,”³⁶⁴ and offers nothing more concerning his origins. Renner’s letters to London shed light on his home village, Grodenheim, in his 1806 letter to Pratt.³⁶⁵ No official CMS documents provide this location for Renner’s origin, however, and it is no longer extant on modern maps, suggesting that it was demolished over the course of the conflicts in central Europe.

Differences existed in the nineteenth century between Wurtemberg and its capital Stuttgart, including different rules of measurement and distance.³⁶⁶ The Duchy was not at all a culturally homogenous entity, making an appreciation of differences within its borders important in situating Renner. The John Murray handbook for travellers published throughout the nineteenth century notes that, linguistically,

The people of Würtemberg use in familiar conversation a patois highly offensive to the cultivated German, called Suabian. In different localities this patois is more striking than in others, in some being almost unintelligible. English persons settling for a time in Germany for the purpose of acquiring a correct knowledge and the pure accent of the German language, should not allow themselves to be induced... to select a Würtemberg locality for their residence.³⁶⁷

This “Suabian” dialect is clearly what is known as *Schwäbisch*, or Swabian German. It was the regional dialect unique to what was formerly known as Swabia in the medieval period.³⁶⁸ Würtemberg

³⁶³ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 190.

³⁶⁴ Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, 82-83.

³⁶⁵ Renner refers to it being a small village, ten miles from Ulm district. Renner to Pratt. Freetown, 1806, CMS/CA1/E1/84A. It does not appear on modern maps.

³⁶⁶ John Murray Ltd, *Handbook for Travellers in Southern Germany: Being a Guide to Würtemberg, Bavaria, Austria, Tyrol, Salzburg, Styria, &c., the Austrian and Bavarian Alps, and the Danube from Ulm to the Black Sea 10th edition* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1867), 3.

³⁶⁷ Murray, *Handbook for Travellers*, 5.

³⁶⁸ Swabia exists as a separate regional identity even today. It has been compared to Scotland in relation to England in terms of its unique character, language, and traditions. This distinct cultural identity may have factored considerably in establishing the alliances and friendships among the German-speaking missionaries in Sierra Leone.

had a tumultuous history in the generation before Renner, with a powerful ruler and parliament as well as ecclesiastical officials all vying for power. In the mid to late eighteenth century Württemberg's large size allowed its survival despite the ongoing wars between French and Austrian armies during the first of the Napoleonic wars, and it remained a part of the Holy Roman Empire until Napoleon abolished the Empire in 1806.³⁶⁹ In the 1790s, the town of Ulm, 10 miles from Renner's village of Grodenheim, became part of a larger trend of tradespeople and peasant revolts which were occurring throughout the region, though in this instance, tradesmen influenced by French revolutionary thought chose to rise up.³⁷⁰ This ideological influence of French concepts can only have been harsh in hindsight when Napoleon's armies defeated Austria at the Battle of Ulm over three days in October 1805, and suppressed it during the course of the Napoleonic War.³⁷¹ This speaks eloquently to Renner's letters home and concern over Grodenheim's survival. Renner's Swabian cultural heritage would have immediately set him apart from Hartwig, and his rural origins may have acted as a further divisive factor which influenced the pair's later hostility.

Once he had arrived in West Africa, Renner's main interest was seeking out the hinterland and its people expressly for the purposes of evangelization. This, rather than teaching or translation, informed his trajectory in Sierra Leone. Accounts transcribed by Walker suggest that, having arrived in the Rio Pongo, Renner befriended the local men there, and strove for the duration of his time on the

³⁶⁹ T.J. Reed, "Coming of Age in Prussia and Swabia: Kant, Schiller, and the Duke," *The Modern Language Review* 86, 3 (1991): 617. During the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) Karl Eugene, Wurtemberg's Duke, sided against Prussia, and approached his subjects as an absolutist ruler despite their pre-existing political organization. After nearly a decade of extravagant spending funded by the sale of public offices, in 1770, the Holy Roman Emperor was forced to intervene. See Peter H. Wilson, *War, State and Society in Württemberg, 1677-1793* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 251; The duchy was largely dysfunctional in the 18th century, with political tensions between village council-elected delegates in parliament who seldom met, two executive councils, the privy council, and the Duke himself. Between 1737 and 1763 no parliamentary meetings were convened, followed by a seven-year plenary session with interruptions. See Helen P. Liebel-Weckowicz, "The Revolt of the Wuerttemberg Estates, 1764-1770," *Man and Nature / L'homme et la nature* 2, (1984): 108-109.

³⁷⁰ David Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century: A History of Germany, 1780-1918*, 2nd Ed (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003 [1997]), 51.

³⁷¹ The battle was a strategic triumph for France, costing Austria approximately 60,000 troops and 30 generals, with a tally of 10,000 killed, while Napoleon's army faced few casualties and an easy victory.

river to do his duty primarily as a preacher. From the letters and journals written in the early years of the CMS in Sierra Leone, it seems that Renner, like the others, was a man who suffered from his distance from the familiar, albeit a distance he had chosen. For the first few years, he clearly was frustrated by being effectively forced to remain within the colony by the officials there and by his comrade's frequent journeys into the interior. Described as overbearing and harsh, he nonetheless impressed the people around Bashia once he departed Freetown, with the first pupil at the school, Bangu, recorded by Wilhelm much later as being willing to risk his own life in defence of Renner's. Butscher's letter also suggests that much of Renner's previous harshness may have been due to his confinement in the colony and the unlikelihood of his exploring and evangelizing as he wished to.³⁷² He clearly was drawn by religious zeal as opposed to philology or curiosity about the African world based on his activities once he was stationed at Bashia. His recording of students is brief at best, and he published no translations, unlike many of his fellows. Renner seems to have focused on working with his parishioners, and seeking out new converts to a greater degree than many of the other German speakers of the CMS.

Leopold Butscher

Identified in the CMS documentation as hailing from “Swabia,” Butscher’s home region overlapped Renner’s to some degree, encompassing a broad portion of central Europe. However, Swabia no longer existed as a distinct political entity by Butscher’s time, though it had been one of the central duchies of the medieval German kingdom. It was replaced by the Swabian Imperial Circle in 1512, which included 88 territories at its height, though only the Duchy of Württemberg, the Margraviate of Baden, and the Bishopric of Augsburg were of real importance. Swabian Austria, the

³⁷² Butscher to Pratt. June 30, 1807, Bashia, CMS/CA1/E1/108.

home region of the Habsburg family, was not included in this Circle.³⁷³ Walker gives Butscher's birthplace as "Ueberlingen, on the Bodensee, in Swabia."³⁷⁴ Uberlingen is situated almost on the border between modern Germany and Switzerland. Prior to 1803, Uberlingen was a Free Imperial City, possessing an amount of autonomy, and ruling itself, as well as representing itself in the Imperial Diet and answering only to the Emperor. The *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss* of 1803, the last significant law of the Holy Roman Empire before its dissolution, redistributed territorial sovereignty between German and French rulers in compensation for major land losses during the French Revolution.³⁷⁵ It abolished Uberlingen's status and it was absorbed into the Margraviate of Baden three years before Butscher's arrival in Sierra Leone.

Butscher's work at Bashia alongside Renner may well have been facilitated by the common regional dialect both men would have possessed. Uberlingen's position in former Swabia, and Butscher's categorization as Swabian (as opposed to any connection with Baden) suggests that he self-identified as Swabian regionally, which would have lent itself to the Swabian German which rural Württemberg also used.³⁷⁶

Jonathan Solomon Klein

Like Renner and Butscher, Klein's stated birthplace lay in the modern Baden-Württemberg region of Germany. Unlike Renner, who was similarly from the duchy of Württemberg but hailed from

³⁷³ Although the name Swabia continued beyond the replacement of the kingdom with the Imperial Circle, as may be seen in the religious estates. The Swabian prelates were a continuous force into the mid-seventeenth century. See Armgard von Reden-Dohna, "Problems of Small Estates of the Empire: The Example of the Swabian Imperial Prelates," *The Journal of Modern History* 68 Supplement: *Politics and Society in the Holy Roman Empire, 1500-1806* (1986): S78.

³⁷⁴ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 211.

³⁷⁵ Alfons Semler, *Überlingen: Bilder aus der Geschichte einer kleinen Reichsstadt* (Uberlingen: Oberbadische Verlag, 1949), 161.

³⁷⁶ Swabian German varies considerably even within the regions of former Swabia within which it is spoken. It is reportedly difficult even today for speakers of Standard German to comprehend, and the accent is notably thicker in the countryside than even in Stuttgart, where a "standard" form is used. It is categorized as an Alemmanic dialect of Upper German. It may be further subdivided into South-East Swabian, West Swabian, and Central Swabian. See Cecil Arthur M. Noble, *Modern German Dialects* (New York: Peter Lang, 1983), 62-64, 85.

a small village, Klein came from the urban capital of the duchy, Stuttgart. Importantly, in the wake of the German Mediatisation which attempted to rebalance territorial losses and gains between the German states and France, Stuttgart was made the capital of the Electorate of Württemberg, and when Napoleon broke apart the Holy Roman Empire, it became the capital of the Kingdom of Württemberg.

Stuttgart possessed a rising importance regionally from the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries. It was the seat of the supreme courts of the kingdom, and was remarked upon for its beauty and the elegance of its various buildings, including palaces, churches and the opera.³⁷⁷ As opposed to his fellow missionaries' more modest origins, Klein's home therefore was by all accounts an important urban center for the region. Whether this sparked tensions among the others is difficult to know, as Klein's journals relate nothing substantial about personal relationships.

Each of these three men originated in the same approximate region of modern Germany. But differences in their birthplaces may have influenced their interpersonal interactions once in Africa. Renner and Butscher shared a Swabian cultural identity in all probability, and their time together at Bashia demonstrates a good working relationship by all accounts.³⁷⁸ All told, they founded the settlement together, and worked there for six years without any complaints being lodged by one against the other, in stark contrast to the pugilistic relationship which had marred Renner and Hartwig's time together.³⁷⁹ Klein quite likely also spoke Swabian, though his dialect would have been the Swabian spoken in Stuttgart as opposed to that spoken in the countryside, which both Butscher

³⁷⁷ M. Malte-Brun, *Universal Geography, or a Description of All the Parts of the World on a New Plan, According to the Great Natural Divisions of the Globe; Accompanied with Analytical, Synoptical, and Elementary Tables. Vol VII Containing the Description of Prussia, Germany Switzerland, and Italy* (Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1829), 335. Malte-Brun describes a tremendous library of 20,000 volumes and more, a museum of arts, an academy of paintings, and a botanical garden. The impression offered by this nineteenth century handbook is one of erudition and privilege.

³⁷⁸ There were tensions which arose toward the latter years of the outlying missions, with the missionaries writing to London to complain about one another. This does not change the dispersal of missionaries, which seems to have followed linguistic lines; those who shared the Swabian dialect all worked at Bashia, though Klein moved around after his period there, while Wenzel and Nylander each worked alone in their respective missions. Neither spoke Swabian or shared that cultural identity, which argues for unofficial alliances having formed among the German-speaking missionaries.

³⁷⁹ Nylander to Pratt, 27 January, 1807, Sierra Leone, CMS/CA1/E1/94; CMS/CA1/E1/108. After Butscher's return from England and reassignment to Freetown, matters seem to have grown more tense.

and Renner shared by their regional origins well to the south of the capital. Klein was a less popular missionary, though his problems stemmed more from issues others had with his English wife's behaviour by all accounts. He did not stay long on the Rio Pongo, and interacted more with Wenzel, Wilhelm and Nylander than with Butscher and Renner.

The Strasbourg Missionary: John Godfrey Wilhelm

Wilhelm's cultural identity is considerably complicated by the historically problematic nature of his homeland, Alsace. He was born in the capital of Strasbourg, which had been a Free Imperial City much like Uberlingen, but lost that status and was forcibly annexed by France during the French Revolution. Strasbourg suffered from severe repression of any objects of religion during this period in the 1790s, with churches, cloisters and even the cathedral considered to be against the revolutionary principles of equality.

More broadly, Alsace as a distinct region on France's eastern border, has always been an issue both for France and for Germany. Founded by Germanic peoples, the region's acquisition under Louis XIV in the late seventeenth century presented a new French territory which was fundamentally at odds with traditional France. As David Bell has explained, Alsace and similar lands claimed by France "were alien to France in their history, social structure, government, patterns of trade – even in their language and religion."³⁸⁰ He goes on to note the characteristics of Alsatians, including – and importantly in light of how well Wilhelm fit into Bashia – their language. Bell explains that even "in 1789, nearly all Alsatians of native stock still grew up speaking a Swabian German dialect." That Wilhelm was able to join the others who most likely shared that dialect and that they worked so well

³⁸⁰ See David A. Bell, "Nation-Building and Cultural Particularism in Eighteenth-Century France: The Case of Alsace," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 21, 4 (1988):472.

together seems no accident.³⁸¹

Historically, Strasbourg was a city of considerable importance to the German-speaking world. Many of the city's luminaries had shaped the German literary circles, and much of the celebration of German cultural influence on the city dwelled upon its traditions and historical importance. Men like Lenz, Goethe, Herder and others present in the city also dismissed both the French language and its educational system. They wrote – Lenz most vehemently – of the importance of German dialects, and of the need to preserve their purity against other tongues (such as French).³⁸² In its religion, Alsace remained independent from its French rulers' Catholic beliefs. Part of Strasbourg's agreement with France stipulated that Protestantism was to be protected, which was largely the case.³⁸³

Unlike Lorraine, with which it was united under French rule, Alsace historically straddled German and French cultural influences while maintaining its own neutrality to a large degree. Wilhelm clearly identified as culturally German by both his name and his preferred native language, and his accommodation at Bashia as Butscher's replacement suggests that he shared the linguistic identity which seems to have become part of that settlement. Like Butscher, Wilhelm was celebrated as a teacher, and his detailed student records emphasize that aspect of his nature, but he is often

³⁸¹ Bell analyzes proof from the late eighteenth century in Alsace to determine whether the myriad royal French edicts concerning the imposition of French on the people of the region was successful. He explains that while there was a rise in French literature, for example, contemporary writers were increasingly celebrating and valorizing "German national spirit." This celebration of all things German took place most notably in Strassbourg itself: The circle was small, but its members occupied key positions in the publishing world, the pulpit, the Protestant University, and Strasbourg's ruling oligarchy, and hence exercised a tremendous influence over Alsatian public opinion." Bell, "The Case of Alsace," 476; Maurice Wilkinson, "The Problem of Alsace," *The Scottish Historical Review* 21, 81 (1923): 32-34.

³⁸² Bell, "The Case of Alsace," 480-481. Ironically to the views of men like Lenz, who were not themselves natives of Alsace, the region had never been wholly German OR French; more fully known as Alsace-Lorraine, the region was a divided one for over a thousand years. Traditionally, Lorraine, according to T.B. Rudmose-Brown, was an independent state generally facing a history of French aggression. Alsace, however, had indeed been German until the end of the 13th century, when a number of the cities won their independence. Strassbourg was a Free Imperial city along with eleven others, while southern Alsace was held by the House of Habsburg until 1619. Only after ongoing French efforts to claim the free cities did Alsace finally lose its independence in 1697, when Strassbourg finally capitulated. As Rudmose-Brown explains, "Thus in Alsace also there is a tradition of independence, but, here, of very democratic and local independence, wrested from German rule, and France is the aggressor that put an end to this independence." See T. B. Rudmose-Brown, "Alsace-Lorraine: A Problem of Nationality," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 4, 15 (1915): 370-371.

³⁸³ Edmond Vermeil, "Religion and Politics in Alsace," *Foreign Affairs* 10, 2 (1932): 251. Vermeil also dwells on language, emphasizing resistance by Alsatian clergy to French after the region was claimed by France.

described as working on translations and dictionaries, suggesting that even more than his fellows at Bashia, his priorities were to his teaching, his linguistic efforts, and then his evangelization.

The Northern Missionaries: Peter Hartwig

Bruce and Nancy Mouser have written compellingly about Peter Hartwig, who can be described as one of the isolated northern German missionaries, and how his frustration at the contradictions of the new mission eventually led to his estrangement from Colony and CMS together.³⁸⁴ A common element shared by Nancy Mouser's analysis and in the CMS documents is the volatile relationship between Malchior Renner and Peter Hartwig. These problems may have been due not only to the influences traced by Mouser once the missionaries arrived in Africa, but may have had some cultural origins. Of all the missionaries sent to Freetown in the first decade of the 1800's, Hartwig alone is described as originating from Prussia. Only by 1815 and the recruitment of John Henry Schulze did the Society find another missionary "of Prussia."

The problems and potential animosities emerging from Hartwig's Prussian heritage are no small matter. During the latter half of the eighteenth century, Prussia had rapidly begun to make itself known as a major political force in Europe. The kingdom's rulers had seized upon various pretexts to launch into wars of territorial expansion, and indeed by the mid-nineteenth century, Prussia's aggression proved the eventual cause of German unification. Prussia was considered a threat by many of the southern German states, and Hartwig's Prussian cultural identity may have proven a considerable stumbling block in his tumultuous relationship with Renner given the birthplaces of each man. Along with Austria, by 1800 Prussia was one of the two most powerful German-speaking states, and had claimed large swathes of territory along the Baltic coastline, into modern Poland, and was

³⁸⁴ Mouser, *The Case of Reverend Peter Hartwig; The Reverend Peter Hartwig 1804-1815: A Sourcebook of Correspondence*; Nancy Fox Mouser, "Peter Hartwig, 1804-1808," 263-302.

sharing a tense border with Russia. In 1792, the beginnings of the Napoleonic War pitted the French against Prussia at Valmy, and against the Austrians at Jemappes. Prussia's conquest and conflicts in Poland weakened the state enough to allow French victories, and led to Prussia's severance from the Coalition against France. In 1795, Prussia signed a separate peace with France, and allowed a French occupation of the Rhineland, while taking more of Poland to the east. While Prussia began a pose of neutrality, Austria continued to fight France disastrously, losing at Ulm notably.³⁸⁵ France ultimately defeated both Austria and Prussia after Prussia finally got involved, and French rule fundamentally redrew Germany until its own fall from power. Prussia would go on eventually to gain territory throughout modern Germany, up to the borders of France, and ultimately claimed leadership over the unified German Empire in 1871.

Though no mentions are made by the CMS or in Hartwig's correspondence of his birthplace, he does write to London inquiring as to whether Berlin had truly been taken during the course of the war, suggesting either Prussian national pride, or that Berlin was his home city.³⁸⁶ It seems unlikely that Hartwig was overly nationalist, however, as Nylander's letter of July 10, 1807, indicated that the missionaries had learned from a Mr. Vanneck that Hartwig had become a missionary in order to avoid military service, writing that "he did not like to be a soldier in the Prussian army and for fear of being forced to it as it was custom in Prussia, he joined the mission, only to get out of his native country by that means."³⁸⁷

One of the many criticisms levelled at Hartwig by the Corresponding Committee in Freetown was his accent, which Governor Ludlam noted in passing, as contributing to his inability to preach

³⁸⁵ Considering Renner's home village was very near Ulm, it is not impossible that some of the tensions between Hartwig and Renner may have emerged from frustrations at hearing of Ulm's terrible defeat under Austrian leadership, while Hartwig's homeland in essence sat on the sidelines. Hartwig's rumoured own avoidance of the conflict as opposed to genuine missionary fervour may have been a further cause for the hostilities between the two men.

³⁸⁶ Hartwig to Pratt, 27 January, 1807, CMS/CA1/E1/93.

³⁸⁷ Nylander to Pratt, 10 July, 1807, Freetown, CMS/CA1/E1/110.

effectively.³⁸⁸ Hartwig's own letters indicate his problems in writing sermons in English, and the minutes of the Committee in Freetown indicate that his accent was often incomprehensible by parishioners.³⁸⁹ This may have proven a case of the mutual hostility between Hartwig and the Freetown society emerging. Hartwig's problems in composing his sermons may reflect the comparatively brief period he had spent learning English, though his translations in Susu and Arabic would seem to indicate a talent for language. Nylander's own letters later comment on the ease which Hartwig evidently displayed his proficiency in English, writing that "he speaks better English, than his mother tongue."³⁹⁰

Gustavus Reinhold Nylander

Nylander was the missionary from furthest north of all of those sent to Sierra Leone by the CMS. Nylander's given home of Revel places him further north than much of Livonia, though the CMS documents specifically describe his home as "Of Revel, in Livonia, Poland."³⁹¹ In the sixteenth century, Livonia and Revel were separated; after continuous attacks by Russian forces, leaders of the region begged both Poland and Sweden for aid. In return for his assistance, the King of Poland demanded all of Livonia's annexation to his crown. While Livonia negotiated with him, the semi-autonomous town of Revel and its surrounding Estonian peoples were treating with the King of Sweden, and had sworn fealty before messengers could stop them.³⁹² Despite these differences, under

³⁸⁸ Ludlam to Venn, 20 March, 1806, CMS/CA1/E1/41.

³⁸⁹ Peter Hartwig to Josiah Pratt, 16 August, 1805, CMS/CA1/E1/16. Committee Minutes, 2 June, 1806, 7 June, 1806. G/C1. Hartwig's journals and letters are all written in clear comprehensible English. Indeed, Pratt invited the missionaries to concentrate on Susu at the expense of their English, permitting them to keep their journals in German, which Renner seems to have done on more than one occasion. Hartwig, however rejected the invitation, claiming by December 22, 1806, that it was easier for him to write in English. See Pratt to Renner and Hartwig, 14 January, 1806, CMS/CA1/E1/21; Hartwig to Pratt, 22 December, 1806, CA1/E1/91.

³⁹⁰ See Nylander to Pratt, 27 January, 1807, CA1/E1/94.

³⁹¹ CMS *Register of Missionaries*, List I, 1.

³⁹² Baron Karl Johann von Blomberg, *An account of Livonia: with a relation of the rise, progress, and decay of the Marian Teutonick Order : the several revolutions that have happen'd there to these present times, with the wars of Poland, Sweden and Muscovy, contending for that province : a particular account of the dukedoms of Courland, Semigallia, and the*

the treaties of 1719-1720, Revel, like Livonia, was granted to Russia.³⁹³ Boasting foundries and distilleries, it became a Russian fleet station.³⁹⁴ The city of Revel is now known as Tallinn, and is the modern capital of Estonia. It is a port city, and was well known for its commerce and trade by the nineteenth century.

Livonia corresponds approximately to modern-day Latvia, and has a long history of very different cultural influences ranging from German to Swedish and then to Russian. Despite the considerable distance from Germany as we now know it, Livonia was ruled from the medieval period onward by a largely German-descended nobility. As a traveller's account from the mid nineteenth century describes the region,

The nobles of these provinces are almost all of German descent, and their lands are the ancient fiefs of the Brothers of the Sword. This confraternity, although often confounded with that of the Teutonic Knights, was, in reality, completely distinct, and was formed at the commencement of the thirteenth century, for the express purpose of conquering Livonia to Christianity. In 1238, they adopted the rules of the Teutonic order, and united themselves to that body, but without giving up their own identity. Their grand master became sovereign, while the Teutonic grand master reigned in Prussia. It was in 1550 that an invasion of the Russians overthrew this military empire; when the grand master sunk into Duke of Courland, and the rest of his dominions became the property of Sweden and Poland.³⁹⁵

Tensions existed between many of the peasantry toward their former German-speaking leaders according to this account, which asserted that Livonia was largely comprised "half by Letts and half

province of Pilten : to which is added the author's journey from Livonia to Holland in 1698 ... sent in letters to his friend in London (London: Peter Buck, 1701), 99.

³⁹³ J.F. Chance, "The Northern Pacification of 1719-20," *The English Historical Review* 23, 89 (1908):51-53. The borders were reformed under Russia for governmental purposes in 1783, becoming Revel Guberniia. See John P. Le Donne, "The Territorial Reform of the Russian Empire 1775-1796. II: The Borderlands, 1777-1796," *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique* 24, 4 (1983): 442. England played a role in the series of treaties, as Russia gaining Revel meant that it had a Baltic Sea port, and would be free to move into the north Atlantic world. See Betty Kemp, "Sir Francis Dashwood's Diary of His Visit to St Petersburg in 1733," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 38, 90 (1959): 206; Mrs. D'Arcy Collyer, "Notes on the Diplomatic Correspondence between England and Russia in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 14 (1900): 148.

³⁹⁴ Malte-Brun, *Universal Geography* Vol II, 522.

³⁹⁵ Leitch Ritchie, *Russia and the Russians; Or, A Journey to St. Petersburg and Moscow, Through Courland and Livonia: With Characteristic Sketches of the People* (London: E. L. Carey & A. Hart, 1836), 28

by Esthonians, and the latter are said to retain much of their hostility to their German lords.”³⁹⁶

Culturally, therefore, Nylander’s regional homeland was a mix of the local peoples, influenced by the Swedish conquerors and by centuries of Germanic rule, followed by more recent Russian domination.³⁹⁷ In 1721, much of the region was ceded to Russia by Sweden as a result of the Great Northern War, and German was confirmed by Peter the Great as the official language of the country. Linguistically therefore, Nylander’s German would have been his vernacular, though the German which he spoke would have been accented considerably differently from that of the missionaries from the southwestern parts of modern Germany.³⁹⁸ Nineteenth century accounts assert that Russian rule was generally well received, with the aristocracy maintained and education encouraged among the upper classes.³⁹⁹

Under the Swedish, Livonia was Lutheran, according to the early eighteenth century traveller vom Blomberg:

The Swedes, as they do in all their Dominions... suffer but one Religion, according to Luther's Doctrine; exclusive to all others; and though the Roman Catholicks make heavy complaints of it, yet they have in one respect more liberty than the Lutherans themselves, for they may, if they please, change their Communion, which the Lutherans are forbid, under severe Penalties.⁴⁰⁰

Nylander clearly originated from that Lutheran tradition of the region as opposed to the Roman Catholic or the Calvinism allowed in the Duchy of Courland.

From Nylander’s own journals, and journals signed by all the missionaries present in Sierra Leone, his preferred given name was “Reinhold,” as it is as “Reinhold Nylander” that he signs for

³⁹⁶ Ritchie, *Russia and the Russians*, 29.

³⁹⁷ Von Blomberg, *Account of Livonia*, 223-4.

³⁹⁸ Nylander’s letters to London indicate his own unease with his proficiency in English, and fears over his accent and grasp of English. Nylander to Pratt, 27 January, 1807, CMS/CA1/E1/94.

³⁹⁹ M. Malte-Brun, *A System of Universal Geography, or a Description of All The Parts of the World, on a New Plan, According to the Great Natural Divisions of the Globe, Accompanied with Analytical, Synoptical, and Elementary Tables. Vol II* (Boston: Samuel Walker, 1834), 521.

⁴⁰⁰ Von Blomberg, *Account of Livonia*, 234.

himself in the journal of 30 June, 1807.⁴⁰¹ Whether any inferences may be drawn from this preference as an indicator of Nylander emphasizing his German cultural identity as opposed to any Swedish suggestions from “Gustavus” is impossible to answer, but intriguing to consider. In later documents, he uses the initial “G.R,” but still refrains from using his first name. He brought a unique level of objectivity to bear in how he described the traditions and rituals he observed at Yongroo Pomoh, which may suggest his own level of education.⁴⁰²

Charles Frederic Christian Wenzel

Wenzel is recorded by the CMS as being “Of Breslau, Silesia.” Breslau, known today as Wrocław in modern Poland, was then the capital of Middle Silesia, which had been conquered by Prussia in the 1740’s. Prussia used the excuse of the dynastic legitimacy of Empress Maria Theresa to launch the War of Austrian Succession, and the city was taken without a struggle in 1741. Three major wars were fought between Austria and Prussia over Silesia during the eighteenth century, and arguably, Prussia’s success in taking and holding the important region shaped its later ambitions. The military historian Reed Browning elaborates on the importance of Silesia as a geopolitical prize, stating that “though the wealth of the province was [important], its location was even more important, inasmuch as possession of Silesia allowed Prussia to be recognized as a major power.”⁴⁰³ Silesia was

⁴⁰¹ Renner, Butscher, Prasse, and Nylander. *Abstracts of Journals*. CMS/CA1/E1/119a.

⁴⁰² Gustavus Reinhold Nylander, *A Spelling Book of the Bullom Language; With a Dialogue and Scripture Exercises* (London: Ellerton and Henderson, 1814); *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Bullom Language* (London: Ellerton and Henderson, 1814). In this volume on pages 52-59, Nylander records three Bullom fables as an exercise in syntax, demonstrating an interest in ethnography which is without any value judgements. W.A. Hart further describes Nylander as being exceptional. “Where most other missionaries contented themselves with sweeping condemnation of African 'superstitions' without being specific about what it was they were condemning, Nylander carefully records conversations in which the nature of these 'superstitions' is explored in considerable detail. He makes some attempt to present Bullom practices in the context of their beliefs about God and the world of spirits and the afterlife. He does not continually obtrude his own opinions and beliefs. On the contrary, not the least remarkable thing about the Kolloh letter is the way in which Nylander anticipates anthropologists of the twentieth century in his use of 'free indirect speech' to describe Kolloh's activities following the deaths of two local headmen.” See W. A. Hart, “A West African Masquerade in 1815,” *Journal of Religion in Africa* 23, 1, (1993): 137.

⁴⁰³ Reed Browning, “New Views on the Silesian Wars,” *The Journal of Military History* 69, 2 (2005): 527. Browning

highly desirable for the access it offered to other regions in Europe, which facilitated Prussia's eventual aggression.⁴⁰⁴ The conquest of Breslau in particular was aided by the shared Protestantism of its citizenry and the invading Prussians.⁴⁰⁵

In language as well as in faith, Breslau's Germanic roots are clear even in its nineteenth-century name. Silesian German is now a nearly extinct dialect, but flourished prior to the imposition of New High German in the 1860's. Wenzel therefore would have had a vernacular shaped by very different roots than his Swabian German-speaking fellows. Influenced by Slavic language groups, German was spoken as the language of government, higher culture and innovation, as Hannan's study of identity and language for the region notes.

...from the seventeenth century the names *Wasserpolack* and *wasserpolsch* were used to refer to Slav Silesians and to their dialects exhibiting obvious German influences. The origins of that language may be traced to code-switching among Slavs and Germans, chiefly in the urban centers. In the larger towns and industrial centers, *wasserpolsch* was used in the work place, shops, and public areas where chance encounters between Germans and Slavs were frequent. It was more often spoken by men than by women. By the nineteenth century, *wasserpolsch* represented a type of pidgin language, although it possessed few norms and might vary significantly from speaker to speaker...⁴⁰⁶

Even after German unification, Silesian identity remained a complex picture, and during

concludes that Silesia's access to major routes not only permitted Prussia to move its own armies but also to regulate and defend against attacks upon its own heartland. Control over Silesia therefore gave Prussia the ability to protect against its primary foes Austria and Russia, ensuring that territorial ownership over Silesia was, in Browning's terms, both the focus and reason for all three wars fought between 1740-42, 1744-45, and 1756-63.

⁴⁰⁴ According to Browning, The Silesian Wars fundamentally affected how Europe's nations intersected in the period following Prussia's victories, though he laments the often deliberate absence of contemporary study of these conflicts. The authoritative accounts until the last decade have been, he notes, those by military historians of the 1890's, due to loss of documents during the World wars, and a determination by many German and Austrian scholars to turn from any glorification of German militarism in the decades following the second World War. See Browning, "Silesian Wars," 525-527.

⁴⁰⁵ Breslau's Roman Catholic diocese was formed in 1000 A.D., and the city formed the border between that diocese and Olomouc's, which Kevin Hannan argues shaped cultural identity of the former diocese more than any other factor. He asserts that the border "shaped the language and identity of generations of autochthonous speakers of Polish within the territory of the former Wrocław diocese, as well as the language and identity of the autochthonous Czecho-Moravian population within the territory of the former Olomouc diocese." See Kevin Hannan, "Borders of Identity and Language in Silesia," *The Polish Review* 51, 2 (2006): 134-135.

⁴⁰⁶ Hannan, "Identity and Language," 141.

Wenzel's time, was every bit as muddled. With influences from Prussia, Poland, Germany, Moravia, and Russia among others, the idea of cultural identity shifted based upon political alliances and conflicts. Silesia initially described the area immediately surrounding Breslau, and the region has been claimed by the Czechs, Poland, Germany, and for Wenzel's time, Prussia. Cultural identity was shaped by religion and by language for Silesians then as it is now, with Silesians speakers drawing upon both Western Slavonic as well as German linguistic elements. In Wenzel's lifetime, Breslau and Silesia, and to a degree, their broader Prussia rulers, were affected by a series of major upheavals and revolts in the 1790s. In 1793, the craftsmen of Breslau revolted, and nearby regions joined with them, to an estimated 20,000 people. As with the other missionaries, it is impossible to say with any certainty whether the social and political turmoil of the German-speaking regions in the 1790s spurred Wenzel to consider an overseas mission, but it may well have been a factor.⁴⁰⁷

The turbulent experiences of the missionaries, their students, and the ongoing tensions within the Colony, which have been outlined in previous chapters, were addressed by Nylander in 1817 in his letter to Bickersteth. In it, he outlines the status of each missionary at that time, and notes his own failing health. He worries about the recruitment of Englishmen as CMS representatives, which - in light of the trajectories of the German-speaking missionaries - is an interesting concern, and he praises his students. He acerbically notes the pressures placed upon him to convert such notable local men as Dala Modu, and how criticisms have been levelled at himself for his failure to do so. The letter is here transcribed as a testament to the perspectives of the missionaries themselves, whose experiences and cultural biases shaped the lives of each man. Those lives were to a man ended in Sierra Leone, but were transformative in the land they collectively adopted in lieu of a fragmented Europe.

⁴⁰⁷ Blackbourn, *History of Germany, 1780-1918*, 51. As Blackbourn notes, this period saw religious clampdowns as well as resolutions against uprisings. Prussia especially responded harshly to those seen as "Jacobins," and the minister of Silesia ordered the arrest of anyone who even mentioned the French Revolution. See Blackbourn, *History of Germany, 1780-1918*, 52.

Yongroo Pomoh June 28 1817⁴⁰⁸

Rev^d Sir

You will probably see by my letters to the Rev^d J. Pratt how far the work of the Lord prospers in this benighted spot of Africa. It seems as if the strong holds of Satan begin to shake, and the superstition of pretended witch craft to remove, tho' it cannot be abolished at ones; because it is so closely united with the slave trade that they must stand or fall together. It is this abominable trade that has introduced and encouraged for generations past, some of the Bulloms in the folly and wickedness of this pretended witch craft, but they can do but little towards abolishing it.

I have endeavoured to collect people for the hearing of the word of life, and upon their shewing a desire to hear, I am now building a small house Yongroo that will hold about 50 people, & intends to keep divine service there, and also a school if I can collect adults or children. By the small pox at the settlement as well as among the people, my exertions have been greatly hindered. Our school is reduced to a very, very small number at present; Caulker manages them pretty well, according to his abilities, his conduct is such that I have no reason to complain: he among the rest had also the small pox so severely that I thought he would not recover. My little John, and one of the little ones, you baptized, died with the small pox; my wife was very ill with the asthma & she is still suffering; I had the blood spitting again, severer than before; the least cold, or overheating by walking or speaking troubles my mortal body very much & my poor soul is longing after Christian community and fellowship, which is very sparing in Africa. I am like a partridge in the mountains, or as a sparrow alone upon the house top. I sometimes go to Sierra Leone to refresh myself, but there I hear is much news that I wish I had stayed at home. On the 25th of this month we had a meeting, at the request of M^r. Butscher, you will hear the news about it from other quarters. B^r is still the same as he was when you were here. On that day very touching hints were given. M^r. Harisson has left or is about leaving the settlement, the Missionaries at Rio Pongas are only waiting for orders to leave their station. Butscher seems to be much disheartened; Norton and his wife wish to go home; of Wenzel there are grievous reports going about. (It will come before the Committee. Do lay in a word in his behalf. Consider his age - his imperfect state of health, his very difficult situation; he is a Missionary - Justice of the peace - Overseer - Driver - Housekeeper &c &c, under the Governor's directions, often times getting wett through, or overheating himself which is not a trifling thing in Africa, especially when ones constitution is broke as his certainly is. Try to make some allowances for it, and not to break the bruised reed.) Of M^r. Klein no new reports are come, only he is thought to confine himself m[...]cly to the instruction of the few children, which is considered as "doing nothing than sitting at Kaparoo & selling blue [...]" _ The complaint against me is equal to that of M^r. Klein's, only, it is in a softer dress. I am doing nothing, with respect to converting the Bulloms. And a very learned and wise gentleman should have said, that he was sure I would never convert Dala Modu & therefore the Mission should be given up.

