

## **The Journal of Sierra Leone Studies**

**Editor: John Birchall**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

John Birchall

**Editorial Board:** Professor Arthur Abraham, Virginia State University, Peter Andersen, Abdul Bangura, Howard University, John Birchall, Ade Daramy, Nigel Davies, Queen Mary's College, University of London, Lisa Denney, Overseas Development Institute, London, Melbourne Garber, Lansana Gberie, Dave Harris, Bradford University, Gary Schulze, John Trotman. Professor Conrad Tucker, University of Portland, Professor Alfred Zak-Williams, University of Central Lancashire.

### **The Ebola Epidemic 2014 – 2015.**

This continues in Sierra Leone and many people have died. Included in the death toll are a growing number of medical personnel.

### **University of Makeni, Sierra Leone**

It is pleasing to note that the new University of Makeni have their first article included in this edition. It has been sent to us by the Department of Good Governance.

It is hoped that in future editions other indigenous institutions will be included.

### **Articles**

**\*An investigation into the voting behaviour and socio-economic profiles of constituents across the Northern Province, Sierra Leone.**" - Ellies C Anthony, Gerard Alex Sesay, Jalikatu Jalloh and Zoe Pallet - The Department of Good Governance, University of Makeni, Sierra Leone

**\*Three Faces of Bai Bureh - The National Hero of Sierra Leone - Gary Schulze – Former Peace Corps**

**\*Notable Sierra Leonean figures of the Past: A Biographical Sketch of William Charles De Graft Rosenior, 1862-1929 -**

**Nigel Browne-Davies**

**\*Podcast - Will Millard - Mum Says 'You're a Long Time Dead' – A journey down the Mano River, 2013.**

**Editor's Note**

It is with sadness that I have to inform readers that Professor John Hargreaves died on the 14th February 2015, his close family was with him when he passed away.

John was the Burnett-Fletcher Professor of History at the University of Aberdeen. He was noted for his work on the history of Africa; its colonisation and de-colonisation.

For many of us he was one of the essential texts we all read and learned much from and his manner was that of someone who had unqualified time for anyone interested in Africa - from me comes a personal 'thank you' - it was one of his lectures, delivered at SOAS, that really changed my path through Higher Education and therefore the rest of my life.

He re-kindled interest in The Journal of Sierra Leone Studies and through Shelia followed our attempts to bring this much respected Journal to readers and scholars via the new avenue of the internet.

A fuller obituary will appear in the October edition.

John

**“An investigation into the voting behaviour and socio-economic profiles of constituents across the Northern Province,  
Sierra Leone.” Ellies C Anthony, Gerard Alex Sesay, Jalikatu Jalloh, Zoe Pallet**

**Abstract**

The objective of the research conducted for the purpose of this report was to collect data that gave an overview of the socio-economic profiles of constituents across the Northern Province which could be assessed to analyse voting behaviour and identify key action points for future programme work and research. There is very little data currently available in Sierra Leone, especially research that focuses on political participation and governance related issues. Exit poll surveys and structured interviews were conducted on the day of the 2012 General Election designed to target voters and non-voters with a focus on women. Women are still politically under-represented despite a visible increase in women’s political participation at the national level. This research report maps general issues raised by the data collected and offers recommendations for future points of action .

Abstract .....	3
Survey Respondents Profile .....	4
Demographic profile of voters.....	4
Interview Respondents Profile .....	4
Demographic profile of voters/non-voters.....	4
Introduction.....	5
Results .....	8

## Survey Respondents Profile

### Demographic profile of voters

<b>MEN</b>		<b>WOMEN</b>	
<b>Gender:</b>		<b>Gender:</b>	
Men	<b>34%</b>	WOMEN	<b>66%</b>
<b>Age:</b>		<b>Age:</b>	
8 – 25	<b>23%</b>	18 – 25	<b>28%</b>
26 – 35	<b>30%</b>	26 – 35	<b>29%</b>
36 – 45	<b>23%</b>	36 – 45	<b>20%</b>
46 – 55	<b>11%</b>	46 – 55	<b>11%</b>
56+	<b>13%</b>	56+	<b>12%</b>
<b>Education:</b>		<b>Education:</b>	
Primary	<b>21%</b>	Primary	<b>24%</b>
Secondary	<b>35%</b>	Secondary	<b>28%</b>
Tertiary	<b>20%</b>	Tertiary	<b>12%</b>
<b>Income (le):</b>		<b>Income (le):</b>	
No Salary	<b>55%</b>	No Salary	<b>58%</b>
1 – 100,000	<b>4%</b>	1 – 1000,000	<b>2%</b>
101,000 – 200,000	<b>3%</b>	101,000 – 200,000	<b>2%</b>
201,000 – 300,000	<b>5%</b>	201,000 – 300,000	<b>3%</b>
301,000 – 400,000	<b>3%</b>	301,000 – 400,000	<b>2%</b>
401,000 – 500,000	<b>2%</b>	401,000 – 500,000	<b>2%</b>
501,000 – 800,000	<b>6%</b>	501,000 – 800,000	<b>2%</b>
801,000 – 1,100,000	<b>1%</b>	801,000 – 1,100,000	<b>6%</b>
1,101,000 +	<b>2%</b>	1,101,000 +	<b>2%</b>

## Interview Respondents Profile

### Demographic profile of voters/non-voters

<b>MEN</b>		<b>WOMEN</b>	
<b>Gender:</b>		<b>Gender:</b>	
Men	<b>26%</b>	Women	<b>74%</b>
<b>Age:</b>		<b>Age:</b>	
18 – 25	<b>27%</b>	18 – 25	<b>34%</b>
26 – 35	<b>31%</b>	26 – 35	<b>31%</b>
36 – 45	<b>23%</b>	36 – 45	<b>18%</b>
46 – 55	<b>10%</b>	46 – 55	<b>7%</b>
56+	<b>6%</b>	56+	<b>7%</b>
<b>Education:</b>		<b>Education:</b>	
Primary	<b>9%</b>	Primary	<b>14%</b>
Secondary	<b>37%</b>	Secondary	<b>30%</b>
Tertiary	<b>18%</b>	Tertiary	<b>9%</b>

Income (le):	
No Salary	39%
1 – 100,000	7%
101,000 – 200,000	4%
201,000 – 300,000	4%
301,000 – 400,000	7%
401,000 – 500,000	5%
501,000 – 800,000	6%
801,000 – 1,100,000	4%
1,101,000 +	1%

Income (le):	
No Salary	54%
1 – 100,000	8%
101,000 – 200,000	4%
201,000 – 300,000	3%
301,000 – 400,000	2%
401,000 – 500,000	2%
501,000 – 800,000	2%
801,000 – 1,100,000	4%
1,101,000 +	5%

## Introduction

There is currently little verified data available in Sierra Leone investigating governance issues due to the lack of research conducted to date. In order for programme work and capacity building projects to have the maximum impact on their target populations, it is imperative that research is conducted into governance issues with a focus on marginalised groups, notably women. Research not only allows stakeholders to formulate and/or refine capacity building programmes with clear objectives and outcomes but also exposes current policy imperatives. In order to reduce the gender gap and increase access to basic services which are significant issues in Sierra Leone, extensive research must first be carried out.

In Sierra Leone there are numerous factors that influence the political presence and participation of women in decision making processes. Currently, women are not equally represented in decision-making processes ranging from local to national and formal to informal governance structures. Women's issues are rarely taken into consideration partially due to their lack of representation, their lack of skill sets and cultural attitudes, which ultimately lead to the marginalisation of women.

