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Welcome to The Journal of Sierra Leone Studies. This is the first Journal dedicated solely to Sierra Leone to have been published for a long time.

We hope that it will be of use to academics, students, and anyone with an interest in what for many is a rather 'special' country.

The Journal will not concentrate on one area of academic study and invites contributions from anyone researching and writing on Sierra Leone to send their articles to: **John Birchall** for consideration.

Prospective contributions should be between 3500-5000 words in length, though we will in special circumstances consider longer articles and authors can select whether they wish to be peer reviewed or not. Articles should not have appeared in any other published form before.

The Editorial Board reserves the right to suggest changes they consider are needed to the relevant author (s) and to not publish if such recommendations are ignored.

We are particularly interested to encourage students working on subjects specifically relating to Sierra Leone to submit their work.

Thank you so much for visiting The Journal and we hope that you (a) find it both interesting and of use to you and (b) that you will inform colleagues, friends, and students of the existence of a Journal dedicated to the study of Sierra Leone.

Editor's Comment

This is the last edition in 2017. We now move towards our Centenary Year, if time allows, we will publish one 'normal' edition early in 2018, then turn our attention to the last 100 years and compile examples of what has appeared in the Journal, in its various forms, since it was introduced in 1918.

John

Content

Oosie Creeo' Commot? Usai Krio Kohmoht? Usay Krio Kɔmɔt?

Ian Hancock

Creole languages

A *creole* is the result of speakers of several mutually-unintelligible languages finding themselves together in one place for an extended period of time, and having to work out a common means of communication. Such situations can be the results of various social factors: the massive upheaval of different groups because of natural causes such as floods or famine, migrant groups recruited for work, enslavement,

forced relocation, or conscription into a national army. For those involved, in each case a way to speak to each other is both urgent and necessary.

The linguistic outcomes are not what some dictionary entries say—Wikipedia for example defines a creole as "the mixture of two or more languages;" other sources inform us that a creole takes its grammar from one language but its vocabulary from another; an early description of Haitian Creole French called it "French words with Ewe (an African language's) grammar." Both explanations are wrong. Creoles are not "mixtures" nor do two languages in contact produce a new language with a grammar unrelated to either of them. In fact, creole grammar is unique; Haitian grammar *isn't* Ewe, nor is it French. Haitian or Louisiana French Creole grammar, on the other hand, *is* very much like Jamaican English Creole grammar or Curaçao Creole Spanish grammar or the (recently extinct) Virgin Islands Dutch Creole grammar. Sufficiently so in fact, to allow us to talk about *creole grammar* as a quite separate and distinct linguistic type.

One prevailing explanation for the shared structural characteristics of creoles begins with the claim that what makes us human beings and different from all other living things is our ability to create and use language. It's part of our genetic makeup—language (but not any *particular* language) is in our DNA. Under normal circumstances, each of us is born into a stable, pre-existing *speech community*, i.e. there is already a language being spoken by everyone around us when we first come into the world. All we do is listen and imitate and be corrected when necessary and soon we are speaking the same way too. But if there is *no* ready-made model for us to copy, if the situation is *not* stable, if there are *many* languages being spoken all around us, if there are social pressures such as fear or confusion, then language-learning in the "normal" way is not possible. In those circumstances, we must fall back on our innate, genetic ability to provide the structure of whatever compromise language is being worked out, following what are called "linguistic universals." This is why— according to this hypothesis—creole grammars everywhere are more like each other than they are like the languages that provided their individual vocabularies.

The theory presented here is just one of several. And in the possible situations listed, it is adults rather than children who are being relocated and who have to communicate with each other. It is only when such groups of people remain together long enough for babies to be born and to start verbalizing, roughly three years, that those children will learn the "compromise" language of the adults as their first (and usually only) language. The term that linguists use for such a compromise language is *pidgin*; every pidgin speaker has his or her own native language. For the children, the pidgin becomes a native language, most often their *only* language, and must become a far more sophisticated tool since it has to serve them for a lifetime. Thus while a *pidgin* may never acquire a complex vocabulary and structure, and will

disappear if the contact situation ends, a *creole* must be able to convey all the experiences of a lifetime: it must have baby talk, lovers' talk, proverbs, riddles and so on, and be able to handle all of the grammatical nuances necessary to express every single aspect of one's life.

There is one constant that all creoles share, and that is "cross pollination." Very few such languages have developed in complete isolation, though there are exceptions. Generally, members of one creole-speaking population have been uprooted and moved to another area, and bring their own influences with them. Louisiana Creole French, for example, has its roots in both Haitian and in Lesser Antilles Creole French (*e.g.* Guadeloupien, Martiniquais); Gullah has its roots in both Caribbean and African Creole English. It is the story of the latter that is described in this essay: the *Krio* language of Sierra Leone, and it too has multiple ingredients in its makeup.

Krio is the native language of nearly half a million Sierra Leoneans, and serves as a *lingua franca* among the fifteen or so indigenous peoples who together number over five million. It is also spoken as a first language by populations in Gambia (where it is called *Aku*) and in Bioko and coastal Equatorial Guinea (where it is called *Krio* or *Pichí* and has an estimated 150,000 speakers). Since the devastating civil war in Sierra Leone (1991-2002) thousands of Krio speakers have left Africa to settle in Britain, Canada and the United States, and have established organizations such as the Krio Descendants' Union.

Krio is a member of a group of creoles known collectively as the *English Lexifier Atlantic Creoles* (the *ELAC*s), which also include Sranan (spoken in Suriname), Jamaican, Belizean and Gullah among the better studied. They are called *English-lexifier* because almost all of their words (their *lexicons*) come from English, although their Creole pronunciation, or meaning, or even existence may not be found in that language today. For example, "girl" and "woman" in Krio are ***gyal*** and ***uman***, the way they were pronounced in English in the 18th century. ***Fɛn*** comes from "find" but it can mean "look for;" ***tray*** is from "try" but it can mean "succeed;" ***yɛri*** comes from "hear" but it can mean "understand:" ***yu yɛri Frɛnch?*** "do you understand French?"; ***igen*** is from "again" but can mean "any more" (***Dayo nɔ lɛk Sami igen*** "Dayo doesn't love Sammy any more")." A ***kɔbaslɔt*** is a smock and comes from "coverslut," a word that is obsolete in English today; the source of Krio ***pɔk'pɛnt*** "porcupine," viz. *porkpoint*, hasn't existed in English since the 17th century. Such differences have confused teachers sent out to the colonies from Britain in years past, and who have mistakenly thought creole languages simply to be poorly-spoken English—and have punished children for speaking it.

The beginnings of Krio

The history of Krio began in the 17th century, when ships from the British Isles regularly visited the West African coast in order to trade. The English spoken amongst the crews of those ships was itself a compromise variety, a so-called *occupational register* worked out amongst the sailors who, confined for long periods of time in close quarters on board ship, needed to understand each other. Although they all knew English, they were recruited from ports in widely separated parts of their homeland, and spoke regional dialects that were sometimes mutually unintelligible: a man from Northumberland could not understand a man from Devonshire, for example, though both were speaking English, and neither had the schoolbook variety to fall back on. Their pronunciation and their local dialect words contributed to what historians' call *Ship English*, the first English ever heard by African ears.

It was not a pidgin, it was English, but an English spoken nowhere natively in Britain.

Those early traders established settlements on the Guinea Coast, living there for long periods of time, sometimes for the rest of their lives, taking African wives and raising Afro-European families. The larger trading centres were called factories, and the person in charge a *factor*. Three of the earliest such families in Sierra Leone were the Caulkers, the Tuckers and the Rogers, established in the mid-1600s and each prominent today. The overwhelming presence of ships and their crews on the 18th Century Guinea Coast is widely documented; in his history of Sierra Leone, Peter Kup wrote that "the English factories had almost always at their disposal a great number of boats, [and . . .] received every year at least ten vessels."

The first Europeans were all men, and their wives all African, none of whom spoke any kind of English, and who learnt it from their husbands. Those men, still remaining together, continued to speak their nautical English, of necessity supplementing it with words from their native regional British dialects to accommodate the domesticity of their new lives on shore. Acquiring it as adults, their African wives modified its pronunciation and added words to it which had no English equivalent—words for African plants and animals and customs. We can call this next stage *Coast English*, although in the absence of any documentation its existence can only be posited circumstantially. Sometimes an English word was kept but given a different, local interpretation: a Krio ***rabit*** is a kind of miniature bush deer; the Krio ***skwash*** is not a squash but an eggplant; a Krio ***apul*** is the *syzygium samarangense*, not an apple. English dialect words from as far apart as Scotland (for example *weerun* "to wander," *colley* "mimic," *bonny* "sweetheart," *demble* "ladle") and Cornwall (for example *chark* "drunk," *gladdy* "glad," *yeary* "hear," *left* "leave," *lost* "lose") were used side by side in the sailors' speech, and survive along with dozens of others in Krio (***wirɔn***, ***kɔle***, ***bani***, ***demba***, ***chak***, ***gladi***, ***yɛri***, ***lɛf***, ***lɔs***). The shipboard vocabulary likewise contributed

to the speech on shore, all with a non-nautical reference—words such as *galley*, or *moor*, or *swabber* or *capsize*: Krio ***gyali*** is a kitchen in a house; ***mo*** means to keep someone rooted to the spot; ***swaba*** is a general term of abuse and ***kyapsay*** means for anything to tip over. The sailors' pronunciation of "captain" as "cap'n" is preserved in Krio ***kyapin***; "deck" and "bunk" (***dɛk***, ***bɔnk***) can mean "a floor or storey" and "a bed or easychair;" a "bo'sun's pipe" (***bosin-pɛp***) is a "police whistle," and the fall-front "flap" on the sailor's trousers have provided the same word in Krio for flies, today even zipper-flies, on a pair of man's pants. The list of such words is extensive. Thus what began as Ship English for use at sea developed as Coast English in the settlements. The Afro-European children probably spoke it well, and we might reasonably suppose that in the first generations, they also understood the local African languages of their mothers and African playmates.

Those children, as they grew in age and numbers, came to constitute a distinct population, part African, part European, referred to in the early literature as *mulatto*s (***malata*** in Krio). They became part of the Atlantic trade network, dealing in slaves, ivory, gold, pepper, dyes and other commodities, and in time powerful trading combines, forged with local Africans—often women—became established.

The Europeans and the Afro-Europeans employed local people, known as *grumetto*s or *grumetes* as a paid labour force. These came from different tribal groups and spoke different African languages, but had to acquire a knowledge, however superficial, of the Coast English words and expressions used by their employers. It was here that they were re-framed into a pidgin, for use not only with their employers and with traders arriving from Europe, but with each other, and it was used in turn by their employers in dealing with them. This *West African Pidgin English* (WAPE) took root in different places all along the Guinea Coast, and is spoken, in various local forms, by millions today. It had become well established on the Sierra Leone coast and along its rivers by the late 1600s, and no doubt spread to the other side of the Atlantic.