The conversion of the Bulloms as well as of Dala Modu is God's work & if my friends have else to bring against me, this I will commit to the mercy of my Lord and Saviour,

⁴⁰⁸ Nylander to Bickersteth, 28 June, 1817, Yongroo Pomoh, CMS/CA1/E7A/17. Transcription K. Keefer.

and beg him to make me useful in his vineyard in whatever way it pleases Him. I do not give up all hopes of advancing Christ's Kingdom in this country, though not so rapidly as some where else, or as one would wish; there is nothing visible as yet, but I trust that not all the seed falls upon a rock; some may bud a blade at last, but I can not make it grow, whatever others may do.

I wish you would come over once more to see us, and spend a little more time among us than you did before! As often as I go to Sierra Leone, I visit the Rev^d Garnon; both M^r & Mrs Garnon are very friendly & my visit seems to be welcome; they keep their health pretty well & I believe will be useful to the Colony - things have greatly altered since the time I was stationed there. The Governor himself said to me lately, "at the time you were here in the Colony, there were none but the inhabitants of Freetown here; but now we have thousands of people about us." He wishes us all to come to the Colony -. Permit me to make one observation, and that is, that M^r. Klein & myself are but alone on our stations, which I think is not very advantageous to the cause. If the places are thought proper to be kept up as Missionary stations, let a married and an unmarried Missionary be there, if not, let it be given up at ones. Though the Committee ordered M^r. Coates to come to Yongroo, yet there was an "unless he be wanted some were else." in the letter, & that altered the case & gave us a large field to walk in. Poor M^r. Brennan died; & I hope he died happily; but the report of his conduct is not such as to leave much hope, that is if we judge by reports, here as in other cases. It was said the Society would not send out any more Germans - very well - but take care what Englishmen they send, lest there be some Calvinist dissenters among us. I say no more, lest I be too forward; time will teach us. Oh! For Christian love and unity! I have the pleasure to inform you that some of my boys read pretty well Bullom & I hope next Lord's day - the first in July, we shall keep Divine Service in Bullom. I need not say, pray for us; because I know you do it. I endeavour to meet you on Saturday evenings at 7 'o' clock, but I am alone. I have had many, many trials since you left Africa, and I must acknowledge that hither too the Lord has helped me, and I will trust Him for the rest. As I did not succeed with preaching in the d[scratched out]ays. I shall try what I can do in the rains. I know the devil opposes me, but I will try again, I will conquer or die, the Lord being my help. Remember me to the Rev^d Mr. Pratt. I remain with sincere regard

Rev^d Sir

Yours in the Lord

G.R. Nylander

The Schools: Bashia

Though the first missionaries, Malchior Renner and Peter Hartwig, had arrived in Sierra Leone in 1804, they were ordered to stay a year in Freetown to acclimatize themselves before going to

convert the Susu.⁴⁰⁹ “Butscher and Prasse, with Mr. Renner, went to the Susoo country... Soon after their arrival, a trader named Curtis transferred to them a factory at a place called Bashia, on condition of their teaching his children.”⁴¹⁰ Supporting the settlement in return for the promise of education, Benjamin Curtis's generosity immediately placed the missionaries in the position of indebtedness to the local slavers and villagers. In a letter dated November 16, 1809, Butscher writes that:

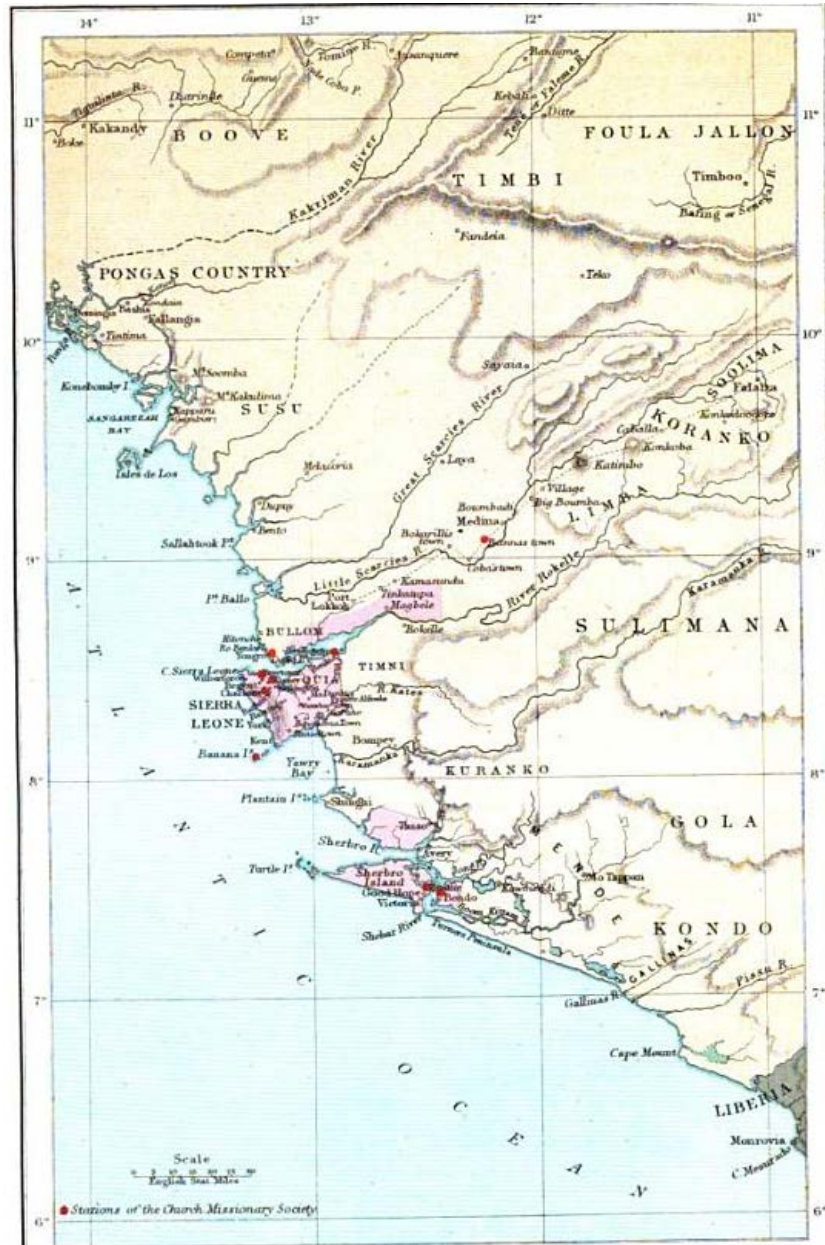
The majority of the Missionaries however thought it proper to keep friendship with the traders as far as expediency would allow, and by taking their children under our care would be the only means to keep it up: Accordingly we received the first child belonging to a trader into our Settlement at Bashia in July 1808. A few days after that, I received a Native boy whose father is a considerable Chief in this country: the former child spoke Susoo & a little English, and the latter spoke only Susoo. But the fathers of both begged me instantly not to let their children speak any Susoo, but to teach them English that they soon might learn the English language, manners & fashion... And when some of the traders & of the Susoo heard that we had begone [*sic*] to take children, & had opened an English School, they requested us to take their children, which of course we could not deny.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁹ Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 94. By the time Butscher and Prasse arrived, this period had been greatly shortened, perhaps indicating that the Society did not care for its missionaries being kept in Freetown as opposed to converting Susu.

⁴¹⁰ Miron Winslow, *A Sketch of Missions, Or, History of the Principle Attempts to Propagate Christianity Among the Heathen* (Andover: Flagg and Gould, 1819), 390.

⁴¹¹ Butscher and Renner to Sec, “Account of the Mission to Date” CMS/CA1/E2/22.

Figure 6: Missions in Sierra Leone



Source: *The Church Missionary Atlas: Maps of the Various Missions of the Church Missionary Society with Illustrative Letter Press, 5th Ed* (London: Church Missionary House, 1873), 11.

Butscher's letter described how Curtis had offered the missionaries "Gray's Factory" as a gift for use by the CMS both as settlement and school, and he defends the missionaries' decision to accept the

trader's gift. Appended to the end of that letter are the details of the thirty-one children entered in the school by that time, entitled "A List of the Children in the Settlement at Bashia." Students were listed by place of origin and socio-cultural affiliation, with mention made of whether or not a child's parents were alive or dead. If the former, some mention was made of the parent's location and status among the local community. Age and gender were indicated in this list. The missionaries differentiated between their pupils in a variety of ways. They identified some children as "mulatto," which may be considered a racial classification, but also listed other pupils as "native," which is a broad generalization, and therefore these characterizations are here grouped as "nation." The missionaries classified their pupils further by the social group to which they belonged, categorizing some as "trader," which often indicated European descent or membership with the coastal merchant families. Others are categorized as "ransomed," which indicates status as a formerly enslaved individual. These categorizations indicate the spectrum of privilege for children at the school, ranging from kinship with the elite to recent enslavement. Some challenges arise in the lists, as children who were "redeemed"⁴¹² from slavery were often renamed after the missionaries or CMS benefactors in England.

Table 3: Bashia Pupils (Male) 1809

Name	Nation	Affiliation	Remarks
Talla Curtis	Mulatto	Trader	
John Road	Mulatto	Trader	An Orphan
Emanuel Tramisens	Mulatto	Trader	An Orphan
George Lancaster	Mulatto	Trader	An Orphan
Thomas Squarrel	Mulatto	Trader	
Bangu	Native		Whose father is a considerable chief residing on the north bank of the Rio Ponga
John	Native		Sons of M ^r . Fantimany
Jolorum	Native		

⁴¹² For a more detailed discussion of this term and the other categories used by the missionaries, see chapter 5.

Daba	Native		
{...}	Native		Sons of a Chief at a small distance from this Settlement
{...}	Native		
William	Native		Son of a Chief about 20 miles distance from this Settlement towards the South
{...}	Native		Son of Monga Bala residing at the head of this river.
{...}rrend	Native		Son of a Chief about 10 miles from here towards the north.
Stephen Caulker	Native		Son of Mr. Caulker on the Plantain island
{...}llis	Maroon	Sierra Leone	A Maroon from Sierra Leone
James Pery	Native	Trader	Sons of a coloured Trader
Samuel Pery	Native	Trader	
Benjamin		Ransomed	
James		Ransomed	
{...}		Ransomed	
Butscher		Ransomed	

Source: Butscher and Renner to Sec, “Account of the Mission to Date” CMS/CA1/E2/22.

Nine daughters⁴¹³ of local traders formed the female portion of this first list – the only mention by Butscher of local girls is to remark upon the presence of “Four native girls given to us to wash, iron, cook &c.”⁴¹⁴ The trader's girls are all entered as being “mulatto” and bear Westernized patronymics. None are given further categorization beyond the broad heading of “Mulatto children belonging to traders” at the top of the list, and “Mulatto Girles[*sic*]” immediately above their entry.⁴¹⁵ In total, the list compiled in 1809 presents a student body of thirty-one pupils, of whom four are entered as being

⁴¹³ The assumption that these children are the children as opposed to owned by local traders is one which bears mention. The lists are not clear at this stage concerning any differentiation, but it is here assumed that given the cultural backgrounds of the missionaries, they would have commented were they aware of children bearing the status of slave.

⁴¹⁴ Butscher and Renner to Sec, “A List of the Children in the Settlement at Bashia,” 16 November, 1809, Bashia, CMS/CA1/E2/22.

⁴¹⁵ CMS/CA1/E2/22.

“Ransomed,” which in this case specifically indicated that the missionaries purchased them in order to

Table 4: Bashia Pupils (Female) 1809

Name	Nation	Affiliation	Remarks
Maria Banetefore	Mulatto	Trader	
Jane Banetefore	Mulatto	Trader	
Mariam Fraser	Mulatto	Trader	
Mary Kielison	Mulatto	Trader	
Margaret Holman	Mulatto	Trader	
Margaret Peters	Mulatto	Trader	
Sarah Lawrence	Mulatto	Trader	
Maria Conkleshell	Mulatto	Trader	An orphan
Elizabeth Holman	Mulatto	Trader	An orphan

Source: Butscher and Renner to Sec, “Account of the Mission to Date” CMS/CA1/E2/22.

free them. Thirteen boys are listed as “Native,” and the remaining fourteen students male and female are described as “Mulatto children belonging to traders.”

Bashia's school saw increasing enrolment by 1811. Butscher again recorded the list for that year, sending his letter to London on Oct 2, 1811 from Bashia.⁴¹⁶ He added a category stating individual student academic achievement along with general remarks in this second pupil report. From twenty-one boys in 1809, Bashia had increased its student body to forty-four boys by 1811, and from nine girls in 1809, the female portion of the school had risen to thirty-seven, though the majority of girls were still listed as “Mulatto.” The boys are no longer categorized as “Trader” or “Native” in this list, though certain names remain the same, while others clearly indicate the children of local traders.

⁴¹⁶ Butscher to Pratt. 22 October, 1811, Bashia, CMS/CA1/E2/103.

Table 5: *Bashia Pupils (Male) 1811*

Name	Nation	Home village	Parents	Remarks
Emanuel Antony	Mulatto			Writing and ciphering
Bangu			Son of a chief	Writing and ciphering
Stephen Caulker			Son of the late Mr. Caulker	Writing and ciphering
Charles Cummings	Mulatto			Writing and ciphering
Domick Cummings	Mulatto			
Tala Curtis	Mulatto			Writing and ciphering
George Curtis	Mulatto			Writing and ciphering
David Curtis	Mulatto			Writing and ciphering
John Cooper	Mulatto			
John Ellis	Maroon	Sierra Leone		Writing and ciphering
John Fantamany				Writing and ciphering
Daba Fantamany				Writing and ciphering
Jelorum Fantamany				Writing and ciphering
Andrew Fernanders		Bramia	Son of a chief	Writing and ciphering
Frank				
Tenge			Son of a headman	Writing and ciphering
William Jeffrys	Mulatto			
George Lancaster	Mulatto			Writing and ciphering
Thomas Lancaster	Mulatto			
Williams Lawrence	Mulatto			Writing and ciphering
Benj Lawrence	Mulatto			Writing and ciphering
Peter				
Sebastien Pearce				Writing and ciphering
Baginy Pearce				Writing and ciphering
John Quail	Mulatto			
John Road	Mulatto			Writing and ciphering
Simony			Son of a chief	Writing and ciphering
Spearce		Wongaphong		
Thomas				
John Wilkinson	Mulatto			Writing and ciphering
Richard Wilkinson	Mulatto			Writing and ciphering
William			Son of a chief	Writing and ciphering
Youmba			Son of a chief	Writing and ciphering
Charles	Native of the Congo river			

Frank	Native of the Congo river			
Harry	Native of the Congo river			
Ambrose				
Butscher				
James				
Jeronimus				
John				
Joseph				
Sabu				
Tobias				

Source: Butscher to Pratt. 22 October, 1811, Bashia, CMS/CA1/E2/103.

By 1813, Bashia settlement had seen still greater enrolment; in this document, the author of the list sent to London is not clearly indicated. Fifty-one boys are listed, of whom four belong to Benjamin Curtis (Talla, here entered as “Dalla”, George, Miles and David). Stephen Caulker remains the only Caulker present and three boys of the nearby headman of Canoffee, Monge Fantimani, are listed (Jelorum, David and Jacob). Fantimani's children at the school -with the exception of his son Banga- were reportedly sons of his slaves, and Fantimani was evidently eager to have all of his children educated in English and by the missionaries. Andrew Fernanders appears, suggesting a connection to the trader William Fernandez. This may be a scribal error however, as later accounts describe a local chief named William Fananders, who resided near the Dambia River, and who brought his sons to be taught under Butscher. Both spellings are present in different pupil lists, but the description of Andrew as being “son of a chief” lends weight to his being the son of Fananders as opposed to Fernandez. Of the thirty-eight girls entered, two shared the patronymic of Daniel Botefeur (Maria and Jenny), two of John Fraser (Elina and Elizabeth), one girl of Fantimani's (Elizabeth), one of Sam Perry (Beggy), and one of William Skelton (Jenny). Nothing else is entered concerning the pupils for this year concerning age or general remarks, though a subset of the girls are indicated as being “Ransomed” for the first

time.

Table 6: Ransomed Children (Female) Bashia 1813

Name	Status	Remarks
Catharine	Ransomed	
Charlotte	Ransomed	Since dead – died on the sleepy disease
Esther	Ransomed	
Jenny	Ransomed	
Nancy	Ransomed	
Phindah	Ransomed	Since gone with Mrs. Butscher
Sarah	Ransomed	

Source: Bashia Pupil List. CMS/CA1/E3/69.

By the midsummer of 1814, Malchior Renner's list of students shows a decrease in student population, with forty-three boys entered. No further information is given for them but their names. Similarly, the female student body has diminished to twenty-two pupils, though here, Renner provides a brief remark for each girl concerning her accomplishments within the school. The list of girls also includes each child's age, unlike the male pupil list.⁴¹⁷

Table 7: Bashia Pupils (Female) 1814

Name	Accomplishments	Age
Mary Botifeur	Reads, writes, sews	12
Jane Botifeur	Reads, sews	8
Sarah Lawrence	Reads, writes, sews	12
Cresia Lawrence	Reads, sews	8
Mary Fraser	Reads, writes, sews	11

⁴¹⁷ Renner to Sec. Midsummer, 1814, CMS/CA1/E4/20.

Elena Fraser	Reads & sews	7
Elizabeth Fraser	Spells & plays	6
Elizabeth Spa[...]	Reads, writes & sews	10
Cate Garrat	Reads & sews	8
Jane Welsh	Reads, writes & sews	14
Mary Neud	Reads & sews	8
Mary Coplestock	Reads & sews	9
Jane Shelton	Reads, writes & sews	14
Beggy Peters	Reads, writes & sews	15
Johanna Catty	Reads & housework	12
Mary Anthony	Reads & jack of all trade	13
Eliza Cumings	Reads & sews	9
Jane East	Eats rice to the fill	5
Betsy Fantimang	D D ⁴¹⁸	4
Beggy Beaning	D D	5
Mary Ann Colly	Works of different kind	12
Johanna Lawrence	Reads & sews	8

Source: Renner to Sec. Midsummer, 1814, CMS/CA1/E4/20.

Renner's list also includes a description of the servants and working people of Bashia Settlement, and suggests that the servants to enrolled pupils were also undergoing education from the missionaries.

Mention is made concerning servants who could read, though most remarks are confined to what tasks each is expected to perform at the settlement. The age of servants alone is entered for this appended list, and few surnames are seen. Of interest is Bango Catty, as a Johanna Catty is present in the pupil list. There is no indication that the two are related, but they may well be, or their relationship may indicate ownership of Bango Catty by Johanna's trader parent.

⁴¹⁸ Presumably this is a shorthand for "ditto."

Table 8: Servants and Working People Bashia 1814

Name	Employment	Age	Categorization
Sarah	Reads & housework	15	Servant
Cate	Washes, cooks	14	Servant
Nancy	Attends to the table	13	Servant
Jonny	Washes and cooks	14	Servant
Ehiter	Different work	15	Servant
Hanna Wood	Turns out a good S[...]	12	Servant
Silva	Is a good cook	16	Servant
Sally Peters	Different work	15	Servant
Tanjy	D D	14	Servant
Eliza	Works what she is told	15	Servant
Deba	D D	13	Servant
Clara	D D	15	Servant
Bango Catty			Working People
Jonny			Working People
Kongo			Working People
Murray	Carpenter		Working People
Tono		Working People	
Charles		Working People	
Robert		Working People	
Young		Working People	
Kombe Conny		Working People	
Conny		Working People	
Charles	Blacksmith		Working People
Woode[...]	[...]ite		Working People
Tom	Watchman		Working People

Source: Renner to Sec. Midsummer, 1814, CMS/CA1/E4/20.

In 1815, Wilhelm provides a highly detailed list of male pupils at Bashia, which extensively remarks upon each child's age, origin, character, accomplishments, and includes such commentary as Wilhelm felt was necessary. Wilhelm uses broad subheadings initially in his list, such as “Native or

trader's boys” and his remarks provide new glimpses into the shifting political dynamics of the region at that time. Importantly, his descriptions and remarks offer the clearest picture of the Bashia accounts concerning the social diversity present at the school. Examples include “Moree”, whom Wilhelm remarks upon as “A young well behaving married man, redeemed by M. Renner, & employed in our settlement as carpenter. He speaks a little English & attends Divine Service.”⁴¹⁹ The diversity displayed in lists offers a glimpse of the social change the mission schools presented to the region. Wilhelm is the first missionary explicitly to describe whether his students' parents are engaged in the slave trade, as opposed to being “Traders” more generally. He elaborates on his students whose surname is “Cummings” or as here written, “Commings”. Charles and Dominick/Dominic, seen in pupil lists since 1809, are remarked upon as having had a slave trader for a father, now deceased. George, Miles and David Curtis are no longer within the lists, and an explanation for this is offered under their brother Talla's entry:

Aged 11 years. His father is an Englishman, and was a slave trader in this river; but upon the prosecution of the English man of war, he took his children from us, and fled out the river. But Tala, being a bastard child, is forsaken of him & left in our hands; & from his mother Tala enjoys likewise no assistance. God endued [*sic*] this poor lad with pleasing qualities. He is the most lively and sagacious little fellow of all the rest, capable of shewing affection, and winning the heart which he wishes to win, and active and willing to serve. But he can also be mischievous. He is noisy and very much inclined for pilfering: when he can get to anything which he likes to have, he will help himself to it. For offenses of this kind I had repeatedly to chastise him. He were fit for teacher of a school, if his character were trusty. He is rather a stuttering reader: but he writes pretty correctly from dictating, and is the first of all in arithmetic. I went with him regularly through the Tutor's Assistant to the Rule of Practice, the examples of which he now works out with much ease.⁴²⁰

Other similar hints concerning the changing dynamic along the Rio Pongo, and more detailed ethnic backgrounds are provided in Wilhelm's lengthy remarks for each pupil. Immanuel Antony is described

⁴¹⁹ Wilhelm, Bashia pupil list, 1815, CMS CA1/E4/74, 74A.

⁴²⁰ Wilhelm, Bashia pupil list, 1815, CMS CA1/E4/74, 74A.

as being Afro-Portuguese, unlike Talla's English origins, while John Cooper's father along with Jacob's are noted as being French. Jacob's mother is further described as "still living in Tage-Kiring." The three boys ambiguously described as "Redeemed" in the 1811 list are still categorized as such by Wilhelm, and no more descriptive insight to their origins is given beyond "from the Congo-country." Considerably more information is offered about the Redeemed boys who are not from Congo, differentiating between presumed and actual nation and location. Wilhelm, clearly comfortable in his specificity, describes the student "Butscher" as "a Mandingo" but Ansimany/Ansmany as being "from the Kissi-country," which does not necessarily mean he was himself Kissi. Like "Ansimany/Ansmany," another redeemed boy, "Basil Woodd" is described as hailing "From the Mandingo-country," serving to show that Wilhelm was not employing this differentiation based on ethnic variation but more likely on actual differences between origin and nation. This specificity is consistent in Wilhelm's remarks, dividing redeemed boys by their nation or the country from which they came, the latter category of which may not correlate with the nation to which they belong.

By 1816, Bashia's enrolment had increased again, with sixty-one male and thirty female students listed, though as with the 1813 document, no author is readily seen. The information on this pupil list includes the child's name, date of entry into the settlement, age, home village, and a very short remark concerning his or her character. The redeemed children have gained patronymics for the most part at this stage, and interestingly, the three male children from Congo in extant lists are no longer categorized as "Redeemed." An additional column of description arises distinguishing Redeemed students from the other children, and describes their employment in the settlement. The only exceptions are Peter Griggs, age 14, who is entered as a Blacksmith with no further explanation, and Richard Peters, a sailor; neither are Redeemed. By this stage, many of the pupils had been renamed with the names of CMS benefactors in England as a means of fundraising for the Society.

Table 9: Bashia Employment list 1816

Name	Date of Entry into Settlement	Employment	Age	Origin	Village	Remarks
Peter Griggs	1812	Blacksmith	14			
Richard Peters	1816	Sailor	15	Kissee		
Thomas Walker	1810	D ^o	17	Kongo		married
Charles Richard	1810	Carpenter	18	Kongo		d ^o
Henry Foster	1810	D ^o	17	Kongo		
Wm Butscher	1809	D ^o	15		Sangara	
Josiah Pratt	1810	Storekeeper	13		Sulima	trusty
Fred. Watkins	1810	taylor	13	Kissee		
Tobias Smith	1810	blacksmith	14		Sulima	
Jer. Shepherd	1811	D ^o	13	Mandinga		
Joseph Peddie	1809	D ^o	12	Bambaranka		sickly
Matthew Taylor	1811	Taylor	11		Sulima	
Ambrose Bull	1811	Sheep-, goat and bullkeeper	12		Limba	
Smila	1814	Blacksmith	40		Bramia	
Murray	1814	Carpenter	30	Kissee		

Source: Bashia school, 1816, CMS/CA1/E5A/68.

This 1816 list is the final entry for Bashia school, as the settlement was burned in 1817 and many of the pupils relocated along with their teachers.

Cacara(Kakara)/Canofee

The second school in the CMS pupil lists was situated just beyond Bashia on the Fatala branch of the Rio Pongo. Canofee was in fact begun prior to Bashia, but upon the gift of Gray's Factory by Curtis to the missionaries, the Canofee settlement's progress was slowed until word reached the

missionaries on the Rio Pongo that more of their CMS fellows were due to arrive.⁴²¹ The Bashia settlement operated in tandem with Canoffee under Renner and Butscher initially, led primarily by Butscher as of 1809.

In April, 1809, Butscher, in consequence of the death of poor Prasse, removed to Canoffee, accompanied by Banga, Monge Hate's son. He was no sooner settled there, than Fantimani committed two of his sons to his care, and promised to send him more... He begged Butscher not to suffer his boys to speak Soosoo, that they might more rapidly improve in the English language; and while they were at the school he would scarcely allow them to visit their mothers, lest, by talking Soosoo with them, they might soon forget what they had learned at the school. The number of the scholars, under Butscher's instruction, soon increased to eleven, all of whom were committed to him, on condition of instructing them in English, and preventing them speaking Soosoo. While at Canoffee, he kept school twice every day—in the forenoon and afternoon; and in the evening he began to instruct two of his scholars in the rudiments of arithmetic... Banga was now so far advanced, that he was able to assist in teaching the younger children their alphabet.⁴²²

Upon the arrival of Barneth and Wenzel, “a meeting of the four brethren was held according to the desire of the committee; and having, by prayer, sought the guidance and support of the Holy Spirit, they resolved that the two new missionaries should be stationed at Canoffee.”⁴²³ Overseen exclusively by Wenzel after Barneth's death in 1810, the entries for this settlement are generally more consistent in their contents than the multi-authored Bashia lists, though Wenzel's documents are contradictory concerning each student's date of entry into the settlement. As with Bashia's pupils, there is a strong presence among the students under Wenzel of the sons and daughters of slave traders. One boy named Lewis Gomez is almost certainly the son of the trader Louis Gomez who was situated near Bashia, and departed the school in 1815 to accompany his father to “Bissow.” He is first seen in the list compiled in 1811, along with “Franz Gomez,” and they share home villages (“Djombe Konjeia”).⁴²⁴ By later reports, Franz had been rechristened – first in 1814 he is listed only as “Franz,” and his village is now

⁴²¹ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 230.

⁴²² Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 234.

⁴²³ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 240.

⁴²⁴ Wenzel to Pratt, 12 July, 1811, Kakara, CMS/CA1/E2/92.

entered as “Jesulu,” which corresponds to his identification in the 1815 list,⁴²⁵ but in the Aug 13, 1815 list of rechristenings, a boy called “Gomez” is renamed Francis Chasserau.⁴²⁶ In the 1816 Canofee list, “Francis Chasserau” is seen, his age corresponding to both “Franz” and “Franz Gomez,” and his birthplace is entered still as Jesulu.⁴²⁷

Joseph and George, two brothers with their origins listed as “Karkandi,” and the shared patronymic “Antony” are identified as belonging to “Mr. Lawrence,”⁴²⁸ the slave trader who took his sons from Bashia as already noted. Both are given “Mulatto” as their nation, and Rio Nunez as their origin, and are seen in the final Canofee list from 1816, both categorized there as sons of a “Trader.” One Susu boy variously entered as David Orman/Armound/Ormound, his home village recorded as “Domingjie” (Dominguia, along the northern bank of the Rio Pongo below Freeport) is similarly connected to Mr. Lawrence, and his patronymic offers a possible link to the notorious slave trader John Ormond. Wenzel does not differentiate in his records which children are the sons or daughters of slave traders, describing certain of his pupils only as “Traders.” Among the other female students are some who like their male counterparts are categorized as “Traders,” though unlike the boys, few are expressly linked to the more notorious slave traders, as Wenzel does not record traders' professions as Wilhelm did at Bashia. A new category arises in Wenzel's lists, which labels some girls as being “Settler.” Esther, variously recorded as entering the school on January 1 or Jan 14, 1814, is recorded as a “Settler” and with a home country of “Sierra Leone.”⁴²⁹ Two other female pupils share this identification – Nancy Bannett and Betsy Banneth, the first of whom arrived in 1815, and the latter without a recorded date of entry into the settlement. Both appear in Wenzel's 1816 list, and are marked

⁴²⁵ Wenzel to Pratt. 1815, CMS/CA1/E4/64.

⁴²⁶ Wenzel to Sec. Canofee, CMS/CA1/E5/36.

⁴²⁷ CMS/CA1/E5A/68.

⁴²⁸ Wenzel to Pratt, 12 July, 1811, Kakara, CMS/CA1/E2/92.

⁴²⁹ Wenzel to Pratt. 12 March, 1814, Canofee, CMS/CA1/E4/1.

as “Settler’s daughter” as well as originating in Sierra Leone. Among the boys, Henry Beveroth/Bigeroth, who arrived either on October 19, 1811, or in October 1812, and who left Canofee in March 1816, is also recorded as being a “Settler” from Sierra Leone by Wenzel in 1816.

Wenzel also uses the categorization “Liberated” to describe three of his male students and five of the female pupils, a term which was not in evidence at Bashia despite the many authors. Wenzel sub-categorizes the Liberated boys as being “Children from Sierra Leone.” In the following table of Liberated children present at the settlement during his time teaching, the “Date of Entry” column demonstrates Wenzel’s apparent confusion about when each pupil arrived. The dates in parentheses indicate the document date in which his previously entered date changed. In “Remarks”, comments are sorted by which year each appears in Wenzel’s lists. The pupils also are entered using a variety of names, some due to a rechristening at Canofee which Wenzel and Renner together oversaw on Aug 13, 1815, sponsored by Mrs Elizabeth Renner, Mrs Fanny Wenzel and Henriette Meisner.⁴³⁰ Wenzel uses “Kroo” and “Croomandy” interchangeably when referring to Hanna/Hannah, and Sally/Lucy Llewellyn, which makes ethnic affiliation ambiguous. References which describe the coastal Kru people as “Croomandy” are uncommon, though “Kroo” is an early description which seems to indicate Kru nationality. The entry of Betsy and of Fanny as “Croomandy” only further confuses this matter of understanding what Wenzel is referring to in his description of nation. Among the boys present only one is described as being “Ransomed” by Wenzel: Adam, rechristened “William Wilberforce” in 1815, is recorded as having entered the school in 1811, his nation Susu, and his origins from “Foulah country,” also entered as “Upper country.”

⁴³⁰ Wenzel to Sec. Canofee, CMS/CA1/E5/36.

Table 10: Liberated Children Cacara and Canofee 1811-1816

Name	Gender	Date of Entry into Settlement	Date of departure	Date of Birth	Nation	Origin	Remarks
Joy/Joseph Hopeful	M	Nov 21/Nov 15(1815) 1811	Died 1814	1800	Bullom Sherbro	Sherbro	A good natured [<i>sic</i>] (1814) False and thievish (1815) Died 1814 in December S.L (1816)
Charles Zounguma (Charles)[1815] (Rechristened Christian Hope 1815)	M	Nov 21/Nov 15(1815)/ Dec(1816) 1811		1802	Ebo		A very good boy (1814) An upright and faithful boy (1815) A willing boy is[<i>sic</i>] kept strict (1816)
John (Sessey (John Bunian)[1815]/John Bunyan	M	Nov 21/Nov 15(1815)/Dec (1816) 1811		1803	Ebo	Ebo country	A helpful boy (1814) A good attached boy (1815) A fine promising boy (1816)
Mary/ Cai Mary (1815) (Rechristened Mary Rhodes 1815)	F	Nov 21 [...] / Nov 15 1811(1815)/ Dec 1812(1816)		1799	Timany	From Sierra Leone	Character is not good (1814) Very wicked. The time of her indenture is elapsed, and must therefore be delivered up again to Sierra Leone Government (1815) Bad character (1816)
Hanna/Hannah	F	July 13, 1813	Left before 1816	1800	Kroo/ Croomandy	From Sierra Leone	A very [...] A very quiet girl (1815) Liberated girl S.L is runned away and lives with a soldier in Sierra Leone (1815) Ran away now in Sierra Leone (1816)
Sally (Rechristened Lucy Llewellyn 1815)	F	July 13, (1815)/ Aug(1816) 1813		1802	Kroo/ Croomandy	From Sierra Leone	A wild disposition (1814) Of a bad character (1815) Lively to be bad lazy to do good (1816)
Betsy	F	Feb 11, 1814 (died April 22, 1814) (1815)	Died 1815	1806	Croomandy	From Sierra Leone	Servant to Mrs Meissner (1814) A very quiet but sickly girl died April 22 1814 (1815)
Fanny	F	Febr 1814		1805	Croomandy		Fine promising girl (1816)

Source: Wenzel to Pratt.CMS/CA1/E2/92; CMS/CA1/E4/1; CMS/CA1/E4/64; CMS/CA1/E5/36.

Yongroo Pomoh

In 1809, Nylander had met with King George of the Bulloms, who was eager to assist in establishing a settlement upon the shore opposite Freetown, as he wished to have the children of his people educated there.⁴³¹ The settlement which Nylander established was named after Yongroo, the village nearby, with the appellation of “Pomoh” to differentiate it and indicate that it was akin to a younger brother of the previous town.⁴³² From the very first list sent to London in 1814, Liberated children were seen at Yongroo Pomoh, possibly due to the close proximity to Freetown. Some details are immediately clear upon examining the lists. There were considerably more female Liberated children than male in Nylander's settlement, with fourteen girls to six boys. Only in the 1815 list did Sarah gain the additional categorization as “Captured slave.”⁴³³ (See ‘*’ Table 9) Mary Longmire may be the same child as “Mary,” seen in 1816 where Mary Longmire is not present on that list, as both share the same approximate date of entry. Their ages differ however, and their nation differs also. Why Nylander would only record a second Liberated girl called “Mary” two years after another “Mary”'s apparent entry into the school is not a question which can be answered. The entry beside the group of Liberated children who arrived in March 1815 is of particular interest. (see bold in Table 9) From this entry, it seems apparent that Nylander's approach to determining a pupil's origin was to ask him or her to self-identify. This suggests that he had no his familiarity with any face or body markings on the child in question to assume regional origin. His identification of his students therefore may be assumed to rely upon their own self-identification.⁴³⁴

⁴³¹ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 237.