Gender equality is considered one of the fundamental rights of all humans. Government laws and governance structures in Sierra Leone are not gender neutral in terms of being less progressive on women's rights, like in many developing countries across the world. To facilitate growth, empowerment and change it is crucial that gender related issues are addressed in order to achieve the Millennium Development Goal 3 - Gender Equality. Traditional cultural practices and values in Sierra Leone significantly deprive and repress women. Law, policy and structures that govern people tend to reflect male priorities and perspectives. There is a need to take a multifaceted approach in order to correct current gender inequality.

The 2012 general election presented a good opportunity to design and execute a research project with the aim of obtaining data across the Northern Province that would provide a snap shot of casual relationships between socio-economic and demographic factors in the region that influence voting behaviour and gender attitudes.

Initially, four participatory focus group discussions were held, randomly sampled amongst the target population in order to draw out identify key issues. Reoccurring themes and questions were then built into the adopted research methods used to collect the data, surveys and structured interviews. The aforementioned research

methods were adopted taking into consideration the sample size of the research project, timeframe, resources and the type of data required. Exit poll surveys were considered the most preferential research method in order to obtain large samples from the target population. Due to high voter turnout rates many respondents were drawn out to the polling stations which allowed the data collectors to stay in fixed position and intercept respondents after voting. In one day of collecting data a large number of surveys could be conducted relatively quickly and guarantee a higher response rate when compared to other research methods as well as an adequate control of external variables. By conducting face to face surveys the data collectors were able to have a higher degree of control over the data collection process and environment. Surveys allow responses to be gathered in a standardised way making the data more objective. Exit poll surveys and structured interviews were simultaneously conducted throughout the target population on Election Day.

The largely quantitative survey was deliberately partnered with qualitative structured interviews to ensure more detailed data was guaranteed. Originally the exit poll surveys were to target voters and structured interviews to target non-voters. However, due to the high voter turnout of 82% in the 2012 general election (which is reflected in the data collected), only a small proportion of interview respondents were non-voters.

The main objective of conducting research on the 2012 General Election Day across the Northern Province was to collect and analyse data that could produce accredited research papers exploring the relationships between the various socio, economic and political variables and their impact on voting behaviour. The research conducted would then have the purpose of influencing policy-makers and relevant stakeholders in increasing the participation of marginalised groups and place pressure on political leaders to become more accountable to marginalised citizens.

The data collection instruments employed in this study were carefully selected to achieve the objectives set. An observational study was chosen to provide real detailed information about people's opinions on a variety of governance related issues. The study was designed to provide a platform for future research. Several topic areas have been raised and identified, which require further research and attention. Each district was divided into sections and urban/rural locations, exit poll stations were identified through random sampling. This process was repeated for those conducting structured interviews but discarding the location of exit polls.

## **Methodology**

### **Participants**

Identified participants included in this study were all citizens across the Northern Province from 18 years +. Data collectors and interviewers were all told to give preference to female respondents. 1316 women and 702 men participated in the exit poll survey. 569 women and 195 men participated in structured interviews. All respondents were informed about the study and were asked for their consent to participate before proceeding. Verbal consent was considered appropriate for this study due to the large illiteracy rate in Sierra Leone.

### **Materials**

Voice recorders were used by all interviewers to document all interviews. Due to enforced security procedures and protocols all researchers wore identity tags and received prior approval to conduct research on Election Day.

## Design and Procedure

The research design of this study was an observational study and correlational as it looked at assessing any casual relationships between the various socio-economic and demographic variables and opinions expressed. In order to identify and design appropriate research methods to use in this study, six initial focus group discussions were conducted with a small sample of the target population consisting of fifteen participants. Both the surveys and structured interviews were formulated to reflect the key themes and questions raised. Fifty researchers were interviewed for positions as field researchers and data collectors. All researchers were given a three day training workshop conducted by a local consultant to equip them with the basic knowledge and skills required to conduct research and accurately collect data. Female research applicants were targeted and given preference because the research was designed to target women. Male researchers were given additional gender sensitisation training and all researchers were taught on the ethics of research and appropriately reading respondent's body language. All researchers were then given the opportunity to pilot both data collection instruments employed.

Several issues were raised. Some questions were too culturally sensitive and respondents were reluctant to answer. Other questions did not translate properly and were therefore taken out of context or had a different meaning to its original intention. All researchers were asked to agree on the meaning of each question and the translation to ensure consistency and reduce the risk of misinterpretation in the field. Three urban and three rural locations were randomly mapped for every district across the five districts situated in the Northern Province and exit poll stations were sampled within the mapped locations determining where the data collectors would be situated using official National Electoral Commission (NEC) sourced maps. Two urban and two rural locations were randomly mapped for every district across the Northern Province for those conducting structured interviews.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, travel restrictions enforced two days before the elections had serious implications for the researchers and locations already selected. To ensure that all those registered to vote were able to cast their vote and still participate in the study, some researchers were reallocated to Makeni and its surroundings, which produced a cluster of data from Bombali locations.

All researchers designated to remote locations were deployed the night before the election in order to be given adequate time to travel and to be able to report to their location promptly at 9.00am. All researchers were required to stay at their locations from 9am – 5.00pm and were periodically supervised by the core governance team who performed spot checks on all locations throughout the course of the day. All researchers were given a briefing and debriefing session to hand out/return resources, ask questions and highlight any problems they encountered. The researchers were scored on their level of performance and placed into a database for future research.

Coding sheets were prepared for inputting all data collected. For all qualitative data, the first 100 responses from each district were categorised to reflect reoccurring responses and themes so they could be analysed in a

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<sup>1</sup> Accessible urban and rural locations that could be accessed easily on Election Day were identified using NEC official polling station maps. Once all accessible exit polls for data collectors and interview locations for researchers were established a ten mile radius was drawn and a location was randomly selected from within. This process was repeated six times per district for survey polling stations and four times per district for interview locations.

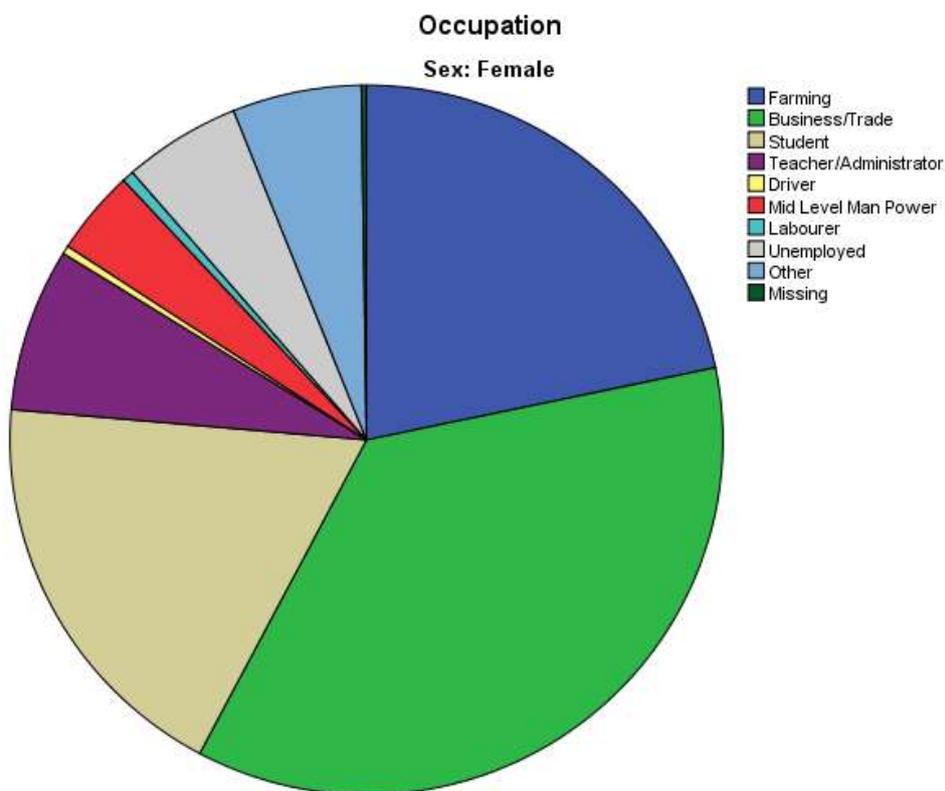
quantitative way. After inputting all data, several analyses were run on SPSS statistical software programme namely looking at Sex, Sex/Age, Sex/Salary and Sex/Education. These variables, it was felt, would offer the most interesting and relevant socio-economic and demographic information.