During the 18th century, moves were afoot to abolish the Atlantic slave trade. Plans were made by philanthropic organizations in England to create a homeland in Africa for freed slaves, and thus the Free Town (now Freetown) Colony was established on the tip of the Sierra Leone Peninsula in 1787.

The Black Poor

The first group to be offered the opportunity to go and live there were the "Black Poor" who lived in England—a group of about 350—only some of whom were British-born (over half were from North America, and over a third from the Caribbean). Forty-one white women accompanied them, and the group reached Free Town in 1787, but their fate was sealed. Thirty five had already died on the journey,

and those who arrived were attacked either by disease or by the local population, and by 1791 only sixty of them remained. Some of them surely spoke Gullah or Caribbean Creole, and would have understood the local pidgin or perhaps creole, but their influence upon it was probably meagre.

The Settlers

The second group was the *Nova Scotians,* or *Settlers.* These were ex-slaves from the American colonies who had made it north to Nova Scotia in British North America, at the time of the American War of Independence. When the thirteen colonies rebelled against colonialism, British agents travelled the land offering the slaves their freedom if they would fight for the Crown. The colonists won their independence, however, and those slaves who could, made it north into Canada, either with their former owners or independently via the Underground Railroad. They remained there for nearly ten years before some of them elected to go and live in the Free Town Colony. A number of them had come from coastal South Carolina and no doubt knew Gullah, although what documentation we have indicates that by the time the *ca.* 1,000 of them reached Sierra Leone in 1792, they spoke "fairly typical . . . North American English from the period." In their new home they were reportedly in particular demand as letter-writers because of their good command of English. Krio shares much in common with Gullah, and the extent to which Gullah owes its original form to the earlier West African Pidgin English, or Krio shares features with Gullah because of the Settlers, is a vexed issue, and the answer is probably some of both. More easily demonstrated is the influence of general African American English upon the emerging Krio: words such as ***dɔgɔn***, or ***paluka***, or ***rangla*** or ***fiks***, "doggone," "palooka," "wrangler," "fix (a spell)," or phrases such as ***fat kondo fɔ snɛk*** (*cf*. "fattening frogs for snakes"—though ***kondo*** in Krio means a lizard) seem to be from this source.

The Maroons

The third group to arrive was the Jamaican Maroons. These were the descendants of rebels who had resisted English colonialism in Jamaica and had established autonomous communities in the interior fastness of the island. In 1796 after sustained fighting, several hundred of the rebels were exiled to Nova Scotia. While they were welcomed for their industriousness, they were given the poorest available land to subsist on, and after four years most of them decided to leave Canada and return to the tropics, this time to the Free Town Colony. Others remained, and their descendants live in the provincial capital, Halifax and in other Nova Scotian towns. About 600 of them arrived in Africa in September, 1800. While some of them were conversant with English, their own language was Jamaican Creole, called—like Krio—

Patwa (*patois*) by its speakers. While they were still living in Nova Scotia the Reverend Benjamin Gray, an Englishman who was their spiritual minister, noted that *"a great many of the Maroons were so far unacquainted with our language as not to comprehend fully what was addressed to them from the pulpit,"* and the Portuguese journalist Joaquim Morão who visited Freetown in 1820 wrote that *"the Settlers occupy an area in the south-east of Freetown, and speak the English language well and which they have as their native language . . . the Maroons however speak a particular language, which is a corrupt English."* Maroon speech has provided Krio with a great many words, although their respective grammatical structures show very significant differences. One problem that creolists have to deal with today is that there are few, if any, located examples of how each of these languages was spoken two hundred years ago; the samples we do have were recorded inaccurately by Europeans who didn't speak them, and each has developed separately since then. The Jamaican Maroons who visited Sierra Leone in 2014 and their Krio-speaking hosts had to speak English to each other. The Gullah historian Ruth Whitehead similarly reports that "on speaking to the director of the Freetong Players when they were here from Freetown, he said he could not understand my spoken Gullah, nor could I understand his Krio."

Along with a few much smaller numbers of arrivees, these first groups together amounted to about two thousand. They tended to keep apart from each other, and there was frequent conflict, especially between the Maroons and the Settlers. But the speech of each of them added to the pre-existing WAPE, gradually contributing to it as it crystallized into early Krio. However the distinctiveness of that language owes much to the fourth—and by far the biggest—incoming group: the *Recaptives* or *Liberated Africans*.

The Liberated Africans

Although Britain had abolished slavery in 1807, it remained legal in all of the American countries, and the demand for captive labour continued to flourish. Illegal slaving ships would purchase or capture Africans illegally from all along the coast for sale across the Atlantic. As far as they were able, British naval ships would patrol the seas waylaying the lawbreakers and freeing their cargoes, but not by returning them to their various ports of embarkation: they were all taken to Freetown to be offloaded. This meant that the linguistic mix in the new colony was overwhelming: by the mid nineteenth century, several hundred

different languages were being spoken on the streets of the city. The need for a common *lingua franca* was clear.

The largest single group of Recaptives (over 40% of them) spoke different dialects of Yoruba, whose home territory is in south-western Nigeria; more than any other African language, Yoruba has influenced Krio in its vocabulary and idiom, as well as many aspects of the Krio culture.

* * *

Besides the various ingredients that contributed to the formation of modern Krio, there were other influences that had an impact as well. Many West Indians and some African Americans joined the growing population, as well as speakers of indigenous Sierra Leonean languages, especially Susu, Sherbro, Temne and Mende. Some of the earliest Europeans were the German-speaking missionaries and teachers; some of those scarcely knew any English. Numbers of Krio speakers also left to go and settle permanently in the Caribbean in the mid-1800s as a free labour force, especially to Trinidad and British Guiana, where they were known as "Creo's". In 1841, some of the Maroon settlers or—after four decades in Freetown more probably their Krio-speaking African-born children and grandchildren— decided to leave for Jamaica, only 70 of their number remaining behind. Krio speakers also left Sierra Leone for the Gambia and for Fernando Po (today called Bioko), these last in
1827, indicating that Krio had already acquired its recognizable form before that date.
Other Creoles (Krios) went as administrators to other parts of Africa, even as far away as Kenya; the Kenyan village of Frere Town, created for recaptives, was settled by Sierra Leoneans.

There is an ongoing debate regarding both the origin of the word *Krio* and the identity of those entitled to use it as their self-ascription. Certainly, ownership of the label extends far beyond the descendants of the first two thousand settlers, since ethnicity is a socially, not a genetically, acquired status, and the children and grandchildren of the tens of thousands of Liberated Africans who didn't find ways to get back to their original homelands eventually assimilated into Freetown society and "Creolized," acquiring a new language, dress, religion and customs, while contributing aspects of their own to the emerging society.

Codifying the language

Creoledom, as Arthur Porter has called it, had reached its peak by the turn of the 20th century. In the 1930s, efforts were beginning to be made to formalize the status and spelling of Krio; clearly it wasn't a distorted and impoverished kind of English, although there were still those who refused to believe otherwise. Its champions stood by the adage— common in sociolinguistics—that "language is the vehicle of culture" as their battle cry. Why, they asked, should they live their lives through the medium of a foreign language, the English being imposed upon them? The same sentiment is expressed by another Creole people, the Sranan Krioro of Suriname, who say *wan pipel di no abi den egi tongo, na afu pipel nomo* ("a people that doesn't have its own language is only half a people"). Leading the battle was Thomas Decker, who devised a spelling suited to Krio's own phonology, and who published his poems and his Shakespeare translations in it; it was later modified by Eldred Jones, who replaced Decker's "***eh***" and "***oh***" with the letters ***ɛ*** and ***ɔ*** to bring it into line with the official spellings used for other Sierra Leonean languages, and this is the orthography used in the *Krio English Dictionary*, which was published by Oxford University Press in 1980, in the *Krio Fɔs Oli Baybul*, and in other contemporary publications.

The sounds of Krio are much like those in English, though it has fewer vowels, including a distinction between two "e" sounds and the two "o" sounds that Decker and Jones had both addressed: the e's in *wet* and *weight*, and the o's in *hop* and *hope*, in the current spelling, ***ɛ***, ***e***, ***ɔ*** and ***o*** respectively. It also has nasal vowels, unlike English — ***in*** "his, her, its" and ***dɛn*** "they, them, their, those" are pronounced with nasal vowels, ***ĩ, d*** there are also the two sounds written ***kp*** and ***gb***, also missing in English, and which are only found in words originating in African languages: ***kpatakpata*** "completely," ***gbagbati*** "bossy." Krio's diphthongs are written ***ay*** (as in *high*), ***ɔy*** (as in *boy*) and ***aw*** (as in *now*). It lacks the English "th" sounds in *this* or *thing* except in highly English-influenced Krio speech, and is distinctive among the ELACs in its articulation of the *R* sound, which resembles German or French rather than English.

Krio also has *tone* as an important linguistic feature. Depending upon the musical pitch of the syllable, a word's meaning can change. For example, ***go*** with a low tone shows the future tense: ***a gò du am*** "I will do it," but with a high tone, it is the verb "to go:" ***a gó du am*** "I went and did it." Lots of words are distinguished by tone, for example ***káta*** means "throw about," while ***katá*** means "a pad for carrying loads on the head;" ***kokó*** is "cocoa," while ***kókó*** means "a bump on the body;" ***d n*** means "their," while ***dɛ́n*** means "those;" ***watá*** is "water," but ***wáta*** is the verb "to water (something);" ***k ntri*** is "country," but a ***kɔntrí*** is "a rural dweller;" ***Rubí*** is a girl's name, but a ***rúbi*** is a "ruby;" ***jínja*** is "ginger," but a ***jinjá*** is a

red-headed person. The way tones operate in Krio is more complicated than these examples would indicate, and includes such features as upstep, downstep and downdrift: when two high tone words are next to each other, the second one is slightly lower than the one before it, so that in longer sentences, a high tone word at the end might be lower than a low tone word at the beginning.