⁴³² Nylander to Sec. 1 July, 1815, Yongroo Pomoh, CMS/CA1/E5/13.

⁴³³ MS/CA1/E5/12. See Appendix C.

⁴³⁴ This may imply that Nylander, unlike outsiders who grew accustomed to recognizing patterns of scarification, hairstyle or other outward identifiers of ethnic affiliation, was not exposed to the existent knowledge on the upper Guinea coast concerning nation.

Table 11: Liberated Children Yongroo Pomoh 1814-1816 (Arranged by gender)

Name	Gender	Date of Entry into Settlement	Date of Birth	Nation	Origin
<i>James</i>	M	1812 October	1802	Congo	
<i>Charles</i>	M	1812 October	1804	Congo	
William Brodie	M	1814 July	1802	Cofso (Cosso)	
William Neal	M	1814 July	1803	Cofso (Cosso)	
Robert Raiks	M	1814 July	1803	Sherbro	
John Campbell	M	1814 July	1804	Cofso (Cosso)	
Betsy	F	1812 October	1806	Congo	
Mary	F	1812 October	1806	Jaloft (1814) Jaloff (1815)	
Matilda	F	1814 July	1806	Ebo	
Mary Longmire	F	1814 July	1804	Ebo	
Mary	F	1814	1808	Country not known	
Sarah*	F	1814 January	1806	Congo	Not known
Sarah Llewellyn	F	March 1815	1807	They all come from the Camaroon River but can not say what nation	
Elizabeth Thompson	F	March 1815	1808		
Lucy Llewellyn	F	March 1815	1807		
Martha Llewellyn	F	March 1815	1808		
Anne Llewellyn	F	March 1815	1809		
Anna Benigna Johnson	F	March 1815	1809		
Jane W Douglas	F	March 1815	1809		
Christian/Christiana Hope	F	1814 July	1804		Ebo

Source: Nylander to Pratt. CMS/CA1/E4/29; CMS/CA1/E5/12; CMS/CA1/E5A/68.

Among this Liberated group, demographic disparities can also be seen. Three of the four earliest-appearing Liberated children at Yongroo Pomoh originate from the Congo (see Table 9) In 1814, three Cosso (Mende) and one Sherbro boy, along with three Ebo (Igbo) and one Congo girl are

recorded. Finally in 1815, seven girls from the region near the Cameroon river are recorded.

Geographically, the Mende and Sherbro children would hail from the immediate region, while the Igbo and Cameroonian children originate from the Nigeria and Three Rivers area considerably further east. Children from Congo are present throughout the pupil lists from the Bashia entries onward; from this data, the mission schools from their inception may be understood to have commonly accepted children from Central Africa, and the regions of greatest African enslavement. The other groups of Liberated children seen at Yongroo during this period offer insights into the changing ethnic makeup of Sierra Leone due to the efforts of the Vice Admiralty Court. In 1815, Nylander remarks upon the ethnic differences at his school, and considers the best languages in which to teach his pupils.

Among the number of children are

13 Bulloms

2 Sherbros

3 Cossos

3 Ebos

7 Timanees

4 Congos

6 from Sierra Leone

7 from the Camaroon River

1 Jaloft

Total 46 children

The 13 Bulloms 2 Sherbros and 3 Cossos speak Bullom. The others speak their own language and are obliged to speak either English or Bullom, and it would be a pity[*sic*] to introduce any other language among them or to divide them into Timanee boys and Bullom boys.⁴³⁵

Notably, unlike the two schools along the Rio Pongo, the Yongroo Pomoh settlement and mission records no Redeemed children at all. This may be due to the proximity to Freetown and the increasing influx of Liberated children there, or due to the comparative scarcity of slave traders along the Bullom Shore as opposed to among the Susu further northwest. Nylander also records no children of Traders

⁴³⁵ CMS/CA1/E5/12.

among his students, which may again be due to the different composition of people among whom he had established the school. Unlike Bashia and Canofee's initial reliance on local traders for supplies and limited support, Yongroo Pomoh was expressly founded by Nylander with the assistance of the local chief King George, and the number of Bullom children tends to support that clear connection. Sumanah and Robin, the sons of King Muribah in Scarcies, along with Kumpah, son of King George, demonstrate the social status of the children being educated at Yongroo Pomoh. The slave trade is however implied in Nylander's lists, with Charles and Mary Ann Smith's father recorded as having been a blacksmith, or as Nylander described in 1816, "An old servant of Bance Island."⁴³⁶ Upon the death of Wenzel in 1818 at Kissy, Nylander travelled there to replace him, and Yongroo Pomoh was closed.

Îsles de Los

By 1807, the Îsles de Los were deemed British, and were undergoing a transition from use as a base by slave traders. As they ceased offering slaves, the traders – mostly British – shifted to buying undutied goods from passing American ships, and smuggling them into the Colony.⁴³⁷ This trade was lucrative to the former slave traders, but short lived, and with pressure from the Governor of the Colony, the chiefs who claimed the land ceded it to the British Crown.

Klein's lists there divide children into whether they belong to the island on which the school was built, or the neighbouring factory island. Only two pupils, Mackenzie and Powel Cummins are given any national difference from the rest, with a note beside their names identifying them as "mulatto." The 1815 pupil list from the Îsles de Los settlement primarily focuses on naming the students and their parents, and indicates whether or not they are boarders. There is no data for age, or

⁴³⁶CMS/CA1/E5A/68.

⁴³⁷ Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 131.

remarks on an individual basis. Four of the children listed are categorized as “Redeemed,” and there are no pupils recorded by Klein as Liberated at the school.

Kapparoo

Having been informed of the decision that they should close the school at the Îsles de Los, the Kleins were invited to resettle on the coastline near where the islands are situated by Mongè Demba, the headman there. The town of Kapparoo was reportedly larger than most, boasting “fifty-nine houses, and nearly four hundred people,” according to the diary of Rev. Edward Bickersteth as transcribed by Walker.⁴³⁸ As was typical of the missionaries in educating children, Mrs. Klein continued to teach girls, while her husband taught the boys there. The pupil list of May 8, 1816 which Klein sent to London made no mention of one interesting encounter which Bickersteth reported in his diary from his stay with the Kleins at Kapparoo, recording that he:

...examined all the children, and was much pleased with the answers of some of the girls, particularly Juliet, Betty, and Sally... Betty (who is a slave sent to take care of some other children) said ‘Sir, I should like to go with you I asked why she said ‘To hear about God.’ I told her she might do that with her kind friends here ‘ Yes, sir,’ she replied, ‘ but I am afraid I shall be taken away, and made to sin against God;’ alluding to the licentiousness of slave masters. I replied, ‘Pray much to God and he will take care that you shall not have to sin. He has promised not to suffer us to be tempted above what we are able.’ She sobbed a good deal while I talked with her.⁴³⁹

Despite this note concerning Betty's status, no mention was made by Klein of her standing as a slave beyond her exclusion from his subheading of “School children 1815.” She and three others were recorded by Klein, with “Scott” as “Redeemed children,” but this title was not extended to the other three.

⁴³⁸ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 401.

⁴³⁹ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 402.

Table 12: Îsles de Los Pupils 1815

Name	Gender	Nation	Parents	Redeemed	Description	Remarks
Charles Leigh	M		Sons of Wm Leigh of this Island		Boarder	Names of the children belonging to this Isle
Thomas Leigh	M				Boarder	
Mackenzie Cummens	M	mulatto				
Powel Cummens	M	mulatto				
Massa	M					
Bernel	M					
Jabe	M					
Scott	M			Redeemed		
J. Hopkins	M				Boarder	
Samuel Moonta	M		Son of Williams of the Isle Samara[...]			
Joseph Hopkins	M		Son of J. Hopkins esp S. Leone			
J Sabb	M		Children belonging to Ms.[sic] Sabb in the Sambia			
Mamado	M					Names of Children belonging to the Factory Island
Mamado	M					
Mark	M					
Harry	M					
George	M					
Bally	M					
Harry	M		Son of H[...]ry a Chief on the Factory Island			
Boswain	M		Son of Mamado brother of			

			the above chief.			
Fanny	F					Names of the children belonging to this Isle
Fanneba	F					
Coney	F					
Tenea	F					
Elizabeth	F					
Johanna	F					Names of Children belonging to the Factory Island
Borly	F					
Jora	F					
Julia	F			Redeemed		
Mary	F			Redeemed		
Elizabeth	F			Redeemed		
Yelli	F		Daughter of Moonta headman of [...]			
Mary Sabb	F		Children belonging to Ms. Sabb in the Sambia			
Elizabeth	F		Children belonging to Ms. Sabb in the Sambia			

Source: Klein to Pratt. 1 July, 1815, Isles de Loos[sic], CMS/CA1/E5/8.

Table 13: List of Non-School Children Kapparoo 1816

Name	Date arrived	Age	Gender	Nation	Origin	Remarks
Scott	1812	12	M	Sulama Susoo		Redeemed children
Julia	d°	13	F		From Foulah	Good hopes of her piety
Mary	d°	10	F	Sulama Susoo		sickly
Elizabeth	1814	9	F	D°		Active promising girl

Source: Klein to Pratt. 8 May, 1816, Kapparoo, CMS/CA1/E5A/68.

The other entries in Klein's list are categorized as “School children 1815,” and “1816.” Origins of children broadly include eight from the nearby Factory Island listed under 1815, and another eight from the Factory Island in 1816. Many of those names were the same as on the Îsles de Los list, indicating that the students followed their teacher to his new location on the coastline. New pupils at Kapparoo include Peter and Kunny Salia, both from “Debrico,” Sally, Mary Ann and Alsmay from “Rio Nunis,” and as of the 1816 subheading, Morry, Robert, Columbo, and Meleky from Kapparoo, along with Amora, Thomas and Peter from “Dumania.” Including the four children who do not fall under his heading of “School Children,” (see Table 11) thirty-two boys and girls were at Kapparoo in 1816. The names of certain boys both in this list and in Klein's other list from the Îsle de Los indicate the strong Muslim presence throughout the region. Two boys entered with variations on “Mamadoo,” (Mohammed) along with a “Balla” offer hints indicating beliefs among which the mission schools worked.

Goree

After arriving in Sierra Leone in 1815, Robert Hughes and his wife – a schoolmaster and

schoolmistress engaged by the CMS specifically to teach - made an effort to acclimatize as many missionaries to the colony did. Unfortunately, Mrs. Hughes became extremely ill, and the couple decided to return to England after six weeks. She worsened so much at sea that as they reached Goree, the couple chose to halt there. As Walker recounts,

they were consequently left on that island, where they were most kindly received by the commandant, who had now become Lieutenant-Colonel Chisholm, into whose Christian plans they entered with ardour; and in a short time, under the Colonel's fostering care, they collected upwards of eighty children in the schools which they had opened. Mrs. Hughes's health became gradually re-established, and there was every prospect, should Goree continue under British rule, that the field of usefulness thus providentially entered upon by the society, would yield a most encouraging harvest.⁴⁴⁰

With the French having been driven out of Goree, British merchants flourished, and Governor MacCarthy in Freetown reported favourably on the school operating under Mr. and Mrs. Hughes. Bickersteth found that reports on Hughes' care of the children of Goree were exemplary, recording in his diary that

Mr. Hughes seems to be here in a situation of great usefulness. He has above eighty children under his care...Feb. 23.— I, this morning, called upon Colonel Chisholm. He spoke very highly of Mr. Hughes, of his general good conduct and steadiness, and particularly of his attention to the children under his care. An officer who was with him, said, "I have this to say of Hughes, that you know nothing of him, and see nothing of him, but in his school; and I think him one of the most useful members of society on the island."⁴⁴¹

Hughes' own letter to Pratt in 1816 was humble, the schoolmaster writing that "I must confess myself a very unfit person to remain here and teach these children,"⁴⁴² following Bickersteth's visit. A focus in Hughes's list of 1816 was on what schoolbooks each class was studying.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴⁰ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 375.

⁴⁴¹ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 390.

⁴⁴² Hughes to Sec. 1 June, 1816, Goree, CMS/CA1/E5/127.

⁴⁴³ CMS/CA1/E5/127.

Hughes' list has comparatively scarce information entered concerning the origins of his students, and no further list is extant. With sixty-one boys, and fifty-one girls under the care of himself and his wife, Hughes confined himself to listing the names and ages of his students, along with broad identification of whether they hailed from Goree, as is most often the case, or whether they belong to another nationality.⁴⁴⁴ Among the girls, all were from Goree except Kitty Chinchella, and Bridget, Margaret and Dola Troy, whom Hughes indicates were English. Among the boys listed, all were entered as being from Goree, except two boys with blotted names, who were categorized as Irish; William Flint and George Campbell, who were Mandingo; Peter Lloyd (from Senegal); and John Hobble, John Harvey and Thomas Gleedon, who Hughes identified as English. John Bogouma was listed with "Don't know" for his nation, and among the girls, thirteen had, instead of individual ages, "Can't tell this age." Hughes broadly listed as accomplishments "Small alphabet," "Great alphabet," "Sermon on the Mount," "Writing & Work," "Testament, Writing and Arithmetic," and then listed the pages each class was studying from the books he had available, for which he did not provide any titles. There are no mentions of the categories like Liberated, Settler, etc which were commonly applied in the other schools, likely due to the geographic distance at which Goree was set apart from the regions where CMS was in operation further southeast along the coast.

Schools after 1816 Retrenchment: Leicester Mountain

In 1814, the CMS acquired a grant of land on the south-eastern face of Leicester Mountain to become a "Christian Institution," expressly for the purpose of working with Liberated Africans.

Butscher, who had hitherto acted as colonial chaplain, would be at liberty to

⁴⁴⁴ See Appendix G.

devote his attention to ...the establishment of a Christian Institution for the education of native children at Sierra Leone. The site selected for it was Leicester Mountain, part of a long range of hills which rises behind Freetown, the capital of the colony, about a mile and a-half from the town, and of considerable elevation, on which account the situation was considered salubrious. Butscher having selected this spot, proceeded to erect three houses.. At this time Butscher had under his care thirty-seven boys, and six girls, who had all been rescued from slave ships. These were to com pose the first inmates of the Christian Institution, when it should be completed, and upon them the hopes of many Christians in England were set for future good to Africa.⁴⁴⁵

The express intention was to make the Institutions a place where “recaptive children could be supported, taught useful trades or farming, and the most promising trained as teachers or missionaries. Butscher took charge: those trained as masons built premises.”⁴⁴⁶ The first pupil list, sent to London in 1816, shows two hundred and fifty students under Butscher's tutelage at Leicester Mountain.⁴⁴⁷ In this list, students' names emerge which were present at other CMS schools along the Rio Pongo, like “William Marsh,” who had been at Bashia school, where he was listed as being “Redeemed”. In Butscher's 1816 Leicester list, he was only listed as being a “Sulima Susoo.” With him appeared “Basil Owen Wood,” another former student at Bashia and another initially described as “Redeemed.” These are the only two pupils readily identifiable as having come from Bashia to Leicester with the missionaries, though discerning other similar names is difficult. Many of the students were listed only by first name, making identification ambiguous. None of the pupils at Leicester was categorized as being Redeemed or Liberated; Butscher's list only provides names, ages and nation of each student. The proportions of regional difference had shifted considerably with the CMS's active role as educators to the Liberated children. No children were listed as being “Mulatto” for the first time in a CMS school list. In the

⁴⁴⁵ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 384-385.

⁴⁴⁶ Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 127.

⁴⁴⁷ See Appendix E.

full 1816 list, one student, Charles Heech Hawtney, was entered without an accompanying nation by Butscher. Among the rest, new nations appeared in contrast to the school lists from before the 1816 changes. The putative “Calabar” or “Calaba,” “Popo,” “Housso,” “Kroomanty,” “Foulato,” “Yah,” and “Yeolo” joined the more familiar “Ebo,” “Cosso,” “Mandingo,” “Bullom,” “Sherbro,” “Susoo,” “Congo,” and “Foulah.” The scribal conventions change through the list, specifically on the third page, after which “Calaba” replaces “Calabar,” though no mention was made to whether Butscher was relying upon another clerk for this document. Pupil 95, Rob Cholmely, was listed as “Calabar,” while on the facing page, the 127th pupil, Baring, was entered as “Calaba,” and “Calabar” was no longer seen in the list. The same hand recorded “Foulato” for the first time on the second page of the four page list; pupil 39, Peter Roe, was recorded as “Foulah” on the first page, but on the following page, pupil 75, George Perrott was identified as “Foulato,” and “Foulah” no longer appeared. Within this 1816 list are two, possibly three distinct scribal hands, showing variations of *ductus* between pupil 41, Daniel Corrie, and pupils 42 and 43, Buchanan and Martyn Pratt.⁴⁴⁸

In this initial first from Leicester, Butscher’s student list breaks down into the following national categories in order of frequency: Ebo, Cosso, Calaba, Congo, Popo, Susoo, Kroo, Calabar, Foulato, Bullom, Yah, Mandingo, Housso, Foulah, Sherbro, Kromanty, Yoh, Yeolo, Temmanee, Congue, Kiskey, and Fy[...] along with one student lacking an entered nation. “Congue” likely indicates “Congo,” and “Yah” may be the same as “Yoh,” but these have been left in their original form to highlight inconsistencies in the list.

The year following this first list, Butscher died, necessitating his replacement. As the March 1819 *Royal Gazette* reports, John Brereton Cates became superintendent and taught

⁴⁴⁸A List of the Boys and Girls Supported by CMS at Leicester Mountain, Freetown, CMS/CA1/E5A/68.

alongside Wilhelm at Leicester, but was moved on Jan 1st, 1819 to Regent Town.⁴⁴⁹ In 1819, George Bull became Principal of the Christian Institution, and sent a list in 1819. Bull was not a missionary but a schoolmaster, trained by Bickersteth himself at the Church Mission house. Of the two hundred and eleven students the 1819 *Gazette* reports, there are a variety of nations indicated by Bull, not all of which were consistent with earlier lists. In Butscher's earlier 1816 record, many students were entered bearing one nation, while in Bull's 1819 list, some of the remaining pupils still present at Leicester were entered with different nations.⁴⁵⁰ Bull's accompanying note concerning his twenty-seven pupils offered some explanation for this disparity, but the considerable geographic distance between Congo and "Cosso" is puzzling. His list concluded with a list classifying the nations of his students, along with recognition of the uncertainties of accuracy:

The names are very uncertain, several of the boys having borne 1,2, & 3 names, different from each other. The name of the country is also uncertain; many slaves are brought a long distance from the interior & assume the name of that country, on the coast, from whence they embark.

I believe I have, as nearly as possible, described the Boys: my pen w^d readily record more gracious things of them...

In all there are

of Cosso nation---	9
Ebo---	3
Accoo---	5
Gorro---	4
Bassa---	1
Kissey---	1
Foulah---	1
Jaloff---	1
Mahee---	1
John Maxwell---	1
27 in all ⁴⁵¹	

⁴⁴⁹ *Royal Gazette*, March 1819, Freetown, CMS/CA1/E7/111.

⁴⁵⁰ The students at Leicester had been redistributed among the various outlying schools by this point, allowing Bull to offer the more detailed descriptions he provides.

⁴⁵¹ Bull to Sec. July 1819, Freetown, CMS/CA1/E8/13.

John Maxwell was listed as “Doesn't know” concerning his nation, suggesting that as with earlier missionaries, Bull's primary method of identifying nation was to ask the pupils themselves.

Table 14: List of Conflicting Nations among Students Leicester Mountain 1816-1819

Name	Date of Birth	Butscher (1816)	Nation	Bull (1819)
Th ^o Conolly Cowan	1806	Ebo(1816)		Cosso (1819)
Henry Martyn	1808	Ebo (1816)		Cosso (1819)
Porteus London	1810	Ebo (1816)		Cosso (1819)
Will Richardson	1808	Yeolo (1816)		Jaloff (1819)
Martyn Pratt	1808	Ebo (1816)		Cosso (1819)
Hans Caulfield	1809	Cosso (1816)		Jorro (1819)
Miles Atkinson	1805	Congo (1816)		Cosso (1819)
Ric ^d Fawcett	1809	Ebo (1816)		Kissey (1819)
Rob ^t Raikes	1810	Ebo (1816)		Gorro (1819)
Abdool Mepek/Abdool Messeek	1809	Ebo (1816)		Accoo (1819)
Lewis Hoy/Hay/Fray	1807	Ebo (1816)		Accoo (1819)
Martyn Buchanan	1807	Ebo (1816)		Accoo (1819)

Source: Bustcher to Pratt, CMS/CA1/E5A/68; Bull to Sec, July 1819, CMS/CA1/E8/13.

By 1819, the nations of students in question as recorded by Bull now included “Accoo” for the first time. Like Wilhelm's earlier Bashia account, Bull's list is highly detailed, including remarks for each student's behaviour and character in his opinion. There were now no Susu, Bullom, Sherbro or Mandinka present by 1819 at the school, and no students were recorded as Maroon, Settler, or mulatto. Like Wilhelm, Bull differentiated between belonging to a nation and having originated from a specific country, as between Edmund Grindall and Butterworth. For the former, he recorded that “Edmund Grindall (or Grandolph I am not certain w^h is his name) is of

Bassa *country*, [italics mine] about 13 years of age. Not very bright – but sadly fearless.”⁴⁵² For the latter, Bull entered “Butterworth (he has no Christian name) is of Cosso *nation* [italics mine] about 12 years of age: He is a complete dwarf – he is very attentive, & pleasing little boy.”⁴⁵³

Wilhelm, who was also reassigned to Leicester Mountain, offered a list which concerned the individuals at the Christian Institution who were not then in school under Bull. He wrote that, “I beg leave to remark that, as there are but a few Children left in the Christian Institution, I have given an account of each under my care, whether named after a Benefactor or not: and M^r Bull will furnish an account of the School Boys.”⁴⁵⁴ Wilhelm's list first addressed the five married African couples at Leicester, the eldest of whom was 21 years of age. Nations and details were given as follows. (See Table 13) The couples were entered with wife immediately following husband, and surnames do not appear to be shared in Wilhelm's record:

Table 15: Married couples Christian Institution 1819

Name	Employment	Age	Origin
Garton Howard	carpenter	20	Housa-country
Mary Brown		18	Bagga-country
Harry Davis	carpenter	19	Bagga-country
Mary		19	Congo-country
James Macaulay	carpenter	21	Congo country
Ann Edwards		19	Ebo-country
Thomas Antony Hutwhinpore	mason	19	Congo-country
Molly Long		18	Golah country
James Dakins	tailor	18	Congo-country
Nancy Maxwell		16	Golah-country

Source: Wilhelm to Pratt. CMS/CA1/E8/18.

⁴⁵² CMS/CA1/E8/13.

⁴⁵³ CMS/CA1/E8/13.

⁴⁵⁴ J.G. Wilhelm to Sec. 8 July, 1819, Freetown, CMS/CA1/E8/18.

The women were not given any individual indication of profession as the men were, but under Molly Long's detailed entry, Wilhelm described a collective refusal by the married women to wash the missionaries' clothing, suggesting that their assumed duties would include washing:

Educated in the Christian Institution, She was a fair, modest girl, always cleanly & [...] in her dress, silent & obedient. She did read & write & sew well as a girl; but she has ranged to the Large since she is married. She now often appears uncleanly & neglectful in her dress, is unwilling to do any thing she is bid. She stirred up the other women to unite with her in refusing to wash our clothes; because we give them not more than two dollars every two weeks, one for Mr Bull's cloth & one for mine, which indeed we thought to be a very great arrangement for them, as we furnished them with soap, & as they cannot wash so well as washerwomen who have learned to the [...] So they sit now down at full leisure, neither learning nor doing any thing for the Rice & Palm oil & cloths which they receive from the Society: except Ann Edwards alone came again & offered herself to wash for us.⁴⁵⁵

Marital violence within certain of the couples' relationships was stated in some of Wilhelm's entries, and may be seen for the second listed couple, Harry Davis and Mary. For Harry, Wilhelm writes that he was:

(named after Mr Davis, the Methodist Missionary)... was married in Jan last to a girl from Regent's town. He is of a thinly[...] frame of body – He is a Carpenter. He reads & writes – While he lived in single life he behaved in a more friendly, respectful, & obedient manner towards me than all the other Institution children; but since he is married, he is gathering cares & worries he beats his wife because she will not obey him, and if he can get money, he will also get drunk. He is just recovered from a severe illness, which very much reduced his bodily strength. May the Lord bless us as a means to reduce also the rebellious powers of sinful nature; to make him feel the evil of sin & to make him long for the Saviour of sinners.⁴⁵⁶

While for Mary, Wilhelm records the following:

Davis's wife... is the fattest & the most careless & indolent of the women in the place. She has learned to read, but cannot write & has no mind to learn it now as

⁴⁵⁵ CMS/CA1/E8/18.

⁴⁵⁶ CMS/CA1/E8/18.

she is married. She seems to like her husband better than he does her. Often on the rough drubbing she received of him, I found her in bed with her head tied up, & asked her, what was the matter with her! She told me that her neck is swollen & that the ribs hurt her – I asked her why her husband did beat her so – She answered me that that was only play – But her husband, when examined, confessed, that he flogged her because she would not obey him.⁴⁵⁷

Mention was made also of James Dakins beating his wife Nancy Maxwell, but Wilhelm offers no further condemnation than mentioning this state of affairs.

Following his discussion of the five couples, Wilhelm wrote on the individuals he listed as “Unwed Boys,” recording them in descending age from fifteen to eleven. Of this younger group, clearly some have been apprenticed to the married men already mentioned, with Wilhelm's entry for twelve year old John Mann describing him as “A fat & strong Tailor's boy, but of rather a sullen look & temper. He begins to read & write. He is more fond of talking than sewing: he will six stitches[*sic*], & in the mean while talk seven palavers, if Master Dakins prevent him not,”⁴⁵⁸ indicating his apprenticeship to James Dakins. In the section under “Girls,” Wilhelm recorded one student who was brought to Leicester from Bashia, and like Basil Owen Wood and William Marsh in Butscher's 1816 account was a Redeemed pupil.

This girl, “Hannah Woodd” was described by Wilhelm as having been:

Redeemed by Mr Renner, brought up & baptized in Bashia, and by the Rev^d Edw^d Bickensteth removed to the Chr. Institution: a handsomely shaped & fine-looking girl; she was very lively & handy when younger: but is now [...], neglectful, indifferened[*sic*] for the little[...] of her station. She can read: but pronounces very harsh & uncouth, and writes words.⁴⁵⁹

After the girls, Wilhelm very briefly outlined which pupils were taken by John Horton to Bathurst Town from the Christian Institution. He offered only a list of names and their trades,

⁴⁵⁷ CMS/CA1/E8/18.

⁴⁵⁸ CMS/CA1/E8/18.

⁴⁵⁹ CMS/CA1/E8/18.

breaking them into carpenters, masons, sawyers, shingle-makers, and tailors. There were twenty-one male children listed, without any ages or nations to indicate previous appearances in pupil lists, though some shared names with earlier entries and make correlation tempting. This 1819 list is the final record for the Christian Institution at Leicester Mountain transcribed and analyzed for the purposes of this study. In 1819 it was given up due to the financial burden of so many children, and moved in 1820 to Regent Town.

Kissy Town

Founded by recaptives in 1812 above Granville Town, Kissy Town's national origins are difficult to unravel. The name suggests that the founders were from the Kissi people, but village tradition instead claims they originated "from the Kise-Kise (then called Kissi) River north of the Melakori."⁴⁶⁰ Under Governor MacCarthy's direction, Wenzel arrived at Kissy in 1816 from Canofee, supplanting a pre-existing Settler Baptist, and arrived ill and half blinded from having caught ophthalmia from the recaptives.⁴⁶¹ Upon Wenzel's death in 1818, Nylander took over the church and school, and his own settlement on the Bullom Shore was closed. Wenzel did not generate a pupil list during his stay at Kissy due to his failing health, and one list appears, dated January 1819. Only boys were listed, and the information included names, ages, nations, birthplaces, and the scholastic achievements of each student. From the title of the document, "A List of Boys sent from the Christian Institution to Kissy Town," many of the names were the same as those on the 1816 Leicester list. Nations recorded in this 1819 document included "Cosso," "Kissy," "Tagba," "Bossas," "Okoo," "Jaloff," "Sherbro," "Gbesse," "Bagbo," "Ebo,"

⁴⁶⁰ Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 119.

⁴⁶¹ Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 131.

and “Mandingo” and its author appends the note that “Their ages no one can ascertain. It is more guess work.”⁴⁶² This report was sent during Nylander's stay at Kissy from 1818-1825, but is unlike all his prior pupil records in format, recording no data on the date of each student's entry into the school as all his prior lists do, and no information on any parents of any children. It is however appended to his letter to London, and shares the same hand, making it unlikely to have been entered by anyone else. The differences may be due to his change in situation, or because all his pupils shared the status of being Liberated Africans. It may also be a re-emergence of Nylander’s earlier depression whilst he was Chaplain; despite his progress on the Bullom Shore at Yongroo Pomoh, he had been returned to a settlement he had not cared for six years prior, and the scant details may be examples of his unhappiness.

Table 16: Kissy Town Pupils 1819

Name	Age	Nation	Origin	Academic Progress
Matthew Blackstone	12	Cosso		These 10 Boys read the <u>Parables</u> , <u>Sermons</u> & <u>Miracles</u> of our Saviour – They write the <u>Alphabeth</u> [sic] and <u>Numbers</u> on slate – Say the <u>Church Catechism</u> & Spell occasionally
John Frith	11	D ^o		
Edwd. Marsh Philips	11	Ditto		
Rich ^d Cecil	11		Rio Pongas	
Robert Rockford	12		Caniky	
Josiah Alport	10	Kissy		
Hananiah Marsh	10	Cosso		
Jason	10		Brucam	
Hole	13	Tagba		
Henry Rider	10	Cosso		
John Scott	12		Bayang	These 7 read Central School Book No. 2; Say Catechism, and Spell
Grant	10	Cosso		
Lithiton Powyes	10	Kissy		
Gerard Noel	10		Brucam	

⁴⁶² A List of Boys sent from the Christian Institution to Kissy Town, January 1819, CMS/CA1/E8/17.

Josiah Pratt	10		Bandy		
Andrew Cooper	10	Bossa			
Masanquet	12	Okoo			
Curtis	10	Jaloff		These all Spell Cards of different pages; the highest page 15	
John Baptist	8		Bellay		
Th ^d Regina Biddulph	12		Muchitta		
William Mariot	11	Sherbro			
John Langon	10	Ebo			
Rob ^t Baron Walton	10		Brucam		
John Hensman	12	Mandingo			
Gustavus Nylander	10	Bagbo			
Henry Maddock	10		Gabray		
Thomas Clark	10	Tagba			Spell Cards of different pages.
Tonncran	10		Rio Pongas		
Craddock Glascott	11		Bucram		
Miller	10	Jaloff			
Daniel Correy	12		Bandy		
Davidson	10		Ebay		
Hugh Latimer	12	Cosso			
Thomas Dikes	11		Bagang		
Taqua	11	Cosso			
Christmas Tandsome	9	Gbesse			
Gont	10	Okoo			

Source: Kissy Pupil List, January 1819, CMS/CA1/E8/17.

Charlotte Town

The list for Charlotte Town of July 5, 1819 was by Christopher Taylor, another schoolmaster sent by CMS. Positioned in the mountains above Freetown, Charlotte was settled by Liberated Africans, and is situated near Regent and Waterloo towns perhaps 6 km south-east from the Cotton Tree in central Freetown. The 1819 *Gazette* does not mention Taylor,

interestingly, reporting instead that the school there was under the superintendence of a William Ashford, who was replaced by Mr. and Mrs. Horton in January 1819.⁴⁶³ Taylor was only mentioned in passing in the Church Missionary Society's list of clerical and lay missionaries, having joined the Society in 1818.⁴⁶⁴ He left Charlotte for England in 1825 and died that year at sea. Taylor's report of students lists only fifteen female students, recording their names, ages, nation, and what books or lessons each was engaged in. He appended general remarks concerning the moral character of his students, and whether or not he believed them to welcome the religious message he was presenting along with his scholarly endeavours.

As to the Character of these Children, They are all very well behaved, as to their moral conduct, but concerning [...] things they are mostly the same, there is no appearance of grace in them, except Two of whom I have good hopes that God has begun to work in their hearts. These Two are Mary Longmire & Lucy Llewellyn who appear to be different from the others, Lucy one day in the kitchen when she did not think that she would be overheard said, when she was done eating Rice. "There I have done & I thank God for that, for if he has not given it to me, I should not have had it."

This is the truth according to my apprehension, and many people, perhaps may be disappointed, but I cannot say any thing more of them.⁴⁶⁵

Lucy Llewellyn is an interesting case. She had been given a benefactor's name, and was entered as being fifteen in 1819. She shares the name with another Lucy Llewellyn recorded by Nylander at Yongroo Pomoh in 1815 as being eight and from the Cameroon river region, as well as one from Canofee's 1815 list, there entered as fifteen and "Croomandy." The child described by Taylor may be neither of these two others, though Nylander's student was also a recaptive, and the redistribution of children from outlying schools in the post-1816 consolidation makes correlations tempting. Mary Longmire also appeared in one of Nylander's lists at Yongroo

⁴⁶³ CMS/CA1/E7/111.

⁴⁶⁴ Church Missionary Society, *Register of Missionaries (Clerical, lay & female) and Native Clergy from 1804 to 1904* (Printed for Private Circulation), 10.

⁴⁶⁵ C. Taylor to Sec. 5 July, 1819, Charlotte, CMS/CA1/E8/15.

Pomoh, there entered as “Ebo,” and like Lucy, was a Liberated child.

Table 17: Charlotte Town Pupils 1819

Name	Age	Nation	Academic Achievement
Mary Richard	16	Jaloof	Read in the Test. Sewing & writing
Ann Morgan	13	D°	Read in the Book No. 2 D°
Lucy Llewellyn	15	Bacomcom	D°
Eliz Powell	7	D°	Alphabet D°
Mary Collier	10	D°	D°
Ann Bridges	12	D°	Read in the Book No. 2 D°
Ann Hensman	13	Currabar	D°
Jane Macdougall	10	D°	Cannot see to do any thing
Mary Longmire	12	Gumalarf	D°
Ann Johnson	15	Ebo	Read in the Book No 2 Sewing & Writing
Eliz Pratt	14	Grun	D°
Hannah More	8	Nday	Page 4 of [...] beautiful [...]
Ann Edwards	16	Ebo	Married & living in other places
Mary Long	17	Golah	
Cadogan	14	Jaquah	

Source: Taylor to Sec. 5 July, 1819, Charlotte, CMS/CA1/E8/15.

Taylor's list of pupil nations demonstrates a wide variety of origins for his students, and either new nations or misspelled nations for some, such as “Currabar,” which may be Taylor's understanding of “Calabar.” Jane Macdougall's entry of “cannot see...” may either be a scribal error on Taylor's part, intended to read as “cannot seem...” or may refer to a visual impediment. As this is the only remark available for this student, either option is possible. Charlotte's pupils have only this single list within the study period upon which to base any analysis.