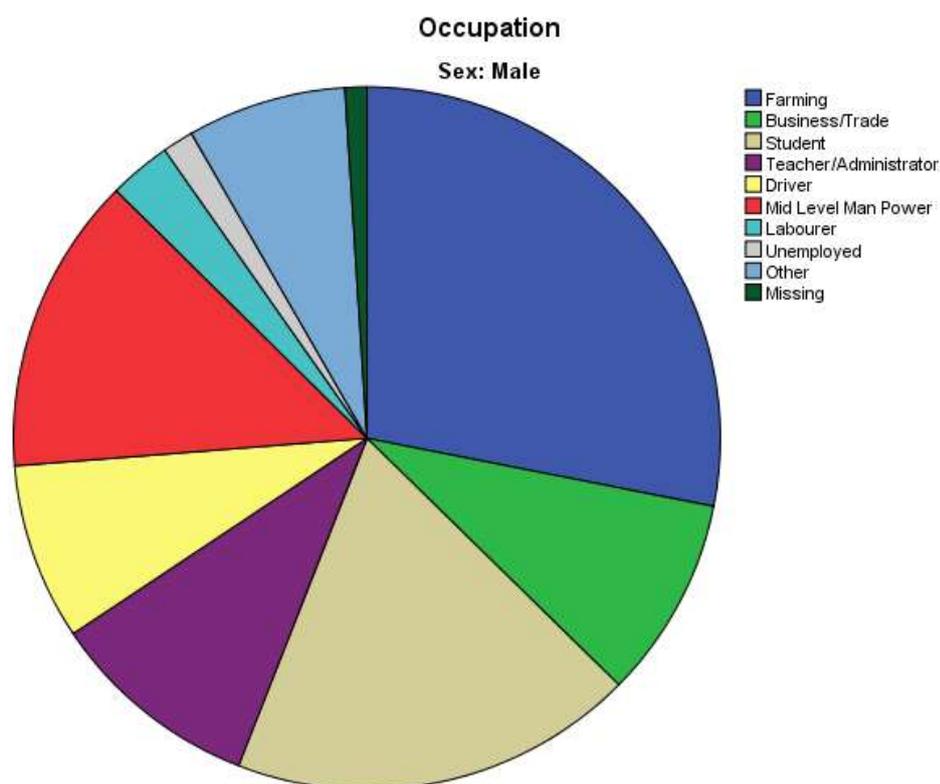
## Results

### Survey Data

#### Sex:

The average age of female voters is lower than men. All age categories show similar turnout rates, however there is a notable difference in the 18-25 age categories, accounting for 23% of all men surveyed and 27% of all women. A high percentage of men and women stated they were married. However, more men were single and a substantial proportion of women were widowed (15% when compared to 2% of men). The occupation of the majority of female respondents was traders and farmers for men. Students accounted for 19% of men and women.





Men live with more people and have a greater number of dependents overall, 15% of men have 12 or more dependents whereas only 7% of women have 12 or more dependents. There is a 1-3% variance for all other dependents categories. The data showed a noticeable difference between the percentages of men and women attending secondary and tertiary education. 7% more men attend/completed secondary and 8% tertiary, yet 3% more women have a primary education level. 55% of men and 58% of women stated they had no formal salary. For those who have no salary, women claimed to have more access to an additional/dispensable income when compared to their male counterparts. 33% of men and 29% of women receive no salary or additional income.

Men have a more visible voting record, 7% more men voted in the 1996 general election. However, in the 2001 and 2007 general elections this gap reduces substantially with only a 2% difference. 60% of male and female respondents supported the dominant political party in their region. 5% more women vote for a political party and not an individual leader when compared to men. Further to this a greater number of men indicated they voted on the basis of development. However, both men and women agreed their reason for changing political parties was lack of performance and the right to change affiliations. Men felt campaigns were an important part of political elections. 6% more women felt they were not represented by their political party. Over 75% of men and women have always belonged to the same political party. Development and right to join were key reasons for both sexes feeling they belonged to the political party.

More women are affected by intimidation as a reason for not getting involved in politics than men, although both are equally burdened by gossiping when voting. 15% of female respondents and 16% of male respondents believe women are not as capable in a political capacity. The registrations and voting process was more limiting for women traders and travellers.

Women are less active in community based politics. Only 38% of women participate in community politics, yet 53% of all male respondents acknowledged their involvement in community based politics.

### **Sex/Age:**

There are noteworthy differences in relationship between men and women in all age categories. Most noteworthy are in age category 18-25 with 29% of women and 17% of men married. There is also a stark difference in the 56+ age category where widowed women make up 52% yet men only 8% in the same category.

### **Table 1 – Relationship distribution table (see appendix one)**

When analysing age, sex and occupation there is only a 4% difference between men and women aged 18-25 who are students. The difference in the percentage of farmers and traders is visible between men and women in each age category. 15 % of women over the age of 56 are unemployed yet only 6% of men are unemployed in the same age category. Men have more household members than women, evident in every age category except 18-25 year olds where 10% more women live with 12+ occupants. The most common material of houses is mud irrespective of age of gender.

Throughout all age brackets there is a visible difference in access to education between men and women. Women have less access to secondary and tertiary education. Only 5-9 % of women in age categories 18-25, 46-55 and 56+ have attended tertiary education, substantially lower than their male counterparts who make up 16-21%. Men in age brackets 26-35 and 36-45 make up 21-26% of those in tertiary education and women 14-18%, higher than all other age groups.

6% more men aged 18-25 have no salary. In all other age brackets more women have comparatively less or no income when compared to men. Looking at the additional income of those with no salary several interesting points were raised. Women have greater low levels of income in the Le 1-100,000 bracket when compared to men across the majority of age categories. 12% more men aged 35-45 receive no income, however a larger percentage of men aged 56+ have an income greater than Le 500,001(18%) when compared to women (8%). Men of all ages have significantly more dependents than women.

The percentage of men and women who have voted before is similar across all age brackets. However, more women between the ages of 26-35 and 56+ have voted before when compared to their male counterparts. Men between the ages of 26-35 and 36-45 have voted before in more elections than women from the same age bracket. There is no significant difference in any other age category between men and women.

70-80% of all respondents found the registration and voting processes easy. When exploring reasons to belong to a party, most men and women aged between 18-46 selected the right to join and development. However, 27% of women and men 46+ selected 'other' reasons for belonging to a political party. When asked whether respondents have always belonged to their affiliated political party, more men than women had always belonged to the same political party, with the exception of those aged 36-45 where 12% more women had always belonged to the same political party.

Men and women both vote for the dominant party. This percentage increases with the age categories. However it must be noted those ages 18-25 only 53% of women vote for the dominant party and only 46% of men. The reasons for picking a chosen party are similar for both sexes and all age categories, however it is worth noting that 7-10% women from ages 26-56+ support their chosen political party to serve their own interests, which is not evident in male respondents.