Changes in Krio

Krio exists in a number of dialects; Christian Krios and Muslim Krios speak differently, as do rural *vs*. urban speakers. Those for whom it is a second language may have their own variations too, influenced by their respective mother tongues. Today, the most conservative, and notionally the "best" Krio, known as "deep," or ***yoyo*** Krio, is spoken by older people mainly in the peninsula and Freetown area; with the advent of the Internet, and the much increased presence of foreigners in the country, exposure to English has wrought great and ongoing changes, resulting (especially for its second-language speakers) in what is sometimes called ***Watɑ-watɑ Krio***, "watered-down" Krio, or ***Kringlish***—that is, Krio heavily influenced by English. The problem that this presents is most apparent in the classroom; at a time when Krio and English were two separate, distinct, mutuallyunintelligible languages, keeping them apart was not a problem: English could potentially have been taught as a foreign or second language using well-established EFL or ESL teaching techniques. But when Krio itself begins to "metropolitanize," *i.e*. drift towards English, it becomes harder to know where one language ends and the other begins, and to determine what are perfectly legitimate Krio grammatical constructions, and what are mistakes being made in either language. It also damages Krio's character. Disappearing are words such as ***gapé*** ("hunger"), or ***gɑti*** ("a lie"), or ***lulu*** ("worn out"), and pronunciations such as ***trɛk*** ("strike"), ***kiba*** ("cover"), ***pun*** ("spoon"), ***eside*** ("yesterday") and ***tori*** ("story"). Krio constructions such as ***wan mi padi*** ("one of my friends") and ***ɑ bin wet dɛn*** ("I waited for them") are now often heard as ***"wan ɔv mi padi"*** and "***ɑ bin wet fɔ dɛn***." Thus the old words disappear and the structures become more English, as do the pronunciations (now more commonly ***strayk***, ***kɔba***, ***spun***, ***yɛstade***, ***stɔri***). Two recent songs in Krio include the English-leaning adjustments ***wumɑn*** ("woman") for ***umɑn***, and ***sɔng*** ("song") for ***sing***, which in Krio is both a verb and a noun; we hear ***rays*** and ***wayt*** and ***kwɛschɔn*** nowadays nearly as frequently as ***rɛs*** and ***wet*** and ***kwɛshɔn*** ("rice" and "white" and "question"). Thanks to the Internet, Krio's Jamaican legacy has also returned, and Sierra Leonean reggae is equal to anything from the Caribbean; Jamaican Creole expressions are finding their way into the Krio of the youth, as are the equally imitated African American hip-hop slang and dress. All of this is quite natural, of course. All languages and cultures change over time, but one might nevertheless regret the demise of the ***yoyo*** Krio that is slowly being lost.

An Overview of Krio Grammar

Unlike English or French or Spanish or Dutch, creole languages show grammatical relationships not by adding endings but with free-standing words. For example, while those European languages can add an ***–s*** to make a plural, creoles accomplish the same with a separate word ("spoon***s***," "cuillère***s***," "cucharra***s***," "lepel***s***," are translated as ***pun dɛn***, ***kiyɛr ye***, ***kuchara nan*** and ***lɛpəl sɛndə*** in Creole English, Creole French, Creole Spanish and Creole Dutch—each, incidentally, using the word that means "them/they" to mark the plural). The finer details of Krio grammar are complex, and it would take a great deal of space to describe them exhaustively. Its main grammatical features, however, can be summarized here.

The personal pronouns, like those in the surrounding indigenous languages, make no distinction between male and female: ***i*** means both "he" and "she" (as well as "it"—note that English similarly makes no gender distinction with the plural "they," which in Krio is ***dɛn*** [***d***). "I" is either ***a*** or ***mi***, "we" is ***wi***, but "y[illegible]" is either ***yu*** or ***una*** *(*or ***wuna*** or ***unu*** for some speakers), depending upon whether it addresses one person or more—***una*** is only plural.

Personal pronouns also all have emphatic forms. Thus the low-tone ***a*** is high-tone ***mi***, low-tone ***i*** is high-tone ***in***: ***à bin bay am*** "I bought it," ***mí bin bay am*** "<u>*I*</u> bought it."

Except for ***a***, which is always ***mi***, and ***i***, which becomes ***am***, these subject pronouns have the same form when they are the objects of a sentence: ***a si yu*** ("I saw you"), ***yu si mi*** ("you saw me"), ***wi si una*** (we saw you-all"), ***una si wi*** ("you-all saw us"), ***i si dɛn*** ("he/she/it saw them"), ***dɛn si am*** ("they saw him/her/it"). Similarly, except for ***a***, which is always ***mi***, and ***i***, which is always ***in*** ([***ĩ***]), the possessive pronouns have the same forms as well: ***mi os*** "my house(s)," ***yu gyadin*** "your garden(s)***," in brɔda*** "his/her brother(s)," ***wi buk*** "our book(s)," ***dɛn mɔtoka*** "their car(s)."

If an object pronoun comes before a verb, it stays in the subject form: ***a wan' lɛ i go de*** "I want to let him go there," ***mɛk a si am*** "let me see it."

When ***am*** follows words ending in certain vowels, it is ***ram***, thus ***Joko bin fala ram*** "Joko followed her," ***go sidɔm to ram*** "go and sit next to him," ***aks fɔ ram*** "ask for it."

Possessive constructions of the type noun plus noun ("the man's house," "Femi's book," "everybody's car") may insert the third-person ***in*** or ***dɛn*** between the two words, or leave them out altogether (although there is a slight difference in meaning for each construction): ***di man os***, ***Fɛmi buk***, ***di man in os***, ***Fɛmi in buk***, ***ɔlman ka***, ***ɔlman dɛn ka***.

The so-called "possessive absolutes"—*mine*, *yours*, *hers*, *its*, *ours*, *theirs*, etc., are made by following the nouns or the possessive pronouns with the word ***yon***, thus ***dɛn buk de na Frɛdi yon*** "those books are Freddie's," ***dis mɔtoka na mi yon*** "this car is mine," ***in aydia dɛn na in yon*** "his ideas are his own."

Reflexive pronouns follow the English pattern, by following the possessive pronoun with "self" (in Krio, ***sɛf***): ***na una sɛf du am*** "you-all did it yourselves." ***Sɛf*** can also mean "even," as in ***a nɔ du am sɛf*** "I didn't even do it," ***dɛn nɔ go de sɛf*** "they didn't even go there."

While a noun alone can be either singular or plural (***di pikin*** can mean "the child" or "the children"), ***dɛn*** may also follow it to indicate plurality: ***di pikin dɛn*** "the children." After personal names, it means "and his/her group, family, gang, etc.: ***Olu dɛn*** "Olu and his bunch."

Notice that in the examples here, ***si*** is translated as "saw" and not "see." This is a characteristic of creole languages, which interpret a concept as already having come into existence, since it can be conceived of or experienced. If the meaning "see" rather than "saw" is intended, it is understood to be an action that is ongoing, or happening now, and this is indicated with the word ***de***, always low tone, thus ***a de si*** "I am seeing" (either now, or habitually).

Just as ***si*** can be translated as "saw," so ***rɔn*** is "ran," ***kuk*** is "cooked," and so on. ***Di rɛs kuk*** means "the rice is cooked" (compare English "I cook the rice, the rice is cooked").

Several other words can be inserted to change the tenses and aspects of the verb. The imperative or command form uses the word ***fɔ***, as in ***yu fɔ go*** "you must go." This is an extension of the basic meaning of ***fɔ***, which is the equivalent of English "to" before infinitive verbs, as in "to go," "to see," "to sit," "to stand," etc.—in Krio, ***fɔ go***, ***fɔ si***, ***fɔ sidɔm***, ***fɔ timap***. It originates in the somewhat old-fashioned English imperative construction with "to be:" "I am to be quiet," "you are to stay here," "he is to sit down," and so on. Krio can also express the imperative with ***mɔs***, ***yu mɔs sidɔm*** "you must sit," ***yu go mɔs du am*** 'you're going to have to do it,' ***yu mɔs go du am*** "you have to go and do it," or with ***gɛt fɔ*** (literally "have to," ***gɛt*** means "have" in Krio): ***yu gɛ' fɔ sidɔm*** "you have to sit," or more politely with ***mek*** or ***lɛ***, thus ***(du ya), mek yu sidɔm*** or ***(du ya), lɛ yu sidɔm*** "(please) sit down." A further imperative construction employs the word ***pas*** before the verb: ***pas sidɔm!***, discussed below. The infinitive *for* is still found in south-western England, as in Devonshire dialect *I want for tell 'un* "I want to tell him." *For to* survives more widely in regional English speech elsewhere: "I want for to tell him."

If the action is over with, then it is ***dɔn***, always high tone: ***a dɔn si*** "I had seen." This can be combined with ***de*** to make the completed action one that was ongoing at the time: ***a dɔn de si*** "I had been seeing." The word ***dɔn*** can also follow the verb: ***a dɔn kuk di fufu dɔn*** "I've done cooking the fufu."

Besides using the verb alone to indicate the past, ***bin*** can be inserted with much the same function: ***a bin si*** "I saw" or "I have seen," and together with ***de***, as in ***a bin de si***, it then means "I *have been* seeing" or "I *was* seeing." All three together give ***a bin dɔn de si*** "I *had been* seeing."

The word ***kin*** indicates something that is done habitually, not necessarily at the very moment: ***a kin si*** "I usually see." This can also be expressed with the word ***blan(t): a blant si***.

Another construction that expresses an action in progress has ***de pan (de)***, thus ***a de pan (de) kuk*** "I'm engaged in cooking (right now)." ***Kin*** isn't an expression of ability, which is ***ebul***: thus ***a kin tɔk Shebra*** "I customarily speak Sherbro," ***a ebul tɔk Shebra*** "I can (*i.e*. am able to) speak Sherbro."

The future is shown with ***go***, thus ***a go si,*** "I will see," ***a go de si*** "I'll be seeing," ***a go dɔn si*** "I'll have seen," ***a go dɔn de si*** "I'll have been seeing," and so on. By combining ***bin*** with ***go***, the conditional construction is achieved: ***a bin go du am wantɛm*** "I should have done it right away," though this is becoming old-fashioned: today the same meaning is more commonly constructed with ***fɔ, thus a bin fɔ du am wantɛm.***

Besides meaning "come," the word ***kam*** means to be immediately intent on doing something: ***Olu kam kam tif mi Wɔkman*** "Olu came and stole my Walkman."

To make a sentence negative, high tone ***nɔ*** is inserted before all of these verb forms: ***a nɔ si*** "I didn't see," ***a nɔ go dɔn de si*** "I won't have been seeing," etc. ***Nɔ*** plus ***dɔn***, however, is usually ***nɔba***, thus ***Bɔla dɛn nɔba bigin dɛn wok*** "Bola & Co. hadn't begun their work." "Never" is translated as ***nɔ ɛva***.

There are different equivalents to the "be" verb in creole languages. In English, just the one verb is used (1) with adjectives: "I *am* tired," "they *were* hungry," (2) to show identity: "he *is* the boss," (3) to show location: "they *are* in the room," and (4) with participles: "we *are* singing." The Krio equivalent of this last use employs low-tone ***de*** with verbs, as described above: ***wi de sing***. In creole languages, adjectives also behave as verbs, so "tired," "hungry" and so on are better translated as "to be tired," to be hungry," with the "be" already included. Thus ***a taya*** means "I *am* tired," ***a angri*** means "I *am* hungry." These can also combine with the various verb modifiers: ***dɛn lif yala*** "those leaves are yellow," ***dɛn lif de yala*** "those leaves are yellowing (turning yellow)," ***dɛn lif dɔn yala*** "the leaves have turned yellow". The "be" verb that shows existence or location is high-tone ***de*** in Krio: ***Meri de yanda*** "Mary is over there," ***wi fambul de Salon*** "our family is in Sierra Leone," ***Gɔd de*** "God exists," ***ɛleya nɔ de*** "there's no problem," ***aw di fambul? Dɛn de*** "How's the family?" Answer: "They're there" (*i.e.* everything's in place).