Gloucester Town

Overseen by Henry During, the Gloucester list shows thirty-one boys, and six girls, recorded in the increasingly standard post-1816 method by the relocated missionaries. Like the students at Kissy and at Charlotte, only name, age, nation, origin and academic success were entered by During, along with individual remarks to each child's character. During arrived at Gloucester in 1816, and was ordained in 1819 while in Sierra Leone. The CMS lists of missionaries indicates that he was lost at sea in 1823 when he sailed for England.⁴⁶⁶ As with Charlotte, Gloucester is positioned in the peaks to the south of Freetown, in this case along one of the flanks of Leicester Mountain.

During's record is inconsistent in the frequency of patronymics or first names' use, with dashes often replacing a first name. Whether this was meant to indicate the repetition of a name between two pupils or not is unclear. As in Taylor's list, the nation identifier "Bacomcom" was used at Gloucester, along with more familiar "Cosso," "Ebo," and "Bullom."⁴⁶⁷ He recorded two deaths for his students, and there is no reference to Traders, Settlers, or whether or not his students are Liberated, local, or possibly Redeemed.

Table 18: Gloucester Pupils 1819

Name	Gender	Age	Nation	Country	Remarks
Jacob Butler	M	10	Cosso		Tractable, diligent and of good behaviour
John Coates	M	14		Banty	Teachable, steady + diligent he is first Teacher. Shews marks of piety
--- Lewis	M	13	Cosso		Teachable, but unsteady, keeps his place in the class as assistant Teacher
Joshua Mann	M	14	Cosso		Is of a mild temper and in general of good behaviour; he is teachable + diligent and very often affected when spoken to

⁴⁶⁶ Church Missionary Society, *Register of Missionaries*, 6.

⁴⁶⁷ H. During to Sec. 6 July, 1819, CMS/CA1/E8/19.

---- Murray	M	12		Bussay	Is teachable, diligent, and well behaving
Lekh Maddock Richmond	M	15		Bayong	Died 10 June 1819
William Wilberforce	M	12	Ebo		Is teachable of quick understanding, but, mischievous
J[...] Copper	M	10		Cossinkah	Is of quick understanding, but having continued weak eyes, it keeps him back in his learning, but he is in general well behaved
John Clarke	M	15		Bayong	Is teachable, diligent + humble
John Fawceto	M	17	Hausa		Mild disposition, Teachable and diligent, he was baptized on Easter day 1819 and shows forth a real christian character; accord to profession
W ^m Gilpen	M	14	Bullom		Is rather dull at school but is of a peacable mind he frequently retires into the bush for prayers + very attentive at Public Worship
W ^m Jones	M	14		Luabam	Is teachable, obliging + very attentive he is faithful and affectionate and is frequently deeply concerned about his soul
Dan ^l Wilsen	M	13		Bayong	Is teachable but given to sulkiness
John Benson	M	15	Ebo		Is at present very dull, what he learned on one day, he loses the next, otherwise his behaviour is in general, not the worst.
Rob ^t Walpole	M	8	Gaboo		Is averse to learning and addicted to pilfering, but, being very small, he may in time become the brightest of any.
--- Brougham	M	10	Cosso		Is of a timid disposition very slow at school
Charles Day	M	8		Bacomcom	Is a very sensible boy, tho' but young, he frequently keeps the top of his class
---- Dixon	M	12	Ebo		Is also very sensible and of grave appearance, he shows habits of piety and forward in learning
John Scott	M	13	Cosso		Is none of the worst in his class, but is very often punished for fighting
Theodosia Hamilton	M	13		Tangtoo	Is of a general good conduct, in his class is none of the worst in bearing, but is deceitful to his fellows
Ja Stillingflut	M	12		Bayong	Is of a tractable disposition forward in learning and generally good behaving
Haldane Stewart	M	14	Cosso		Is at present slow in learning, of an obstinate disposition
Andrew Cheap	M	15		Bacomcom	Died 26 May 1819
John Boughtflower	M	16		Bayong	Is tractable, and seemingly under religious influences is forward in learning

Edw ^d Phillips	M	16	Mandingo		Is seemingly under religious influence, is forward in learning
Cha Simeon	M	17		Calabar	Is deceitful at present, but forward in School. Is of a timid disposition
John Campbell	M	18		Tangtoo	Is of general good behaviour but slow in learning
Peter Colchester	M	19		Bayong	Is also of Good behaviour slow in learning but manageable
Wm Tandy	M	16		Bacomcom	Is not only teachable, but of a conduct such as becomes a Christian
--- Cartwright	M	11		Bayong	Sly forward in learning, in general of good behaviour
Joe ----	M	8	Cosso		Quick of understanding, diligent in learning, affectionate, of good behaviour.
Mary Buchanan	F	16	Ebo		Naturally of a barbarous disposition but evidently under the influence of divine grace. Reads + spells tolerably well.
Judith Hope	F	15	Ebo		Of a mild + harmless disposition shews forth principles of piety. Diligent in + out of school
Millicent Beattie	F	14		Calabar	Is of a tractable disposition, teachable
Mary Babington	F	14	Ebo		Is teachable, tractable, diligent, and affectionate.
Lucy Mann	F	12	Ebo		Is dull, but simple and tractable
Sarah Llewelleyn	F	18	Susoo		Is of a general bad behaviour is able to read the Bible.

Source: H. During to Sec. 6 July, 1819, CMS/CA1/E8/19.

Chapter 5

The Pupils at the Mission Schools

The broad categories which describe the student body for each school prior to the 1816 retrenchment are outlined in this chapter. Lists are provided which present the data in a variety of ways which combine records from multiple settlements, permitting organization of pupils into broad categories. This classification offers insights into the demographics within the schools, and how the classroom composition shifted over time. The students' origins ranged from being explicitly European, to Eurafrikan children (often fathered by slave traders), to the sons and daughters of local headmen and village chiefs. They also ranged from the children of the elite to children retrieved from enslavement either through the agency of the missionaries or through the Vice Admiralty Court in Freetown. They are therefore first categorized by stated origins and affiliations as they were recorded by the missionaries. This includes common categories such as Settler, Trader or Maroon, after which the chapter turns to children known to have been removed from slavery. Correlations are made between pupils from the CMS lists, and data from the Registers of Liberated Africans in Freetown, demonstrating where analysis allows connections to be made. The other category used to describe pupils who were formerly enslaved is "Redeemed," and explicitly indicates purchase from slavery into relative freedom by the missionaries themselves. The chapter analyzes the data and identifies the children who may be categorized in this fashion. After examining some of the individual details known about these children, the chapter turns to a consideration of the eventual dispersion of the pupils of the CMS. Intersection between slave trader parents and increasing anti-slavery activity in the region was often given as cause for removal, and demonstrated the shifting dynamic within the schools over time. Those

dismissed from the schools are described next, along with the reasons the missionaries gave for their dismissal. Apprenticeships follow, showing a glimpse into the settlements and communities formed around each school, and the trades which were flourishing in each. Children who absconded or fled the schools are next described, along with what clues missionary records offer in explaining the reasons for their departure. The final outcome considered in this chapter are the cases in which children died while in the care of the CMS. Though explanations are not always given, these examples offer an insight into the high mortality rates in the colony.

Origins and Affiliation

This section divides the students into broad categories which the missionaries employed in their recording. The lists of students from 1809-1819 offer a variety of specific categories into which children may be placed. Prior to 1816, reports provided clear distinctions between affiliation - and often include the names of parents if known. These records permit insight into the changing social dynamics over time within each school, showing an admixture of children from a variety of backgrounds. The categories most commonly used by missionaries were “Settler,” “Maroon,” “Trader,” “Native,” “Redeemed,” and “Liberated” children. The categories of Trader and “Native” children are most often seen during the period when the missionaries were reliant upon local good will and support from factories and villages in the hinterland than after the retrenchment and closure of outlying schools after 1816. Furthermore, different schools present different compositions, demonstrating that geographic location reflected pupil diversity. Following 1816, children were no longer recorded with the affiliations that had been used prior to centralization, and analysis must rely on similarities of names, ages and origins, though as the missionaries themselves note, all of these categorizations were tenuous at best. Both prior to

retrenchment and afterward, pupil lists offer examples of formerly enslaved children. Those students liberated under the auspices of the Vice Admiralty Court following Abolition are initially rare in the pupil list. They were recorded with sufficient detail to trace them in both the Registers of Liberated Africans and the CMS data to begin with, although the sheer quantity of pupils evidently precluded the same extensive details in later school lists. The other example of children removed from slavery are those whom the missionaries themselves purchased and freed, or “redeemed,” often employing their new charges while offering them an education.

Settlers, Maroons, Traders and Natives

Settler children as a category indicates the descendants of the Nova Scotians who first founded the settlement. Most descended from the Black Loyalists who took the chance to leave Nova Scotia and sail for the upper Guinea coast in the late eighteenth century, but some few hailed from the first wave of migrants, comprising the so-called “Black Poor” of London. For the most part, Settler children remained in the colony proper on the Freetown Peninsula. In the Bashia lists, there is no sign of any children identified as such, though Canofee's lists have four pupils identified under that heading (see Table 19). None of Nylander's entries from Yongroo Pomoh indicate any Settler children among his pupils, and neither do Klein's entries from the Îsles de Los and Kapparoo, nor Hughes in Goree. There are no affiliations offered from any extant post-1816 lists, rendering Wenzel's 1814-1816 identification of Settlers at Canofee the only available indication of education in the outlying CMS schools. There are no explanations in the primary source material for the presence of these four students so far north of Freetown. Colonial documents suggest that Renner, Nylander and Butscher each in turn taught Settler children during their time as Colony Chaplain and Superintendent of Schools in Freetown, but no

pupil lists are extant to describe their students.

The next major category is that of Maroon children. Their identity similarly indicates an origin within the colony, though as opposed to a Nova Scotian background, this specifically refers to a Jamaican Maroon settler background. Maroons were described, in correspondence back to London by missionaries who baptized them in Freetown, but they were also seen in a few of the pupil lists. As with Settler children, while Maroons may have been being educated only in Freetown during the tenure of various schoolmasters under the colonial systems of education, there are no extant reports to show the respective distribution of pupil affiliation. Two entries from Bashia, both by Butscher, indicate a male Maroon child (or two; the similar nomenclature but different ages makes concrete assumptions challenging), and one from Yongroo Pomoh refers to a female Maroon child who eventually left the settlement. These are the only recorded pupils explicitly identified as “Maroon” to be found outside the settlement.

Traders' children were considerably more common in the early records, and are here touched upon in brief. Due to inconsistencies in categorization, female trader's children are here omitted, but may be seen in the entire Bashia record (Appendix A). These children were generally the sons and daughters of local factors of European descent. Early on in Bashia settlement, David Lawrence and Benjamin Curtis's sons were recorded, along with the children of the headman Mongé Fantimani at Canofee just upriver from Bashia. Other traders like Perry, Holeman, Gomez, Fraser, Botefeur, Wilkinson and Fernandez's patronymics appear in the first two lists from Bashia, demonstrating a high number of pupils belonging to nearby traders.⁴⁶⁸ These men commonly married local women of various social standing, and upon the establishment of mission schools in their regions, they enrolled their children in order to ensure

⁴⁶⁸ For the purposes of clarity, only students designated as “Trader” will be capitalized in this analysis, while individuals known as traders on the coast will remain uncapitalized.

an education speaking English. Most traders were of English descent, though French and Portuguese traders are also idescribed among the more detailed remarks by Wilhelm at Bashia in 1815. Emanuel Antony is one of few Afro-Portuguese children in the lists, challenging scholarly ideas concerning the European intermixture with African families in trader homes. Pupil lists record two sons of French traders, two of “coloured traders,” five sons of English traders, and nine without any identification of European country of origin for the parents. The children placed in the Rio Pongo schools by traders were broadly categorized as “mulatto,” and for the most part, their fathers were later explicitly identified as being slave traders, as opposed to trading in legitimate commerce.

Most of these children were removed from the Rio Pongo schools when pressure intensified upon slave trading families, as Wilhelm and Wenzel report in their summation of the departed pupils from their respective schools. Until 1815, the CMS pupil lists comprise the children of “Traders,” a handful of Redeemed and Liberated children, even fewer Settlers and Maroons, with the remainder of the student body made up of local boys and girls. These “Native” children were sent to the mission schools expressly to learn English, and often represented considerable social standing in terms of their parentage. At Bashia, many in the first pupil list are reported as being sons or daughters of important chiefs or headmen nearby. Bankgu, one of the first pupils at Bashia, for example, is identified at the outset as the son of a “considerable chief.” The leader of the nearby village of Fantimania, Mongké Fantimani, sent seven of his sons to Bashia for their education. Likewise, Mr. Pierce, a local headman sent seven of his sons to the CMS settlement at Bashia.

In the following tables, the variations in dates arise from differences in the missionaries’ own data, and have been here organized with the first recorded date shown first, and the date of

the record in parenthesis. So for example, the first male student below, Henry, entered the settlement in Oct 19, 1811 or in Oct 1812, with the second date recorded in 1816 and showing the inconsistency. Parenthetical dates indicate the record when the original date changed. In the case of Esther, Jan 1/Jan 14(1815), 1814 means that she was consistently identified as having entered the settlement in 1814, but in the 1815 record, her day of entry changed to Jan 1 from Jan 14. Months recorded in the following tables are transcribed from the missionary's own list, and are abbreviated or not dependent upon the source document.

Table 19: Pupils identified as "Settler" 1809-1819

School	Name	Gender	Date of Entry into Settlement	Date of Departure	Date of Birth	Affiliation	Origin	Remarks
Canoffee	Henry Beveroth /Bigeroth	M	Oct 19, 1811/Oct 1812 (1816)	March 1816	1806	Settler	Sierra Leone	Wicked mischievous (1814) Left Canoffee March 1816 in S.L (1816) Good learning but [...] left Canoffee March 1816 (1816)
	Esther	F	Jan 1/Jan 14 (1815), 1814		1801	Settler	Sierra Leone	A simple and good girl rather stupid (1815)
	Nancy Bannett	F	Jan 1815		1806	Settler	Sierra Leone	Willing but wicked when out of sight (1816)
	Betsy Banneth	F	Jan 1815		1809	Settler	Sierra Leone	Good girl (1816)

Source: CMS/CA1/E2/92; CMS/CA1/E4/1; CMS/CA1/E4/64; CMS/CA1/E5/36.

Table 20: Pupils (Male) identified as "Trader" 1809-1819

School	Name	Date of Entry into Settlement	Date of Departure	Date of Birth	Affiliation	Nation
Bashia	John Cooper	1810		1803	Trader	Mulatto (French)
	Emanuel Antony	1811		1801	Trader	Mulatto (Portuguese)
	Talla/Tala Curtis			1800	Trader (slave)	Mulatto (English)
	George Curtis		1815	1803	Trader (slave)	Mulatto (English)
	Miles Curtis		1815	(none entered)	Trader (slave)	(English)
	David Curtis		1815	1802	Trader (slave)	Mulatto (English)
	Charles Cummings/ Cumings/Commings			1803	Trader (slave)	Mulatto
	Dominick/Dominic Cummings/ Cumings/Commings			1805	Trader (slave)	
	Emanuel Ti[...]isens			1801	Trader	Mulatto
	Thomas Squarrel			1804	Trader	Mulatto
	John Hickson		1815	1804	Trader	
	George Lancaster	1809		1800	Trader	Mulatto
	Thomas Lancaster			1804	Trader	Mulatto
	William Lawrence		1815		Trader (slave)	Mulatto
	Benj Lawrence		1815		Trader (slave)	Mulatto
	James Pery			1797	Trader	African
	Samuel Pery			1798	Trader	African
	John Road/Rohde			1802	Trader	Mulatto
	William East			1811	Trader (slave)	Mulatto (English)
	Jacob			1812	Trader	Mulatto(French)
Canofee	Joseph Antony	April 8/June 11(1815) 1811		1800	Trader	Port Pros Mulatto
	George Antony	April 8/June 11 (1815) 1811		1802	Trader	Port Pros Mulatto
	James Johnson	July 10th (1814) Sep (1816) 1811		1807	Trader	Mulatto
	David Greg/Graig	Aug 10 th /Sep 8	Oct 1815	1807	Trader	Mulatto

		(1815) 1811/ Aug 1812 (1816)				
	John Cockelshell	Dec 28 th / Dec 5 (1815) 1811		1806	Trader	Mulatto
	David Lawrance	Aug 14, 1811/ April 1811 (1816)	Dec 1811	1801	Trader	
	James Simney	July 10		1805	Trader	
	James Nelson	Dec 28 th , 1811		1807	Trader	
	John Quail	Nov. 10, 1814	Died Mar 3 1816	1806	Trader (slave)	
	David Orman/Armound/ Ormound	July 10, 1811/ March 1812 (1816)	Feb 1816	1807	Trader	Susoo boy
Yongroo Pomoh	Ned Aspenwell	1814 January		1807	Trader in Scarcies	Timanee

Source: CMS/CA1/E2/22; CMS/CA1/E2/103; CMS/CA1/E3/69; CMS/CA1/E4/20;
CMS/CA1/E4/74A; CMS/CA1/E5/12; CMS/CA1/E5A/68.

Table 21: Pupils identified as "Maroon" 1809-1819

School	Name	Gender	Date of Entry into Settlement	Date of Departure	Date of Birth	Affiliation	Origin	Remarks
Bashia	[...]Ellis	M			1801	Maroon	Sierra Leone	An orphan; a Maroon from Sierra Leone
	John Ellis/Eltis	M	1808		1803	Maroon	Sierra Leone	Father dead, mother alive
Yongroo Pomoh	Betcy (Cope)/ (Cook)	F	1814 January	May 1815	1807	Maroon	Sierra Leone	Parents dead

Source: CMS/CA1/E2/22; CMS/CA1/E2/103; CMS/CA1/E4/29.

Liberated Children

An important category – one which eventually redefined how the CMS operated in Sierra Leone altogether after 1816 – was that of the Liberated children placed in the care of the missionaries. Butscher explained in a 1814 letter to the CMS Secretary Josiah Pratt that missionaries took charge of recaptives upon the request of the Governor of Sierra Leone and the CMS itself.

..I had a conversation with his Excellency in our house, respecting those 36 liberated Children you mentioned to be received into the different settlements of the Society in this part of the world; and he wished me to go to his farm where there are a great number of those captured children, and to choose out such as I might think proper: Accordingly I went to day, I saw above 100 boys of different sizes and age, but as I have no opportunity at present to send them to the different settlements I could not yet take the stipulated number, I chose out, however, four to take under my immediate care, and shall, through the grace of God, educate them to the best of my weak abilities. They shall have the following names:

- 1 Garton Howard age about 7 years
- 2 John Shepherd ---- ----- 12 ---- recommended to me by his Excellency as a steady boy
- 3 Stephen Goode ---- ----- 8 ----
- 4 William Marriott ----- ---- 9 ----- besides a Girl named
- 5 Sarah Llewellyn ---- ----- 12 ----- whom we took a short time back under our care and she seems to be a pleasing girl.

This afternoon B^r. Nylander arrived here himself and family are well: He will take the following 6 children under his care for education:

- 1 Robert Raikes
- 2 John Campbell
- 3 William Brook Gurney
- 4 Christiana Hope
- 5 Mary Longmire
- 6 Matilda⁴⁶⁹

Variouly referred to as “Captured Negroes,” and “recaptives” as well as Liberated, these children were registered through the Liberated Africans Department at Freetown, which oversaw the men, women and children “liberated” through the auspices of the Vice Admiralty Court there.

⁴⁶⁹ Butscher, L. Letter to Josiah Pratt. 30 June, 1814, CMS CA1/E4/22.

Seen in the Rio Pongo pupil lists as early as 1811, and described as having accompanied Butscher back to the settlements there, Liberated children are present in many of the records, and may be cross-referenced with the Registers of Liberated Africans from Freetown. Insights reconciling the use of confusing terminology for the three pupils categorized as “Redeemed,” but originating from the Congo River by way of Sierra Leone may be possible using this method. Accordingly, pupils listed as Liberated are here considered by year of entry into the settlement, against the data from the corresponding Registers. Wenzel’s inconsistent dates of entry make the Canofee pupil analysis more difficult by year, but for the purposes of the following table analysis, students have been entered by the year of the first school record in which they appear.

Table 22: Liberated children 1811

School	Name	Gender	Date of Entry into Settlement	Date of Birth	Nation	Origin	Affiliation
Bashia 1811	Charles	M	1811 or prior	1800	Congo	Sierra Leone	Redeemed
	Frank/Francis	M	1811 or prior	1799	Congo	Sierra Leone	Redeemed
	Harry	M	1811 or prior	1800	Congo	Sierra Leone	Redeemed
	Eliza	F	1811 or prior	1797	Congo	Sierra Leone	Liberated
	Silva	F	1811 or prior	1797	Congo	Sierra Leone	Liberated
	Betsy	F	1811 or prior	1803	Congo	Sierra Leone	Liberated
Canofee 1811	Joseph Hopeful	M	Nov 15, 1811	1800	Bullom Sherbro	Sherbro	Liberated
	Zounguma (Charles)	M	Nov 15, 1811	1802	Ebo		Liberated
	Sessey (John Bunian)	M	Nov 15, 1811	1803	Ebo	Ebo country	Liberated
	Christian Hope	M	December 1811	1804		Ebo country	S.L. Liberated
	Cai Mary	F	Nov 15, 1811	1799	Timany	From Sierra Leone	Liberated

Source: CMS/CA1/E2/92; CMS/CA1/E2/103.

The first Register from the Liberated Africans Department which corresponds to the pupils found in the 1811 list is the 1808-1812 Register, encompassing recaptives #1 through #3772. Only renamed the “Liberated Africans Department” in 1822, during the period this study concerns, the Registers were entered for the “Captured Negroes Office.”⁴⁷⁰ The issue of naming in the Registers is a well-recorded matter, emphasized early by CMS missionaries well before Richard Meyer-Heiselberg remarked in 1967 that “... it has not always been easy for the clerks to succeed in finding a happy transcription of the African name given by the slave. Undoubtedly language difficulties have caused errors and misunderstandings, and the instance may have been similar when stating the age of the liberated African.”⁴⁷¹

However, entries following recaptive #762 are without any information concerning the disposal of men, women or children of either gender, and there are few mentions of the seized vessel either. The final vessel to be mentioned in the 1808-1812 Register was the *Esperanza*, which was seized and adjudicated in the Vice Admiralty Court on May 14, 1810. Following recaptive #825, no vessel or date is given for the remainder of the 2,947 individuals entered in the 1808-1812 Register, making chronological correlation difficult in the extreme. Efforts therefore to reconcile the date of entry of Liberated pupils into the CMS mission with the dates of seized vessels are challenging. Analysis of the disposal data for the first few hundreds of boys and girls shows that most recaptives with disposal data were apprenticed to Nova Scotian Settlers, Maroons, Traders, or entered the British military forces. The CMS and its missionaries go unmentioned with regard to this early data. One correlation however is entirely possible:

⁴⁷⁰ Richard Meyer-Heiselberg, *Notes from LIBERATED AFRICAN DEPARTMENT: extracts from sources on the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade 1808-1860 from the Archives at Fourah Bay College, The University College of Sierra Leone, Freetown, Sierra Leone* (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1967), 2.

⁴⁷¹ Meyer-Heiselberg, *Notes*, 3.

Zounguma, also named Charles, seen in the 1811 Canofee list, may well correspond to recaptive #901, named “Zoungama.” Recaptive #901 is listed as being seven years of age, male, measuring 3'10, and is described as possessing a “small round scar outside right calf, small lump top of right foot.”⁴⁷² As this recaptive's entry occurs after the point where dates and vessels cease to be identified, all that can be known is that he was entered between May 14, 1810, and 1812. This would place his date of birth in 1803 if he were registered in 1810, and in 1804 if registered in 1811. As recaptive #901 is only seventy-six entries after the final entry for the spring 1810 capture of *Esperanza*, it seems plausible to assume 1810 for the date of his entry, and considerably less likely that he was entered in 1812. The name “Zoungama” is unique in the Register, with #901 apparently the only individual bearing it according to ongoing work on the names of Liberated Africans.⁴⁷³ If Wenzel recorded Zounguma’s (Charles) age correctly, the two male child entries (CMS and Registers of Liberated Africans) with this relatively unique name were very close in the age assumed by both missionary and clerk. The likelihood therefore is that the boys were the same individual, though without the concrete data of what year recaptive #901 was registered, this conclusion can only be a tentative one.

⁴⁷² Recaptive 901, Registers of Liberated Africans (RLA) 1808-1812, Public Archives of Sierra Leone (PASL), Fourah Bay College, Freetown.

⁴⁷³ From the same ongoing work, this recaptive arrived in Freetown on the vessel *Zaragozano* in 1810, which purchased slaves from Sherbro. See <http://www.african-origins.org/african-data/detail/100901> (accessed September 2015).

Table 23: Liberated children 1813

School	Name	Gender	Date of Entry into Settlement	Date of Birth	Nation	Origin	Affiliation
Canofee 1813	Hanna/Hannah	F	July 13, 1813	1800	Croomandy	From Sierra Leone	Liberated
	Sally	F	July 13, 1813	1802	Croomandy	From Sierra Leone	Liberated
	Betsy	F	Feb 11, 1814 (died April 22, 1814)	1806	Croomandy	From Sierra Leone	Liberated
	Lucy Llewellyn	F	Aug 1813	1802	Croomandy		Liberated

Source: CMS/CA1/E4/64.

The Registers of Liberated Africans continue without any dates at all until well into the second volume, when chronology reappears, beginning at recaptive #4684, dated March 30, 1814, when an expedition evidently entered the Rio Pongo and seized slaves there. Due to the renaming of children,⁴⁷⁴ and the ambiguity of the majority of children’s names in the 1811 and 1813 data from Bashia and Canofee, aside from Zounguma's possible match, the remaining fourteen pupils are impossible to find in the first two Registers. “Sessey”, also called “John Bunian,” was likely registered in the Registers as “Sessy,” but that name is a fairly common one among captives in the first Register, making any exact match difficult. The earliest example of “Sessy” in the Registers is from the ship *Marianna*, seized in 1810. He was registered as recaptive #648, and being ten years of age in that entry. This would make this captive's date of birth 1800, three years prior to where Wenzel placed him. The next possible entry is recaptive #651, “Sessey,” which shares the same spelling as Wenzel's entry – though this indicates very

⁴⁷⁴ Customarily, CMS pupils were renamed to share names with benefactors of the Society in London.

little concrete given variations in spelling. This child was nine, which brings the date slightly closer at 1801, though still not close enough. The final “Seessy” from the *Marianna* is recaptive #656, age eight, which would correspond to the Liberated child at Canofee far more closely. There is no evidence, however, that this was the same pupil. Further boys appear after the dates cease to be listed, including recaptives #897, #1275, and #1289 among many others. Conclusive evidence that any of these children is the same “Sessey” renamed John Bunian/Bunyan by the missionaries is impossible to find without dates of entry into the colony.

Table 24: Liberated children 1814

School	Name	Gender	Date of Entry into Settlement	Date of Birth	Nation	Origin	Affiliation
Yongroo Pomoh 1814	James	M	1812 October	1802	Congo		Captured slaves
	Charles	M	1812 October	1804	Congo		Captured slaves
	William Brodie	M	1814 July	1802	Cosso		Captured slaves
	William Neal	M	1814 July	1803	Cosso		Captured slaves
	Robert Raiks	M	1814 July	1803	Sherbro		Captured slaves
	John Campbell	M	1814 July	1804	Cosso		Captured slaves
	Betsy	F	1812 October	1806	Congo		Captured slaves
	Mary	F	1812 October	1806	Jaloft (1814) Jaloff (1815)		Captured slaves
	Matilda	F	1814 July	1806	Ebo		Captured slaves
	Mary Longmire	F	1814 July	1804	Ebo		Captured

							slaves
	Mary	F	1814	1808	Country not known		Captured
	Sarah	F	1814 January	1806	Congo		Captured slave
	Christian/Christiana ⁴⁷⁵ Hope	F	1814 July	1804	Ebo		Captured slaves
Canofee 1814	Fanny	F	Febr 1814	1805	Croomandy		Liberated S.L
	Betsy	F	Feb 11, 1814 (died April 22, 1814)	1806	Croomandy	From Sierra Leone	Liberated

Source: CMS/CA1/E4/29; CMS/CA1/E4/64.

As with Sessey/John Bunion's identification, determining James and Charles's origins with their 1812 entry into the Yongroo settlement beyond the broad regional “Congo” is challenging without corresponding dates provided in the Registers. The same issue is present for Fanny and Betsy at Canofee, as their date of arrival takes place prior to the re-establishment of dates within the Registers. The children whose arrival is indicated as being 1814 July have a variety of possible correlations through the 1812-1814 Register of Liberated Africans. Expeditions beginning in March of 1814 targeted local slave factories and barracoons, and the “nations” indicated by Nylander for his pupils correspond to local peoples.

In March of 1814, an expedition returned from the Rio Pongo with a number of boys who could correspond to the four male students at Yongroo Pomoh (see Table 6 July 1814 entry date). Recaptives #4826-4870 include two children of approximately thirteen, three twelve-year-olds, five eleven-year-olds, twelve ten-year-olds, nine nine-year-olds, and two eight-year-olds who

⁴⁷⁵ Unfortunately, both spellings are used, and the child’s entry is always recorded under “boys” by the missionaries; accordingly it is here recorded in both spellings and placed as in the original document.

could potentially correspond to the four boys listed in approximate age. Some bear Westernized names, as with recaptive #4830, “John,” aged thirteen; recaptive #4833, “Jim,” aged eight; recaptive #4839, “Jack”, around ten; recaptive #4843, “Will,” aged ten, and recaptive #4850, “Tom,” aged nine.⁴⁷⁶ The chance of a boy already bearing an anglicized name being given a new one is less plausible than that an African name would be replaced with the names William Brodie, William Neal, Robert Raiks and John Campbell, but it is not impossible either. The scars detailed on the recaptive boys recorded from this expedition do not preclude the “nations” Nylander identified, and none of them were recorded with “purrah” (which would suggest initiation into Poro and likely correlate with the Mende (Cosso) identification).

On April 19 1814, another expedition sought to liberate slaves held nearby, this time at the Îsles de Los, and again, the four boys at Yongroo Pomoh may well have originated from this journey. Nine boys were registered, including seven which were apprenticed to “Masons.” The remaining pair are recaptive #4960, Sam Carfo, approximately twelve, and recaptive #4961, Amarah, around eleven. In May, the vessel *Nossa Senhora da Victoria* was seized and brought through the Vice Admiralty Court. A number of boys removed from the ship bear anglicized names again, including recaptive #5202, “Sambah John,” around eleven, recaptive #5205, “Peter alias Faduba,” around nine, recaptive #5206, “Will,” aged eleven, recaptive #5209, “Dick,” around eight. Recaptive #5241, “Jose,” around ten, and #5242, “John Salla,” age nine, are the other children bearing western names.

In the same year, on May 24, 1814, a number of children were retrieved from the Plaintains, according to the Register, including four boys with ages very close to the children at Yongroo Pomoh. The CMS nations listed are also considerably more likely to be the same. This

⁴⁷⁶ RLA 1812-1814, PASL.

group of recaptives included adult men wearing “purrah” marks, which supports identification with the Mende, among whom Poro is a considerable force. In contrast, none of the recaptives taken at the Îsles de Los or along the Rio Pongo were recorded with mention of Poro marks. The four boys listed were recaptive #5428, “Joe,” age twelve, described as having “Belly very much scarred, prominent navel faint cuts on forehead & left eyebrow,” recaptive #5429, “Kendee,” around ten, registered as having “Cut on forehead, d° back of left hand,” recaptive #5431, “Bissy,” around nine years old, with a “Yellow complexion scar right side of head small d° on elbow,” and finally recaptive #5432, “Fouree,” also around nine, registered as having a “Cut left eyebrow Scar right hip + outside right thigh bowlegged.”

Given the nations Nylander listed his four new male students as belonging to, and their approximate ages, it seems plausible that the four boys from Plantain Island seized in May were the same boys who entered Yongroo Pomoh in July of the same year, as the following expeditions for 1814 respectively went considerably north into the Susu lands in June, leaving little time to return, register and organize newly liberated individuals before July. The next major influx of recaptives was on the vessel *Gertrudis* captured on July 8, 1814, and its places of slave purchase (the Bight of Biafra and Gulf of Guinea islands) were considerably further east than where Sherbro and Mende slaves came from.⁴⁷⁷

By the same token, the expeditions to the Rio Pongo, the Îsles de Los, Plantain Island, and the Susu country are unlikely to have been the origin for the three girls who arrived at Yongroo Pomoh in July 1814, as they were described as being Igbo, making origins in the local region impossible. Unless they were registered prior to March 1814, the most likely origin for them is *Nossa Senhora da Victoria's* seizure in May. None of the girls listed on that record has an

⁴⁷⁷ <http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces?yearFrom=1514&yearTo=1866&shipname=Gertrudis> (accessed September 2015).

anglicized name, and they range from infancy, to four or five years old, to thirteen years old, offering few clues to determining which if any might be Matilda, Mary Longmire, and Christiana Hope. Depending upon the speed of the court at the time, they could plausibly also have been held on the *Gertrudis*, which was taking slaves in the correct region for Igbo to be aboard. *Nossa Senhora's* place of embarkation for enslaved Africans is unknown in the research done to date, offering no clarification between the two possible vessels.⁴⁷⁸

Table 25: Liberated children 1815

School	Name	Gender	Date of Entry into Settlement	Date of Birth	Nation	Origin	Affiliation
Yongroo Pomoh 1815	Sarah Llewellyn	F	March 1815	1807	Cameroon		Captured slave
	Elizabeth Thompson	F	March 1815	1808	Cameroon		Captured slave
	Lucy Llewellyn	F	March 1815	1807	Cameroon		Captured slave
	Martha Llewellyn	F	March 1815	1808	Cameroon		Captured slave
	Anne Llewellyn	F	March 1815	1809	Cameroon		Captured slave
	Anna Benigna Johnson	F	March 1815	1809	Cameroon		Captured slave
	Jane W Douglas	F	March 1815	1809	Cameroon		Captured slave
Bashia 1815	Martha Hirfoot	F	1815	1805			captured

Source: CMS/CA1/E5/12; CMS/CA1/E5A/68.

⁴⁷⁸ <http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces?yearFrom=1514&yearTo=1866&voyageid=7537> (accessed September 2015).

The seven students whom Nylander reported arriving in March of 1815 at Yongroo Pomoh were all identified as hailing from Cameroon, though none of them knew where along the river they originate exactly. Only one ship was captured and adjudicated in Freetown during the requisite time period to be the potential carrier for these girls if the place of purchase is limited to Cameroon. This ship was the *General Silveira*, which reportedly left the Cameroons on February 13, 1815.⁴⁷⁹ Thirty-six girls between three and thirteen were removed from this vessel. Names are entirely unhelpful in identification in this case, as all seven girls were given CMS benefactor names by the time of their entry by Nylander. Sorted by age, there were four girls approximately eight years of age, eight girls registered as being seven, and seven girls registered as six on the vessel, of whom any could have been renamed to correspond to the new pupils at Yongroo Pomoh. This ship is the likeliest to have been the origin for the girls, but the question of precisely when they might have been offloaded is challenging. The Register reports that the *General Silveira* was seized March 29, 1815, and condemned 21 June 1815.⁴⁸⁰ Though it was the only ship which purchased slaves expressly from Cameroon prior to March 1815 and after 1814, there are problems chronologically with concluding that the girls hailed from this vessel. Therefore it is also possible that the seven girls were taken from a ship which purchased slaves in Calabar, and happened to have seven enslaved girls from further southeast aboard.