Both genders in all age categories support the political party more than the individual party leader with an average ratio of 60%:40%. Campaigns have a greater impact on men than women in all age brackets except 18-25 year olds where 44% of women and only 38% of men agree that campaigns have an impact on the way they vote. Both sexes across all age groups feel represented by their choice of political party. On average between 13-15% of men and women in each age category do not believe that women are as capable as men. The age bracket 46-55 stands out as 22% of women and 18% of men believe that women are not as capable as men.

### **Sex/Salary:**

28% of men and 30% of women aged 18-25 are the majority groups in the no salary categories. For both sexes 26-35 year olds is the dominant age category for all other salary brackets. More men are married in each salary

bracket when compared to women and more women are widowed. The percentage of those married for men and women decreases as salaries increase, with the exception of no salary category. On average men share a house with 12+ occupants in spite of salary. The number of occupants in households shared by women increases with salary from 4-7 to 8-11, with the exception of no salary bracket where 43% of women share with 12+ occupants.

For men and women, greater income leads to an increased quality of house material used for construction. However, it is worth noting that concrete houses only become the majority for men earning Le 501,000 + whereas for women its Le 201,000 +. Women on average across all salary brackets have 4-7 dependents. Men's dependents however increase with salary from 4-7 to 12+. The percentage of men and women who have not voted before increases with income. On average 80% of men and women find both the registration and voting process easy. However, it should be noted that those earning Le 501,000 and above have greater difficulty with both processes.

The majority of men and women earning up to 501,000 -800,000 state development as their reason for belonging to the political party of their choice. The dominant reason (30% respondents) for men belonging to a party who earn 801,000+ is other. 25% of women earning Le 801,000–1,100,000 stated patriotism and 68% stated other for women earning Le 1,101,000+. On average 75% of men and women have always belong to their chosen political party. 10-18% fewer women earning Le 301,000 – 500,000 did not always belong when compared to their male counterparts in the same salary brackets. Over 50% of all respondents in all salary categories voted for the dominant party on the basis of development. This could be considered contentious as the data suggests respondents voted on the basis of visible development and not party manifestos, policy promises or objectives (also known as pocketbook voting). There is a stronger relationship between men in all salary groups voting for a political party not political leader.

On average 50-60% of men and women do not think campaigns have an impact on their vote. 52% of men earning Le 301,000 – 400,000 and 64% women earning Le 401,000 – 500,000 stated campaigning was important as well as men and women earning Le 1,101,000+. Up to 12% of women earning Le 0 – 500,000 feel less represented when compared to their male counterparts. Women do not participate in local political structures/community politics to the same level as men, which is especially evident amongst those earning between Le 0 – 500,000. The mean of men who feel they are free to vote is 94% which is greater than the mean of women at 90%. However, there is a stark difference in women earning between Le 301,000 – 500,000, where only 76-77% feel free to vote.

Gossiping impacts both men and women who feel they are not free to vote however, a notable percentage of women also stated they were affected by intimidation. On average, 5% more men in each salary category believe that women are not as capable, when compared to their female counterparts. However, 2% more women than men earning le 1- 100,000 stated women were not as capable as men. Access and ownership to/of media increases with salaries.

### **Sex/Education:**

All age education categories show slightly different demographics between men. 38% of men and 44% of women aged 26-35 have tertiary level education. In primary level education, men aged 36-45 make up 34%, yet women aged 26-35 make up 35% of the same category. 23% of men aged 26-35 are the largest group in secondary education, however for women the average age is lower with 18-25 year olds making up 61%. 70% of men and women with a primary level of education are married. There are 7% more single women with a secondary education than men. 9% more men with a tertiary education are married. Out of those with a primary level education farmers make up 43% of men and traders 54% of women. Those with a secondary level education, students constitute for 37% of men and 50% of women. Finally, teachers make up the dominant occupation (38-42%) of men and women with a tertiary education. The number of occupants in a household is similar for men and women regardless of their level of education.

The majority of men and women stated that lived in households with 12+ occupants, except for women with a tertiary education, where the dominant group making up 41% is 4-7 occupants. 60-61% of men and women with

primary and secondary levels of education do not have a salary. 30% of men and 37% of women with a tertiary education level also do not a salary. Out of all those with no salary, only 31% women with a primary education have a dispensable additional income of le 1-100,000. For women, the number of dependents decreases with increased education. There are more men and women with primary and tertiary education who have not voted before compared to those with a secondary level education.

Men and women with primary and secondary level educations predominately belong to a party because of development. Both men and women with tertiary level education sight other reasons for belonging to their chosen political party. A lower percentage of women have always belonged to a political party, when compared to men. Both men and women with secondary level education have a lower percentage of always belonging when compared to those with primary and tertiary education. Women stated they are less likely to vote for the dominant political party. A strong percentage of women and men with primary level education vote for their political party not individual leaders. This percentage falls as respondents education levels increase. Campaigns have a greater impact on men and women with only primary level education. Generally women feel less represented than men. Men with primary levels of education feel 22% more represented compared to women in the same education bracket. Although women participate less in community/local politics when compared to men, there is a higher activity rate for both men and women with a tertiary level of education. Less women with a primary level of education believe that women are as capable as men, when compared to men in the same education bracket. In all other categories 4-7% more women stated that women were as capable as men. Access to media outlets increases with education.

#### **Interview Data**

##### **Sex:**

79% of men and 74% of women interviewed had voted before and 85% had registered to vote. When asked why those who had registered but not voted, 4% of men stated distance as the reason for not voting and 8% of women were out of town. 17% of women interviewed and 19% of men decided not to vote. The principal occupation for men was farming constituting for 29% of respondents and traders for women making up 36%. 39% of men and 54% of women receive no salary. Out of this population 30% of men do not have any other income whereas 33% of women earn Le 1-100,000 a month. Out of those interviewed, 60% of men could read and only 48% of women. Only 48% of women were given the option of education, 11% less than their male counter parts. The majority of men and women had a secondary education making up 37% of men and 30% of women. 61% of women and 57% of men, selected 'other' when asked what encourages them to vote. 57% of men and 55% of women said they were interested in politics. 45% of men and 54% of women stated that elections are the time to vote. When asked about their knowledge of politicians 45% of men and 35% of women stated other. 80% of respondents believed that their vote counted.

When asked whether they felt government or traditional laws had a greater role/impact, 73% of men and 66% of women selected government laws. When asked which laws have a greater impact on women's issues 58% of men and 65% of women identified traditional laws as having the greater impact. 52% of men and 51% of women believed that women are less likely to participate in decision making processes. When asked why, 16% of women and 12% of men stated the main reason for not participating was male domination. 84% of women and 77% of men felt that women were as capable as men.

##### **Sex/Age:**

52% of men and 58% of women ages between 18-25 had not voted before. 58% of men aged 56+ had also stated they had not voted before compared to 96% of women who had voted before. 80-90% of men and women across all age categories had registered to vote. Men aged between 18-35 said distance was the main reason for registering but not casting a vote. 10% of men aged between 46-55 were out of town and therefore unable to vote. 8-14% of women aged between 26-55 also stated they were out of town and unable to vote. 44-61% of men and women up to the age of 55 predominately live in mud houses.

Students make up 46% of men and 33% of women aged 18-25. The main occupation for men aged 26-55+ and women aged 46-56+ was farming. The majority of men and women in every age category receive no salary. Out

of those who receive no salary, only men aged 18-25 have a majority receiving an income of Le 1-100,000 a month. The majority of women in every age category receive a monthly income of Le 1-100,000.