The identifying "be" verb is ***na***. It behaves differently from all the other verbs. First of all, it has its own negative form, ***nɔto***: thus ***na mi*** "it's me," ***nɔto mi*** "it's not me." Secondly, it can only go with ***mi***

("I"), and never ***a***, (***mi na in padi*** "I am his/her friend"), it cannot go with ***i*** (he/she/it) or ***am*** (him/her/it), instead ***i*** is left out altogether, and it uses ***in*** as the direct object: ***na mi padi*** "he/she/it/they is/are my friend(s)," ***na in*** "it's him/her/it," ***nɔto in bin du am*** "it wasn't he/she/it that did it."

The future tense of ***na*** is ***go bi***, as in ***sɔntɛm a go bi ticha*** "maybe I'll be a teacher," and the past tense is either ***bin bi*** or ***na bin***, also with slightly different interpretations, as in ***a yɛri se Modu na bin nɔs*** or ***a yɛri se Modu bin bi nɔs*** "I heard that Modu was a nurse."

Na can also go in front of question words such as ***usay*** ("where"), ***ustɛm*** ("when"), ***wetin du*** ("why") or ***uda*** ("who") for emphasis: ***na uda du am?*** "who did it?" ***na usay i go?*** "where did he go?," ***na wetin du yu de ala pan mi?*** "why are you shouting at me?," and in front of repeated verbs and adjectives, also for emphasis: ***na bay yu bay am ɔ na tif yu tif am?*** "Did you buy it or steal it?" (*literally*, "is it a buy you bought it or a steal you stole it?"), ***na vɛks a vɛks*** "it's angry I'm angry" (compare Irish dialect "it's angry I am").

Krio adds verbs together and doesn't need all of the conjunctions that are required by English. Thus while in English you'd say "I ran *and* climbed up the tree *and* picked the fruit *and* climbed back down *and* ran back *and* went into the house," in Krio it would translate as "I ran go climb go up the tree pick fruit climb come down go into house" (***a rɔn go klem go ɔp di tik pik frut klem kam dɔng rɔn kam bak go na os***). This is called "serialization," and is a characteristic of creole languages. It is used in various constructions, such as expressing "by means of" (the "instrumental"): instead of saying "I cut the bread with a knife," Krio says "I took a knife, cut the bread," ***a tek nɛf kɔt (di) bred***, and the comparative: instead of saying "my house is bigger than yours" Krio says "my house (is) big, (it) surpasses your own" (***mi os big pas yu yon***). The imperative ***pas sidɔm!*** given above may be based on this, a shorter form of ***(nɔ du natin) pas sidɔm*** '(don't do anything more) than sit down.' ***Pas*** also means 'unless:' ***pas yu sɛf go de de, mi nɔ de go*** 'unless you're going to be there, I'm not going.'

Verbs of motion ("walk," "run," "carry," etc.) are serially coupled with ***go*** "go" or ***kam*** "come," thus ***fes am kam na ya*** "fetch it here," ***kɛr am go de*** "take it there." Choice of verb can also specify the meaning of the preposition ***na*** (not the same word as the "be" verb ***na***), which can mean both "to" and "from:" ***a bin go na os*** "I went <u>to</u> the house," ***a bin kɔmɔt na os*** "I came <u>from</u> the house."

Verbs and adjectives can occur with *ideophones*. These are words that accompany them to modify their meanings, thus ***fɔdɔm*** means "fall down," but ***fɔdɔm budum*** means "fall down heavily;" ***timap*** means "stand," but ***timap tolong*** means "stand erect." ***Fawe*** means "to be far away" but ***fawe pong*** means "to be very far away;" ***blak*** is "to be black," but ***blak ti*** is "to be pitch black;" ***wet*** is "to be white," but ***wet fu*** means "to be dazzlingly white;" ***rɛd*** is "red," but ***rɛd gayn*** is "brilliantly red."

Where English adds *-ly* to an adjective to make an adverb ("happy, happily"), Krio does it by following the adjective with ***wan***, thus ***i ala pan am vɛks wan*** "she shouted at him angrily."

The Krio words for "that" as in "the gossip that my friend heard was a lie" or "the gossip that my friend wrote it was a lie" are ***we*** and ***se***. In the first sentence, "the gossip" was both what my friend heard *and* a lie. In the second sentence, "the gossip" was a lie, but was also that my friend had written something. For sentences like the first, "that" is translated by ***we***, thus ***di kongosa we mi kɔmpin bin yɛri na lay***. In the second type of sentence, it is ***se***: ***di kongosa se mi kɔmpin bin rayt am na lay***. ***Se*** occurs most frequently following words of communication: ***a yɛri se***…("I heard that…"), ***i bin tɛl am se***… ("she told her that…"), ***na tru se***… ("it's the truth that…").

A story in Krio

This is the beginning of a story by the New York Sierra Leonean author Velma Caulker Mitchell, more of whose work appeared in the first issue of *The Journal of the Krio Literary Society*, currently being reissued by the Krio Publication Series (Umeå University, Sweden).

Love Trancending

Sori lidɔm na in bed we i kɔmɔt wok wan Tyusde ivin. In bɔdi bin taya bad . . . da de de i bin did dɔn wok plɛnti; frɔm sɛvin na mɔnin te af-pas-fo na aftanun i bin de krɔb flo, was plet, kuk ɛn swip pala.

"Bɔy wok nɔba izi o", i se to in sɛf. I lidɔm na in matras de smok sigrɛt, fayn bris bin de blo na di rum. Wan chia nɔmɔ bin de insay, wit wan tebul we bin get lili panlamp pantap am. Pantap di tebul, ɔl Sori in yit: tu tin sadin, fo tin milk, wan mol bred ɛn wan plet rɛs ɛn fis, bin de.

"Wan de we a gɛt kɔpɔ, a swɛ a go muf naya, go fɛn wan fayn smɔl os fɔ mi ɛn Salwa we wi mared." I bigin fɔ mɛmba in 'wɛf'.

I ɛn Salwa bin dɔn de fɔ fayv iya ɛn i bin stil lɛk am bad. Na fɔseka kɔpɔ nɔmɔ mek i nɔ bin dɔn mared am et. Frɔm we dɛn tu bigin, Sori nɔ ɛva mɛmba fɔ fala ɔda uman. Salwa na bin fayn blak titi, af Madingga, af Timini. Frɔn di tɛm we Sori sabi am, i de wok na makit, Kisi

Rod Makit, de sɛl pamayn. Pan ɔl di uman dɛn we Sori bin dɔn ɛva gɛt na in layf, na Salwa mek i wan kres. Nɔto bikɔs nɔmɔ di gyal bin fayn pas ɛnibɔdi, bɔt bikɔs 'na pikin we gɛt gud trik', as
Sori kin tɛl in padi dɛn. ɛn fɔ tru, Salwa na bin bɛtɛ-bɛtɛ titi fɔ ɛni man.

Translation

Sori lay on his bed when he came home from work one Tuesday evening. He was very tired . . . he'd certainly worked hard that day, from seven in the morning until four thirty in the afternoon he'd been scrubbing floors, washing dishes, cooking and sweeping the living room.

"A houseboy's work is never easy," he told himself. As he lay down on his mattress smoking a cigarette, a gentle breeze blew into his bedroom. There was only one chair, and a table which had a small oil-lamp on it. On the table were all of Sori's provisions: there were two tins of sardines, four tins of condensed milk, one loaf of bread and a plate of rice and fish.

"One day when I have money, I swear I'm going to move away from here and get a nice little house for Salwa and me when we get married." He started to think about his "wife." He and Salwa had been together for five years, and he was still very much in love with her. It was only because of money that he hadn't yet married her. Since the two of them had started going together, Sori had never once thought about going after another woman. Salwa was a beautiful black girl, half Mandinka and half Temne. Ever since Sori had known her, she'd worked in the market, Kissy Road Market, selling palm oil. Of all the women that Sori had ever known in his life, it was Salwa (alone) who drove him crazy. Not simply because she was more beautiful than anyone else, but because she was a girl who "deported herself well," as Sori would tell his friends. And certainly, Salwa was a great catch for any man.

Poems by the author

1. *"Fɔ wan mi padi we bin wan mared ɔyimbo"*

I lɛk aw wi sɔpos fɔ bi, yu na yu ɛn mi na mi.
Wi na switat, dat na tru, bɔt mi na mi ɛn yu na yu.
We a fɔs mit yu Sɛns se "Wet! in na sɔsa, yu na plet. Way yu nɔ de
mared Bɔla? at lis una tu de sheb wan kɔla Bɔt dis? i nɔ blant bogi
sɛf, ɛn luk di wan pan rɛs i lɛf!
Ɛn pan Krio, i bit mi klɔk, na in yon nɔmɔ i sabi tɔk;
Biyol yu bɛn fɔ kot di fɛlɛ, we nɔ kin shire 'bɔtɔm bɛlɛ',
We nɔ ebul yit fufu, we gɛ fɔ tɔk Inglish to yu
Bɔt pan ɔl dis, sɔntɛm yu rayt, yu yai so big, yu smayl so brayt
Di ansa lib de na yu fes, gati nɔ de—lɔv nɔ no res!"

Translation

"For a friend contemplating marriage to a white man"

However we're supposed to be, you are you and I am me.
We are sweethearts, that is true, but I am me and you are you.
When I first met you, common sense said "Wait! he's a saucer, you're a plate.
Why don't you marry Bola? At least the two of you share one colour.
But this one? He can't even dance, and look at the plate of rice he's left!
And as for Krio, he beats my time, he can only speak his own language.
Nevertheless you're determined to date this guy, who can't dance the "bottom belly,"
Who can't eat fufu, who has to speak English to you –
But nevertheless, you're probably right, your eyes are so big, your smile so bright,

The answer's right there on your face;
It's no lie, love doesn't know race."

2. "The Exile's Lament"

The country's civil war led to thousands of Sierra Leoneans leaving to take up residence overseas. This is a poem about one person finding himself trapped in the Krio Diaspora.