After 1816, the CMS was given the express duty of educating and training the many recaptive children by then present in Freetown and its immediate locale. The first Leicester Mountain list, entered under Butscher's authority, indicates two hundred and fifty students of a variety of nations were registered there. Without a date of entry contained in the data, however,

⁴⁷⁹ <http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces?yearFrom=1514&yearTo=1866&voyageid=7644> (accessed September 2015).

⁴⁸⁰ Recaptives 6927- 6961, RLA 1814-1816, PASL.

efforts to correlate the many students at what would become the Christian Institution is challenging, given the number of Liberated Africans passing through the Vice Admiralty Court at that time. Leicester Mountain was opened under Butscher in 1814, and saw a redistribution of its pupils into outlying schools, but there is no way of establishing that the first students did not comprise Liberated children already present in Freetown from 1808 onward. The same problem applies to Kissy Town, Gloucester Town, Charlotte Town and the Christian Institution's reduced pupils – with students not only initially centralized, but then redistributed, matching any single group of rechristened Liberated children to a given vessel is extremely difficult.

Redeemed Children

First appearing in the 1811 lists from Canofee and Bashia, children passing through the settlements were often purchased and subsequently “redeemed” or “ransomed” by the missionary overseeing the mission. This approach was governed by approval and strict instructions from the CMS in London, as was clarified to Butscher during his visit there:

The principle of redeeming a certain number of children from slavery, to be attached to each settlement, was adopted by the committee. They directed that for each settlement containing fifty children, eight of these poor slave children should be redeemed, at a sum not exceeding £10 for each child, which children were to act as servants, and to receive education, and that the same proportion should be observed for a smaller or larger settlement; and these children, with the layman and his wife, it was expected, would be sufficient for the services required.⁴⁸¹

Later entries indicate that the group of boys identified by Butscher in 1811 as hailing from the Congo River (Charles, Frank and Harry) originated from “Sierra Leone” and he defined them as “Redeemed.”⁴⁸² However, the three girls specifically described as similarly hailing from Sierra

⁴⁸¹ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 269.

⁴⁸² The pertinent pupil list from 30 March, 1813, first makes this classification, but is without any stated author. CMS/CA1/E3/69.

Leone (Betsy, Eliza and Silva) in the 1813 pupil list were not described as “Ransomed” by the author, suggesting some ambiguity. This categorization is peculiar, as the majority of other “Redeemed” or “Ransomed” pupils originate among considerably nearer ethnic groups. Though they were not named explicitly, mention was made in the 1845 narrative account of the CMS activities in this region by Walker of six children whom Butscher brought back to Bashia settlement with him after his visit to Freetown in 1811. From the dates, it seems entirely plausible that, rather than being children explicitly redeemed through purchase by the missionaries, these Congolese children were in fact Liberated:

Governor Maxwell took advantage of his arrival to commit six negro children, natives of the Congo river, selected from a number recaptured from slave vessels, to the care of the missionaries... Having received the six poor negro children, almost naked, he clothed them decently, and on his journey home had to guard them with great care, as he was informed that the Mandingoes, on going to and from Sierra Leone, had stolen numbers of such recaptured children, by enticing them with rice, bread, &c., and carried them off by night, in their canoes, for sale, at the first opportunity. Besides these children he had with him a mulatto boy, about ten years of age, who was sent by his parents to the school.⁴⁸³

Later lists indicate that Ambrose, Butscher, Jeronimus, John, Joseph, Sabu and Tobias in the 1811 list were also considered to have been “Redeemed” by 1813, but their origins were much closer to home. Some of these children are mentioned in Walker's account later, where he categorizes the pupils present at the school, writing that “of the remainder, four had been ransomed by the missionaries, and received the names of Benjamin, James, Joseph, and Butscher.”⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸³ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 260.

⁴⁸⁴ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 240.

Table 26: Redeemed Children (Male) Bashia 1809-1816⁴⁸⁵

Name	Date of Entry to Settlement	Date of Birth	Nation	Origin
Ansimany/Ansmany		1803	Kissi (Kissi)	
Ambrose (Bull)	1811	1804	Foolah (Fula)	
(William) Butscher	1809	1799	Mandingo (Mandinka)	Sangara
Josiah Pratt	1810	1802		Solomashui
Jeronimus/Jeranimus (Shepherd)	1811	1801	Foolah (Fula)	
John		1801		
Joseph/Joe		1803		Clunga
Matthew (Taylor)	1811	1805	Soosoo (Susu)	
Moree/Murray	1814	1786	Kissee (Kissi)	
Joseph Peddie	1809	1804		Bambaranka
Peter		1806	Mandingo (Mandinka)	
Smila	1814			Bramia
Sabu/Sabba		1799		
Tobias (Smith)	1810	1802		Solomashui
Fred. Watkins	1810	1803	Kissee (Kissi)	

Source: CMS/CA1/E2/22; CMS/CA1/E2/103; CMS/CA1/E3/69; CMS/CA1/E4/20; CMS/CA1/E4/74A; CMS/CA1/E5/12; CMS/CA1/E5A/68.

Within the Canofee lists, comparatively fewer children were identified as being either Ransomed or Redeemed. Only one male student, originally named “Adam” and rechristened “William Wilberforce” in 1815 appears as a Redeemed student. There were considerably more girls entered as “Ransomed,” with details offering intriguing insights into their trajectories prior to Wenzel's intervention. As is customary for Wenzel, the date of entry was recorded differently over the years he listed each girl.

⁴⁸⁵ Variations in spelling are due to different authors for this compiled table. Names in parenthesis indicate names taken by individuals in christening ceremonies later in life, after which they are recorded under both names.

Table 27: Ransomed Children (Female) Canofee 1811-1816

Name	Date of Entry into Settlement	Date of Birth	Nation	Origin	Remarks
Fathoma (Rechristened Matilda 1815)	February 10/February 14 (1814) 1811	1802	Susoo	From Foolah	I ransomed here on the 18 th of Febr. (1811) A good girl (1814) The first of the ransomed but of a bad character (1815)
Betsy (Rechristened Elizabeth Thompson 1815)	Dec 3, 1811	1796		From Foolah/ Beyond Foolah country(1816)	A very industrious (1814) Stupid but good tempered willing to work (1816)
Peggy	Feb 28, 1812	1802		From Foolah	A good washing girl and willing to do (1814)
Fathoma	Feb 1 1814/ Feb 8, 1814 (Died Feb 11, 1814) (1815)	1806	Susoo	From Foolah	Died Feb 18
Salta (Susanna) (Rechristened Susanna Cottrel/Cattrel 1815)	Feb 4 th /Feb 5 (1815) 1814	1807	Susoo	From Foolah	A little innocent quiet girl (1815) Sickly constitution drowsy(1816)
Kongu/Kongo (Jane) (Rechristened Jane Matilda Dougle/Dough 1815)	Feb 4 th , 1814	1806	Susoo	Foolah slave	A very good girl (1815) Meekly and willing disposition (1816)
Kuda (Martha) (Rechristened Martha Llewellyn 1815)	Feb 28/February 14(1815), 1814	1804	Susoo	Foolah slave Rio Nunez(1816)	A good industrious girl (1814) Of a fiery disposition (1815) Lively girl willing to work(1816)

Source: CMS/CA1/E2/92; CMS/CA1/E4/1; CMS/CA1/E4/64; CMS/CA1/E5/36.

The procedure for redeeming children by missionaries was finally halted in 1813. As a result of the increasing influx of Liberated children into the colony and its surroundings, the

CMS instructed all missionaries to cease their efforts to redeem slaves.⁴⁸⁶ After this point, the purchase of enslaved children in order to free them was wholly condemned. The cessation of redemption was of such importance that the Secretary not only sent the instructions to the Rio Pongo missionaries, but sent copies to Butscher in Freetown and instructed him also to act to halt any further redemption of enslaved children.⁴⁸⁷ This directive was sent prior to CMS receiving Renner's own concerns about the redeeming of children; in his letter dated Feb 12 of the next year, Renner openly complained about the cost incurred by the missionaries for their continuing redemption of children. The £15-20 worth of goods each purchase required was evidently becoming a problem for those working on the Rio Pongo, as the price had risen with the increased efforts of the naval vessels.⁴⁸⁸

Dispersion and Departures

Not all of the trajectories of students through the CMS mission schools were ultimately successful. For some students, the changing world affecting their parents as anti-slavery activity increased along the upper Guinea coast necessitated their removal from schools. Trader parents fleeing the regions in which the CMS operated often took their families with them, though in some notable cases, they left illegitimate children in the continuing care of the missionaries. In earlier examples, traders removed their sons after they evidently felt that their children had attained sufficient education to be of use in trading operations. However, rejection could come from each side, and missionaries sometimes dismissed students for their behaviour or attitudes, while other children simply fled. These cases offer a fragmentary look at resistance to the CMS

⁴⁸⁶ CMS Committee Instructions to Rio Pongas Missionaries, 26 November, 1813, CMS/CA1/E3/102.

⁴⁸⁷ Sec to Butscher, 26 November, 1813, London, CMS/CA1/E3/105.

⁴⁸⁸ Renner to Sec., 12 February, 1814, CMS/CA1/E3/116.

system, as some children responded with hostility and aggression to the mission schools. Conversely, success can be measured through students who may be followed over time into their apprenticeships with local tradespeople in the settlements around each school. For some of the formerly enslaved, these apprenticeships provided them with surnames in the European fashion, and missionary records offer a glimpse into the trades in demand regionally. Finally, mortality was a very real outcome for many in the Sierra Leone, and the children under CMS care were no different. Cases of deaths offer glimpses into individual lives, even if shortened, as missionary data suggest illnesses and injury.

Children Removed from School

At Bashia, the increasing pressure of the West African Squadron along the Rio Pongo began to affect enrolment. By 1815, in Wilhelm's account, these changes were clear in the decrease of pupils fathered by local slave traders, and the explanations offered for their departure. Wilhelm's pupil list ends with an appended document describing the children who left Bashia during his tenure. More concrete details concerning the reactions of slave traders to the increasing pressure from the Royal Navy at Freetown become apparent in this portion of the list. John Hickson was remarked upon as follows: "About the age of 12 years, the son of a slave trader on the Îsles de Loss. He was called home before his father was taken by the English to be tried in Sierra Leone." Bill and Benjamin were both entered as the "Sons of Lawrence, a slave-trader. They were taken home." The children of Benjamin Curtis are found again here, and their entry corresponds to the detailed note beside Talla Curtis. "Sons of Curtis, a slave-trader, who, apprehending the prosecution of the man-of-war, took them home, and left the river." John Quail was also described as the son of a slave trader, though his dismissal from Bashia was due to his

behaviour as opposed to any action by his father, who evidently had died some years prior. Like Quail, William East's departure was less concerned with his father's profession as a slave trader, and more due to surrounding circumstances.⁴⁸⁹

Wilhelm's detailed entries provide an additional facet into appreciating what manner of traders they were who had sent their children to Bashia for an education, and what political forces were at work along the Rio Pongo by 1815. The same account offers indications concerning removals by parents which the missionaries knew in advance also, as in the case of Sebastien, the son of the local headman Pierce who eventually rallied local interests against the missionaries. Sebastien's description ends with, "His father intends to take him soon home to make him his book-keeper." This intention seems to be as a result of Sebastien Pierce's scholastic accomplishments at that point.

Wenzel's school at Canofee saw similar removals by parents of local children, first observed in the March 12, 1814 record, which explains the absence of Ilorum Pisgan/Misgan: "Is gone to his mother, but taken in a canoe to [...] of war, but set at liberty, and will come to school again."⁴⁹⁰ This student did not return in later lists. In the same list, Wenzel ends by explaining the other cause for removal of pupils from specific schools – some seem to have travelled out with newly arrived missionaries to different schools. "Three boys have been here for 6 months, and left school again 3 boys belonged to Mr Klein and he has taken them with him. I would not mention any character of the little children till I see more what way they will turn." Similarly, two female students were entered only as "2 girls of Mr. Klein to go with him to Brania," with no names, ages, or nations offered by Wenzel. In his 1815 list, Wenzel added Lewis Gomez to the group who had departed, indicating that he "Is gone with his father to Bissow but will return

⁴⁸⁹ Wilhelm, Bashia pupil list, 1815, CMS CA1/E4/74, 74A.

⁴⁹⁰ Wenzel to Pratt, 12 March, 1814, Canofee, CMS/CA1/E4/1.

again.”⁴⁹¹ In his 1816 report, this was expanded upon, indicating that Lewis “Left school Feb 1815 and is with his father.” David Ormond had by this time likewise left, and is recorded as having “Left school Febr 1816 is with his mother,” while David Graig evidently switched to Bashia in October 1815. Henry Beveroth in this report, a nine year old, was recorded as having “Left Canoffee March 1816 in S.L,” without any explanation of why or with whom. Lewisa Murray and Betsy Holeman were both recorded as having left, respectively in 1810 and 1815, though Holeman had evidently been married, which was presumably the cause for her departure. In addition, Wenzel recorded that “Sherry Belly and Baba Susoo being each only 6 weeks in school and returned home,” but does not provide ages or further details beyond this short entry.⁴⁹² In the same record, he reported that Esther Saunders, at thirteen, and Talla, David Graig's servant, had each left the school, though the dates are typically problematic – in Talla's case, Wenzel reports that she left both in 1814 and 1815. The final female pupil he reports as having departed is Esther Lancaster, who arrived in Feb 1811, a Trader's daughter, listed as “1813 [...] gone to live again with her mother.” James Upright, a Susu boy of around five years of age was described in the attached list as “A drowsy boy. Sick gone home.” Presumably this indicates retrieval by his parents, but no details were offered.

At Yongroo Pomoh, only in 1816 were any details offered concerning pupils who had departed the school. A number of them, primarily hailing from Sierra Leone, reportedly had left by the time of the record, though no reasons were given for their departure.

⁴⁹¹ Wenzel to Sec, Canoffee, CMS/CA1/E5/36.

⁴⁹² CMS/CA1/E5A/68.

Table 28: List of Departed Children Yongroo Pomoh 1816

Name	Gender	Date of Entry into Settlement	Age	Nation	Origin	Remarks
Betsey Cook	F	November 1813	7	Maroon		Left May 1815
Betsey Jolly	F	January 1814	10		Sierra Leone	Do May 1815
John Morrison	M	March 1814	8		D ^o	Do Oct 1814
Andrew Brian	M	May 1813	7		D ^o	Do July 1814
Mary Parkinson	F	May 1813	6		D ^o	Do August 1815

Source: CMS/CA1/E5A/68.

Children Dismissed by Missionaries

Wilhelm's list of 1815 provides details concerning students whom Wilhelm himself removed. Nineteen-year-old “Bangku,” the first pupil to have been placed at Bashia by to early accounts, was dismissed by Wilhelm according to the 1815 remarks.

The son of Mungké Chatee, about 19 years old, was dismissed from the school, as soon as I was informed of his fall with one of the redeemed females, which occasioned their being married. Mr. Renner occasionally instructs him & employs him according to his discretion. At the same time I advised Bangku still to attend morning & evening prayer, but being now & then, in explaining the Scripture, led to protest earnestly against vicious conversation with the other sex, he seems not to like that, though such warnings are always accompanied with exhortation to repentance & reliance on God's gracious promises to poor sinners. Since that time he has not made any free & open declarations of his mind to me: and yet as we have so many children under our care both for their bodies & souls, and many of them are come to their riper years, I feel it my bounden duty to put them in fear of vicious conduct as much as I can. He is unfit fot [*sic*] to be employed as teacher of a school & is so much inclined to idleness, that, if not kept employed, he will never employ himself; and this disposition leads him into many other wrongs. But he shews much affection toward Mr & Mrs Renner. When Mr. Renner was kept in arrest in M. Chatee's place, & Bangku saw that his father was so enraged against M.R., he said, “If my father kill you, he must kill me too; for I shall not forsake

you.”⁴⁹³

As with many of the detailed remarks made by Wilhelm concerning his students, this first entry offers insights into the changing cultural environment of the Rio Pongo, and demonstrates how even after his dismissal, Bankgu reportedly took the side of his teachers against his own father.

Two boys first seen in the 1811 list, Youmba and Banal, were here remarked upon by Wilhelm as having merited dismissal on account of their “Vicious conduct,” though no details were given. The final pupil in Wilhelm's appended record of departed children was John Quail, who seems to have been problematic for this missionary and others until his later death at Canoffee:

About the age of 7 years. Satan seemed to reign with dreadful power over this child of disobedience. He could by no means be persuaded to learn, nor could any admonition or chastisement make him forsake the practice of stealing, which he committed daily. He lived also in the practice of eating mud broken off from the wall of the house; which practice makes the children look dreadfully wretched and renders them so gluttonous that they can eat once as much as other children without feeling satisfied. His father was a slave-trader, and left him some money after his death under the care of Mr. Butscher. Mr. Renner therefore, thought expedient to send the boy to Sierra Leone to try whether a change of situation would not bring about a change in his disposition and habits. Mr. Butscher, accordingly, took him under his care but continuing the same practices, and becoming awfully afflicted with sores, Mr. Butscher would give him again to me with £10 a year for his maintenance; but as he went into my room in Mr. Butscher's house, and stole from the biscuits, and the butter which I bought for my passage home, I refused him; but Br. Wenzel took him to Canoffee.⁴⁹⁴

Apprenticed Children

A common direction for pupils to take upon reaching the appropriate age was evidently to be apprenticed to local artisans, labourers or craftsmen. These could be among the *grumettas*, or

⁴⁹³ Wilhelm, Bashia pupil list, 1815, CMS CA1/E4/74, 74A.

⁴⁹⁴ Wilhelm, Bashia pupil list, 1815, CMS CA1/E4/74, 74A.

free labourers, as with Charles and Frank in Wilhelm's 1815 account. Both boys, as with many children who were entered as redeemed, found placement as workers after serving in a menial capacity at the mission settlement. In Frank's case, he was described as being

From the Congo-country, about 17 years of age, very stout, but of a clumsy shape. He was a very trusty boy, being employed in measuring and rice, and buying small articles from the natives; but becoming too much attached to them, he began to give them more than was due, when they begged him. At present he is to work with the Grammiters[sic]. He can read and write a little, but has no mind for learning.⁴⁹⁵

Peter, at age ten, was, like the older boys from Congo, working with the *grumettas* locally according to Wilhelm. Of the other Redeemed children, Butscher, by this list aged fifteen, was described by Wilhelm in terms of his apprenticeship: "Mr. Renner gave him apprenzize [sic] to a carpenter in Brahmia; but since we have a boat-builder in the place, he also works at the boat."⁴⁹⁶ This corresponds to the less detailed entry from the 1813 Bashia list, in which Butscher was described as being "Absent, being apprenticed to a Carpenter."⁴⁹⁷ Ansimany/Ansmany, by then thirteen, was a tailor's apprentice by 1815, along with nine year old Matthew. Thirteen-year-old Josiah Pratt was listed as being employed as the mission store-keeper, and was evidently a poor student:

He is at present employed as store-keeper. He measures out the rice, and buys the small articles from the natives, and has hirtherto proved faithful and honest. But, like his African brethren, he is too much inclined to indolence. He will hide himself and stand the punishment rather than come to school, so that he has not yet learnt to read.⁴⁹⁸

Tobias, by this time age twelve, had been apprenticed along with Joe to a blacksmith, according

⁴⁹⁵ Wilhelm, Bashia pupil list, 1815, CMS CA1/E4/74, 74A.

⁴⁹⁶ Wilhelm, Bashia pupil list, 1815, CMS CA1/E4/74, 74A.

⁴⁹⁷ CMS/CA1/E3/69.

⁴⁹⁸ Wilhelm, Bashia pupil list, 1815, CMS CA1/E4/74, 74A.

to Wilhelm, while Jeronimus was harshly described and listed as being only suitable to carry mud for making bricks:

From the Foolah-country, about 10 years old. He has a sullen and stupid look; and so he is. Till now we could make nothing out of him; for he is good for nothing: no, not so much as to mind our goats. He will let the creatures run into the people's rice-fields, whilst he is filling his belly with the unripe fruits; and yet, this practice never hurt his health. He will neglect every trust, and no correction will mend him. To carry mud for building is the only employment in which he cannot neglect much.⁴⁹⁹

The remaining employed child in this detailed list was Ambrose, whom Wilhelm explained was the Bashia bull-keeper after Sabee's death. The names of these children specifically grew to reflect their respective apprenticeships in subsequent lists. By the time the report of 1816 was compiled, Tobias had added "Smith" as a surname, while Matthew had added "Taylor," and Ambrose "Bull."⁵⁰⁰

Wilhelm again provided the greatest detail concerning apprenticeships and employment for his pupils in the 1819 account from Leicester Mountain. After his description of married pupils, he offered considerable information about which of the Liberated children under his care have been apprenticed and in what trade.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁹ Wilhelm, Bashia pupil list, 1815, CMS CA1/E4/74, 74A.

⁵⁰⁰ CMS/CA1/E5A/68.

⁵⁰¹ CMS/CA1/E8/18.

Table 29: List of Employment and Apprenticeship (Unmarried) Leicester Mountain 1819

Name	Gender	Employment	Apprenticeship	Age	Origin
Christopher Sperhucken	M	mason		15	Mandingo-country
William Neville	M	mason		About 14	Housa-country
Joseph Wilson	M	mason		15	Congo-country
John Mann	M		Tailor apprentice	12	Ebo country
John Garricke	M		Taylor apprentice	11	
Sarah Bickensteth	F	cook		11	Ebo country

Source: CMS/CA1/E8/18.

Children who Fled

Wilhelm's list was the first which offered details into the various trajectories of his pupils and their responses to education. Within his appended report on students no longer present, one boy, Bailey, stands out immediately:

A Soosoo-boy, about 15 years old, ran away, because I punished him for keeping away from prayer and school, and going with Youmba and Banal to spend day and night among the town-people, without asking leave of any one of us.⁵⁰²

Wenzel also made reference to two pupils who chose to leave his school, but gave no explanation for their departure. Stephen and Sheriberi, respectively aged five and seven, both Susu, were recorded as follows: “Both left the settlement after being here 5 months.”⁵⁰³ Wenzel also detailed

⁵⁰² Wilhelm, Bashia pupil list, 1815, CMS CA1/E4/74, 74A.

⁵⁰³ CMS CA1/E4/64. The names of these pupils are remarkably like those of the duo who left after only 6 weeks in another list, which may indicate that they were the same pair of children.

girls who left the settlement with a cruciform mark in this list, but offered no reasons for most of their departures.

Table 30: List of Pupils (Female) Departed from Canoffee 1815

Name	Date of Entry into Settlement	Age	Affiliation	Nation	Origin	Remarks
Leisa Favour	Nov 15, 1809	5		Mulatto	Canoffee	Shows to be very licentious (marked with an + indicating “left the settlement”)
Betsy Holeman	March 10, 1810	15	Trader		Basheia	A quiet girl married Mr. Lawrance Dec 31 1809 (marked with an + indicating “left the settlement”)
Elisabeth Holeman	March 14, 1811	10	Trader		Bangalong	Not much to be hoped for (marked with an + indicating “left the settlement”)
Esther Lancaster	March 14, 1811	7		Mulatto	Bangalong	Licentious and wicked (marked with an + indicating “left the settlement”)

Source: CMS/CA1/E4/64.

In a later list of 1815, Wenzel offers some explanation for the departure of a Liberated girl, “Hannah,” who evidently “is runned [*sic*] away and lives with a soldier in Sierra Leone.”⁵⁰⁴

In 1816, many of the schools sent reports to London, and in the Bashia list, fifteen-year-

⁵⁰⁴ CMS/CA1/E5/36.

old Maria Botefeur was recorded only as “Gone home,” without any detail concerning whether she left on her own or was recalled, or for what reason she left.⁵⁰⁵ Nylander reported on a variety of students who had “left,” in his 1816 report of Yongroo Pomoh but the most notable is Mary, a Liberated student of unknown origin, approximately ten years old, who had “Run away after a couple of months stay, were caught and sent to Sierra Leone and place to the Hogbrook[...].”⁵⁰⁶ No explanations were provided for how typical this punishment may have been.

Children who Died

From the earliest records, death was not uncommon for many of the pupils at the various schools. In the March 30, 1813 Bashia list, the student John Pierce was entered only with the details that he “Died [...] May 15th.”⁵⁰⁷ In the same record, the female pupil Charlotte was recorded as being “Since dead – died on the sleepy disease.” In Wilhelm's 1815 Bashia list, Sabu and Jac, the former a redeemed child, the latter a son of Mr. Pierce, were described as having died with no other details offered. By the 1816 Bashia report, another child had died, this time recorded first as “Cth Shroeder,” then “Katy Reiner,” the first name crossed out. From Sulima, aged fifteen, she was only described as “Dead” in the column which for others offer character or achievements.⁵⁰⁸

At Canofee, Wenzel recorded one of his ransomed female pupils, Fathoma, as having died shortly after being redeemed into the settlement, noting only that she “Died Feb 18.” Her date of entry into Canofee was Feb 1, 1814. No explanation of her one week was given, or

⁵⁰⁵ CMS/CA1/E5A/68.

⁵⁰⁶ ‘Hogbrook’ was an early name for the village which was eventually renamed Regent’s Town. It was one of many small settlements expressly for liberated Africans. See *The Christian Observer Conducted by members of the Established Church for the year 1816*, Volume 15 (Boston: David Hale, 1816), 757.

⁵⁰⁷ CMS/CA1/E3/69.

⁵⁰⁸ CMS/CA1/E5A/68.

whether her death was due to accident or disease. In 1815, he added Betsy, a Liberated African who arrived Feb 11, 1814, recording her as “A very quiet but sickly girl died April 22 1814.”⁵⁰⁹ Later the same year, Joseph Hopeful, another Liberated boy, was entered by Wenzel simply as having died. In 1816, he reported that Betsy, recorded as “Mr.Meisner girl,” a Liberated student, “Died 1815,” and offers the final entry on the unfortunate John Quail concerning whom Wilhelm wrote so harshly. Beside the entry for the seven year old is indication that he “Died March 3 1816.”⁵¹⁰

At Yongroo Pomoh, the first report on deceased children appeared in 1816, and indicated that Kumpah, King George of Bullom's son, died, though no detail was offered. Betsey Gordon, a Trader's daughter, was also listed as having died. No further reports of death were recorded in the various lists until the July 6 1819 account from Gloucester Town, under During, which indicated that Legh Maddock Richmond, a boy of around fifteen, had “Died 10 June 1819.”⁵¹¹ Andrew Cheap, another fifteen-year-old whose nation is given as “Bacomcom,” was also described in much the same way, in this case as having “Died 26 May 1819.”

The conditions prior to antimalarials and reliable treatments for diseases along the upper Guinea coast were challenging both for the arrived European missionaries and for their pupils. The deaths recorded in the school lists offer a reminder that mortality was always a factor and a possible outcome for those working in this region, and that the children under CMS care were as vulnerable as their teachers.

⁵⁰⁹ CMS CA1/E4/64.

⁵¹⁰ CMS/CA1/E5A/68.

⁵¹¹ CMS/CA1/E8/19.

Chapter 6

The Impact of Mission Education in the Creation of a Sierra Leone Elite

In this chapter, the eventual effect of a mission education is best seen through individual biographical accounts of students. Pupils often rose within the mission system to become teachers in turn, and examples are detailed here which highlight the impact of mission education (1808-1819) on a diverse body of children. West African society was directly affected by the actions of students who passed through the mission schools. Freetown itself was shaped by the widespread education of Liberated Africans, while mission schools produced graduates whose work in turn helped develop a societal emphasis on the value of education. The work of these graduates and the school system which shaped them laid the foundation for leadership in many of the parts of West Africa from which the liberated population originated. Though not all pupils can be followed beyond the CMS records, some individuals offer examples which show the importance of the system of teaching and learning from which they benefitted. While literacy was important in the spread of previous methods of education in the region, it took on a new importance after the establishment of mission schools. By making European languages accessible in schools situated for the first time in Africa itself, the CMS enterprise afforded African traders the opportunity to educate their sons and daughters locally in greater numbers than ever before. Moreover, the systems of education which the CMS brought to the upper Guinea coast were as ecumenical as the Protestant sects in the colony, and rewarded academic merit above all else; this proved to be an establishing moment for a new educated elite in Sierra Leone. Liberated Africans, former slaves and others who previously could not have accessed schooling were able to participate in a widely available educational system. The mission enterprise was successful in producing graduates who in turn founded and built their own schools on the model of those within which they had learned.

The sons of traders rose to prominence under the aegis of the CMS, though little is known about many of their lives beyond what the CMS data offers. One example of a trader's son who may be traced is Emmanuel Anthony, whose education at Bashia carried him to work in an African school on the coast which operated on the same basis as the mission schools with which he was familiar. Simeon Wilhelm, a Susu boy who returned to England with Edward Bickersteth, serves as an example of what the CMS focused upon in later years, while Richard Wilkinson's sudden hostility toward the CMS after an earlier journey similar to Simeon's – albeit with Butscher - was a sudden about-face. Stephen Caulker is the earliest example of a Eurafrikan student who entered into the very first mission school at Bashia, and rose over time to become himself an active schoolmaster for the CMS. The examples which follow are a selection of the earliest leaders that can be documented through the data. There are no women, as they were often poorly recorded in the student lists, making their trajectories difficult to follow. The intentions of the missionary authorities concerning education, and their hopes concerning the children at the various schools, is perhaps best exemplified in Bickersteth's 1816 diary at Bashia during his examination of each settlement and body of pupils:

I cannot look on these dear children without much interest. It is, indeed, pleasing to see ninety children — the offspring of slave traders, and of headmen and other natives — gathered out of the midst of the heathen, and entirely entrusted to us, to teach them white man's book. Surely we should discern in such a sight, a favourable sign of the times for poor Africa; and though we have gained as yet but little, yet this should keep alive our hopes of more. The heart sighs when it feels, that, perhaps, among these little ones, many, possibly most, may fall into their country customs and sins: yet some may be so touched and affected, that they may become blessings to Africa.⁵¹²

⁵¹² Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 412.

Emmanuel Anthony

Recorded variously as Emmanuel, Immanuel, and Emanuel, Anthony (or Antony)'s name was spelled variously throughout his time as a student, and for the purposes of considering him, Walker's 1845 spelling will be adopted. First recorded in the 1811 report from Bashia, this student is initially described as being a trader, and a mulatto.⁵¹³ He joins many other boys similarly described as traders who belonged to the mixed families along the upper Guinea coast and the Rio Pongo specifically. Further details and a sense of his personality appear by Wilhelm's 1815 pupil list. Here Emanuel is recorded as being:

Lightcoloured, about 12 years old. His father was a Portuguese, and is dead long ago. His mother died last year, having suffered for a considerable time from lunacy and convulsion fits. This boy is of a hasty spirit ready to answer before he understands the question he is asked. He is playful, harmless, and peaceable toward his companions: In reading, writing and arithmetic he is among the number of the first Class.⁵¹⁴

Many other boys in the Bashia school were fathered by French or English traders, making Emanuel one of the only students who corresponds to the Afro-Portuguese model so commonly assumed when considering slave trading families along this coast.

Emanuel in 1811 is described by Butscher as having learned "Writing and ciphering," and as with the rest of the male children at Bashia, goes unremarked upon for the next two lists. In the final 1816 Bashia report, Emanuel's origins are given as the Rio Nunez, his date of arrival into the settlement as 1808, and his behaviour simply as "Good conduct."⁵¹⁵ By 1816, he was also listed as being twelve years old approximately, making Bickersteth's appointment of him to assist the Kleins in their brief tenure at Kapparoo intriguing.

The 1845 narrative by Walker describes Emanuel as being situated not at Kapparoo but at the

⁵¹³ Bustcher to Pratt, 22 October, 1811, Bashia, CMS/CA1/E2/103.

⁵¹⁴ Wilhelm, Bashia pupil list, 1815, CMS CA1/E4/74.

⁵¹⁵ CMS/CA1/E5A/68.

Gambier settlement originally founded by Butscher and briefly overseen by the Kleins, and defines him as an usher there.

We now return to the Gambier settlement, where we left the school under the superintendence of a native, James Brunton. He was assisted by the usher, Emanuel Anthony. The majority of the children improved under their care; but towards the close of the year 1818, the ill-conduct of some of the elder children, wrought upon by the country fashions, and the example and enticement of the natives, occasioned their expulsion from the school.⁵¹⁶

This is left unmentioned in any extant pupil lists, as none detail either expulsions or under whose care any of the outlying schools were after the centralization following Bickersteth's journeys. The mention does suggest that the CMS project had been successful at the important Gambier settlement. There, the missionaries, led by Butscher, had intended to build a seminary for training in Africa, and Walker's 1845 narrative suggests that not only were they successful, but that their school was taken over by trained African teachers. The transformation implied is a considerable one, and a decided success for the missionary project.

Richard Wilkinson

One student who clearly was not so successfully indoctrinated with the various behaviours and assumptions the CMS hoped to offer was Richard Wilkinson. As Bruce Mouser has noted, Wilkinson was born in 1795 into one of the Eurafrian slave-trading communities along the Rio Pongo. His immediate family was comprised of slave traders, many of them educated abroad in Liverpool, with connections to powerful African groups such as the Baga, and the Tanu commercial clan. First seen in the 1811 pupil list at Bashia under Butscher, he is there recorded as being approximately sixteen years old, and "mulatto," brother to John, who was likewise a student at Bashia.⁵¹⁷ His family reappears after

⁵¹⁶ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 531.

⁵¹⁷ Butscher to Pratt, 22 October, 1811, Bashia, CMS/CA1/E2/103.

his own name vanishes from the pupil lists, with his older brother John recorded by Wilhelm in 1815 as being around twenty years old, “The brother of Richard W..., about 20 years old, is employed in the place as taylor. He behaves peaceably, & attends Divine Service, but shews no religious dispositions at all.”⁵¹⁸ In the 1816 Canofee report, another boy, “Lewis Pratt,” is identified as being from “Basheia,” and “Relative to Richard Wilkinson.”

Most intriguing is Bickersteth's account of the 1816 palaver at Lissa, in which both Richard Wilkinson and Stephen Caulker evidently acted as interpreters on his behalf. After Caulker spoke for him, Wilkinson took over as translator, until, as Bickersteth recounts,

“I believed Richard Wilkinson was accused of spreading evil reports against the missionaries. He then rose and made a long address in Soosoo, speaking some things which were, as I afterwards learned, much calculated to excite the people against the missionaries. The heart of this ungrateful youth seems full of rancour against his best friends.”⁵¹⁹

Scholarship finds that Richard Wilkinson seems to have had a long history intimately connected with the Society. He travelled with Butscher to England in 1812 as a prize student, where he was presented at the annual meeting in London as a pupil from Bashia. On the return voyage home, their ship ran into difficulties, and Wilkinson was taken ashore on a long boat to attempt to act as an interpreter and secure water and food. Finding a group of local peoples, Wilkinson addressed them in the Susu, Baga, and Sulima Susu languages, finally successfully speaking Mandinka to them to entreat aid.⁵²⁰ His efforts were in vain, as the group he spoke to attempted to enslave both him and his party. In the ensuing fight, Wilkinson was endangered by one of his attackers bearing a knife, and he fended them off with a pistol. Thus stranded near Goree island on the coast of Senegal, Wilkinson was once more pressed into service as an intermediary, this time bearing letters to the commandant at Goree. He was

⁵¹⁸ Wilhelm, CMS/CA1/E4/74.

⁵¹⁹ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 424.

⁵²⁰ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 282.

successful in this mission, and this experience demonstrates the complete faith Butscher had in his student's abilities both as translator and as intermediary, as well as highlighting his skills in negotiation and languages.

Butscher's own letters back to London however emphasize his concerns over Wilkinson's lengthy conversations with two slave traders who had shared their vessel. Butscher expressed fears that the men, Heard and Morris, "had feigned friendship while attempting to alienate Wilkinson."⁵²¹ From the events of 1816, it appears that Butscher's concerns may have been well founded.