93% of women and 72% aged 18-25 believe their vote counts. Yet when those aged 55+ were asked the same question, their responses contrasted with 92% of men and 78% of women aged 55+ believe their vote counts. 70-76% of men across each age category place a greater importance on government laws. Although 78% of women aged 18-25 agree government laws have a greater impact, this percentage gradually decreases by each age category, with only 53% of women aged 56+ agreeing. Women aged 18-36 place 7-16% more importance on the impact of traditional laws on women's issues when compared to their male counterparts. However, men aged 46-56+ believe traditional laws have an impact on women's issues 6-15% more than their female counterparts in the same age categories. Women and men in all age categories believe that women are less likely to participate in decision making processes. It must be noted that 48% of men aged 36-45 do not think women are less likely to participate whereas 63% of women in the same age category do. Men and women in all age categories believe the main reason for this is male domination. When compared to men, 7-17% more women aged between 18 - 55 believe women are as capable as men. Out of those ages 56+ 80% of women and 92% of men believe women are as capable. On average 80% of men and women aged 18-45 and 56+ stated they were voting. Only 62% of men aged 46-55 said they were planning to vote/had voted.

### **Sex/Salary:**

There are substantial differences in rates of men and women who have voted before. 10% more men earning no salary have voted before compared to women. 36% more men earning Le 801,000 – 1,000,000 have voted before. The mean of men who have voted before is 87% for men and 80% for women. For those who were not registered, the dominant reason for women in all salary brackets were them being out of town. Men stated, other, distance and out of town as the main reasons for not registering. 9% of women earning Le 501-800 and Le 1,100,000+ stated the reason for not voting was their candidate not receiving the party symbol. 14% of men earning Le 801,000-1,100,000 said distance was the reason for not voting. House material advances for men as their salary increases from mud (those earning up to Le 200,000), zinc (those earning Le 201,000 – 400,000) to concrete and brick. House material for women only changes for those earning Le 401,000 and above. The dominant occupation for women earning between Le 0 – 300,000 is trader and teachers for those earning Le 301,000- 800,000. The occupation of men develops with salaries. The dominant group of men earning Le 0 – 100,000 is farmers. Students make up 43% of those earning Le 201,000-300,000. The average number of dependents for all respondents interviewed was 4-7.

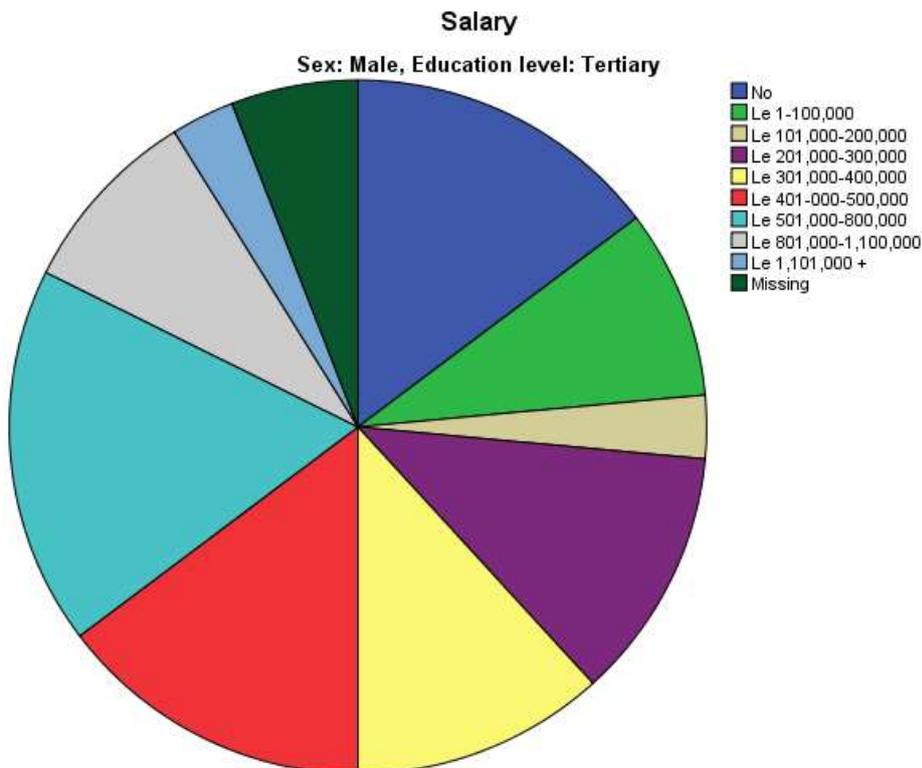
When asked, 'can you read?' more men than women stated they were literate. Four salary categories worth mentioning are those earning no salary, as only 45% of women and 46% of men said they could read. There is a 17% difference between men and women who can read earning Le 1–100,000 and a 43% difference between men and women earning Le 101,000 - 300,000. More men than women in every salary bracket were given the option of education. The majority of women earning Le 0 – 500,000 have a secondary education. The majority of those earning Le 501,000+ have a tertiary level of education. Only the majority of men earning Le 501,000 – 800,000 have a tertiary level of education, the majority of men in all other salary brackets have a secondary level of education. The majority of all respondents sighted 'other' reasons for what encourages them to vote. Women earning Le 0 – 100,000 were more interested in politics when compared to their male counterparts. However, the opposite trend is visible for those earning Le 101,000+. When asked their understanding of politicians, men and women in most salary categories stated other or leaders. The majority of men and women earning Le 501,000 – 800,000 stated that politicians were untrustworthy. Men generally believed their vote counted more than women with one exception of those earning Le 401,000 – 500,000 where 31% more women believed their vote counted.

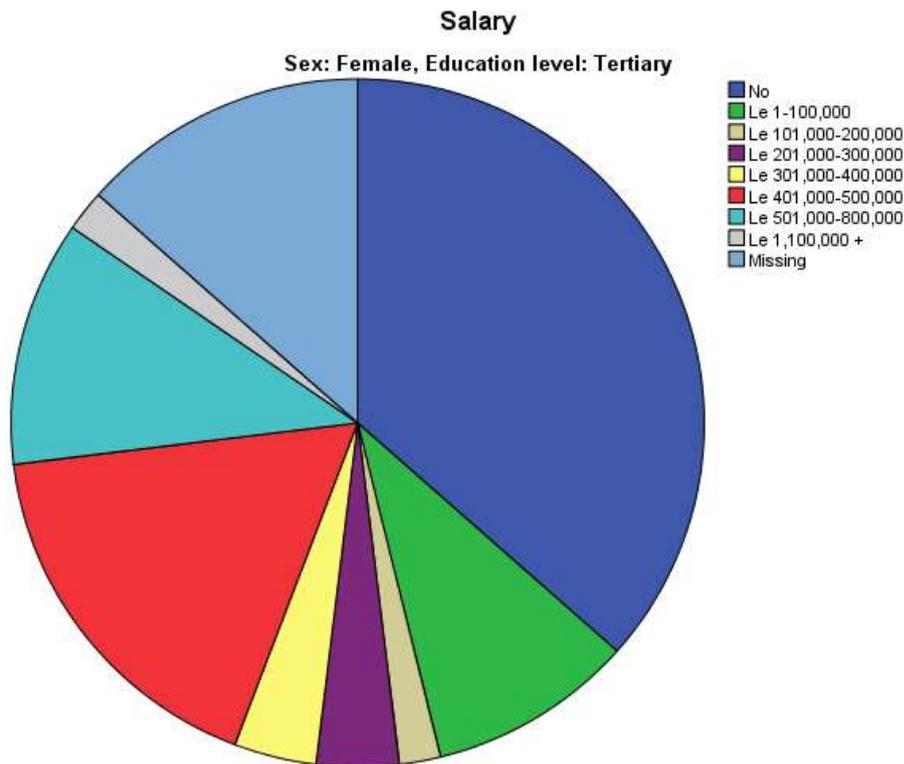
Men in all salary brackets stated that government laws were more important than traditional laws, more so than their female counterparts. However, 72% of women earning Le1-100,000 believe that government laws are more important than traditional, 10% more than men earning the same salary. A higher percentage of women than men believe women are affected by traditional laws. Counter to this, men earning Le 301-000 – 400,000 and Le 501,000 – 800,000 believe traditional laws have a greater impact than women in the same salary bracket. A higher percentage of women from all salary brackets believe women are less likely to participate in decision

making processes. When asked reasons why, the majority of women earning Le 0 –100,000 stated ‘other’ and those earning Le101, 000+ stated male domination. Men offered different explanations from lack of education, intimidation and male domination. Overall more women believe women are as capable as men. The only salary category where more men than women agree women are as capable as men is those earning Le 201,000 – 300,000.