Yagba kech mi, mi nɔ no usay pan dis layf fɔ go;
Tɛm de pas, a nɔ de yɔng, i dɔn te we a bin de tɔng.
Bɔt aw fɔ du? Usay a blant? mi wɔlɛt did no se a kyant
Go Fritɔng bak sote i ful; dɛn dez ya, kyash at fɔ pul
Ɛn flanship diya, ɛn wok nɔ de, fɔ bra lɛk' mi we tu rare
Fɔ kip wan jab, ɛn ol am tayt, sote mi pɔs dɔn lɛf fɔ layt,
Ɛn tikit de insay mi an, mi manto pak,
Di tɛksi kam fɔ kɛr mi go . . . bɔt ɛng fɔs, du— Natin pan dis
drim na tru, a stil de ya, Saro de fa
(Wetin mɛk a bin bay ka? Da kɔpɔ de, i bin go du Fɔ ɛp fulɔp
mi kotoku! Bɔt a spɛn am, gbay!
Lɛk i dɔn flay. Tɛm nɔ rich et fɔ tɛl gudbay . . .)
Ɛn so a jis go gɛ' fɔ tap na trenja kɔntri,
A nɔ go grap kɔmɔt naya fɔ ɔmɔs iya; Ay Gɔd,
Yu nɔ go ɛp a biya?

Translation

Worry hounds me, I don't know where I can go in this life; Time is passing, I'm not getting any younger, it's been so long since I've been in Freetown.
But what to do? Where do I belong? Certainly my wallet knows I can't

Return to Freetown until it's full, and these days money is hard to find.
And planes are expensive, and there's no work for a guy like me who's too flighty
To keep one job and hold onto it until my purse is no longer empty,
And I have a ticket in my hand, and my suitcase is packed,
And the taxi has come to take me away . . . but wait a minute,
Nothing in this dream is real, I'm still here, Sierra Leone is far away,
(What made me buy a car? That money could have been used To help me
fill my wallet—but I spent it, *wheee!*
It's like it just flew away; it's not time yet to say goodbye . . .)
And so I simply have to stay in a stranger's country, I won't be up and
gone from here for how many more years, Oh God, won't you help
me bear?

3. "Tribute"

Modu, ɔmɔ-Sɔsɛks, tɛnki,
Fɔ yu samba—swit Krio;
Eketi igen, mi brada,
Yamide, yu sɛf a o; Onikɛ na yu
a mɛmba, Ɛsta, Imnal, Bayo,
Mo.

Dayo, Fɛmi, Bɔla, Mansa,
Abat, Punta, Aysatu; Kwintin,
Rosmɔn, Gavas, Josi, Sam, aw a
ebul fɔgɛt yu?

Ways una mɛmri nɔ de fa
Di Salon we una lɛf biyɛn
Nɔ de igen, fɔseka wa
Adinɔ i de pan mɛn;

Ɔmɔs pan una stil de de?

Tu tri nɔmɔ kin stil de rayt Biyol di

mɛmri nɔba lɛf mi

Tenɔ a ol dɛn—ol dɛn tayt.

Translation

Modu, from Sussex, thank you

For your gift of sweet Krio

AKT as well, my brother

Yamide, yourself I owe; Onike, it's

you I remember, Esther, Hymnal,

Bayo, Mo.

Dayo Femi, Bola, Mansa

Herbert, Punta, Isatu;

Quintin, Rosamund, Gervais, Josie Sam, how

could I forget you?

While your memory stays not far

The Sierra Leone you left behind Is there no

more, because of war, (But) maybe things

are getting better.

How many of you are still out there?

Just two or three still write to me; Nevertheless the

memories never leave me 'Till now I hold them, hold

them tight.

Ian Hancock is currently writing a book on the origins of Krio, entitled *Littorally Speaking.* He is director of The Romani Archives and Documentation Center at the University of Texas at Austin, where he also teaches a course on the creolization of language. His two-part article on the Creole-speaking Texas Black Seminoles appeared in *Kreol Magazine*, 9: 36-41 (2014) and 11: 00-00 (2014).

The Connection Between Sierra Leone and English and Scottish Royalty: The Royal Descent of Members of the Macaulay Family of the Isle of Lewis

Nigel Browne-Davies

The Macaulay family of the Isle of Lewis in the Western Isles of Scotland is perhaps inextricably connected to the history of Sierra Leone through prominent members of the family such as Zachary Macaulay and Kenneth Macaulay.[1] Some studies have examined the Macaulay family of the Isle of Lewis and some the descendants of this family in Sierra Leone.[2] However, few, if any studies, have provided an in-depth study of the ancestry of the Macaulay family of the Isle of Lewis, and in particular the royal ancestry of some members of the Macaulay family of the Isle of Lewis. Although, some members of the Macaulay family had claimed royal descent from the Kings of Norway and the Crovan dynasty, there is little scientific or documentary evidence to suggest that this assertion was accurate.[3] However, genealogical records that detail a significant connection between some members of the Macaulay family of the Isle of Lewis and Scottish royalty such as King Robert I and King Robert II of Scotland have been

[1]Fyfe, Christopher, *A History of Sierra Leone*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 68-77, 115, 118, 123, 158-9.

[2]Whyte, Iain, *Zachary Macaulay 1768-1838: The Steadfast Scot in the British Anti-slavery Movement*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011). Hall, Catherine, *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britai*n, (United States: Yale University Press, 2012).

[3]Mackenzie, William Cook, Morrison (minister.), William*, History of the Outer Hebrides (Lewis, Harris, North and South Uist, Benbecula, And Barra)*, (Britain: A. Gardner, 1903), p. 63. However, this myth might have been propagated for several generations among the descendants of the Macaulay family of Lewis and Thomas Babington Macaulay, the famous historian and a son of Zachary Macaulay, referred to this family myth in his poem, entitled 'Olaus the Great, or the Conquest of Mona'.

overlooked.[4] This short study examines the descent of the Macaulay family from the royal Scottish Houses of Bruce and Stewart and the descent of some Sierra Leonean families from the royal bloodline of the Macaulay family.[5]

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[4]Fyfe, Christopher, *A History of Sierra Leone*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 68-77, 115, 118, 123, 158-9. Furthermore, Mary Ann Trump, nee Macleod the mother of President Donald John Trump, the 45th President of the United States, was born in the Isle of Lewis. Mary Ann Macleod, was a descendant of a Macleod and Macaulay family, and might have been related to the Macaulay family of the Isle of Lewis. Certainly, if the genealogical studies on President Donald Trump being a descendant of Edward III are accurate then Zachary Macaulay and Kenneth Macaulay and their descendants are related to the 45th President of the United States.

[5]'Annual Distribution Of Prizes At St. Joseph's Convent, Howe Street,' *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 13 December, 1902, hereafter *S.L.W.N*. The Macaulay family in Sierra Leone were not the only Sierra Leonean descendants of English or Scottish royalty. Algernon Sidney Montagu, (1802-1880), the Registrar-General of Sierra Leone, was the father of at least four children (although it appears as though only two children survived to adulthood) with Esther Anne Bell, (1836/7-1873), a Creole of possible mixed-race origins; a daughter born at Howe Street on 8am on 1 May, 1859, Alfred John Montagu, (1861-1887), born at Howe Street at 1am on 7 August, 1861, a daughter born at Howe Street on 14 August, 1864, and Annie Elizabeth Montagu, (1865-1898), born at Howe Street at 11am on 25 September, 1865 and who died 3 April 1898. Alfred John Montagu, a writing clerk who entered the Sierra Leone Grammar School in 1869 as student number 703 and was also educated in Pownall Fee, Cheshire, England England (where he was recorded in the household of Thomas Somerville in the 1871 Census of England and Wales), married Elizabeth Maria Meheux, a daughter of Mary Ann Meheux, nee Macfoy and John Meheux, (1812/3-1886) the son of a Temne mother and Jean Meheux, a Frenchman, and had at least three children; John Reginald Bryan Meheux Montagu, (1882-1904), who died at Fisher Street, Freetown in March 1904, Algernon Sidney Montagu, (1884-1918), born at Howe Street at 3pm on 5 June, 1884 (and was educated at the Wesleyan Boys High School alongside contemporaries such as Herbert Christian Bankole-Bright, 1883-1958) and died in Songo Town, Sierra Leone, during the Influenza Epidemic in September 1918, and a daughter born at Fisher Street at 4pm on 17 March, 1887 who was possibly Elizabeth Montague [sic] Thompson who married a Thompson and died at Meheux Street in June or July 1916. Annie Elizabeth Montagu, fondly known as 'Goody Montagu' and who was educated in Lewisham, London, England (where she was recorded in the 1881 Census of England and Wales), married James Thompson Hogan, a commercial agent for Lowthian Williamson & Co and employee in the Construction Branch of the Railway Department (whose surname was probably derived from Dr Robert Goold Hogan, (1774-1817), the Irish Chief Justice of Sierra Leone or perhaps from William Hogan, the American Consul), and had several children including James Archibald Kenrick Hogan, who was born at Westmoreland Street at 11pm on 10 September, 1886 and died at Charlotte Street on 3 July, 1888, Florence Annie Mabel Amelia Hogan born at Charlotte Street at 2:30pm on 1 December, 1883 and who died at Charlotte Street on 14 April, 1885, and a daughter born at Howe Street at 3am 9 April, 1889, who was possibly the F. Hogan (possibly named Florence Hogan following the death of her elder sister) who attended St. Joseph's Convent School in 1902. J.T. Hogan and Annie E. Hogan were also the parents of Ernest Edward Montagu Hogan, (1894-1972), born on 29 October, 1894 in Freetown who lived with his English relatives in Waterloo, Lancashire, England and married Alice Joy in 1916 with whom he had at least two children; Derek Montagu Joy Hogan, (1924-30 June, 2000), a University of London educated civil engineer and Moira Lilian Joy Montagu Hogan, (b. 1933) who married George Cypriax, (1935-2016), the economist and journalist for the *Financial Times* in 1959. Annie Hogan, a pupil at Hertford, Convent School in Herefordshire, England and who was recorded as eleven years old (possibly an inaccurate transcription of her age) in the 1911 Census of England and Wales, might have also been a daughter of Annie Hogan and J.T. Hogan. Annie Elizabeth Hogan was described as one of Freetown's "most talented musicians," and as one of the "prominent lady pianistes [sic] on the West Coast of Africa." Algernon Montagu was a son of Laura Rush, a daughter of Sir William Beaumaris Rush, (1750-1822) and Lady Laura Rush, nee Carter. Basil Montagu, (1770-1851), the jurist, was a grandson of John

The aim of this study is to examine the genealogical background of the Macaulay family of the Isle of Lewis and the connection of the family and their descendants in Sierra Leone to the Scottish royal Houses of Bruce and Stewart.[6] The Macaulay family of the Isle of Lewis had a connection to the Colony of Sierra Leone through the activities of Zachary Macaulay, (1768-1838) and Kenneth Macaulay, (1792-1829), who were active in the colonial administration and who also engaged in mercantilist pursuits in the Colony of Sierra Leone. The descendants of the Macaulay family of the Isle of Lewis in the Colony of Sierra Leone included several prominent Sierra Leoneans, who descend from the Houses of Bruce and Stewart as a direct result of their descent from members of the Macaulay family.[7]

The Ancestry of Zachary Macaulay, (1768-1838)

Zachary Macaulay, (1768-1838), an abolitionist, one-time governor of Sierra Leone, and a merchant, was born in Inveraray, Scotland to Reverend John Macaulay, (1720-1789) and Margaret Macaulay, nee Campbell, (1729-1790).[8] Zachary Macaulay, was an influential member of the Clapham Sect who remained active in Sierra Leone through his mercantilist activities and who served as the governor of Sierra Leone during the pre-Crown colonial era.[9]

Montagu, the 4th Earl of Sandwich, the inventor of the sandwich and a notable British politician. John Montagu, 4th Earl of Sandwich was a descendant of Joan Beaufort, a granddaughter of King Edward III of England.