Upon Butscher and Wilkinson's return to Bashia, they discovered that one of the newly arrived missionaries, John Quast, had died, and Butscher left Wilkinson under the care of Renner while he and his wife sailed south to Sierra Leone to replace him. Wilkinson seems to have remained at Bashia, and was reportedly assigned to aid one of the newer missionaries there, Wilhelm, in his effort to create a Susu dictionary and grammar. By the time Bickersteth's journal mentioned Wilhelm's dictionary in March 1816, there the suggestion that Wilkinson had not assisted much, as work had been suspended on the translations. Wilhelm's own account of the years following the sea voyage from England corresponds to Butscher's concerns over bad influences on Wilkinson. In 1813, Wilhelm reported in a letter that Wilkinson's behaviour had been "ungrateful and rebellious," and had had such a poor effect on the other children that Wilhelm ordered both Richard and his brother John to leave Bashia.⁵²² There is no mention of this in any pupil lists.

By the time of the Lissa palaver, Wilkinson speaking against the missionaries and the CMS as Bickersteth reports may have been the culmination of an increasing resentment on his part toward his tutors. It may also have been the result of pressure by his local family to join in the business which had made them so powerful. After Bickersteth's account, Wilkinson vanishes altogether in CMS narratives

⁵²¹ Bustcher to Sec., 27 February, 1813, Goree, CMS/CA1/E3/57.

⁵²² Wilhelm to Sec, 27 April, 1813, Bashia, CMS/CA1/E3/75.

of the missions in the region.

Richard Wilkinson's story does not end there, however. According to Mouser, he was a central figure in establishing a connection between the American city of Baltimore and the Pongo region. In Mouser's analysis, Wilkinson is shown to be related to many important trader families locally, and to have personally involved himself in the slave trade. He married a member of the Eurafrican coastal Gomez family between 1813 and 1822, and began a family with her, along with establishing himself as a successful trader and slave-owner. He was prominent, educated, and fluent in many of the languages spoken in the region and in Europe, which together made him a person of interest when he sailed to Baltimore in 1823 to purchase trade goods.⁵²³

This journey to Baltimore in 1823 was of direct importance for the government at the time in Maryland, offering an educated and skilled interpreter to help with anti-slavery groups and Africans in the region. He acted expressly as an interpreter for meetings between Naval officers, the U.S. Attorneys involved, and Africans in Baltimore, endeavouring to encourage the latter to return to Africa with Wilkinson as part of the scheme of repatriation taking place at that time. This directly played a part in the foundation of Liberia further southeast of both the Rio Pongo, and Sierra Leone.⁵²⁴ In Wilkinson's case, his education among the CMS mission schools had been important in his training, offering him tools to use for his own purposes. His disappearance from further accounts of the CMS is therefore unsurprising given that while he was a success in his academic and eventual economic achievements, Wilkinson clearly was a blot on underlying abolitionist efforts in the region.

⁵²³ Bruce L. Mouser, "Baltimore's African Experiment, 1822-1827," *The Journal of Negro History* 80, 3 (1995): 119.

⁵²⁴ Mouser, "Baltimore's African Experiment," 120.

Simeon Wilhelm

Like Richard Wilkinson, Simeon Wilhelm accompanied a CMS missionary to England. Unlike Wilkinson, he died there, and his example was used as a model for the ideal African convert and student by the CMS in its subsequent fundraising circulars. First appearing in the 1811 Bashia list, he is recorded as “Simony,” as being around age twelve, the son of a chief, and capable of “writing and ciphering.” By Wilhelm's 1815 report, he is remarked upon as being:

About 11 years old [*sic*], the son of Bala, a Soosoo-man, who lives in M Fantimani's territory. This boy is the most simple, modest, honest and tender-hearted in our place. His look is pleasant: it is the image of innocency. (I think some children may be said to bear this image, though in the strict sense of the word none can be said to be innocent.) He shews particular attachment to me, so that when I reprove him, his heart will break in going from my presence, and when seeing me again he will be ready to burst out into tears, requesting that I might not be any longer angry with him. He is my waiter when lying on a sick-bed. May it please God to grant his grace and blessing to my endeavours to serve him in return for the health and salvation of his soul! His natural abilities are very slender. He reads well, and writes from dictating; but for working out the rules of arithmetic beyond the first principles his head is too blunt.⁵²⁵

And in the pupil list recorded in 1816, he appears for the final time as Simeon Wilhelm. This entry describes him as having arrived at Bashia in 1809, as now being aged nearly fifteen, his origin Simria, and his character “Serious.” Walker's narrative picks up the tale concerning Simeon, however, explaining that Bickersteth chose to bring the former Bashia pupil with him when he returned to England in 1816. Bickersteth offers a number of detailed descriptions of Simeon, noting that his name changed from “Siminy” in the earlier lists to “Simeon Wilhelm” as of the 1815 baptism held at Bashia.

Walker describes how Simeon and his father reportedly together begged Bickersteth to take Simeon to England with him, which Walker relates in 1845 as if it had been a difficulty for Bickersteth. Given the welcome reception of Wilkinson in 1812, Simeon Wilhelm was the ideal subject to be brought to England and prove to the CMS and its benefactors that the African missions were a success.

⁵²⁵ Wilhelm to Pratt, Bashia, CMS/CA1/E4/74.

Simeon was a Christian — a monument of redeeming grace, and a testimony from above to the value of missions, and the faithfulness of the particular society under which he was educated. His interesting history has been written by the valued servant of God who conducted him to England, and whose discerning eye singled him out from among his fellows at the Bassia school.⁵²⁶

Walker paraphrases Bickersteth's own memoir of Simeon's time in England in a chapter extolling the positive attributes of the young man, explaining how after a year spent in England, Simeon took ill, and died on August 29, 1817. Bickersteth's memoir uses an unusual term, and the account of Simeon's entreaty to go to England is detailed in a way which may reflect either Bickersteth's own racial prejudices, or how the boys at Bashia addressed their teachers. Nevertheless, none of the missionaries' accounts from Bashia share the same term for a presumed superior which is here placed in Simeon's mouth:

He came to me one day, and said, "You go back to England. I like, *Massa*, [italics mine]to go with you." I said to him, "Why, Simeon, should you like to go to England?" He replied, "I get good learning in England, for my Country People." I told him that I thought he might get in Africa that learning which would make him useful to them, and that there were many dangers in going to England. He seemed sorry that I declined receiving him; and asked me again; but I still hesitated.⁵²⁷

The use of "Massa" in this context is startling, and is continued as he describes Simeon's father's meeting with him. "I saw Balla, Simeon's father. He said, through an Interpreter, 'Massa! Me be glad you take my son to England' ...I said that I would consider of it."⁵²⁸ Bickersteth then claims that he warned Simeon's father in his narrative about the "wickedness" of England, and the dangers there. It is possible that Bickersteth is here referring to Wilkinson's change in behaviour at Lissa. The memoir continues by detailing how Simeon was ill at sea, but behaved as a servant to Bickersteth even so. The

⁵²⁶ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 501.

⁵²⁷ Edward Bickersteth, *Memoirs of Simeon Wilhelm, a Native of the Susco Country, West Africa: Who Died at the House of the Church Missionary Society, London, Aug. 29, 1817; Aged 17 Years. Together with Some Accounts of the Superstitions of the Inhabitants of West Africa* (New-Haven: S. Converse, 1819), 11.

⁵²⁸ Bickersteth, *Memoirs of Simeon Wilhelm*, 11-12.

pair first journeyed to Barbados,⁵²⁹ where Simeon evidently saw "... Black Slaves, working in the fields, men and women together, with a Task-master over them, [which] much affected Simeon; and made him feel grateful, that he had been brought from Africa for a different purpose."⁵³⁰ After his arrival in England, Simeon was evidently sent to the Rev. Francis Cunningham in Suffolk to be educated, living with Cunningham in his house. The weather was cold enough, or Simeon subject enough to temperature, that in Bickersteth's account, he developed a cough during his time in Suffolk.

The cough worsened, and Simeon was returned to London, where he evidently excelled in his education under the English system of learning. However, his condition deteriorated further, and Bickersteth's memoir indicates that he had developed a pulmonary infection. Again, the use of a racially charged term is put in Simeon's mouth by the author, though now it is "Master," not "Massa" as Bickersteth considers returning Simeon to his homeland to recover.

He said, "Master" — the name which he usually gave me — "you send me back to my country, I have not got good learning yet. I not teach my Country people. I do no good." I replied, " You know, Simeon, that if you remain here, it is most likely that you will die; and then you cannot be useful to them: but, if you go back, you may learn what is good in Africa." He then raised himself up out of bed, threw his arms about my neck, and said, "Master! If I die, that be God's will— God do right: but if I live and stay here, then I learn so, that I teach my Country-people about Jesus Christ. I do not like to leave you."⁵³¹

Bickersteth printed a 1816 letter by Simeon which he sent to his Bashia classmate Jellorum Harrison along the Rio Pongo, in which he articulately sends his best wishes, laments the deaths and departures of various schoolfriends, and notes that of the class he and Harrison had shared, only Caulker "remains true." The difference in Simeon's letter-writing and in how Bickersteth relates anecdotes within which

⁵²⁹ The French attacks during the Napoleonic wars had made the passage directly from England to West Africa treacherous, while convoys from the plantations in the Americas were often well guarded. It was therefore common to send passengers and letters by way of the Americas to guarantee their arrival.

⁵³⁰ Bickersteth, *Memoirs of Simeon Wilhelm*, 17.

⁵³¹ Bickersteth, *Memoir of Simeon Wilhelm*, 20.

aberrant syntax is at best used by Simeon are intriguing. Compare the following letter with the account in Bickersteth's memoirs which offers the reported speech of Simeon apparently chiding a servant for taking God's name in vain. Interpretation suggests that racial bias played more than a small role in Bickersteth's estimation of the young man's ability. "Simeon was present: and could not restrain his feelings: 'You bad man! You take God's name in vain, and on Sunday too! You bad man!'"⁵³² Simeon's own letter appended to Bickersteth's account suggests a very different and articulate young man:

But two things make me grieve, that I was quite uneasy about it: first, George's death; and, secondly, some of the Natives taking away the children: and James Pearce is dead also; David Pearce is gone to his father, and Sebastian also. I was quite grieved: all my partners are gone from me: only Caulker is left. Is not this quite a mourning letter to you, Mr. Harrison? But still, if we look to the Lord Jesus, we shall see one another again, if it please Him. Now God, our Heavenly Father, hear our prayer, for Jesus Christ thy Son's sake! Look upon us, O God of Heaven; and let not the work of the Church Missionary Society be in vain, which they have begun! Be so kind as to send me an answer by the first- opportunity; and, if you please get a few words from my father, and put them in your letter.⁵³³

Simeon's aptitude for languages was paradoxically remarked upon by Bickersteth, who recounts that Simeon had begun to learn both Arabic and Latin by the time he died in 1817; as with the excerpted letter home, this is a stark contrast to the broken English attributed to him in Bickersteth's account, which it should be noted was written for an audience of CMS benefactors. Bickersteth even recounts commentaries which Simeon made on portions of biblical texts, and various other letters written home which show excellent English and considerable logic.

Bickersteth was absent from Clapham for Simeon's final illness and death, but appends a portion of the diary of another clergyman who sat with him and evidently prayed and discussed religion with him for the final few weeks of his life. Charles Decker's journal offers a very different Simeon from the young man Bickersteth relates begging him to not return him to Africa. These

⁵³² Bickersteth, *Memoir of Simeon Wilhelm*, 21.

⁵³³ Bickersteth, *Memoir of Simeon Wilhelm*, 23.

differences may serve to unpack the biases present. Decker records Simeon saying:

Bless him, in his going out, and in his coming in. I thank thee that thou didst bring me to Missionaries, who educated me for Christ. O Lord, bless Mr. and Mrs. Renner, Mr. Wilhelm, the pious man, and Mr. Butscher, for all their kindness to me! I thank thee that thou hast brought me to Christian Friends in England, to be instructed further in knowledge and in the Gospel. O bless them all! Bless my Master. Bless the Secretary of this Society, and all Missionaries! Bless thy servant who is praying with me! Fill him with thy Holy Spirit; and answer our prayers. O Lord, look with thy compassion, on thy afflicted servant, and make me whole!⁵³⁴

The use of “Master” for Bickersteth is, however, consistent in this account and Bickersteth’s also.

Simeon spent the final few days of his life praying to God to permit him to return to Africa, and singing hymns. Decker relates that soon before his death,

He was very calm in his mind, and had some hope of recovering. His thoughts were much occupied respecting his relatives and countrymen, and the Boys at Bashia. During the night he talked earnestly in Susoo, and prayed in the same language; often crying out, “O Lord! Send faithful Ministers to my benighted countrymen, that they may preach to them Christ, the Crucified for our sins!”⁵³⁵

After six weeks, on August 29 1817, he died, having spent the final days of his life being tended to by various members of the CMS. From Decker's account, Simeon was consistently told that he would not recover when he asked if he could regain his health, and following his death, the Secretary of the Society wrote to a friend that

This young African died under the most clear, decided, and powerful influence of Divine Grace. His Christian intelligence and tenderness charmed everyone around him. His love to his poor country was ardent, and his prayers unceasing. His death has deeply impressed all of us who witnessed it. We have many anxious hours in this House respecting Africa; but God has placed before our eyes a scene, which is a full reward for all that we have felt and feared. These first fruits gathered home to God assure us that

⁵³⁴ Charles Henry Decker, “Diary,” in Bickersteth, *Memoirs of Simeon Wilhelm*, 34. This excerpt was also published in the CMS papers to be distributed, and must be considered in that light. See Church Missionary Society, *Missionary Papers for the Use of the Weekly and Monthly Contributors to the Church Missionary Society* (London: Watts, 1816), 48. Interestingly, Henry Decker was another German-speaking Lutheran trained and ordained at the Berlin Seminary, as opposed to an English-born member of the Church of England. He was sent to Sierra Leone in 1817 where he served at Wilberforce in Freetown until 1822. See CMS, *List of Clerical and Lay Missionaries*, 8.

⁵³⁵ Decker, “Diary,” 45.

the abundant harvest will follow.⁵³⁶

While it is impossible to conclusively assume that Simeon's death was welcomed by the CMS, the various accounts emphasizing his piety in the face of his illness make it clear that the behaviour showed immediately prior to his death was of considerable usefulness to the CMS. It presented a tangible demonstration of conversion, and an individual who could be said in their fundraising letters to embody the principles that paid to send missionaries to Africa, to convert and educate. Bickersteth's memoir and account closes with an address to his audience, making the advantages to the Society of Simeon Wilhelm's death manifestly clear.

Friends of the Church Missionary Society — You will see, in this case, a full reward of every sacrifice which you may have made. When we consider that one single immortal soul is of greater value than the temporal existence of all men that ever have lived or shall live — because the time will come, in the lapse of eternal ages, which will out run the greatest amount of the years of earthly existence — who can tell the important consequences of rescuing but one such immortal being from ruin! And, humanly speaking, but for the Society which you befriend, what would have been the state of that dear youth, now, as we trust, in the regions of eternal felicity! It may be an encouraging consideration to us, that, whilst some are disputing whether there should be any such Society, and some are opposing and reviling its labours, there is in heaven one, and we doubt not that there are many more, who are thanking God for having put it into the hearts of his people to seek their salvation.⁵³⁷

Stephen Caulker

The presence of Stephen Caulker from the first record at Bashia in 1809 is of particular interest, as that family's influence on the Banana Islands and on Plantain Island shaped the early history of the colony due to conflict between branches of the family. The Caulkers were an old Eurafican family along the upper Guinea coast; one which navigated the power dynamic between European traders and

⁵³⁶ J. Pratt, "Letter," in Bickersteth, *Memoirs of Simeon Wilhelm*, 61.

⁵³⁷ Bickersteth, *Memoirs of Simeon Wilhelm*, 66.

local chiefdoms for generations. The family originated with Thomas Corker, a man who sailed from England in 1684 and rose to become the chief agent at York Island with the Royal Africa Company which oversaw the local slave trade. He had sons with a local woman believed by the Bullom to have been a member of the Ya Kumba family which ruled the shore of Yawry Bay between the Sierra Leone peninsula and the Sherbro region.⁵³⁸ Generations later, a daughter of the same line married the slave trader William Cleveland, who settled in the Banana Islands, dying in 1758. Their son James opposed his mother's family, and killed the chief of Plantain, Charles, in 1785, thus sparking a long-standing feud with the Clevelands. Charles's sons William and Stephen Caulker, as it was by then customarily spelled, fought with one another and were unable to unite to avenge their father's death until William died in 1797, freeing Stephen to attack his enemy and avenge his father at last. He was successful in driving out James Cleveland, and ruled both the Banana Islands and Plantain Island unopposed. This Caulker elected to send his younger son – also named Stephen - to Bashia on the Rio Pongo for an education by the CMS there, alongside the sons and daughters of other chiefs and slave traders, learning English from Butscher and Renner. He was known to be friendly toward the new colony's rulers, and was considered an ally by them.

Upon his death in 1810, Caulker's older son George Stephen, educated at Clapham in England, divided his father's kingdom between his uncle Thomas Caulker, who took the Bananas and mainland, and George Stephen himself took Plantain Island.⁵³⁹ While his long-established mixed family influenced the political decisions of the early colony, the younger son was being educated well to the north.

This younger Stephen's trajectory in the CMS records demonstrates how thoroughly an individual can be acculturated into a system. Stephen Caulker is first seen at age 10 at Bashia

⁵³⁸ Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 10.

⁵³⁹ Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 113.

settlement in 1809. In that earliest Bashia record, Stephen is entered as the “Son of Mr. Caulker on the Plantain island,”⁵⁴⁰ By the 1811 entry at Bashia, there is mention that Stephen Caulker's father is dead, indicating that his father was indeed the same Stephen Caulker who ruled both Plantain and the Bananas.⁵⁴¹ Stephen Caulker was meriting mixed praise from the missionaries in his time as a pupil. He is listed by Wilhelm at Bashia in 1815 only as “Kaulker,” and the remarks offer some insight into his experiences at the mission school there:

About the age of 15 years. His father, though an African, was a man of European manners. He lived in S. Leone, & died there soon after he had sent his youngest son to Basheia. His mother & two brothers are still there. He reads & writes very well, & speaks distinctly but has not much genius for arithmatic [*sic*]. He is healthy & well-looking; very friendly & willing for doing any business, which he may be requested to do: yea, he performs many a little [...] without being request, which disposition is but rarely met with in African youths. He might be employed as teacher in a Soosoo town: but I am afraid the temptations of the other sex would prove too powerful for his mind.⁵⁴²

In Bickersteth's 1816 diary detailing his time around Bashia on the trip which finally saw the relocation of outlying mission schools into Freetown, “Stephen” is referred to as having acted as his translator when speaking with Monge Fernandez, headman of Bramia, and again during the fateful palaver at Lissa during which Bickersteth announced the closure of Bashia. After being requisitioned by Bickersteth aalong with thirty-three other boys from Bashia, Stephen Caulker was left to assist Nylander at Yongroo Pomoh on the Bullom Shore opposite Freetown in April 1816, as in Bickersteth's journal, in which he wrote that “Stephen Caulker seems to go on very steadily with the children, and I sincerely hope will be useful to them.”⁵⁴³

Caulker then appears in the pupil lists at Yongroo Pomoh, aged 15, though he is recorded as a

⁵⁴⁰ Butscher to Pratt, A List of the Children in the Settlement at Bashia, 1809, CMS/CA1/E2/22.

⁵⁴¹ Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 10, 81; Butscher to Pratt, List of the Boys, 22 October, 1811, CMS/CA1/E2/103.

⁵⁴² Wilhelm, Bashia pupil list, 1815, CMS CA1/E4/74.

⁵⁴³ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 439.

pupil as opposed to an assistant. Nylander reports him entering the school in April of 1816, and identifies him as being Sherbro, son of a great headman in Sherbro. After Wenzel died at the Kissy school, Nylander and Caulker were obliged to travel there together to take over duties overseeing his four hundred and four charges – largely composed of liberated Africans, with Nylander reporting that teaching duties were led by Caulker.

The school is carried on by Stephen Caulker and another lad from Rio Pongas. We have also an evening and a Sunday school and if I could spare a little time, I would introduce Bullom school here; as there are about 50 Bullom and Sherbro children, who understand one another.⁵⁴⁴

On the heels of the 1820 treaty signed by his brother George Stephen Caulker, which ceded sovereignty over Plantain Island to the Colonial Administration, Stephen Caulker opened a school on the island as an official CMS schoolmaster, where according to Christopher Fyfe he taught “partly in English, partly in Bulom. He translated some hymns into Bulom,”⁵⁴⁵ The 1828 *Missionary Gazetteer* reports that Caulker’s brother George aided him in translation of evangelical material into Bullom, but notes that Caulker was responsible for teaching.⁵⁴⁶ Caulker wrote to the CMS Register, complaining over hostilities by Mendes locally by 1824. By then, he was teaching classes of his own on Plantain Island, and working to build a church there.

The war with the Kussoos continuing, Stephen’s work was more than once interrupted; but at Michaelmas, 1825, he was able to report as follows: — “In April I began the night-school; I bought two lamps and two barrels of palm oil for the use of the school. The adults would have made great improvement, if it had not been for this war with the Kussoos and Cleveland. When this war broke out, there remained very few of our people in the island. During the last month the people have attended divine service regularly. The day-school continues as usual. The first and second classes are getting on very well

⁵⁴⁴ Charles Williams, *The Missionary Gazetteer, Comprising A Geographical and Statistical Account of Various Stations of the Church, London, Moravian, Wesleyan, Baptist, and American Missionary Societies, &c, with their Progress in Evangelization and Civilization* (London: Frederick Westley and A.H. Davis, 1828), 302.

⁵⁴⁵ Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 133; Williams, *The Missionary Gazetteer*, 400.

⁵⁴⁶ The *Gazetteer* specifically indicates that the CMS’s station on Plantain was founded because of Stephen, but that the impetus for the station was his brother’s: “The C. M. S. commenced a mission in this place, by means of S. Caulker, schoolmaster. G. Caulker, chief of these islands, was educated in England, and is anxious to introduce Christianity into his native country.” Williams, *The Missionary Gazetteer*, 399.

with their reading, writing, and cyphering. The third class are now able to read the central school book through, and can spell words of six syllables fluently: and the fourth class are much the same in three syllables. Six boys are gone to learn trades, and four have left through sickness. The number of my scholars is now 23.” About this time, the Plantain Islands were visited by Mr. Beckley, teacher at Kent, a village in the colony, and he was much pleased with the school, and the orderly conduct of the boys, who did credit to the instruction which they had received. The following autumn the Rev. J. Gerber wrote: — “I have visited the Plantain Islands, and found Stephen Caulker’s reports true. I heard the first class read fluently. Most of the scholars are relations of the Caulkers. The broken English which is generally spoken among the liberated Africans in the colony is scarcely heard here.”⁵⁴⁷

Prior to his death in 1825, Nylander wrote that his hopes for the Bullom country rested predominantly on Caulker and his Plantain school:

“The school alone... containing twenty-five boys, now gives a distant, and very distant prospect of doing good in the Bullom country. There is good hope that in one or two it has pleased God to begin a good work. They, with Stephen Caulker, may yet be useful to their countrymen.”⁵⁴⁸

In nineteenth century reports like that of the *Gazetteer*, Caulker is defined as a “native usher,” and within the CMS documents as a “Schoolmaster.” As either usher or schoolmaster, he remains listed in the official CMS documentation as one of their own, demonstrating the effect of mission education in the region and on the people there.

By tracing students through the CMS system of education, it is clear that a variety of different experiences were taking place. Far from mission schools being monolithic impositions of westernization forced upon African children, those futures were shaped by the CMS clearly brought their own ambitions to bear in the process. Men like Richard Wilkinson used the education they were offered and turned it to personal and familial profit despite any abolitionist agenda which the CMS may have attempted to foster. Conversely, Stephen Caulker chose to embrace the educational paradigm,

⁵⁴⁷ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 564-566.

⁵⁴⁸ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 524.

opening his own establishment in his family's traditional holding. Emmanuel Anthony likewise seems to have been transformed by mission education, working with fellow Africans as Caulker did, to adopt and share their educations in ever-widening circles. Simeon Wilhelm's example is testament to a life which was ultimately spent fruitlessly within the CMS system. His life and even his death were touted as useful examples to advance the CMS's interests, and all accounts of the young man indicate that Bickersteth and his fellows in England took clear advantage of Simeon's situation to suit their own purposes. The CMS was not the altruistic institution which it attempted to present itself as to its benefactors. Just as African and Eurafrican children moving through the schools might turn their experiences to their own advantage in accord with their own individual ambitions, so too did the CMS authorities respond opportunistically to an example like Simeon Wilhelm.

Nova Scotians, Maroons and coastal Eurafrican children moved through the CMS system before retrenchment. They studied alongside former slaves from nearby regions who had been redeemed by the missionaries, or those whose liberation had been accomplished after 1807 in Sierra Leone. These first students of the CMS were privy to a unique experience as the effects of Abolition were resonating through the upper Guinea coast, and an example like that of Stephen Caulker offers proof of a student who internalized the beliefs of his teachers. Despite the legacy of his family's slave trading tradition, Caulker turned to education, and by the 1820s, he and his fellows had established a new cultural dynamic into which came record numbers of Liberated Africans. Rather than relying on the profits of the slave trade, this new society shaped by education valued academic achievement, and had begun to build a Sierra Leonean elite which prized schooling.

Conclusion

Mission Education and Leadership in Transforming Sierra Leone

The events which unfolded in Freetown and the Sierra Leone hinterland in the early part of the nineteenth century were unprecedented. For a variety of reasons which could not have been anticipated or duplicated, ranging from the ongoing efforts of abolitionists, to the newly developed monitorial school system, to the distinct cultural and regional differences of the German-speaking missionaries, to their interpretation of their instructions from London all combined to create a context within which students were afforded a truly transformative experience. Classrooms were made up of redeemed slaves, liberated Africans, the children of westernized Africans from the Americas, European traders' children, the children of local African elites, and the children of the powerful coastal Eurafrican families. Such a diverse student body would have itself been transformative, but the educational system which evaluated the students was one which rewarded academic achievement above all else. The situation was ripe therefore to allow a former slave to lead his or her fellows in a given classroom, including the children of slavetraders. This shaped the world of Sierra Leone between 1808 and 1820 in ways which paved the way for its eventual rise to become Africa's first center of western-style education. After 1820, Sierra Leone's social fabric changed once again with the influx of culturally cohesive Yoruba, but they were entering into a pre-existing framework which had been put into place by the events of period studied in this project.

Prior to refocussing their pedagogical efforts upon the massive influx of Liberated Africans that had already begun to outnumber all other demographics in the colony by 1816, the outlying mission schools were educating many hundreds of children. Bashia settlement at its greatest enrollment in 1816 was home to ninety-one students, Canoffee oversaw seventy-nine pupils, and Yongroo Pomoh fifty-

four.⁵⁴⁹ The Kleins taught thirty-six at the Îsles de Los, and thirty-two on the nearby mainland at Kapparoo, though their pupils may have been the same after relocation. With the centralization into Freetown, missionaries were each teaching hundreds of students at their respective schools as well as acting as overseers and de facto authorities. Their influence, and that of the CMS by extension, was transformative.

The majority of pupils whom the CMS educated became tradesmen and women in their respective local regions, but some few pursued education as an aim unto itself. Men like Stephen Caulker may be traced beyond the pupil lists, and his impact on regional systems of education were profound. His establishment of a school in his family's home region is an example of how the teaching and learning which the CMS brought became a self-generating system. The experience of Caulker was not an isolated one, but is simply one of the best documented cases of a successful CMS graduate. His trajectory demonstrates the acculturation which the CMS attempted in this period, and he exemplifies its successful implementation. He and those of his early generation who experienced the mission schools became the foundation of a colonial elite in Sierra Leone which was unlike any that had existed previously. A fusion of coastal traders, Nova Scotian and Maroon settlers, redeemed former slaves, and the children of the local African leadership, this society was largely one without a Liberated African component, as the pupil lists prior to 1816 largely reflect. However, the social dynamic within each classroom was unique, and while we cannot see through time to hear what the CMS students discussed outside of their lessons, the presence of former slaves alongside the children of powerful slavetrading families indubitably had a profound impact on how classmates interacted, and saw themselves and others.

Following the 1816 accommodation, the CMS became the colony's official Protestant sect,

⁵⁴⁹ To some degree these numbers are approximate due to the repetition of names and spellings which may duplicate one or more children as a result of scribal error by the recording missionary at each settlement.

overshadowing the various sects which accompanied the Nova Scotians to Freetown. The pupil lists therefore offer insight not only into the way that education changed, but into the birth of a Sierra Leonean elite which had been shaped by the same organization which became the established colonial religion. Though the various Protestant sects brought their own schools and schoolmasters, and their own respective approaches to Christianity, the ultimate alliance of CMS with the colony's leadership effectively marginalized the previous educational approaches in Freetown. The formal systems of teaching and learning which the CMS missionaries employed were innovative and effective, and attractive to the colony's authorities in part due to the number of pupils the Monitorial System could presumably oversee. Given the frequently aired concerns of Freetown's leaders over the influx of Liberated Africans, having access to trained teachers and an educational system which permitted a ratio of many hundreds of students per single schoolmaster, it is hardly surprising that CMS – with its established school system – became the favoured choice.

The mission schools were a mechanism of integration which the colonial authorities quickly identified, working to bring them in line with their own needs and policies. Rather than a temporary institution, they became the formalized and accepted educational system of choice within Freetown. They served after 1816 especially to acculturate the incoming Liberated Africans, and prepare them as productive colonial subjects. Though the Muslims of the region continued their own tradition of higher education at Fuuta Jallon and elsewhere, the impact of the CMS and its system of teaching and learning was foundational in consolidating the inhabitants of Sierra Leone and its hinterland into an educated Christian elite. As the population of Freetown grew under the influence of the Vice Admiralty Court (and later the Court of Mixed Commission), incoming formerly enslaved Africans were enrolled into the CMS-controlled schools within Freetown as a means of integrating them into the English societal structure.

Importantly, however, that early CMS experience was supervised not by Englishmen, but by a

complex group of men from central and northern Europe. Sharing a common German tongue and the Lutheran faith, the CMS's missionaries prior to 1820 brought a very different cultural heritage to their students, complicating the picture of acculturation. Without the history of slave trading which their English counterparts possessed, the missionaries who oversaw the first consolidation of a Sierra Leonean elite reportedly were largely without the implicit racial biases which coloured the memoirs of Englishmen like Bickersteth in 1816. As Mouser has noted, even in his greatest distress, the Prussian missionary Peter Hartwig never blamed the Africans for his problems.⁵⁵⁰

New Insights into Sierra Leone

Like Christopher Fyfe's sweeping contextual histories of the region, nationalist historians such as C. Magbaily Fyle and Gibril Cole have offered a broad context, though their focus has by necessity not tended to rest upon the role of mission schools as catalysts for transformative change. Bruce Mouser's work on the early CMS and on their missions has been of great help in situating the missions regionally and politically; it is not exaggeration to state that without his pioneering inroads and contextualization, this dissertation would have been severely limited.⁵⁵¹ His expertise and knowledge about the Rio Pongo, and his work on Peter Hartwig influenced much of this project's consideration of

⁵⁵⁰ Mouser, *The Reverend Peter Hartwig*, 67. Mouser also concludes that a number of the Freetown Governors personally disliked the Nova Scotians (Thompson), while others were in favour of mass indenture for the local Africans (Macaulay and Ludlam). See Mouser, *The Reverend Peter Hartwig*, 39, 51.

⁵⁵¹ Bruce L. Mouser. "A History of the Rio Pongo: Time for a New Appraisal?" *History in Africa*, 37, (2010): 329-354; "Origins of Church Missionary Society Accommodation to Imperial Policy: The Sierra Leone Quagmire and the Closing of the Susu Mission, 1804-17," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 39 (2009): 375-402; "Rebellion, Marronage and Jihād: Strategies of Resistance to Slavery on the Sierra Leone Coast, c. 1783-1796," *The Journal of African History* 48, 1 (2007): 27-44; "Who and Where Were the Baga? European Perceptions from 1793 to 1821," *History in Africa* 29 (2002): 337-364; "Trade, Coasters, and Conflict in the Rio Pongo from 1790 to 1808," *The Journal of African History* 14, 1 (1973): 45-64; Bruce Mouser and Nancy Fox Mouser, *The Case of Reverend Peter Hartwig: Slave trader or misunderstood idealist? Clash of Church Missionary Society/Imperial Objectives in Sierra Leone, 1804-1815* (Madison: African Studies Program, 2003); *The Reverend Peter Hartwig 1804-1815: A Sourcebook of Correspondence from the Church Missionary Society Archive*, ed. B. and N. Mouser. (Madison: African Studies Program, 2003); Nancy Fox Mouser, "Peter Hartwig, 1804-1808: Sociological Perspectives in Marginality and Alienation," *History in Africa* 31 (2004): 263-302.

the missionary experience. Another scholar whose work has fundamentally informed this study has been Paul Lovejoy, whose own work tracing identity through the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and his volumes on the complex intersections within Islamic trade systems have both helped to flesh out much of this dissertation's consideration of the regional tensions at play.⁵⁵² This dissertation remains heavily indebted to Lovejoy's ideas concerning the individuality of human experience; where this work has attempted to engage within Lovejoy's contributions to the historiography is by considering broad patterns both in Europe and in Africa and using the trends discerned in order to understand individual transformations. By examining not only the individual experience – which drives so much of this work – but how individuals act within larger complex situations and environments beyond one geographic region alone, this project has attempted to take Lovejoy's ideas even further in unpacking how education transformed Sierra Leone. Considerations such as how regional differences in German-speaking nations may have shaped interpersonal relationships between the missionaries are informed in some respects by the work of Suzanne Schwarz, which has engaged with leading historical figures and attempted to balance their impact in Africa with their individual ambitions and intentions. It is a major element of this project to consider how a group of individuals in a turbulent and unpredictable situation nonetheless brought about circumstances which allowed their African-born pupils to pursue their own goals. In that respect, this work has drawn most significantly from Lovejoy and Schwarz's shared interest in following individuals.⁵⁵³

⁵⁵² Paul E. Lovejoy, "Scarification and the Loss of History in the African Diaspora," in *Activating the Past: History and Memory in the Black Atlantic World*, ed. Andrew Apter and Lauren Derby. (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 99-129; "The Initial 'Crisis of Adaptation': The Impact of British Abolition on the Atlantic Slave Trade in West Africa, 1808-1820," in *From Slave Trade to 'Legitimate' Commerce: The Commercial Transition in Nineteenth-Century West Africa*, ed. Robin Law. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 32-56; "Methodology through the Ethnic Lens: The Study of Atlantic Africa," in *Sources and Methods in African History: Spoken, Written, Unearthed*, ed. Toyin Falola and Christian Jennings (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 105-117.