**Sex/Education:**

84% of women interviewed with a primary level of education have voted before, 13% more than men. Yet 13-21% more men with a secondary and tertiary education have voted before when compared to women in the same education categories. 14% more men with a primary education registered to vote and 7% with a secondary education when compared to women in the same education categories. Out of those with a tertiary education, 85% of men and 90% of women had registered to vote. The main reason for both men and women across all levels of education for not registering to vote was being ‘out of town’. 6% of men and women with a tertiary education level did not vote because of distance. The majority of men at all education levels and women with a primary and secondary education live in mud houses. 39% of women with a tertiary education live in concrete houses. The main occupation of men with a primary education is farming (47%) and traders (49%) for women. Students make up 31% of men and 33% of women with a secondary education and teachers account for 44% of men and 39% of women with a tertiary education level.





Women with no salary account for 10-19% more than men with primary and secondary education levels. 18% of men with a tertiary education earn Le 501,000 – 800,000 yet 37% of women at the same education level receive no salary. Women with a secondary and tertiary education have on average, fewer dependants than their male counter parts (women average 1-3 and men 4-7).

When asked, 'can you read?' women have a lower literacy rate than men. However, 63% of women with a primary education stated they could read, higher than men (59%) in the same category. 77% of men and women with a primary education were given the option of education. 5-8% more men with a secondary and tertiary level of education were given the option of education when compared to women in the same education groups. 56-65% of men and women stated 'other' when asked what encourages them to vote. More men stated they were interested in politics than women. This margin increases amongst those with a tertiary level of education, 56% of women 71% of men said they were interested in politics. More men with a primary and secondary education believe their vote counts when compared to women. However, 6% more women with a tertiary education believe their vote counts. 1-14% more men across all education levels believe government laws are more important than traditional. When asked which types of laws affect women's issues more, the majority of men and women stated traditional (although women made up (6-9%) more than men with a primary and secondary education). Only 49% of women with a secondary education believe women are less likely to participate compared to 65% in the same education bracket. Yet, 11% more women with a tertiary level of education stated yes, less likely to participate. There is no major difference between men and women who were asked whether women were as capable as me except those with a secondary education as 75% of men and 87% of women had stated yes

## Discussion

Several observations can be made from the data collected. Women were deliberately targeted when conducting the surveys and interviews on Election Day, which must be taken into consideration when analysing and drawing conclusions from the data. Respondents aged between 18-25 years old were the category with the highest voter turnout. This is corroborated by data collected and analysed in the National Electoral Commission Annual Report (2012). Female respondents had a lower average age than men. This could signal the increased political activity of women who are developing a visible political consciousness when compared to women in different age

groups. The data reflected that men have greater financial obligations due to having larger families, dependents and multiple wives. Young women, notably those aged between 18-25 years are still encouraged to marry early in life, a pressure that men in the same age group do not face to the same degree, which is why the data shows a noteworthy percentage of men aged 18-25 single and women married. Women who marry at a young age tend to marry older men which, explains the high rate of widowed women. However, an interesting observation from the data is that higher proportion of women are remaining widowed, single or decide to cohabitate rather than remarry (this is especially evident amongst high earning women). Traditionally the majority of women would remarry after becoming widowed but two inferences can be drawn from the data collected. Firstly, men may be reluctant to marry a widowed woman as they would be obligated to inherit all financial needs and dependents. Secondly, women could be developing different social attitudes which safeguards and best serves their interests, which changes society's assumptions and outlooks of single women, despite making women aged 56+ more economically vulnerable than their male counterparts.

Men and women aged between 18-25 years accounted for the same percentage of students. As expected, the majority of female respondents had a primary level of education, however an educational ceiling, created by a patriarchal culture that relegates women to the house duties and denies the importance of their education, still exists preventing women from advancing to a secondary and especially tertiary level of education. This data was echoed by interview respondents as a greater number of men had the option to education and men overall had a higher literacy rate. Men and women still occupy traditional occupations with the majority of male respondents being farmers and women traders. There is a clear disparity between men and women earning Le 301,000+ which could suggest that women have less opportunity and access to high paid employment positions. What should be noted it that women have more access to additional incomes. Further research would need to be conducted to establish the sources of income as well as the redistribution on those incomes within the family.

The data shows men having a stronger and more visible past voting record when compared to women. It appears that political participation for women has increased over the past 17 years, which could be attributed to the impact of development and increased political awareness amongst women. Interestingly, the older the respondent the less likely they are to have voted before. This data would need to be substantiated by further research. Responses given by those in the top salary brackets and those aged 56+ cannot be generalised as they are both minority groups. Further data would need to be collected to verify responses as well as to analyse whether an increase in female representation in government affects the participation of women.

As expected, the majority of respondents voted for the dominant political party, although it must be stated that this was a comparatively marginal majority. When discussing reasons for voting, the political party was seen to be more important to voters than the party leader however the average 60:40 ratio would suggest that individual political leaders are an important consideration when constituents cast their votes. Furthermore, many respondents said they voted on the basis of development and which political party best served their own interests. With further research it would be possible to suggest that voting because of tribal affiliations and the influence of peers is in decline. Political campaigns are considered to be more important to men than women and have a greater impact on younger voters. One explanation for this is that men are more likely to be campaigned and therefore get more out of the process. A larger proportion of women felt they were not represented by their chosen political party. This could reflect male dominated political parties and party policy that focuses on addressing issues that have a greater impact on men. Intimidation and gossiping were identified as the two major problems respondents faced (especially women) which lead their vote to not being free. Most respondents found the registration and voting processes easy. The proportion of those who found the registration and voting processes more challenging increased with income, which could be attributed to the reluctance of high earners to sit in and wait in queues. Voter turnout of 80-81% shown in data collected reflects national statistics.

The majority of men and women believe that women are as capable as men in a decision making and political capacity (except primary educated women, the only category to believe women as less capable than their male counterparts). Lack of confidence, political knowledge, understanding of basic rights and entitlements and cultural attitudes could be responsible for this. There is a slight change in attitude expressed by men aged 46-

56+ on their opinions of the capabilities of women in terms of political participation as a larger proportion believe women are not as capable. This data is interesting as men aged 46-56+ would be the majority of those it take up positions of political authority and high profile jobs. It is this group of men who need to be targeted in sensitisation programmes as they appear to have the greatest influence on hindering women's development.

There is a distinctive lack of female political leaders that have the opportunity to effectively advance the needs and rights of their constituents, only 14% of candidates elected in 2012 were female. Although a notable proportion of women participate in community based political structures, men still outnumber women. It is therefore important to conduct further research investigating what specific barriers discourage women from participating in decision making processes. One explanation offered from the data collected is that the majority of respondents felt traditional laws still have a significant impact on advancement of women. Specially regarding local government is also important to conduct further research to understand the actual effect that female politicians have in decision-making. This is especially important given the great role that customary laws play, which give men most of the power in the private and political spheres.