[6]However, it should be noted that the Macaulay family were not unique in West Africa in descending from a notable Scottish family with possibly royal ancestry. The Bruce family of Accra, Ghana and the Murray-Bruce family of Calabar, Nigeria also descend from Scottish members of the Bruce family. The genealogical research conducted by some members of the Bruce family of Accra indicates that the family might directly descend from King Robert the Bruce (personal knowledge, correspondence and research by the Author). However, unless further evidence on the parentage of Thomas Bruce, 1st Baron of Clackmannan comes to light, it should be noted that no bearer of the 'Bruce' surname bears this surname as a consequence of direct descent from Robert the Bruce.

[7]Browne-Davies, Nigel, 'William Smith, Registrar of the Courts of Mixed Commission: A Photograph of an African Civil Servant in the Nineteenth Century,' *Journal of Sierra Leone Studies*, Volume 3, Edition 2, pp. 58-60. It is important to note that some Sierra Leone Creole families descended from royalty, and in particular were descended from royal families of African origin, especially of Sierra Leonean, Guinean, Ghanaian, or Nigerian origin.

[8]Trevelyan, George Otto, *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay, Volume 1*, (London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1876), pp. 4-9. Reverend John Macaulay was a son of Aulay Macaulay, (1669-1758) and Margaret Morrison (b. 1702), and was a brother of Reverend Kenneth Macaulay, (1723-1779).

[9]Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, pp. 48-9, 68-9. This 'pre-Crown colonial era' was the period from 1792 to 1808, when the Colony of Sierra Leone was a private enterprise administered by the Sierra Leone Company.

Following the end of his administrative tenure and the establishment of Sierra Leone as a Crown Colony, Zachary Macaulay was actively involved with the African Institution, which advocated for trade and improved farming methods in the Colony of Sierra Leone.[10] However, Zachary Macaulay also became actively involved with mercantilist pursuits in the Colony of Sierra Leone and he was a partner of Macaulay and Babington, the largest European firm in the colony during the early nineteenth century.[11] He was a founder of University College London and remained active in the abolitionist movement until his death in 1838. The notable descendants of Zachary Macaulay include his son, Thomas Babington Macaulay, and his grandson, Sir George Otto Trevelyan, 2nd Baronet of the Trevelyan Baronetcy of Wallington.

The family background of Zachary Macaulay reveals his connection to Scottish royalty. The lineage of Margaret Macaulay, nee Campbell, the mother of Zachary Macaulay, was the connection between King Robert I of Scotland and his grandson, King Robert II of Scotland. Margaret Campbell was a daughter of Colin Campbell, of Inveresragan, (1680-1749), who was the second great grandson of John Campbell, Bishop of the Isles, (d. 1585).[12] John Campbell, Bishop of the Isles, was a son of Sir John Campbell, 1st of Cawdor, (1490-1546) and Muriel Calder, (1498-1575), heiress of the old Thanes of

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[10]Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, p. 105. As Fyfe and other scholars have noted, the African Institution was comprised of several directors of the Sierra Leone Company such as Macaulay, Henry Thornton, and William Wilberforce, who sought to maintain some oversight over the newly established Crown Colony. Furthermore, other abolitionists such as William Allen, the Quaker philanthropist and scientist, were also active members of the African Institution.

[11]Trevelyan, George Otto, *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay, Volume 1*, (London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1876), p. 37. Macaulay owned and operated Macaulay and Babington alongside his nephew, Thomas Gisborne Babington, a prominent member of the Clapham Sect.

[12]'Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy,' *Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy*, URL: http://www.clanmacfarlanegenealogy.info/genealogy/TNGWebsite/index.php. Colin Campbell of Inveresragan (c. 1680-1749), was a son of Alexander Campbell of Inveresragan (b. circa 1637-c. 1705), who was a son of John Campbell, of Inveresragan (b. 1600), and Marion Campbell. Marion Campbell, was several times descended from Robert II, and was also a descendant of Robert III (the heir and a son of Robert II), and was also a direct descendant of King Robert I and his wife, Queen Elizabeth de Burgh through the Isaac family. Marion Campbell was also a direct descendant of King James II of Scotland, a son of King James I of Scotland, and Joan Beaufort, the daughter of John Beaufort, 1st Earl of Somerset and Margaret Holland, a great-grand-daughter of King Edward I of England. John Beaufort was a son of John of Gaunt, 1st Duke of Lancaster who was the son of King Edward III of England, a grandson of Edward I of England and a descendant of King Harold Godwinson through Mstislav the Great.

Cawdor.[13] John Campbell, Bishop of the Isles was a descendant of King Robert II and King Robert I of Scotland through both his maternal and paternal lineages.[14]

Margaret Macaulay, nee Campbell was descended on several lineages from Scottish royalty and Muriel Calder, the fifth great grandmother of Zachary Macaulay, was a daughter of William Calder, 7th Thane of Cawdor (Calder), (1438-1503), and Margaret Sutherland. Margaret Sutherland was a daughter of Alexander Sutherland, Baron of Dunbeath (1395-1456) and Mariotta MacDonald (1404-1448).[15] Mariotta MacDonald was a daughter of Donald MacDonald, of Harlaw, 8th Lord of the Isles (1364-1423) and Margaret (Mary) Leslie (1363-1429). Donald MacDonald, of Harlaw, 8th Lord of the Isles was a son of Iain (John) 'the Good' MacDonald, 7th Lord of the Isles (1326-1387) and Margaret Stewart, (1330-1410) a daughter of King Robert II Stewart and great-granddaughter of King Robert I Bruce.[16]

Sir John Campbell, 1st of Cawdor, the fifth great grandfather of Zachary Macaulay, was a son of Archibald Campbell, 2nd Earl of Argyll, (c. 1449/1466-1513). Archibald Campbell, 2nd Earl of Argyll was a son of Colin Campbell, of Lochawe, 2nd Lord Lorne, 1st Earl of Argyll, (1433-1493), and Isabel Stewart, (1437-1510). Isabel Stewart was a daughter of John 'Mourach' Stewart of Lorn, (1397-1463), who was a son of Joan Stewart of Albany and Fife, (1368-1439) and Robert Stewart, Innermeath and Lorn, 1st Lord, (d. 1449).[17] Joan Stewart of Albany and Fife was a daughter of Sir Robert Stewart, 1st Duke of Albany, 10th Earl of Menteith, Regent, (1340-1420), a son of Elizabeth Mure of Rowallan, (d. c. 1355) and King Robert II Stewart, (1316-1390) a grandson of King Robert I Bruce, (1274-1329). Thus, Zachary Macaulay,

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[13]'Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy,' *Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy*, URL: http://www.clanmacfarlanegenealogy.info/genealogy/TNGWebsite/index.php. Muriel Calder was a descendant of King John I of England through her descent from the Sutherlands and King D of Wales and Joan, daughter of King John.

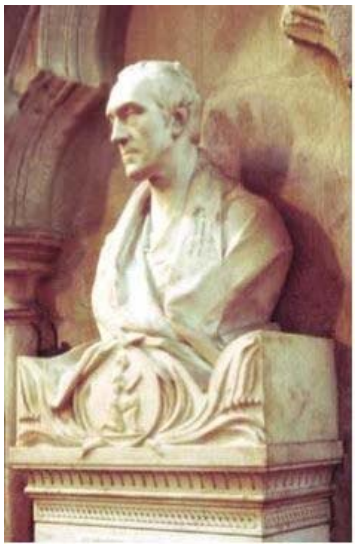
[14]'Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy,' *Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy*, URL: http://www.clanmacfarlanegenealogy.info/genealogy/TNGWebsite/index.php.

[15]Ibid. Alexander Sutherland was a son of Robert Sutherland and Margaret Stewart; thus, Alexander Sutherland was a maternal grandson of Alexander 'the Wolf' Stewart and a great-grandson of King Robert II of Scotland.

[16]'Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy,' *Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy*, URL: http://www.clanmacfarlanegenealogy.info/genealogy/TNGWebsite/index.php.

[17]Ibid. Some sources state that Robert Stewart married Lady Joan Stewart of Albany and Fife.

a one-time Governor of Sierra Leone and ancestor of the Trevelyan Baronetcy was a direct descendant of the Houses of Bruce and Stewart.[18]



Figs. 1-2. Zachary Macaulay, abolitionist[19]

[18]'Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy,' *Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy*, URL: http://www.clanmacfarlanegenealogy.info/genealogy/TNGWebsite/index.php. Zachary Macaulay had several children including Henry William Macaulay, (1806-1846), who resided in Sierra Leone for a period of time. Henry William Macaulay financially supported some of the children of Kenneth Macaulay in Sierra Leone.

[19]'Zachary Macaulay Miniature,' (Andrew Plimer), *National Trust Collections* and Bust of Zachary Macaulay, (Henry Weekes), Nave, Westminster Abbey, *Google Images*.

The Ancestry of Kenneth Macaulay, (1792-1829)

Kenneth Macaulay, (1792-1829), a merchant, member of the Governor's Council and Acting Governor, was perhaps one of the most influential merchants and colonial officials in the Colony of Sierra Leone during the early nineteenth century. Macaulay served in nearly every prominent position in the Colony of Sierra Leone including as a Senior Member of the Governor's Council, as Acting Chief Justice of the Colony and later Acting Governor of the Colony of Sierra Leone. Kenneth Macaulay arrived in Sierra Leone at the age of sixteen years old and was employed in the Liberated African Department. After working in the Department for several years, Macaulay eventually was employed as an agent of Macaulay and Babington and managed the firm in Freetown, Sierra Leone.

Kenneth Macaulay, who one scholar stated was known for his "inefficiency and profligacy"[20], indulged in horseracing and other social activities of the European community in Sierra Leone. In accordance with the local custom, Macaulay also engaged in interracial relationships during the period in which he lived in Sierra Leone.[21] He had several African partners who bore him several children in Sierra Leone.[22] His activities ensured that he was personally enriched but contributed to the eventual downfall of Macaulay and Babington and Macaulay died in Freetown, Sierra Leone during the epidemic in 1829.

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[20]Whyte, Iain, *Zachary Macaulay 1768-1838: The Steadfast Scot in the British Anti-slavery Movement*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), pp. 209-210.