⁵⁵³ Paul E. Lovejoy and Suzanne Schwarz, "Sierra Leone in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Colonialism in Sierra Leone*, 1-29; Suzanne Schwarz, "'A Just And Honourable Commerce': Abolitionist Experimentation In Sierra Leone In The Late Eighteenth And Early Nineteenth Centuries," (paper presented at *The Hakluyt Society Annual Lecture 2013*); Suzanne Schwarz, "Introduction" in *Zachary Macaulay and the Development of the Sierra Leone Company, 1793-4, Part I: Journal, June-October 1793. 2nd Edition*, ed. Suzanne Schwarz. (Leipzig:

In order to tease out the narratives and trajectories which played out in the CMS pupil records, historiography which traced the broader contexts has proven invaluable, though these works have been limited in scope and specificity. It has been the intention of this thesis to combine elements of these scholars' work in order to offer a new perspective into a complex period; by considering them in combination, nuances appear which allow a deeper understanding of the situation on the ground. This in turn provides a lens through which to interpret the data within the CMS pupil lists and to complicate a scholarly consideration of early Sierra Leone. This work's contextual lens has therefore been made up of a synthesis of many scholars' studies of specific regions and time periods in order to situate this thesis' own data. Work on African societies ranging from analyses of trade systems (Lovejoy, Mouser and Skinner),⁵⁵⁴ to anthropological studies of local peoples (such as that of Wylie or Hart),⁵⁵⁵ while studies of the Poro society (Harley and Little)⁵⁵⁶ lent themselves to an understanding of the diversity from which many of the CMS pupils were emerging. Work on the European abolitionists (Tomkins and Schwarz),⁵⁵⁷ and their wide-ranging interests and effects provided context for the pressures placed upon the colonial authorities and upon the missionaries themselves by the Society in London. Publications on the Settlers and on the Maroons (Walker, West, Pybus)⁵⁵⁸ further offered insights into

Leipzig University Press, 2000); Suzanne Schwarz, "Reconstructing the Life Histories of Liberated Africans: Sierra Leone in the Early Nineteenth Century," *History in Africa* 39 (2012): 175-207; "Extending the African Names Database: New Evidence from Sierra Leone," *African Economic History* 38 (2010): 148-149.

⁵⁵⁴ David E. Skinner, "Islam and Education in the Colony and Hinterland of Sierra Leone (1750-1914)," *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines* 10, 3 (1976): 501; Paul E. Lovejoy, "Islamic Scholarship and Understanding History in West Africa before 1800," in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: Volume 3: 1400-1800*, ed. José Rabasa, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 212-232.

⁵⁵⁵ Wylie, *The Political Kingdoms of the Temne: Temne Government in Sierra Leone, 1825-1910* (New York: Africana Pub. Co.)

⁵⁵⁶ George W. Harley, *Notes on the Poro in Liberia* (Cambridge: Peabody Museum of American Archeology Papers, 1941), 3-4, 8; Kenneth Little, "The Political Function of the Poro. Part I," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 35, 4 (Oct., 1965): 359; Vernon R. Dorjahn, "The Initiation of Temne Poro Officials," *Man*, 61 (1961): 37.

⁵⁵⁷ Stephen Tomkins, *The Clapham Sect: How Wilberforce's Circle Transformed Britain* (Oxford: Lion Hudson, 2010); Derek R. Peterson, "Abolitionism and Political Thought in Britain and East Africa" in *Abolitionism and Imperialism in Britain, Africa, and the Atlantic*, ed. Derek R. Peterson. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010), 3; Thomas Clarkson, *The History of the Rise, Progress & Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade, by the British Parliament* (Philadelphia: James P. Parke, 1808); Charles Stuart, *A Memoir of Granville Sharp, To which is Added Sharp's "Law of Passive Obedience," and an Extract from his "Law of Retribution"* (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1836).

⁵⁵⁸ Cassandra Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and their Global Quest for*

the issues which informed the actions of those the CMS categorized as “Settlers,” which helped to flesh out the situation on the ground in the colony and the challenges it posed for the missionaries. Broad historical syntheses such as Fyfe’s exhaustive study permitted a general overview of Sierra Leone’s history and how it intersected with the myriad strands which comprise it.

More general studies which traced the history of education in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries provided the essential realization of how transformative the Monitorial System was, and helped to explain the accord between Christian sects in Freetown proper. Finally, histories of continental Europe provided a hitherto unexplored nuance which served to suggest further reasons for the tensions and friendships between the missionaries, which in turn would have shaped the attitudes and perspectives of their students. By considering the events taking place on the upper Guinea coast as part of a complicated situation informed by tensions and conflicts in continental Europe, ideological movements such as evangelical Anglicanism, and educational innovations such as the Monitorial System, a greater sense of life on the ground has been possible.

Prior to this work, few scholars have delved in any great sense into the seven most prolific German-speaking missionaries whose work in the mission schools of Sierra Leone set the stage for its eventual transformation into a center of higher education in West Africa. Only Mouser’s work on Hartwig and very briefly on Butscher has turned the lens in any way to these men, though their individual efforts ultimately oversaw not only their students in the hinterlands, but the education of many thousands of liberated Africans within the colony. This present work therefore offers a new examination of these important historical figures. This project has only scratched the surface of teasing

Liberty (Beacon Press, Boston 2006); James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists; The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone 1783-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976); ; Harvey Amani Whitfield, “Slavery in English Nova Scotia, 1750-1810,” *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* (2010): 23-40; Whitfield, “Black Loyalists and Black Slaves in Maritime Canada,” *History Compass* (2007): 1980-1997; Stephen J. Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists: London's Blacks and the Foundation of the Sierra Leone Settlement 1786-1791* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994); *The Book of Negroes*; Richard West, *Back to Africa: A History of Sierra Leone and Liberia* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1970).

out the biases and cultural history which the German-speaking missionaries brought with them to Sierra Leone, but even this contribution will serve as a launching point for future scholarship on these men. No scholars prior to this project have addressed how the different geographic and linguistic backgrounds of the seven missionaries may have served to fuel their known interpersonal tensions and friendships to date, and this project attempts to consider it as a nuance.

This thesis also presents the first transcriptions of the CMS pupil records from this period, thus adding to previous work such as that of Adam Jones on the later CMS pupils and Mouser's partial transcription of the earliest CMS records. A selection of letters and journals from this early phase of CMS activities in Sierra Leone have also been transcribed as part of this project, offering nuances and perspectives into the situations unfolding in the various mission schools, and shining a light on the challenges of communication between Sierra Leone's hinterlands and London. The documents which have formed the core of this thesis have been largely understudied in the scholarly work to date; with the exception of Bruce Mouser and Nancy Fox Mouser, these earliest documents have only been touched upon at best. W.A. Hart's study of Nylander's letter to Pratt concerning ritual and "Kolloh" masks serves as a brief analysis of one document,⁵⁵⁹ and Mouser's work has focused on Hartwig to the exclusion of the other prolific missionary writers. In light of the literature to date, this thesis therefore offers an approach which fills in a lacuna in the scholarship. It presents an African narrative of transformation within a set of circumstances which were unique, and demonstrates how each element of that situation arose. By analyzing the data as well as the individuals whose lives were affected by the mission schools (both as teacher or pupil) this study has sought to be as complete as possible.

This study is limited by the archival sources from which the majority of data emerges. By necessity, it relies upon European, Protestant Christian male perspectives, as the authors of the source

⁵⁵⁹ W. A. Hart, "A West African Masquerade in 1815" *Journal of Religion in Africa* 23, 1, (1993): 136-146.

material were all white male European Christians. This work has not engaged with the potentially transformative impact of Muslim *karanthes* beyond making mention of their historical presence, and it cannot address the scope of secular education within the early colony, because any records from that period have not survived. It has been the intention of this project from its inception to recognize the necessary limitations and biases present within the data based upon the cultural and religious identity of the missionary sources, and the problem of perspective is one which this author recognizes. Many of the African voices preserved in the CMS archive were recorded by missionaries in order to report back to their superior, or provide texts for fundraising purposes. They are therefore difficult to consider as objective narratives. The missionary's own reports and journals may be considered to be somewhat richer as source material because they were generally assumed at the time of their writing to be personal communication. While excerpts might be shared, the private details were written in the belief of confidentiality for the most part, which lends a sense of veracity to what is present in the data. The consideration of the missionaries in light of their own cultural origins allows some complication to questions of racial bias, given the prevalence of the *nobler wilder* fantasy that was so popular in the German-speaking world during their collective education in Europe.

The Colony after 1820

As a result of socio-political upheavals that came with jihad and the collapse of Oyo to the east, Sierra Leone was suddenly faced with a radical shift in the ethnic makeup of the ever-increasing liberated Africans. Already outnumbering the previous demographic groups by a wide margin, this large group radically changed as it became increasingly composed of Yoruba. This influx is beyond the scope of this study to describe, but it is the contention of this work to argue that the socio-cultural framework of Sierra Leone had undergone changes during the 1808-1820 period which allowed the

incoming Yoruba to fit into an already established world in the colony. As Africans who had been liberated through the Vice Admiralty Court elected to return home, they took with them the stamp of the CMS schools which they had been acculturated within. As a result, over time, Sierra Leone became the starting-point for a Christian, educated elite which spread along the West African coast.

The early years of the CMS's mission were rife with what can only be seen as teething pains, to paraphrase Mouser. After the problems and conflicts of 1804-1807, the colony and its educators were already beginning to find a shared and common ground in aligning their respective intentions and needs. With the conversion of the settlement into a Crown Colony in 1808 and the concomitant Act to Abolish Slavery, underlying pressures in Sierra Leone permanently changed. The stage was set in the Rio Pongo for the eventual retrenchment of 1816, which returned the Swabian German missionaries to Freetown along with their prize pupils. This latter group lent their aid in educating the many hundreds and then thousands of liberated Africans which were placed under CMS charge after the accommodation of Bickersteth and the colonial leadership. As the remaining outlying missionaries were also reassigned into the colony, the CMS began to formalize expectations, recording, and missionary behaviour, and worked very much more closely with the colonial authorities. Instead of converting the "natives" in the hinterland, the system which had evolved by 1820 was one which could accept newcomers and begin the process of acculturation. The early period, with its linguistically variant schoolmasters, its considerable variation in the detail of students recorded, and unending tension with the desire of the colony's Governors was at an end, and Freetown was geared toward incorporating the ever-increasing liberated Africans which were placed there.

Transformation and the CMS

It seems appropriate to conclude this study by returning to the viewpoints of the German-speaking men without whom the transformative impact of education might not have succeeded in Sierra Leone. For all the hardships which they suffered, these early missionaries did not blame Africans for their suffering, and they seem to have dedicated themselves completely to their work as educators. Remarks by Wilhelm, especially about the sons of slave traders, offered insights into the hopes of missionaries concerning education, as Wilhelm explains that both Sebastien Pierce and George Lancaster (one an African son of a local headman, one the son of a European trader), had been teaching the other students in Wilhelm's stead. Pierce is of note, as his father, John Pierce from the Rio Nunez, was an early associate of the Bashia missionaries, albeit an advocate of the slave trade. Local people were evidently concerned both by the reduction in profits accrued through trade with slavers, and were also unsure of what the practice of educating former slaves might provoke. This latter problem is illuminated by Walker's account of the reception Butscher had when returning to the Rio Pongo from Freetown with liberated African children in 1813:

In passing through Mania, on his way home, the chief asked him where he had got these children. Upon Butscher informing him, he said, "Mr. Butscher, I think the world will turn now at once. The slaves which are sold to the vessels are now carried to Sierra Leone, and there made free. A little before the abolition, you came into this country, and got acquainted with the headmen, who gave you their children to teach them; and now you bring even such children from Sierra Leone as have been slaves, and you will teach THEM. Now, if all the children under your care learn the book, and grow up with you, they will know and do your fashion, and this will certainly make an alteration in the country. But I think it is not good if the slaves learn the book, because I think they will rise against their masters." Butscher explained to him that these children were as free as himself.⁵⁶⁰

As the mission schools evolved over time, and their schoolmasters were reassigned to the colony to

⁵⁶⁰ Walker, *Missions in Western Africa*, 260-261.

educated and oversee hundreds of Liberated students, history may judge Walker's anecdote. The fears of slave-holding elites like the chief with whom Butscher spoke were ultimately realized with the effect of British Abolition in the colony, and men like Butscher had a lasting impact on their pupils which cast a long shadow into the establishment of Sierra Leone as a transformed place of learning in West Africa. The world did indeed turn.

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Appendix A 1809-1816 Compiled Bashia Pupil List

Missionary	Gender	Name	Date entered into settlement	Date left settlement	Date of Birth	Employment	Affiliation / Origin	Nation	Birthplace	Parents' Names	Redeemed	Liberated Captured/	Individual Description	General Remarks
Leopold Butscher Malchior Renner G. Wilhelm	Boys	Emanuel Antony/ Emmanuel/ Immanuel Anthony/ Antony	1808		1801			mulatto	Rio Nunez	Portuguese father (dead), mother dead			Lightcoloured, about 12 years old. His father was a Portuguese, and is dead long ago. His mother died last year, having suffered for a considerable time from lunacy and convulsion fits. This boy is of a hasty spirit ready to answer before he understands the question he is asked. He is playful, harmless, and peaceable toward his companions: In reading, writing and arithmetic he is among the number of the first Class. (Wilhelm)	
		Bangu/Bangku			1794					Mungké Chatee			Whose father is a considerable chief residing on the north	

												<p>bank of the Rio Ponga (Butscher)</p> <p>The son of Mungké Chatee, about 19 years old, was dismissed from the school, as soon as I was informed of his fall with one of the redeemed females, which occasioned their being married. Mr. Renner occasionally instructs him & employs him according to his discretion. At the same time I advised Bangku still to attend morning & evening prayer, but being now & then, in explaining the Scripture, led to protest earnestly against vicious conversation with the other sex, he seems not to like that, though such warnings are always accompanied with exhortation to repentance & reliance on God's gracious promises to poor sinners. Since that time he has not</p>	
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Frederick Catty			(none entered)								
Sam Cisse			(none entered)								
John Cooper	1810		1803		Mulatto		Orphan, son of a French trader			An orphan, between 7&8 years of age, lightcoloured, the son of a French trader. His look is pleasant. His disposition rather serious. He is faithful, and he carefully avoids telling lies. In reading he stutters, and improves in learning but by slow degrees; yet still is he careful to avoid punishment. He is my patient and trusty chamberkeeper during my absence from home. (Wilhelm)	
Talla/Tala Curtis			1800	Trader	Mulatto		Mr. Curtis			Aged 11 years. His father is an Englishman, and was a slave trader in this river; but upon the prosecution of the English man of war, he took his children from us, and fled out the river. But Tala, being a bastard child, is forsaken of him &	Mulatto children belonging to traders

											of Practice, the examples of which he now works out with much ease. (Wilhelm)
George Curtis		1815	1803			mulatto		Mr. Curtis			Sons of Curtis, a slave-trader, who, apprehending the prosecution of the man-of-war, took them home, and left the river. (Wilhelm)
Miles Curtis		1815	(none entered)					Mr. Curtis			
David Curtis		1815	1802			mulatto		Mr. Curtis			
Stephen Caulker	1810		1799				Plantain	Mr. Caulker			<p>Son of Mr. Caulker on the Plantain island (Butscher)</p> <p>About the age of 15 years. His father, though an African, was a man of European manners. He lived in S. Leone, & died there soon after he had sent his youngest son to Basheia. His mother & two brothers are still there. He reads & writes very well, & speaks distinctly but has not much genius for arithmetic. He is healthy & well-looking; very friendly & willing for doing any business, which he may be requested to</p>

											do: yea, he performs many a little chop[...] without being request, which disposition is but rarely met with in African youths. He might be employed as teacher in a Soosoo town: but I am afraid the temptations of the other sex would prove too powerful for his mind. (Wilhelm)
			1803			mulatto		Father dead (slave trader), mother alive			Light coloured, 10 years old. His father was a slave-trader. His mother is still alive. He is a sprightly youth. Nothing striking occurs to my mind respecting his character. He can read & write. (Wilhelm)
			1805					Father dead (slave trader), mother alive			The brother of Charles, about 6 years of age. He is the youngest of the boys who can read. He also begins to write; and in arithmetic he is in multiplication. He is prone to little mischieves (if there be any little ones),

											especially to uncleanliness: but the fear of chastisement keeps him from often repeating offences of this nature. (Wilhelm)
Emanuel Ti[...]isens			1801		Trader	Mulatto		Orphaned			An Orphan
Thomas Squarrel			1804		Trader	Mulatto					
John Ellis/Eltis	1808		1803		Maroon	Maroon	Sierra Leone	Father dead, mother alive			About 11 years, sent from Sierra Leone. He was baptized there. Mr. Renner is his Godfather. His father is dead, but his mother still lives there. He is of little stature, and seems not to grow much, but is strong. His temper, disposition and attainment in learning are much like those of Immanuel Antony. (Wilhelm)
John Fantamany/ Fantimani/ Fantimang/ Fantimāni	1809		1800				Kakara	W ^m Fantamany/ Fantimāni			Sons of W ^m Fantamany
Daba/Dalia/ Dabu Fantamany/ Fantimani/ Fantimang/			1802				Kakara	W ^m Fantamany/ Fantimāni			

Fantimāni											
Jelorum Fantamany/ Fantimani/ Fantimang/ Fantimāni			1802				Kakara	W ^m Fantam- any/ Fantim- āni			
Jacob Fantimani/ Fantimāni			(none enter- ed)				Kakara	W ^m Fantam- any/ Fantim- āni			
Thomas Fantimany	1810		1804				Kakara	W ^m Fantim- āni's headw- oman			
Andrew Fantimany			1805				Kakara	W ^m Fantam- any/ Fantim- āni			
Wm Fantimany	1815		1808				Kacara	W ^m Fantam- any/ Fantim- āni			
Andrew Fernanders/ Fernandez	1809		1803				Bramia	Son of the Chief			
Joseph Fernandez	1815		1801				Bramia				
Franco			1805								About the age of 10 years. His parents live in M. Chatee's place. He is but a stupid scholar; yet can he read and

												write, and is cunning enough for doing mischief. (Wilhelm)
David Griggs	1815		1807				Bubok- uray					
Peter Griggs	1812		1802	Black- smith								
Jumbo Gumas												
Bennal Gumas												
Bango Hati												
Tivaneer Hati												
John Hickson		1815					Isles de Los	Slave trader				About the age of 12 years, the son of a slave trader on the Isles de Loss. He was called home before his father was taken by the English to be tried in Sierra Leone. (Wilhelm)
John Jefferys/Jeffreys												An orphan, about 11 years old, lightcoloured, healthy, strong and active. He is, like George Spearce and Franco, a Second Class scholar. (Wilhelm)
George Lancaster	1809		1800		Trader	Mulatto		Orphan- ed/ Father dead, mother alive				An Orphan (Butscher) A light coloured youth, about 12 years of age. His father is dead, but

												<p>his mother is still alive. He might be considered as fit for teacher of a school. But whether his character would stand the trial in temptations to sin, remains likewise the most difficult question. For none of the children can be considered as a decidedly religious character (Since we received the Instructions of Nov 25 1813, I let him & Sebastien Pierce teach in my stead reading, spelling & letters; after which I myself teach them English, the other day Soosoo phrases, which, having undergone correction, they must copy off into their writing books. Then follows arithmetic: in which myself instruct the first Class. To the other Classes I give their examples, and the first boy who has finished his example, shews his slate to me, & if correct, he forwards the other</p>	
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											boys of his Class, and slates being shown, another example is given. When I cannot attend school, the first Class boys, receiving no instruction, teach the other Classes.) (Wilhelm)
	Thomas Lancaster		1804		Trader	Mulatto		Orphaned/ Father dead, mother alive			The brother of George, about 8 years old, reads & writes middling well. This child is sometimes troubled with the spleen: but it is to be helped that in growing up he may get the better of this affliction. His temper is easily provoked. He was formerly ready to bite his fellows in quarrels like a savage beast, which is a very common practice of the native children: but he has got the better of this beastly practice. (Wilhelm)
	John Lancaster										
	William Lawrence		1815			Mulatto		Mr. Lawrence Slave trader			Taken home by their father (Wilhelm)
	Benj Lawrence		1815			Mulatto		Mr.			

								Lawrence Slave trader			
	[...]		1803								Sons of a Chief at a small distance from this Settlement
	Jacob Lorient										
	Uffiam [...]		1796								Son of a Chief about 20 miles distance from this Settlement towards the south (Butscher)
	Lewis[...]		1799								Son of Mongu Bala residing at the head of this river (Butscher)
	Wetgend[...]		1802								Son of a Chief about 10 miles from here towards the north (Butscher)
	Tenge		1803				Near Brahmia	Mungké Damba			Son of Mungké Damba, a headman of a spot of land near Brahmia. He is about 12 years old, & of a fine complexion. He was always very healthy till last year, when he was afflicted with a very malignant & spreading sore on his leg, on which he is still suffering, and which appears to baffle all application for effecting a cure. He reads & writes

											<p>very well. He was very much addicted to stealing. When I got him repeatedly under correction for it, I at last used severity, giving him a very sound flogging, which I repeated three times, ever, with much warning respecting the danger of losing his soul & disgracing his character by this practice, with praying that God might change his heart & disposition, & threatening that I should chase him out of our place upon the first repetition of this crime. He seems to have received this correction for the better, for since that time he was never found out for pilfering. (Wilhelm)</p>
William			1800				Near Brahmia	Mungké Damba			<p>Tenge's elder brother, about 15 years of age. This boy is of an unwieldy shape of body & has a disease in his feet, from his very birth, that cannot be cured. The under part of his legs & his feet being</p>

											<p>smaller, to an enormous size, like a person afflicted with the dropsy, which does not hinder him in walking, except he fatigue himself too much, & then he suffers most excruciating pains for several pains long. He was given to dishonesty still more than his brother: and I really flocked him once out of the place for stealing 7 head of Tobacco at once out of the store. But he came again entreating me to forgive him & earnestly promising to abandon this practice; and I never since found him guilty of it. He reads, writes & speaks well English.</p>
	[...]Ellis		1801			Maroon		orphan			<p>An orphan; a Maroon from Sierra Leone (Butscher)</p>
	Paafø{ ... }		1810				Rio Nunis				<p>About 5 years of age. His parents live near Mr. Pierce in the Rio Nunis. Some children of this age seem yet unfit for</p>

											schooling. They soon learn to talk a little English, but they can be for a year long in the school before the letters of the alphabet will fix into their memory. They soon rehearse them in the order in which they stand on the paste-board or in the book, but when examined out of that order they cannot name theme. Paafo is one of this description. He is a weak child and often sickly. (Wilhelm)
James Pery			1797								Sons of a coloured Trader
Samuel Pery			1798								
Benjamin			1799						Ransomed		
[...]			1800								
[...]			1802								
Peter											
Sebastien Pearce	1810		1797			Rio Nunis/ Rio Nunez	Mr. Pierce				
Baginy/Bageny/ Bahe Pearce			1801			Rio Nunis	Mr. Pierce				
David Pearce	1810		1803								

Jac Pearce		1815					Rio Nunis	Mr. Pierce			died	
John Pearce												
James Pearce	1810		1805									
Henry Pearce							Rio Nunis	Mr. Pierce				
John Quail		1815	1806			mulatto					Sent to Canoffee by Wilhelm	
John Road/Rohde			1802		Trader	Mulatto		Orphaned			An Orphan (Butscher) About 8 years of age, lightcoloured, sprightly, amicable, and a merry playfellow. He reads remarkably well; but in writing and arithmetic he belongs to those of the Second Class. His father and mother are dead. This child was exercised in cursing and other wicked practices, but under strict corrections he got the better of them. (Wilhelm)	
Simony/Simoni			1799			Susoo	Kakara	Son of a chief (Butscher) son of Bala in Fantim-			About 11 years old, the son of Bala, a Soosoo-man, who lives in M Fantimani's territory. This boy is the most simple, modest,	

									ani's territory		<p>honest and tender-hearted in our place. His look is pleasant: it is the image of innocence. (I think some children may be said to bear this image, though in the strict sense of the word none can be said to be innocent.) He shews particular attachment to me, so that when I reprove him, his heart will break in going from my presence, and when seeing me again he will be ready to burst out into tears, requesting that I might not be any longer angry with him. He is my waiter when lying on a sick-bed. May it please God to grant his grace and blessing to my endeavours to serve him in return for the health and salvation of his soul! His natural abilities are very slender. He reads well, and writes from dictating; but for working out the rules of arithmetic beyond the first principles</p>	
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										his head is too blunt. (Wilhelm)
Sirra			1810				Jesulum			About the age of 6 years. His parents live in Jesulum, not far from Basheia. He is a well looking and lively child. He can spell, but not yet read. It is soon a year that he is in the school. (Wilhelm)
George Spearce			1801				Wonga-phong	Father living, mother dead		About 11 years of age. His father lives near the Mandingo country. His mother is dead. Respecting his character and disposition nothing particular either to commend or to blame occurs to my memory. (Wilhelm)
William Sombo/Fombo			(none entered)							
Tenji/Tanji Sombo/Fombo			(none entered)							
Thomas			(none entered)							
John Wilkinson			1793	taylor		mulatto				The brother of Richard W..., about 20 years old, is employed in the

											place as taylor. He behaves peaceably, & attends Divine Service, but shews no religious dispositions at all. (Wilhelm)
	Richard Wilkinson		1795			mulatto					
	Charles Wilkinson		(none entered)								
	George William		1802			Sierra Leone	Father dead, mother living				From Sierra Leone, where his mother is still living. His father is dead. I have been told he was a man of loose principles. The boy is about the age of 13 years. He is very active & ready to serve. He vies with Simony in serving me, but is by far not so honest and trusty. He is given to pilfering, and makes himself too familiar with the girls. This disposition of his puts us under anxious apprehensiveness that he is likely to corrupt himself and others. But very often events prove as well better as worse than our previously formed expectations

				carpenter, boat-builder							Mr. Renner gave him apprentice to a carpenter in Brahmia; but since we have a boat-builder in the place, he also works at the boat. He is polite in behaviour and willing to serve us. (Wilhelm)
	James		1801								
	Josiah Pratt	1810	1802	Store-keeper		Solomashui			Redeemed		From the Solomashui-country, about the age of 13 years, of a pleasant look and shape, a sprightly and healthful youth. He is at present employed as store-keeper. He measures out the rice, and buys the small articles from the natives, and has hitherto proved faithful and honest. But, like his African brethren, he is too much inclined to indolence. He will hide himself and stand the punishment rather than come to school, so that he has not yet learnt to read. (Wilhelm)
	Jeronimus/ Jeranimus	1811	1801	labourer		Foolah			ns Ra		From the Foolah-country, about 10

	Matthew (Taylor)	1811		1805	Apprentice tailor	Soosoo					Redeemed	A Soosoo-boy, about the age of 9 years, and much of the same qualifications with Jeronimus unfit for learning letters and little fit for any thing else. He is at present learning a tailor. (Wilhelm)	
	Moree/Murray	1814		1786	Carpenter	Kissee						A young well behaving married man, redeemed by M. Renner, & employed in our settlement as carpenter. He speaks a little English & attends Divine Service. (Wilhelm)	
	Moode	1814		1786									
	Joseph Peddie	1809		1804	Blacksmith		Bambranka						
	Peter			1806		Mandingo						A Mandingo, about 10 years of age, of a very pleasant look, cheerful, sprightly, active, healthy and strong. He can read and write, and is employed with the Grammiters. (Wilhelm)	
	Smila	1814			Blacksmith		Bramia						
	Sabu/Sabba		1815	1799							R a R	died	

	Tobias (Smith)	1810		1802	Appren- tice smith		Soloma- shui					From the Solomashui-country, about 12 years old, healthy and strong, and seems to be cut out for a smith, which occupation he is now learning. For learning letters he is perfectly stupid. (Wilhelm)	
	Fred. Watkins	1810		1803	taylor		Kissee			Rede- emed			
Girls	Mary Antony/ Anthony		1799	1801			mulatto						
	Beggy Beaning/ Bearing	1813						Duge Kenning					
	Maria Banetefore/ Botefere/ Botifeur	1808	1816	1801			Mulatto						Mulatto Girles
	Jenny Botefere/ Botifeur			1805			mulatto						
	Jane Banetefore/ Botifeur	1810		1804			Mulatto						
	Rosalia Boucher			1797			mulatto						
	Johanna Catty			1802									
	Mary Ann Catty	1812						Dia					
	Mary Ann Colly			1802									
	Betsy Cook												
	Hanna Cummings			1796			mulatto						
	Eliza Cummings/			1804			mulatto						

Cumings										
Maria Conkleshell/ Cokleshell	1811		1804			Mulatto		Orphan- ed		An Orphan
Mary Coplestock				Reads and sews						
Jenny Eart/East			1809							
Elizabeth Fantimani/ Betsy Fantimang			1811							
Mariam/Mary Ann/Mary Fraser	1809		1804			Mulatto				
Elina/Elena/ Helena Fraser	1810		1806							
Elizabeth Fraser	1811									
Elizabeth Garrett/Garratt	1811		1803			mulatto				
Catherin/ Cate Garrett/ Garratt	1811		1805			mulatto				
Jenny Gelton			1799			mulatto				
Supsanna Hati										
Mary Anna Hati										
Mary Hickson	1810		1803			mulatto	Isle de Los			
Jenny/Jane Hickson	1810		1806			mulatto	Isle de Los			
Susanna Kate			1803							
Mary Kielison			1802			Mulatto				
Margaret			1801			Mulatto				

Holman										
Margaret Peters			1800			Mulatto				
Sarah Lawrence			1801			Mulatto				
Mary Lawrence			1793			mulatto				
Sally Lawrence			1802			mulatto				
Hanna Lawrence			1803			mulatto				
Cresia Lawrence			1805			mulatto				
Joanna/Johanna Lawrence			1805			mulatto				
Nancy/Nansi Lawrence			1806			mulatto				
Maboia										
Maria Nevel	1812						Fusuric- aria			
Martha Hirfoot	1815								Captu- red	
Elizabeth Holman			1794			Mulatto		Orphan- ed		An Orphan
Beggy/Peggy Peters	1809		1798			mulatto	Rokell			
Beggy Perry										
Suloma Saunders	1812									
Jenny Skelton/Shelton										
Jenny/Jane Welsh	1811									
Sarah Bouthere			1798	servant						
Tenge Fraser			1801	servant						

Hanna Hickson		1801	servant								
Lawrence Nara		1801	servant								
Ada Botifeur			servant								
Kai Cook			servant								
Eliza Cummings			servant								
Jenje Fraser			servant								
Naria Lawrence			servant								
Clara Lawrence			servant								
Sally Peter		1798	servant								
Eliza		1797		Congo river		Sierra Leone			Liberated		
Silva		1797		Congo river		Sierra Leone					
Betsy		1803		Congo river		Sierra Leone					
Ehster/Esther (Tobias)	1810	1802		Kissee				Ransomed			
Catherine/Catharine		1801									
Charlotte		1802								died	
Fende/Phindah		1802									
Jenny		1800									
Nancy (Kerry)	1810	1801				Thuge Tedeon where the Tem rises					
Sarah (Walker)	1809	1800		Kissee							

	Jane Goode	1810			Susoo				Rede- emed			
	Hannah Wood	1813				Sulima						

Appendix B 1811-1816 Compiled Canofee Pupil List

Missionary	Gender	Name	Date entered into settlement	Date left settlement	Date of Birth	Employment	Affiliation / Origin	Nation	Birthplace	Parents' Names	Redeemed	Liberated Captured/	Individual Description	General Remarks
Wenzel	Boys	Lewis Gomez	Feb 18, 1811/ Feb 14, 1810 (1815)/ Feb 14, 1811(1816)	Feb 1815	1797			Port Prosely Susoo	Djombe Konjeia/ Domba Konjzu				The most useful boy as stated before (1814) Licentious, but convincing and faithful, he is fit for taking care of the settlement during our absences, instructs the other boys, but on account of his behaviour in one respect not fit to be employed to preach and interpret (1815) Is gone with his father to Bissow but will return again (1815) Left school Feb 1815 and is with his father(1816)	
		Franz Gomez (Rechristened Francis Chassereau in 1815)	June 17/ April 20(1815)/ Sep(1816) 1811		1798			Port Prosely Susoo	Djombe Konjeia/ Jesula				A willing and obedient boy (1814) Willing and upright, fit for to be a Carpenter (1815) Rather stupid(1816)	

Joseph Antony	April 08/June 11(1815) 1811	Sep 1814	1800		Mr. Lawrence Trader	Port Pros Mulatto	Rio Nunez				The best in arithmetic (1814) Stubborn, lying and lazy(1815) Lazy (1816)
George Antony	April 08/June 11(1815) 1811		1802		Mr. Lawrence Trader	Port Pros Mulatto	Rio Nunez				Brother to the other, a willing boy (1814) Ingenuous, willing, sincere(1815) Diligent (1816)
Thomas Road/Rand (Rechristened Thomas Thompson in 1815)	June 16/March nineteenth [sic] (1814)/ March 10 th (1815)/ Sep (1816) 1811		1803			Port Pros Susoo	Lissa				The best in reading (1814) Upright and diligent (1815) Diligent in learning(1816)
Thomas Road	March 19/March 21(1814)/ Feb(1816) 1811		1806			Port Pros Susoo	Lissoa (1814) Sumerry (1815) Sumbeia (1816)				First a good and diligent boy but more lazy (1816)
Illorum Misgan/Pisgan/Misgah	July 10/March 21(1814)/March 10 1811(1815)/ April 1811(1816)		1805			Port Pros Susoo	Sumerry/ Sumbia				Is gone to his mother, but taken in a canoe to [...] of war, but set at liberty, and will come to school again (1814) Sep 1814 is with his Grandmother (1816)
James Johnson	July 10th (1814)/ Sep(1816) 1811		1807		Trader	Mulatto	Karkandi (1814) Doming-jie (1815)				Malicious and lying(1815) Cunning to [...] but willing(1816)

David Greg/Graig	Aug 10 th /Sep 8 (1815) 1811/Aug 1812 (1816)	Oct 1815	1807		Trader	Mulatto	Kacara				A willing and good child/Oct 1815 Bashia School (1816)
William Cooper	Oct 2 nd , 1811 (1814) 1812(1816)		1807			Susoo	Dom (Doming-jie)				Lying and thievish(1815) Sly and lazy(1816)
John Cockelshell	Dec 28 th /Dec 5(1815) 1811		1806		Trader	Mulatto	Bangra/Rio Pongas				Upright and promising(1815) Simple(1816)
David Lawrance	Aug 14, 1811/April 1811(1816)	Dec 1811	1801		Trader		Doming-jie/ Doming-uia				Married to a girl in Basheia/ Dec 1811 Married [...](1816)
James Simney	July 10		1805		Trader						Mr. Law[...] trader's boy his father blow up by fire of gunpowder(1811)
David Orman/Armond/Ormond	July 10, 1811/March 1812(1816)	Feb 1816	1807		Mr. Lawrence Trader	Susoo boy	Doming-jie				Cunning/Febr 1816 is with his mother(1816)
James Nelson	Dec 28 th , 1811		1807		Trader		Bangra/Rio Ponga				Very diligent in reading, and good disposition(1815) Good and diligent (1816)
Illorum (Andrew[1815])/Jellorum Andrew	Nov 21/Nov 4(1815) 1812		1806			Port Prosel/ Susoo Port Pros (1816)	Sumbia/ Sumbeia				Cunning and licentious Sly and [...]willing(1816)
John Itabu (Stephen[1815])	Dec 12 th 1812		1805			Port Prosel	Jesuba/ Jesulu				Simple, yet wicked (1814) Good temper but

						Susoo						drowsy (1816)	
Joy/Joseph Hopeful	Nov 21/Nov 15(1815) 1811	Died 1814	1800			Bullom Sherbro	Sherbro				Liberated	A good natured [<i>sic</i>] (1814) False and thievish (1815)/Died 1814 in December S.L(1816)	Children from Sierra Leone
Charles Zounguma (Charles)[1815] (Rechristened Christian Hope 1815)	Nov 21/Nov 15(1815) /Dec(1816)1811		1802			Ebo					Liberated	A very good boy (1814) An upright and faithful boy (1815) A willing boy is[<i>sic</i>] kept strict(1816)	
John (Sessey (John Bunian)[1815]/ John Bunyan	Nov 21/Nov 15(1815)/ Dec (1816) 1811		1803			Ebo	Ebo country				Liberated	A helpful boy(1814) A good attached boy (1815) A fine promising boy(1816)	
Adam (rechristened William Wilberforce 1815)	Dec 11, 1811		1801			Susoo	Foulah Upper country				Ransomed	A helpful boy (1814) Malicious and forgetful(1815) Willing but drowsy (1816)	
3 boys unnamed													