### **Conclusions**

Several socio-economic profiles that can be built from the data collected, which could be used to predict voting behaviour.

Despite an impressive voter turnout in the 2012 general election, there are still several political realities that must be addressed by political leaders and representatives to make them more accountable to their constituents. Women are visible becoming more politically active in terms of national political engagement (especially amongst younger generations). Yet women are still politically under-represented in terms of female political representation that reflects Sierra Leone's demographic composition which has implications for safeguarding, addressing and advancing issues that affect women. Women are less active in community based governance structures which have a greater impact on the rights, entitlements of development of women than government laws and political structures.

Provisions need to be made to actively bring women to table so they are able to voice concerns and issues that directly affect them. This information can that be used during the process of policy formulation so the rights and interests of women are addressed. Mechanisms should be established to encourage and facilitate better dialogue between women and duty bearers and the data collected must be used as a springboard to undertake further research.

### **Recommendations**

Strengthen and formulate structures to actively encourage women to participate in political processes.

Further research investigating the barriers that prevent women from participating in decision making processes.

Formulate programmes to support women leaders to effectively advance the needs and rights of their constituents, particularly the needs and rights of women.

Support women, especially poor and marginalised women, by giving them the knowledge, resources and skills required to adequately defend their rights and gain greater access to services and resources.

Engage and train traditional leaders, religious figureheads and other stakeholders throughout the Northern Province to best serve marginalised citizens and facilitate gender relations, dialogue and reform.

### **Exit Poll Survey**

The primary objective of this survey is to attain detailed data on the attitudinal and demographic characteristics of voters. The data will be used to investigate any causal relationships. Once identified, the research can be used

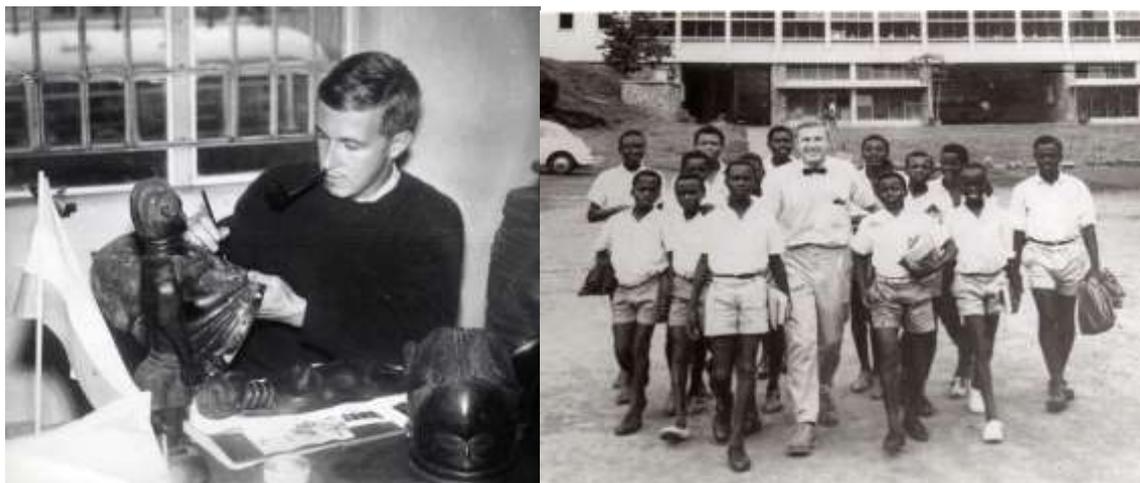
to change election/campaign practices and advise non-government organisations on how best they can increase the accountability of politicians to their constituents and increase voter participation (especially within vulnerable groups). Participation is voluntary and all data is anonymous.

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### Three Faces of Bai Bureh, The National Hero of Sierra Leone

By Gary Schulze

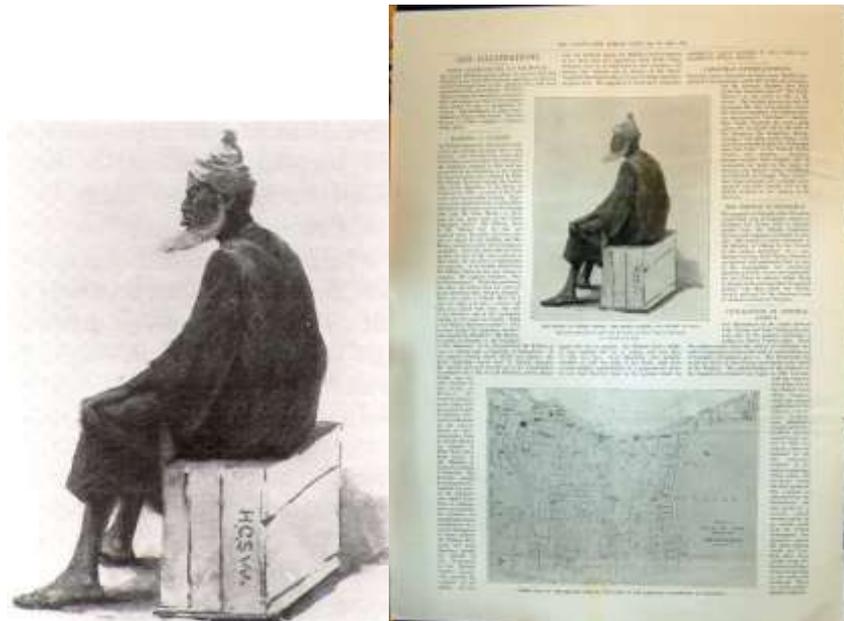
I came to Sierra Leone as a young Peace Corps Volunteer in 1962 and was assigned to teach history and civics at the Albert Academy in Freetown. It was shortly after Independence and a spirit of nationalism permeated this newly-born African nation. After teaching Forms 1 and 2 history and civics for a few months, I was asked by the Principal, the legendary Max Bailor, to introduce Sierra Leone History into the school's curriculum for the first time. Until then, the schools in Sierra Leone taught only European and Ancient History. In preparation for this, I read everything I could about the country and soon realized that one important person I would have to emphasize in my history classes was the famous warrior Bai Bureh, a household name throughout the country since 1898.



Bai Bureh was the ruler of a small Temne chiefdom called "Kasseh", in what is now Sierra Leone's Northern Province. He opposed Britain's declaration of a "Protectorate" over the interior in 1896, and the tax levied on the houses of the native population. In addition, the British Governor, Frederic Cardew, wanted to reduce the power of the African Paramount Chiefs by appointing white District Commissioners. When war broke out over these issues in 1898, Bai Bureh led a coalition of fighters from several different kingdoms in a brilliant campaign that took the British entirely by surprise. When the British offered a reward for his capture, Bai Bureh responded by offering twice as much for the capture of the Governor. Using classic guerilla tactics and warriors equipped with only muskets, swords, spears, and slings, he held the British forces at bay for several months. But when British soldiers began burning the food supplies of the villagers who supported him, Bai Bureh was forced to surrender. By then he had won the admiration of his adversaries for both his fighting skills and his protection of civilians caught in the war zone, including British, American and Krio missionaries. So, after he surrendered, saying, "Me nar Bai Bureh, de war done done", the British accorded him great respect, taking him into custody but allowing him some personal freedom during his captivity at Ascension Town in Freetown, and later in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) where he was exiled for seven years. The British would

eventually bring Bai Bureh back to Sierra Leone and reinstate him as the chief of Kasseh where he died and was buried eight years later.