[21]Browne-Davies, Nigel, 'William Smith, Registrar of the Courts of Mixed Commission: A Photograph of an African Civil Servant in the Nineteenth Century,' *Journal of Sierra Leone Studies*, Volume 3, Edition 2, pp. 58-60. For example, William Smith Jr., the son-in-law of Kenneth Macaulay, was the son of Judge William Smith, an Englishman who similarly engaged in interracial relationships with African women. Judge Smith was possibly also the father of Sarah Beckett, the mixed-race child born in 1830 or 1831 who was recorded in the 1831 Census of Sierra Leone at No. 2 Wilberforce Street, Freetown to Rebecca Beckett, who was the mixed-race housekeeper of Judge Smith. This Sarah Beckett might have been the 'Sally' Smith who was the mother of Dr William Frederick Campbell, (15 February, 1858-13 February, 1926). Dr William Frederick Campbell was described as a nephew of William Smith Jr. in the *Sierra Leone Times* on 12 August, 1899. Julia (Julian) Campos, an aunt of Dr William Frederick Campbell, was possibly the daughter of a Brazilian merchant or an official of the Courts of Mixed Commission who was a contemporary of William Smith Sr. Julia Campos was possibly a half-sister of Sally Smith or a half-sibling of Moses Frederick Campbell.

[22]PROB 11/1780/280, Will of Kenneth Maccaulay [sic] of Freetown, Sierra Leone. Kenneth Macaulay had at least seven children with several women of African descent including Mary Harding, the mother of Charlotte Macaulay, (1818-1854), Abboo Shaw (also known as Abboo Shaw Sleight), a Liberated African and the mother of John

Kenneth Macaulay was born to Lieutenant Aulay Macaulay, (1762-1842), an officer in the Royal Navy, and Rachel Macaulay, nee Rome.[23] Kenneth Macaulay was baptised on 5 September, 1792 at Crosby-On-Eden, Cumberland, England.[24] Lieutenant Angus Macaulay was born to Reverend Kenneth

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Macaulay, Charles Macaulay, and Margaret Macaulay, (1828/9-1889), Nancy George, the mother of Commodore Collier Macaulay, Lottie Williams, the mother of George Macaulay, and Molly Reid, possibly the descendant of an 'Old Settler' of the former 1787 colony and the mother of Elizabeth Macaulay. Kenneth Macaulay seemingly had a long-term relationship with Abboo Shaw who was recorded in the 1831 Census of Sierra Leone with Charles Macaulay and Margaret Macaulay and alongside a woman called Hannah (Harriett) Sleight in the same household at Walpole Street, Freetown. John Macaulay, possibly the eldest child of Kenneth Macaulay, might have been educated in England at the time of the census, might have been engaged in trade or perhaps had died by the date in which the 1831 Census was recorded. George Macaulay, a son of Kenneth Macaulay was possibly the schoolboy of the same name recorded alongside several other schoolchildren in the 1831 Census of Sierra Leone in the household of Annie Hume, a Nova Scotian charwoman, living at Number Two, Cross Street, Freetown. Kenneth Macaulay, or possibly his brother, George Macaulay, or his cousin, Alexander Macaulay, might have also been the father of Nelly Macaulay, a mixed-race girl who was recorded in the household of Sarah Leedham, a mixed-race seamstress who was living at Trelawney Street. Sarah Leedham might have been a daughter of Francis Leedham, the former European official employed by the Sierra Leone Company or Sarah Leedham was possibly married to Francis Leedham or a son of Francis Leedham as a mixed-race boy called Thomas Leedham was also recorded in the Leedham household in the 1831 Census and was possibly a son or nephew of Sarah Leedham. Kenneth Macaulay might have also been the father of the two children of Maria Maxwell, who he provided for in his will and whom might have been the ancestor of Maria Bernard Cole, nee Macaulay. The mother of Charlotte Macaulay was Mary Harding, a Jamaican Maroon housekeeper, who was possibly the "Maroon Creole" mistress who was killed in 1848 by Jose Roderique, alias Antonio, a Spaniard, who was possibly one of the first, and almost certainly among the few, Europeans executed for committing murder in Sierra Leone during the nineteenth century. Charlotte Macaulay, who was recorded in the 1831 Census of Sierra Leone as a "mulatto" child living in the household of Sarah Jarrett, a seamstress possibly of Maroon descent who resided at Liverpool Street in Maroon Town, had been educated in England, and married William Smith Jr., a mixed-race civil servant. Margaret Macaulay, (c. 1826/9-1889), a daughter of Kenneth Macaulay and Abba Shaw (also recorded as Abboo or Abbo Shaw), married Reverend Robert Dillon, (1831/32-8 March, 1907), a Methodist missionary and a friend of William Smith. Robert Dillon and Margaret Dillon were the parents of Robert William Dillon, (1859-1911), Henry Macaulay Dillon, (1860-1863), and Kenneth Macaulay Dillon, (1865-1893). Robert William Dillon immigrated to Canada in 1886 and married Emma Jane Morrey, (b. c. 1858) the English-Canadian daughter of Edward Morrey and had at least three children: Ernest Macaulay Dillon Q.C. (25 June, 1890-June 1967), a lawyer (called to the Bar in Hilary Term 1914) who married Madeleine Adele Richey Yeates (1889-1985), a daughter of Ernest L. Yeates and Edith Babb, Gladys Mary Dillon, (25 July 1893-12 December, 1927), and Edward Morrey Dillon, (17 June, 1897-1951), a lawyer (called to the bar on 15 May 1922) and legal partner of Ernest Dillon, who married Margaret Mearns King, (1895-1991), a Scottish immigrant and the daughter of David King and Margaret Mearns. Ernest Dillon and were the parents of Robert Dillon, Margaret Dillon, Bunty Dillon, and Eleanor Dillon who married Don Ewing, a social advocate. There are graduation photographs of Ernest Macaulay Dillon and Edward Morrey Dillon held at the Law Society of Upper Canada Archives in the Osgoode Hall Law School Class Albums of 1913 and 1922.

[23]'Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy,' *Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy*, URL: http://www.clanmacfarlanegenealogy.info/genealogy/TNGWebsite/index.php. I am grateful to Michelle Gordon for being the first to discover and publish her findings on the relationship between Kenneth Macaulay and Aulay Macaulay and Rachel Rome. Gordon first highlighted this relationship to me.

[24]'Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy,' *Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy*, URL: http://www.clanmacfarlanegenealogy.info/genealogy/TNGWebsite/index.php.

Macaulay, (1723-1779), and also to Penelope Macaulay, nee Macleod (d. 1799).[25] Reverend Kenneth Macaulay was the author of *The History of St. Kilda*, and as a son of Aulay Macaulay, (1669-1758), was a direct descendant of Aulay the Black Macaulay and Donald Cam Macaulay.[26]

However, it was the ancestry of Penelope Macleod that was the genealogical trail that connected Acting Governor Kenneth Macaulay to his royal ancestors. Penelope Macaulay, nee Macleod was at least a two-time direct descendant of Robert I, King of Scotland and also Robert II, King of Scotland. Penelope Macaulay was aware of her noble background and was possibly knowledgeable about her descent from Scottish royalty. James Boswell, a companion of Samuel Johnson, the English writer, stated upon his visit to Reverend Kenneth Macaulay, that:

"Mrs Macaulay [Penelope Macleod] is a Macleod of a very good family. She seemed to have a little too much value for herself on that account."[27]

It is therefore not inconceivable that Kenneth Macaulay might have been aware of his descent from Scottish monarchs.

Penelope Macaulay, nee Macleod, the paternal grandmother of Kenneth Macaulay, was a daughter of Alexander Macleod of Drynoch and Penelope Macleod, nee MacKinnon.[28] Penelope Macleod,

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[25]Mackenzie, Alexander, F.S.A., Scot., *History Of The Macleods With Genealogies Of The Principal Families Of The Name*, (Inverness: A. & W. Mackenzie, 1889), pp. 213-17. MacKinnon, Donald, Morrison, Alick, *The MacLeods: The Genealogy of a Clan: MacLeod chiefs of Talisker, Berneray, Orbost, Luskintyre, Hamer, Greshornish, Uilinish and Dalvey*, Section Two (Scotland: Clan MacLeod Society, 1968), p. 123. 'Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy,' *Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy*, URL: http://www.clanmacfarlanegenealogy.info/genealogy/TNGWebsite/index.php. Mr. Charles Harding's account of his family history entitled, *The Fascinating Story of My Liberated Ancestors* was where the author first read more detailed information on the marriage of Reverend Kenneth Macaulay to Penelope Macleod.

[26]'Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy,' *Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy*, URL: http://www.clanmacfarlanegenealogy.info/genealogy/TNGWebsite/index.php

[27]Pottle, Frederick A. (Ed.), Bennett, Charles H., (Ed.), Boswell, James, *Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D., 1773*, (United States: William Heinemann Limited, 1963), p. 89.

[28]Mackenzie, Alexander, F.S.A., Scot., *History Of The Macleods With Genealogies Of The Principal Families Of The Name*, (Inverness: A. & W. Mackenzie, 1889).'Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy,' *Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy*, URL:

nee MacKinnon (d. 1740) was a daughter of Iain Og MacKinnon, a son of John Dubh MacKinnon, 29th Chief of MacKinnon (1682-1756). John Dubh MacKinnon, 29th Chief of MacKinnon was a grandson of Sir Lachlan 'Mor' MacKinnon, of Strathaird, 28th Chief of Mackinnon (d. 1700) and Mary Maclean. Mary Maclean was a daughter of Mary Macleod and Sir Lachlan MacLean, 12th of Duart (Dowart), 1st Baronet, 17th Chief (d. 1649).[29] Sir Lachlan MacLean, 12th of Duart (Dowart), 1st Baronet, 17th Chief was a son of Hector Og MacLean, 11th of Duart, 15th Chief of MacLean (1578-1623) and Jeanette Mackenzie. Jeanette Mackenzie was a daughter of Colin Cam 'one-eyed' Mackenzie, 11th of Kintail (1556-1594) and Barbara Grant (b. 1545).[30] Barbara Grant, a daughter of John Grant of Grant and Lady Marjory Stewart, was a descendant of Joan of Beaufort (1404-1445), King Robert III (1337-1406), the Crovan Dynasty, and several times directly descended from Robert II, and the Bruce family.[31]

Alexander Macleod of Drynoch, a paternal great grandfather of Kenneth Macaulay who traded in Sierra Leone, was the direct third great-grandson of Alexander Macleod, also known as Alastair Mor of

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http://www.clanmacfarlanegenealogy.info/genealogy/TNGWebsite/index.php. Kenneth Macaulay was a direct descendant of Robert II and Robert the Bruce several times and at least twice a descendant of Edward I.