											March 1816(1816)
	James Upright	Jan/May 20 1815	1815	1810			Susoo	Rio Pongas			(??) 1815 sick (1815) A drowsy boy. Sick gone home (1816)
	James Grace	April/May 29 1815		1810			Susoo				A lively boy (1816)
	Lewis Pratt	July/June 28 1815		1804				Basheia	Relative to Richard Wilkinson		Quiet boy (1816)
	William Gambier/ Gambien	June 28 1815		1799							[...]
	Charles Grant	Aug 29 1815		1810							Lively temper (1816)
	William More			1811							Promising boy (1816)
	Gerry Belle			1810							Bolder (1816)
	Jellorum Gilden	Jan 1814		1801			Susoo	Basheia			Willing boy (1816)
	Mamadu brother to the 2 brother Antony	March 1816		1808			Susoo	Rio Nunez			
Girls	Ester Lancaster	March 26/March 14(1815) 1811	1813	1801		Mr. Lawson Trader	Port Pros	Bankgalay			Licentious and wicked (marked with an + indicating 'left the settlement') (1815) 1813 [...] gone to live again with her mother(1816)
	Leisa Favour/Lewisa Murray	Feb 20 1815 (1815) Nov 15/ Nov	Feb 1810	1810		Trader	Mulatto	Canoffee			Shows to be very licentious (marked with an + indicating 'left the settlement')

	25(1816) 1809									(1815)
Esther	Jan 1/Jan 14(1815), 1814		1801		Settler		Sierra Leone			A simple and good girl rather stupid(1815)
Esther Saunders	Aug 1812		1803				Sierra Leone			Left school 1817
Souma/Shuma (Rechristened Catharine Wenzel 1815)	March 29, 1814 (1815)/ June 1813(1816)		1806			Susoo Subeia	Lissa			One of Mr Klein girls send here from M[...] Bai being in school 1 1/2 year (1814) Diligent in sewing but lying and is encouraged to steal by her parents(1815) Sly, diligent very does to the best girl in so young[...] (1816)
Hannah	May 14, 1814		1811			Susoo	Kacara			A little quiet girl (1815)
Betsy Holeman	March 10, 1810	Nov 1815	1800		Trader		Basheia			A quiet girl married Mr. Lawrance Dec 31 1809 (marked with an + indicating 'left the settlement') (1815)
Elisabeth Holeman	March 14, 1811	1815	1805		Trader		Bangalo- ng			Not much to be hoped for (marked with an + indicating 'left the settlement') (1815)
Margaret Holeman	April 25, 1811		1799							
Anna Benigna Johnson	Feb 20 1812		1803			Susoo	Rio Nunez			Sly diligent anf willing [...] (1816)

(Rechristened from 'Margarett'/ 'Margaretha' 1815)										
Fathoma (Rechristened Matilda 1815)	February 10/Febr 14 (1814) 1811		1802			Susoo	From Foolah		Ransomed	I ransomed here on the 18 th of Febr. (1811) A good girl (1814) The first of the ransomed but of a bad character (1815)
Betsy (Rechristened Elizabeth Thompson 1815)	Dec 3, 1811		1796				From Foolah/ Beyond Foolah country (1816)		Ransomed	A very industrious (1814) Stupid but good tempered willing to work(1816)
Peggy	Feb 28, 1812		1802				From Foolah		Ransomed	A good washing girl and willing to do (1814)
Fathoma	Feb 1 1814/ Feb 8, 1814 (Died Feb 11, 1814) (1815)	1814	1806			Susoo	From Foolah		Ransomed	Died Feb 18
Salta (Susanna) (Rechristened Susanna Cottrel/Cattrel 1815)	Feb 4 th /Feb 5 (1815) 1814		1807			Susoo	From Foolah		Ransomed	A little innocent quiet girl (1815) Sickly constitution drowsy(1816)
Kongu/Kongo (Jane) (Rechristened Jane Matilda Dougle/ Dough 1815)	Feb 4 th , 1814		1806			Susoo	Foulah slave		Ransomed	A very good girl (1815) Meekly and willing disposition (1816)
Kuda (Martha) (Rechristened	Feb 28/Febr 14(1815),		1804			Susoo	Foulah slave		Ransomed	A good industrious girl (1814)

Martha Llewellyn 1815)	1814					Rio Nunez(1816)				Of a fiery disposition (1815) Lively girl willing to work(1816)
Mary/ Cai Mary (1815) (Rechristened Mary Rhodes 1815)	Nov 21 [...] / Nov 15 1811(1815) / Dec 1812(1816)		1799			Timany	From Sierra Leone			Liberated Character is not good (1814) Very wicked. The time of her indenture is elapsed, and must therefore be delivered up again to Sierra Leone Government (1815) Bad character(1816)
Hanna/Hannah	July 13, 1813	Left before 1816	1800			Kroo/ Croomandy	From Sierra Leone			Liberated A very [...] A very quiet girl (1815) Liberated girl S.L is runned away and lives with a soldier in Sierra Leone (1815) Ran away now in Sierra Leone (1816)
Sally (Rechristened Lucy Llewellyn 1815)	July 13, (1815)/Aug (1816) 1813		1802			Kroo/ Croomandy	From Sierra Leone			Liberated A wild disposition (1814) Of a bad character (1815) Lively to be bad lazy to do good (1816)
Tallas/Talla	Sep 10, 1811 (1815)	Left school 1814, 1815 (1816)	1803	servant		Susoo	From Sierra Leone/ Foulah slave			Servant to David Greg is called home but will be sent in [...] (1814) Servant to David Greg – licentious (1815) Left school 1814 left school 1815 (1816)

2 unnamed							From Sierra Leone				2 girls of Mr. Klein to go with him to Brania
Betsy	Feb 11, 1814 (died April 22, 1814) (1815)	Died 1815	1806	servant		Croomandy	From Sierra Leone			Liberated	Servant to Mrs Meissner (1814) A very quiet but sickly girl died April 22 1814 (1815)
Mary Cooper	Febr 1815		1811			Susoo	Dominje				
Hannah Crowther	Febr 1815		1813			Susoo	Cacara				
Nancy Balla	Feb 10 1815		1807								
Elisabeth Balla	Feb 10 1815		1809								
Jane Balla	May 1815		1810			Susoo	Kongdeia				Diligent and [...] (1816)
Nancy Bannett	Jan 1815		1806		Settler		Sierra Leone				Willing but wicked when out of sight (1816)
Betsy Banneth			1809		Settler		Sierra Leone				Good girl (1816)
Henrietta Conney	Aug 1814		1809			Susoo Port Pros	Kongdeia				Good willing girl (1816)
Marrow	July 1816		1810			Susoo	Lissa				Sly (1816)
Maria Stephen	Mar 3 1815	1811									
Jane Love	May 10 1815	1810									
Joanna Fernandez	Jun 29 1815	1800									
Phillipa Coney	Aug 12 1815	1808									
Marra [...]	Sep 2 1815	1809									
Fanny	Febr 1814	1805			Croomandy				Liberated S.L	Fine promising girl (1816)	
Betsy	March 1815	1807			Susoo					Lively temper (1816)	

Appendix C 1814-1816 Compiled Yongroo Pomoh Pupil List

Missionary	Gender	Name	Date entered into settlement	Date left settlement	Date of Birth	Employment	Affiliation/Origin	Nation	Birthplace	Parents' Names	Redeemed	Liberated Captured/	Individual Description	General Remarks
Nylander	Boys	James	1812 October		1802			Congo				Captured slaves		Among the number of children are 13 Bulloms 2 Sherbros 3 Cossos 3 Ebos 7 Timanees 4 Congos 6 from Sierra Leone 7 from the Camaroon River 1 Jaloft 1 Total 46 children The 13 Bulloms 2 Sherbros and 3 Cossos speak Bullom. The others
		Charles	1812 October		1804			Congo						
		William Brodie	1814 July		1802			Cofso (Cosso)						
		William Neal	1814 July		1803			Cofso (Cosso)						
		Robert Raiks	1814 July		1803			Sherbro						
		John Campbell	1814 July		1804			Cofso (Cosso)						
		Charles Smith	1813 April		1807			Bullom			-Bob Smith (1814) -Bob Smith formerly black-smith at [...] (1815) -An old servant of Bance Island			

							George of Bullom				
Samuel Morrisson			1807				Sierra Leone				Maintained by their friends (1814) Parents promised to pay, but I do not expect any from 26 & 27. 28 & 29 have paid (1815)
John Morrison	May 1813	Left Oct 1814	1808				Sierra Leone				
Andrew Brian	May 1813	Left July 1814	1808								Maintained by their friends (1814) Parents promised to pay, but I do not expect any from 26 & 27. 28 & 29 have paid (1815)
Henry William	Jan 4 1815		1808			Timanee	Rokel	Labourer at Rokel			
Peter	Jan 4 1815		1808			Bullom		dead			Their fathers are dead they are in the care of King George
Henry	March 1815 Jan 1815 (1816)		1805			Bullom		dead			
Koncy Thornton	March 1815		1808			Bullom	Yongroo	Labourer at Yongroo			
Kchwoony/ Kehwoony	March/May 1815		1805			Bullom	Komann	From Komam (1815) Parents dead (1816)			
James Tucker	Jun 1815		1805			Sherbro		A			

								respectable Chief (1815) A great headman in Sherbro often called a king (1816)			
	Burah	Jul 1815		1807		Bullom	Yongroo				
	Yarrah	April 1816		1808		Bullom		A farmer			
	Stephen Caulker	April 1816		1801		Sherbro		A headman in Sherbro			
Girls	Betsy	1812 October		1806		Congo				Captured slaves	
	Mary	1812 October		1806		Jaloft (1814) Jaloff (1815)					
	Matilda	1814 July		1806		Ebo					
	Mary Longmire	1814 July		1804		Ebo					
	Mary	1814	1814	1808		Country not known					Run away after a couple of months stay, were caught and sent to Sierra Leone and place to the Hogbook[...]
	Sarah	1814 January		1806		Congo		Not known		Captured slave (1815)	
	Sarah Llewellyn	March 1815		1807		They all come from the				Captured slaves	
Elizabeth Thompson	March 1815		1808								

Lucy Llewellyn	March 1815		1807			Cama- roon River but can not say what nation					
Martha Llewellyn	March 1815		1808								
Anne Llewellyn	March 1815		1809								
Anna Benigna Johnson	March 1815		1809								
Jane W Douglas	March 1815		1809								
Christian/ Christiana Hope	1814 July		1804			Ebo					
Mary Ann (Smith)	1813 April		1806			Bullom				-Bob Smith (1814) -Bob Smith formerly blacksmi th at [...] (1815) -An old servant of Bance Island (1816)	
Betsy (Cope)/(Cook)	1814 January	May 1815	1807			Maroon	Sierra Leone				
Betsy Jolly/Jolley	March 1814	May 1815	1805				Sierra Leone	Parents dead			
Betsy Gordon	November 1813	died	1807			Mulatto	Sierra Leone (1814) Scarcies (1815)			Maintained by their friends (1814) Parents promised to pay, but I do not expect any from 26 &27. 28&29 have paid (1815)	
Mary	Jan 4 1815						Sierra Leone	A trader			
Nancy	March 1815		1803			Bullom	Yongroo	poor			

Kate Aspenwell	January 1814		1808					Labourer at Yongroo (1815) Farmer (1816)			
Yohly[...]/Yehly	March 1815		1805			Bullom	Trulung	A trader			
Nancy Green	June 1815		1806			Bullom		Labourer at Trulung -Father dead (1816)			
Margret	June 1815		1808			Bullom		A farmer			
Mary Parkinson	May 1815	Left August 1815	1808				Sierra Leone	A farmer			

Appendix D 1815 Îsles de Los Pupil List

Missionary	Gender	Name	Date entered into settlement	Date left settlement	Date of Birth	Employment	Nation	Parents' Names	Redeemed	Liberated Captured/	Individual Description	General Remarks	
Klein	Boys	Charles Leigh						Son of Wm Leigh of this Island			Boarder	Names of the children belonging to this Isle	
		Thomas Leigh						Son of Wm Leigh of this Island			Boarder		
		Mackenzie Cummens					mulatto	orphan					
		Powel Cummens					mulatto	orphan					
		Massa											
		Bernel											
		Jabe											
		Scott								Redeemed			
		J. Hopkins											Boarder
		Samuel Moonta							Son of Williams of the Isle Samara[...]				
Joseph Hopkins							Son of J. Hopkins esp S. Leone						

	J Sabb					Children belonging to Ms. Sabb in the Sambia				
	Mamado									Names of Children belonging to the Factory Island
	Mamado									
	Mark									
	Harry									
	George									
	Bally									
	Harry					Son of Hmory a Chief on the Factory Island				
	Boswain					Son of Mamado brother of the above chief.				
Girls	Fanny									Names of the children belonging to this Isle
	Fanneba									
	Coney									
	Tenea									
	Elizabeth									
	Johanna									Names of Children belonging to the Factory Island
	Borly									
	Jora									
	Julia							Redeemed		
	Mary									
	Elizabeth									
	Yelli						Daughter of			

							Moonta headman of [...]				
		Mary Sabb					Children belonging to Ms. Sabb in the Sambia				
		Elizabeth					Children belonging to Ms. Sabb in the Sambia				

Appendix E 1817-1819 Compiled Leicester Pupil List

Missionary	Name	Age	Employment	Affiliation/ Origin	Nation	Individual Description
Leopold Butscher G.S Bull	Josiah Cellpont	8			Ebo	
	Thomas Fregenno Biadulph	6			Ebo	
	Claudius Buchanan	11			Calabar	
	Thomas Charles	9			Ebo	
	John Clarke	9			Ebo	
	Tho Clarke	10			Ebo	
	Tho Clarkson	7			Cosso	
	Tho Conolly Cowan	10			Ebo(1816) Cosso (1819)	Is of the Cosso nation, about 12 years of age. Is a pleasing lad -attach'd and affectionate - & of a studious turn of mind- he keeps a good place in his class – but is at present (I fear) a stranger to the disease, & the remedy of this soul. (Bull)
	Tho Dikis	7			Ebo	
	Henry David Eskine	8			Ebo	
	William Fonmereau	7			Susoo	
	William	8			Fya[...]	

Goode					
John Graham	7			Kroo	
Edward Griffin	8			Ebo	
Hugh Hamilton	13			Cosso	
Garton Howard	12			Houosso	
William Jones	8			Cosso	
William Jowett	8			Ebo	
Trillian Jowett	11			Accoo	Is of Accoo nation about 11 years of age. He is not very quick, but quiet & generally correct in conduct. (Bull)
Samuel Knight	8			Cosso	
Joshua Mann	7			Ebo	
William Marsh	8			Sulina Susoo	
Henry Martyn	8			Ebo (1816) Cosso (1819)	Is of Cosso nation, about 11 years of age. He has good capacity. He is generally well behav'd. (Bull)
Jo Milner	9			Temmanee	
Edward Marsh Phillips	8			Cosso	
Porteus London	9			Ebo (1816) Cosso (1819)	Is of Cosso nation, about 13 years of age: he is as they say, 'more of a rogue than a fool'. He is by no means deficient in ability, but is a complete example of African surliness, deceit, & pride. He can be the most pleasing, & the

					most disagreeable; & gets most chastisement of any boy in the school. (Bull)
Josiah Pratt	7			Cosso	
Legh Maddock Richmond	7			Ebo	
Tho Scott	8			Cosso	
John Scott	7			Ebo	
John Shepherd	11			Congo	
Charles Simeon	7			Ebo	
James Haldene Stewart	9			Ebo	
William Tandy	7			Kroo	
Daniel Wilson	8			Cosso	
Basil Owen Wood	8			Mandingo	
Will Richardson	8			Yeolo (1816) Jaloff (1819)	Is of Jaloff nation, about 11 years of age: a pleasing, attentive lad. (Bull)
Cornelius Bayley	7			Cosso	
Wm Stevens Dusantory	7			Cosso	
Peter Roe	12			Foulah	
Andrew Cheap	9			Ebo	
Daniel Courie	8			Cosso	
Buchanan	11			Calabar	

Pratt					
Martyn Pratt	8			Ebo (1816) Cosso (1819)	Is of Cosso nation – about 12 years old – is a lad of very good abilities, & tolerably well behav'd. (Bull)
John Hensman	10			Mandingo	
Fountain Elwin	10			Ebo	
Gerard Noel	7			Ebo	
Hans Caulfield	7			Cosso (1816) Jorro (1819)	Is of Jorro nation, about 13 years old. His capacity is not very bright, nor his natural dispositions very amiable; when he pleases he can (and so can a bear[?]) make himself very engaging. (Bull)
Charles Heech Hawtney					
Conolly Thomas Owen	8			Ebo	
Miles Atkinson	11			Congo (1816) Cosso (1819)	Is of Cosso nation, about 11 years of age – he is not very bright – but is quiet & pleasing.
Ed ^d Bickersteth	11			Congo	
John Benson	9			Ebo	
John Campbell	9			Ebo	
Francis Cheperson[. ..]	9			Kroo	
John Christian	8			Ebo	
Jonathan	8			Cosso	

Lovett Darby					
Ric ^d Fawcett	7			Ebo (1816) Kissey (1819)	Is of Kissey nation, about 13 years of age. He is willing, & well behav'd, but remarkably stupid. (Bull)
Stephen Goode	8			Cosso	
William Brodie Gurney	11			Congo	
John Head	10			Ebo	
Henry Herman	8			Calabar	
Tho Anthony Hutchinson	7			Cosso	
Launcelot	7			Cosso	
David Llewellyn	8			Bullom	
Morgan Llewellyn	9			Cosso	
Owen Llewellyn	8			Ebo	
Evan Llewellyn	7			Ebo	
John Mann	8			Ebo	
William Marriott	9			Ebo	
Hugh Milton	8			Yoh	
William Neal	12			Cosso	
William Neville	9			Ebo	

Rob ^t Percival	9			Calabar	
George Perrott	8			Foulah	
George Pinckney	14			Congo	
Paul Pratt	12			Congo	
Rob ^t Raikes	6			Ebo (1816) Gorro (1819)	Is of Gorro nation about 10 years old. Sharp & cunning & rather addicted to picking & stealing. (Bull)
Christmas Ransom	7			Ebo	
Henry Rumsey	7			Cosso	Is of Cosso nation, about 10 years of age: he carries himself like an old man – he has been his own foe – I suppose he has wander'd about to every town in the colony & only returned a little before I came. He says 'I can't do so again' he is backward – but a good looking decent boy. (Bull)
Samuel --	10			Ebo	
John Baptist St John	8			Cosso	
John Smith	7			Cosso	
Walter Taylor	10			Cosso	
Tho Thomson	9			Houssou	
Will ^{am} Wilberforce	7			Ebo	
John King	10			Cosso	
Nicholas Alexander	11			Ebo	
Abdool Mepek/	7			Ebo (1816) Accoo (1819)	Is of Accoo nation, about 12 years of age. He is certainly a boy of superior talents –

Abdool Messeek					Penetrating shrewd – collected, & quick but naturally extremely sullen & impertinent. He has lately discovered more affection towards me, & I have perceiv'd more attention in him to things divine, & an encouraging sensibility. Is it the dawning of a brighter day? Oh that it might be so! That old, faithful, tried servant of Christ, his namesake, is going into his rest shortly; Oh that his mantle might be found on this boy! May Jesus own & bless the boy! (Bull)
Hananigh Marsh	8			Ebo	
Lewis Hoy/ Hay/Fray	9			Ebo (1816) Accoo (1819)	Is of Accoo nation, about 12 years of age: his capacity does not much exceed mediocrity, & there is nothing very peculiar in his temper. (Bull)
Rob ^t Barran Marsh	8			Ebo	
Will ^{am} Hoy	10			Popo	
Miles Jackson	11			Houosso	
Rob Cholmely	8			Calabar	
Jack Cooke	9			Popo	
Rob ^t Houssnan	10			Ebo	
Rob ^t Walpole	8			Cosso	
Stephen Knight	8			Ebo	
James Chalicom	10			Popo	
John Eyton	6			Cosso	

Cradock Glascott	10			Kromanty	
Martyn Buchanan	9			Ebo (1816) Accoo (1819)	Is of the Accoo nation about 16 years of age. He is quite deficient in natural capacity, & may be described as an overgrown – good natur'd dunce. (Bull)
Christian Frederick Swartz	9			Ebo	
Malchior Renner	13			Ebo	
Matthew Blakiston	8			Ebo	
Robert Rockport	7			Cosso	
Henry Rider	9			Ebo	
Garrett Neville	10			Ebo	
John Fawcett	7			Cosso	
John Boutflower	10			Ebo	
Andrew Cooper	7			Ebo	
David Brainerd	9			Ebo	
John Newton	11			Ebo	
Richard Ceicil	8			Susoo	
Marmaduke Thompson	7			Cosso	Is of Cosso nation, about 14 years of age: of a very forbidding appearance, rather dull & very idle. He seems more backward in civilization & manners, than any boy in the

					school. (Bull)
Benjamin Soloman	8			Ebo	
Tho Chancie	8			Cosso	
John Shaland[...]	7			Kroo	
Chale Chernkopff	7			Ebo	
John Butler	8			Ebo	
Michael Gills	12			Ebo	
To Wilson	10			Ebo	
John Buterworth	12			Ebo	
Henry Budd	11			Ebo	
Bainbridge				Cosso	
Baring	9			Calaba	
Batu	8			Cosso	
Bevan	9			Ebo	
Basanguet	11			Ebo	
Brougham	7			Popo	
Bunyon	9			Calaba	
Crawford	6			Cosso	
Calthorpe	11			Calaba	
Cappor	8			Ebo	
Carey	11			Kroo	
Cartell	7			Susoo	
Chance	10			Susoo	
Curling	9			Ebo	
Curtis	6			Ebo	
Davidson	7			Ebo	
Dixon	10			Calaba	
Eardley	8			Popo	

Fenners	8			Ebo	
Faden	7			Popo	
Feanon	10			Foulato	
Freshfield	6			Calaba	
Garrett	7			Ebo	
Goock	9			Calaba	
Gorden	10			Ebo	
Grant	7			Ebo	
Harrison	9			Ebo	
Hart	11			Susoo	
Haydon	10			Popo	
Hoere	7			Popo	
Holehouse	8			Ebo	
Hughes	7			Ebo	
Kenyon	9			Ebo	
Lewis	6			Calaba	
Muray	8			Susoo	
Macaulay	7			Ebo	
Miller	6			Ebo	
Newsome	5			Popo	
Parry	7			Ebo	
Pearson	6			Popo	
Perkins	8			Susoo	
Pinhom	10			Foulato	
Plummer	5			Susoo	
Purris	6			Kroo	
Ramsden	5			Ebo	
Reeves	7			Cosso	
Renyer	5			Ebo	
Reston	4			Ebo	
Roberts	7			Calaba	

Saunders	6			Cosso	
Simpson	7			Ebo	
Stokes	6			Cababa	
Sutton	7			Foulato	
Teigumouth	8			Cosso	
Terry	5			Cosso	
Thornton	8			Ebo	
Trevelyan	6			Ebo	
Transittert	7			Ebo	
Walkins	10			Cosso	
Whitehead	8			Cosso	
Wilcox	7			Calaba	
Williams Joe	13			Cosso	
Young	7			Ebo	
Gardner	6			Cosso	
Bickley	5			Congue	
Brice	7			Calaba	
Castle	8			Cosso	
Dawbery	7			Calaba	
Dynock	8			Cosso	
Edwards	10			Cosso	
Foyle	7			Cosso	
Fripp	6			Cosso	
Geary	8			Kroo	
Harford	6			Calaba	

Phillott	7			Calaba	
Sandford	9			Ebo	
Skinner	10			Ebo	
Thom	6			Ebo	
Tomlinson	5			Calaba	
Beown	8			Cosso	
Buckle	7			Cosso	
Carlisle	4			Cosso	
Welfit	7			Popo	
York	8			Popo	
Holt	6			Ebo	
Layon	9			Cosso	
Offley	5			Yah	
Bisnold	7			Yah	
Cockshutt	5			Bullom	
Keck	8			Bullom	
Salmon	6			Popo	
Shirling	9			Congo	
Baker	10			Congo	
Buxton	12			Congo	
White	7			Popo	
Seaward	6			Ebo	
Peter	8			Ebo	
Galway	9			Cosso	
Lloyd	8			Cosso	

Valentia	6			Cosso	
Barry	9			Cosso	
Dalsy	6			Ebo	
Balfour	9			Congo	
Dean	7			Susoo	
Glover	10			Susoo	
Bryant	8			Congo	
Chapman	5			Yah	
Abney	7			Yah	
Hancok	9			Congo	
Hapel	6			Ebo	
Potter	7			Ebo	
Coppin	6			Foulato	
Rice	5			Foulato	
Cropper	9			Congo	
Faradell	8			Cosso	
Cooper	6			Cosso	
Fayrer	7			Cosso	
Watson	9			Congo	
Douglas	7			Calaba	
Bow	11			Mandingo	
Bacon	8			Bullom	
Blake	9			Kissey	
Booth	10			Mandingo	
Brenaton	9			Sherbro	

	Lacy	8			Cosso	
	Thomas Spencer	13			Cosso	Is of the Cosso nation – about 13 years of age. He has borne a good character in the school for some time – he is naturally very sulkly – but has a good understanding, & is at present Teacher of the first class.
	Clay Hensman	12			Accoo	Is of the Accoo nation, about 16 years of age – he conducts himself with general propriety – is of an even temper & tho not very quick, has good abilities, & is attentive. He is also rather ingenious.
	John Maxwell	16			Doesn't know	Character is quite undecided – Sometimes he is steady, and attentive, & very pleasing, at others perverse & vicious. I hope however he improves on the whole, & that his character, may over long be decided, as a seeker after God. He is backward considering his advantages, but quite as favoured as his school fellows. He appears to be 16 years of age. He does not know his country. For a few weeks past he has been very well behav'd. May Jesus one day answer Simeon's prayers on his behalf!
	Louth Grainger	12			Foulah	Is of Foulah nation, about 12 years of age. He is a singular lad – grave – modest – retir'd – cleanly & orderly not very quick – but unlike every other boy. When the others are all laughing & playing his chin is hanging down to his knees. He is frequently found alone reading the Testament, I have frequently convers'd with him but he does not seem to have a right knowledge of his own head, or of the Gospel. May the Lord lead him in a way that he knows not. (Bull)

	Tho's Ridley	10			Gorro	Is of Gorro nation about 10 years of age: very careless and not very capable. (Bull)
	Samuel Marsden	15			Ebo	Is of Ebo nation, about 15 years of age. He is very awkward, & stupid, but not particularly vicious. (Bull)
	Trillian Stevens Dusautoy	14			Gorro	Is of Gorro nation about 14 years old: not of quick capacity – a strong muscular boy, & has been a great bruiser in his time. (Bull)
	Edmund Grindall (or Grandolph I am not certain wh is his name)	13				He is of Bassa country, about 13 years of age. Not very bright – but sadly fearless. (Bull)
	Butterworth (he has no Christian name)	12			Cosso	Is of Cosso nation about 12 years of age: He is a complete dwarf – he is very attentive, & pleasing little boy. (Bull)
	Charles Sleeih[...] Hawtreys	13			Ebo	Is of the Ebo nation, about 13 years of age: He is dull & backwards but of a very manly appearance. (Bull)
	Cacilius Cipprian	10			Mahee	Is of Mahee nation, about 10 years old: [...] I believe to have been a bright boy, had it not been prevented by deafness; wh is a great drawback to him, & ever will be. He is a very quiet boy. (Bull)
	George Fry	13			Ebo	Is of the Ebo nation about 13 years of age: of middling capacity, & of a peaceful disposition. He is however a very sensible boy. (Bull)

Appendix F 1819 Gloucester Town Pupil List

Missionary	Gender	Name	Date of Birth	Affiliation/ Origin	Nation	Birthplace	Liberated Captured/	Individual Description
Henry During	Boys	Jacob Butler			Cosso			Tractable, diligent and of good behaviour
		John Coates				Banty		Teachable, steady + diligent he is first Teacher. Shews marks of piety
		--- Lewis			Cosso			Teachable, but unsteady, keeps his place in the class as assistant Teacher
		Joshua Mann			Cosso			Is of a mild temper and in general of good behaviour; he is teachable + diligent and very often affected when spoken to
		---- Murray				Bussay		Is teachable, diligent, and well behaving
		Lekh Maddock Richmond					Bayong	Died 10 June 1819
		William Wilberforce				Ebo		Is teachable of quick understanding, but, mischievous
		J[...] Copper					Cossinkah	Is of quick understanding, but having continued weak eyes, it keeps him back in his learning, but he is in general well behaved
		John Clarke					Bayong	Is teachable, diligent + humble
		John Fawceto				Hausa		Mild disposition, Teachable and diligent, he was baptized on Easter day 1819 and shows forth a real christian character; accord to profession
		W ^m Gilpen				Bullom		Is rather dull at school but is of a peacable mind he frequently retires into the bush for prayers + very attentive at Public Worship
W ^m Jones					Luabam	Is teachable, obliging + very attentive he is faithful and affectionate and is frequently deeply concerned		

						about his soul
	Dan ^l Wilsen			Bayong		Is teachable but given to sulkiness
	John Benson		Ebo			Is at present very dull, what he learned on one day, he loses the next, otherwise his behaviour is in general, not the worst.
	Rob ^t Walpole		Gaboo			Is averse to learning and addicted to pilfering, but, being very small, he may in time become the brightest of any.
	--- Brougham		Cosso			Is of a timid disposition very slow at school
	Charles Day			Bacom- com		Is a very sensible boy, tho' but young, he frequently keeps the top of his class
	---- Dixon		Ebo			Is also very sensible and of grave appearance, he shows habits of piety and forward in learning
	John Scott		Cosso			Is none of the worst in his class, but is very often punished for fighting
	Theodosia Hamilton			Tangtoo		Is of a general good conduct, in his class is none of the worst in bearing, but is deceitful to his fellows
	Ja Stillingflut			Bayong		Is of a tractable disposition forward in learning and generally good behaving
	Haldane Stewart		Cosso			Is at present slow in learning, of an obstinate disposition
	Andrew Cheap			Bacom- com		Died 26 May 1819
	John Boughtflow er			Bayong		Is tractable, and seemingly under religious influences is forward in learning
	Edw ^d Phillips		Mand ingo			Is seemingly under religious influence, is forward in learning
	Cha Simeon			Calabar		Is deceitful at present, but forward in School. Is of a timid disposition
	John Campbell			Tangtoo		Is of general good behaviour but slow in learning

		Peter Colchester			Bayong		Is also of Good behaviour slow in learning but manageable
		Wm Tandy			Bacom-com		Is not only teachable, but of a conduct such as becomes a christian
		--- Cartwright			Bayong		Sly forward in learning, in general of good behaviour
		Joe ----			Cosso		Quick of understanding, diligent in learning, affectionate, of good behaviour.
	Girls	Mary Buchanan			Ebo		Naturally of a barbarous disposition but evidently under the influence of divine grace. Reads + spells tolerably well.
		Judith Hope			Ebo		Of a mild + harmless disposition shews forth principles of piety. Diligent in + out of school
		Millicent Beattie				Calabar	Is of a tractable disposition, teachable
		Mary Babington			Ebo		Is teachable, tractable, diligent, and affectionate.
		Lucy Mann			Ebo		Is dull, but simple and tractable
		Sarah Llewelley			Susoo		Is of a general bad behaviour is able to read the Bible.

Appendix G 1816 Goree Pupil List

Missionary	Gender	Name	Employment	Affiliation/ Origin	Nation	Birthplace	Parents' Names	Redeemed	Liberated Captured/	Individual Description
Robert Hughes	Boys	Nicolas Dufury				Goree				Testament, Writing and Arithmetic
		Francis Rene				Goree				
		John Dufury				Goree				
		Peter Bradley				Goree				
		[...] Lapolice				Goree				
		Francis Lapolice				Goree				
		John Bogouma				Don't know				
		Peter Lloyd				Senegal				
		Lewis Vileufs				Goree				
		Jaques Angrand				Goree				
		Francis Pefun				Goree				
		John Jenpin				Goree				
		R ^d Lloyd				Goree				
		Jo ⁿ Lloyd				Goree				
		Peter Baudin				Goree				

	John Lapalie			Goree				
	Jos Tafrin[...]			Goree				
	John MacDonaugh			Goree				
	John Dumont			Goree				
	W ^m Dumont			Goree				
	W ^m Campbell		Irish					
	Pat ^k [blur]illa		Irish					
	Rob Hiddle			Goree				
	Blaize Teufein[...]			Goree				
	Rich ^d Durant			Goree				
	John Ware							
	John Fraling			Goree				Page 9 & 10
	W ^m Flint		Mandingo					
	Ed ^d Bradley			Goree				
	Pat ^k Benar			Goree				
	John Hobble		English					
	George Campbell		Mandingo					
	Francis Baudin			Goree				
	Peter Panit[...]			Goree				
	John Harvey		English					Page 5 & 6

	Peter Lacombe				Goree				
	Tho Gleedon			English					
	John Butcher				Goree				
	Ehu Mooser				Goree				
	Ted Lloyd				Goree				
	Rich ^d Lloyd				Goree				
	Harry Sierra Leone								Small Alphabet
	W ^m Harvey			English					
	John Hillies				Goree				
	-- Senegal				Goree				
	[...] Jacido				Goree				
	Rene Martin				Goree				
	-- Jallin				Goree				
	Sarlo Doirmuy[...]				Goree				
	Francis Began				Goree				great Alphabet
	Peter Banit								
	John Banit								
	Papa Lacombe								
	Lestat Angrand								
	Tho Bintera								
	Francis Phephy								
	William Bradley								
	Rd Bradley								
	-- Lago								

		Laddy Linton								
		Lingard								
	Girls	Sophia Dufrey				Goree				Sermon on the Mount [...] Writing & Work
		Rose Atley								
		Anne Dufrey								
		Catharine Rene								
		Biddy Ryan								
		Harriet Welsh								
		Harriet Maybelle								
		Hannah Wilson								
		Tenace Bradley								
		Sophia Middle								
		Sarah Mitch								
		Anne Turpin								
		Mary Lloyd								
		Nanette[...] Middle								
		Mary Soufa								
		Mary Hambleton							Page 9 & 10 [...]	
		Marg ^{et} Hambleton								
		Sophia Bonny								

	Harriet Pearce								
	Mary Williams								
	Helena Williams								
	Mary Terrace								
	Bridget Troy			English					
	Marg ^t Do--			English					
	Dola Do--			English					
	Mary Laporte				Goree				Page 7 & 8
	Laura Le Gros								
	Eliza Gamon[...]								
	Hannah Leuford								
	Mary Charters								
	Jophira[...] Hughes								
	Kitty Chinchella			English					
	Mary Griffiths				Goree				
	Hannah Francis								
	Nannette Knight								
	Mary Baudin								

	Catharine Baudin									
	Lenore Maria									
	Mary Andrew									
	Mary Fraser									
	-- Damarghau									
	Philista Bidy									
	Doris									
	Nancy Salette									Great Alphabet
	Sally									
	Hannah Fowl									
	Sarah Milleux									
	Sophia Laporto									
	Yakatta									
	Kilsaly									
	Namatto Balagan									