[29]'Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy,' *Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy*, URL: http://www.clanmacfarlanegenealogy.info/genealogy/TNGWebsite/index.php. Mary Macleod, the wife of Sir Lachlan MacLean, was a daughter of Isabella (Isabel) Macdonell and Sir Roderick "Ruairidh Mor" MacLeod, 15th of Dunvegan. Isabella Macdonell was a direct descendant of Robert the Bruce on one side of her lineage and was also a direct descendant of Robert III (and consequently of Robert the Bruce and Robert II) through her maternal great-grandmother, Helen Campbell, a daughter of Sir 'Black' Colin Campbell, of Breadalbane, 1st of Glenorchy, a maternal grandson of King Robert III of Scotland. Sir Roderick MacLeod was a descendant of Robert II through Giles Julia MacLean.

[30]'Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy,' *Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy*, URL: http://www.clanmacfarlanegenealogy.info/genealogy/TNGWebsite/index.php. Colin Cam 'one-eyed' Mackenzie, 11th of Kintail was a paternal descendant of descendant of Sir John "The Red" Comyn, III, Lord of Badenoch, who was murdered by Robert the Bruce and was a descendant of King David I and John de Balliol, for whom Balliol College, Oxford is named. Colin Cam Mackenzie was also a maternal great grandson of Eleanor Sinclair, who was a maternal descendant of Robert II and Sir John Stewart, 1st Earl of Atholl, a son of Sir James Stewart, "The Black Knight of Lorn" and Joan Beaufort, a great-granddaughter of Edward III Plantagenet, King of England.

[31]Ibid. Barbara Grant was a daughter of John Stewart, 3rd Earl of Atholl, who was a son of John Stewart, 2nd Earl of Atholl and Lady Janet Campbell, a daughter of Archibald Campbell, 2nd Earl of Argyll and Elizabeth Stuart. Kenneth Macaulay was a distant relative of Margaret Campbell, the mother of Zachary Macaulay (1768-1838), through a mutual ancestor, Archibald Campbell, 2nd Early of Argyll. Barbara Grant was a direct descendant of King Edward III through her descent from Joan Beaufort. Ironically, Kenneth Macaulay is a descendant of the Norse Cravan dynasty through Barbara Grant and possibly through other ancestors.

Leisal. Alastair Mor of Leisal was a son of Norman Macleod, 4th of Waternish and also Catherine MacDonald, daughter of James MacDonald, 1st of Castle Camus and Kingsburgh, (b. c. 1534) a son of Donald Grumach MacDonald, 4th of Sleat (c. 1506-c. 1539). Donald Grumach MacDonald, 4th of Sleat was a grandson of Hugh MacDonald, 1st of Sleat (c. 1449-1498) who was also a direct descendant of King Robert II Stewart and also Robert I Bruce.[32] Thus, Kenneth Macaulay was a descendant of the Royal Houses of Bruce and Stewart through his paternal grandmother, Penelope Macaulay, nee Macleod.

Descendants in Sierra Leone of the House of Bruce and House of Stewart

Zachary Macaulay and Kenneth Macaulay were the descendants of several European monarchs through their descent from King Robert the Bruce of Scotland.[33] Furthermore, both Zachary Macaulay and Kenneth Macaulay descend from other European rulers including King Alfred the Great of Wessex, King Harold Godwinson of England, King William the Conqueror of England, Henry I of England, King John Lackland of England and the Robin Hood legends, and Kings Edward I to King Edward III of England, in addition to several rulers of Ireland, Frances and Wales.[34]

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[32]Ibid. Norman Macleod, 4th of Waternish, a son of Alexander Macleod, 5th of Arnisdale. Alexander Macleod, 5th of Arnisdale was a son of John Macleod, also known as Ian a Chuail Bhain (1473-1557) and Sheila MacDonald of Knock, also known as Florence. Sheila MacDonald of Knock was a daughter of Archibald MacDonald of Knock in Sleat, (b. 1534), a direct great-grandson of Hugh MacDonald, 1st of Sleat (1436-1498). Hugh MacDonald, 1st of Sleat, was a great-grandson of Iain (John) 'the Good' MacDonald, 7th Lord of the Isles (1326-1387) and Margaret Stewart, (1330-1410) a daughter of King Robert II, Stewart, the grandson of King Robert Bruce II, King of Scotland. Kenneth Macaulay was at least twice, and possibly several times more, a descendant of Hugh MacDonald, 1st of Sleat.

[33]Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy,' *Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy*, URL: http://www.clanmacfarlanegenealogy.info/genealogy/TNGWebsite/index.php. King Robert the Bruce was a Scoto-Norman, although he had Celtic roots through his mother, Marjorie, Countess of Carrick, King Robert the Bruce was a direct descendant of King Kenneth Mac Alpin of Scotland, King David I of Scotland, Richard De Clare known as Strongbow, King Brian Boru of Ireland, William the Conqueror of England, King Henry I of England, Alfred the Great, Robert II of France, Henry I of France, and Charlemagne of the Holy Roman Empire.

[34]Ibid. Recent DNA testing on the remains of King Richard III of England suggests that there was a non-paternity event in the lineage of John of Gaunt, 1st Duke of Lancaster's descendants and since there were rumours, perhaps scurrilous, that John of Gaunt was not the legitimate son of Edward III, it is possible that future DNA research might disprove the descent of the Macaulays from Edward III through John of Gaunt. However, through Margaret Holland, the daughter-in-law of John of Gaunt, Zachary Macaulay and Kenneth Macaulay descend from Edward I of England.

The royal ancestry of the Macaulay family is also reflected within the ancestral lineages of several distinguished Sierra Leoneans. Kenneth Macaulay had at least seven children in Sierra Leone and his relatives possibly had other children in the Colony.[35] Some of the descendants of Kenneth Macaulay had an exceptional role in the development of Sierra Leone during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Several descendants of Kenneth Macaulay were high-achievers in the medical, legal, and academic fields and some were active in politics during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Thus, the grandchildren of Honourable Kenneth Macaulay include notable Sierra Leoneans such as Dr Robert Smith, the first West African to qualify as a surgeon,[36] and Justice Francis Smith, the first West African to serve on the Supreme Court of a British West African Colony, and later descendants such as Dr Arthur Thomas Porter a former Vice-Chancellor of Fourah Bay College and great-great grandchildren such as Frances Wright, the first Sierra Leonean woman to qualify as a lawyer, all descend from the Bruce and Stewart dynasties.[37]

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[35]'Deaths,' *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Volume 123, January 1818 to June 1818, (Britain: Nichols, Son and Bentley, 1818), p. 645. George Macaulay, (c. 1793/4-1818), a younger brother of Kenneth Macaulay, was also possibly the father of several children in the Colony of Sierra Leone. Furthermore, Alexander Macaulay the younger brother of Zachary Macaulay had a Nova Scotian mistress and possibly had children in Sierra Leone.

[36]Browne-Davies, Nigel, 'William Smith, Registrar of the Courts of Mixed Commission: A Photograph of an African Civil Servant in the Nineteenth Century,' *Journal of Sierra Leone Studies*, Volume 3, Edition 2, pp. 58-61. The descendants of William Smith Jr. and Charlotte Smith such as Robert Smith, Francis Smith, and Frances Wright were also of royal descent through Esi, a Fante princess who was the mother of William Smith Jr. Dr Robert Smith married Annie Mary Pine and had children born in England including Robert Chilley (Chilly) Smith who was born in Casterton, Westmoreland, England and was christened 2 July, 1871). Robert Chilley Smith, at one-time an employee in the Construction Branch of the Railway Department. Smith trained several doctors including his relative, Dr William Frederick Campbell, also of European descent. Campbell was the father of William Edward (Elliott) Davidson Campbell, (14 March, 1886-10 October, 1929), a school teacher at the Government Model School. A photograph of Dr William Frederick Campbell was published in the *Sierra Leone Daily Mail* on 11 February, 1933.

[37]PROB 11/1780/280, Will of Kenneth Maccaulay [sic] of Freetown, Sierra Leone. 'Death of Miss Amelia Bernard Of Freetown,' *Gold Coast Independent*, 21 October, 1922. Kenneth Macaulay's will can be found at the National Archives, see PROB 11/1780/280, Will of Kenneth Maccaulay [sic] of Freetown, Sierra Leone. Kenneth Macaulay is an ancestor of several distinguished Sierra Leonean families including the descendants of William Smith and Charlotte Smith, née Macaulay, and branches of the Awoonor-Renner, Bernard, Cole, Fitzjohn, and Porter families, who are all descendants of Maria Bernard Cole, (1849/1850-19 March, 1909), née Macaulay, almost certainly a granddaughter or great-granddaughter of Kenneth Macaulay. Maria Bernard Cole was first married to Joseph Bernard, (1831/2-8 November, 1889), a shipwright possibly of Jamaican Maroon descent who lived at Bathurst Street, Freetown. After Joseph Bernard's death in 1889, she married Daniel Thomas Cole, (1845-18 August, 1919),

Conclusion

The Macaulay family of the Isle of Lewis and their connection to Scottish and English royalty is reflective of the social position and the genealogical background of one of the most prominent European families in early colonial Sierra Leone. Furthermore, the intermarriage of members of the Macaulay family with women of African descent in the Colony extended these kinship ties to Scottish and English royalty to Sierra Leoneans in the Colony of Sierra Leone. Thus, the Macaulay family connections to English and Scottish royalty were not only limited to the Britain but also extended to West Africa and to the Sierra Leonean descendants of Kenneth Macaulay.

Editor's Note

This is the last edition of 2017, there will be another in Spring 2018, which will contain a review of 'My darling Belle – A sister's letters from Sierra Leone 1908-09', written by Maida Hunter.

The remaining editions of 2018 will focus on the addressing the Centenary of the Journal – which was launched in 1918.

John

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a Hospital Clerk and Storekeeper originally from Wellington Village who lived at No. 5 Percival Street, Freetown. Maria Bernard Cole was the mother of Franklin Beatrice Awoonor-Renner, née Bernard, the wife of Captain Peter Awoonor-Renner, (1860/1-13 January, 1938), Stephen Bernard, Martha Amelia Bernard, (d. 9 October, 1922), Maria Cameron, (1884/5-1948), a possible daughter of Dr Nathaniel Cameron or Sir Edward John Cameron (14 May, 1858-20 July, 1947), Reverend Melville Wellington Cole, (1889-1952), the father of Reverend Alice Fitzjohn, née Cole, and Adina Agnes Porter, née Cole, (1891/2-1949), the wife of Guy Hazeley Porter, (31 October, 1879-13 November, 1929), whose picture appeared alongside his elder brother, Arthur Thomas Porter Jr (28 February, 1875-14 July, 1915), in the *Sierra Leone Daily Mail* on 20 May, 1933. Adina Porter was the mother of the late Iyatunde Harriett Marie Palmer (b. 1920), née Porter, a nurse who was the President of the National Nurses Association of Sierra Leone, Guy H. Porter, a former service manager for Mercedes Benz Manhattan and Professor Arthur Thomas Daniel Porter, the historian and author of *Creoledom*.