While Bai Bureh was under house arrest in Ascension Town, a British Lieutenant in the West Indian Regiment, Henry Edward Green, made a pencil drawing of the great warrior depicting him sitting sideways on a wooden box looking like an angry, despondent, shoeless old man, with a ronko draped over his slumped shoulders. The drawing was published in the London Gazette in 1898 alongside a dispatch from Freetown describing how “the petty chief” Bai Bureh and his followers had been roundly defeated by British troops, thus successfully ending the rebellion in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone.



For more than 100 years after Bai Bureh’s death, Lieutenant Green’s drawing was still the only known contemporary image anyone had ever seen. This image was reproduced throughout the country. It appeared on postcards and in school history textbooks. In the 1960’s , Freetown carvers began making Bai Bureh statues based on Green’s pencil drawing in various sizes for sale in the markets, along with decorative wooden wall hangings with the warrior’s image. Paintings appeared as well, some presenting him as a king sitting on a throne holding a sword surrounded by people he had captured. The Green image became the logo for Bai Bureh Hospital, the Bai Bureh Warriors, a major soccer team, and appeared on walls of buildings all over Freetown, including the Paramount Hotel and the Ministry of Tourism in Freetown.





While working at the museum I thought it would be interesting if we could come up with a statue of Bai Bureh that school children could come to see to get a better understanding of the important role he had played in their country's history. I commissioned Mr. J.D. Marsh, a well-known maker of cemetery monuments who lived on Sankey Street, to make the statue. I gave him a copy of Lt. Green's drawing and told him I wanted a three-dimensional, like-size statue based on the picture. After examining it carefully, Mr. Marsh asked me the obvious question – What did Bai Bureh look like from the front? I told him we had no idea and that he would have to use his imagination to come up with the best face he could from the profile view. I agreed it was not much to go on, but at least he had a life portrait to work with.

Two weeks later Mr. Marsh sent a runner to tell us the figure was finished. Together with two museum assistants, I went to his workshop near Congo Market and we carried the statue up a steep hill to an awaiting taxi. The figure, painted in flesh colours and wrapped in a country cloth, looked so realistic that people passing by thought they were witnessing a white man and two Africans carrying a corpse up the hill. Several elderly women began wailing and clapping their hands.

Once we got the statue to the museum, I unwrapped it to see how good a job Mr. Marsh had done portraying the face. My expectations were not high since he was working with very rough materials – basically just plaster laid over a wire frame. The result was pretty much as expected. The Marsh creation was more a manikin than a sculpture, and more a caricature than a portrait. The face had oversized, heavy-lidded eyes, typical of Yoruba sculpture (Marsh was a member of local Yoruba hunting societies). But it bore enough of a resemblance to Green's pencil drawing to look familiar to Sierra Leoneans, and it had the advantage of being life-size.



I dressed the figure in a large “ronko” or warrior’s gown from the museum’s collection characteristic of Sierra Leone’s northern tribes. But the hat was a problem. In the pencil drawing, Bai Bureh is wearing a white cone-shaped hat. We had nothing like that in the museum so, instead, I found a hat made from the same rust-coloured material as the ronko. Although it had a very different shape, with three points each ending in a tassel, I placed it on the statue’s head. Then, to complete the statue, I wired an antique sword dating to the period of the Hut Tax War, to the figure’s right hand.

The Daily Mail published an article about the statue with a photograph of Dr. M.C.F. Easmon and Mr. Marsh standing next to the figure and the SLBS covered the story as well.



Over the next few months thousands of people came to the Museum to see Bai Bureh’s statue including the Prime Minister, Sir Milton Margai, and the Governor-General, Sir Henry Lightfoot-Boston. Mrs. Cummings, who had succeeded Doctor Easmon at the Museum, recalled that in the late 1960’s, Bai Bureh’s aged granddaughter led a group from Kasseh on a pilgrimage to Freetown just to view the new statue. People frequently wandered in just to gaze at the chief, sometimes putting their hands to their chins, and sighing, “Ah, Bai Bureh, Ah Bai Bureh” Mrs. Cumming remembered that when the statue was near the front entrance of the Museum, it was common to find a medicine man kneeling on the floor arranging fetishes before the ronko-clad image, whispering incantations.



In the years that followed, long after I had returned to the States, the statue took on a life of its own. Photographs of the figure began to appear in Sierra Leone history books and tourist brochures and when President Siaka Stevens hosted the OAU Conference in 1980, a souvenir book was printed featuring a photograph of the statue with the caption, "Bai Bureh, 1840-1908." Then, when Stevens was leaving office, he commissioned a company to produce a colourful, hard-cover comic book on Sierra Leone history. The artist portrayed Bai Bureh in a fighting mode wearing both the ronko and the tricorn hat that I had dressed him in, swinging his war sword over his head as he charged into battle. The comic book completed the process by which Marsh's statue had become the iconic image of Bai Bureh.



In October 1993, thirty years after completing my Peace Corps service, I returned to Sierra Leone to visit old friends and to see what changes had taken place in the country during the interim. Dr. Easmon had passed away many years earlier and Sierra Leone was now in the midst of a brutal civil war. I went to the Museum my first day back, and there, to my surprise, was Marsh's statue still standing proud, although some of the paint had peeled off the nose and the right arm was broken, with wire and plaster hanging from where the sword was attached. The figure had been dragged around to various agricultural shows over the years.



The following year, the Bank of Sierra Leone issued new currency – a red Le 1,000 note featuring the face of the museum statue, with the doll-like face, tricorn hat and tassels. Beneath the picture were the dates of his birth and death. The banknote even showed the missing paint on his nose. The statue had become the government-accepted image of Bai Bureh.



Local artists were now making wooden replicas of this statue, just as they had with Lieutenant Green’s pencil drawing. The figures came in various sizes and were just as stiff and straight-backed as the original, with the sword placed awkwardly in front. All of them had the same tricorn hat with tassels just like the one in the museum. Some were even dressed in country cloth gowns. There were also gigantic versions of the statue standing in the lobbies of the Mammy Yoko and Bintumani hotels in Freetown. Hotel workers were heard telling tourists that these carvings were very old and very traditional. By 1994 vendors were even selling “Mrs. Bai Bureh” carvings to go with “The Chief.”





Around this time I began corresponding with the well-known historian and anthologist Joe Opal who had also worked at the museum some years after I had. He sent me a paper he had written on the evolving “Image of Bai Bureh” and pointed out that my choice of a hat for the statue was a big mistake. Joe said that particular hat is worn in Sierra Leone by only three tribes – the Korindo, Yamuna, and Limbi – and only by special hunters who have killed three elephants, leopards, or bush cows (buffalos). Bai Bureh, on the other hand, was affiliated with two entirely different tribes – the Look and Tempe. He was born and raised a Look, but ruled a Tempe kingdom at the invitation of its people who were impressed with his military skills. Joe insisted there was no possibility that Bai Burgh had ever worn a hat used by tribes other than his own.



Opal was fascinated by the way the museum statue had become so deeply fixed in the popular mind and he predicted that the new dynamic version of the great warrior would gradually replace the old one. I shared his fascination with the way Bai Bureh’s image had evolved over time but felt a tinge of guilt for having chosen the wrong hat. It was upsetting to think that I had misinformed Sierra Leoneans about their greatest hero, however unintentionally. Yet the icon I helped create was becoming so powerful, there seemed to be no way to correct it.

Joe Opala tells the story of the time he gave a public lecture on Bai Bureh's image at the German Embassy in Freetown. Joe pointed out to the audience of young artists how I had chosen an inaccurate hunters' hat to put on the statue's head. When he suggested they revise their image of the warrior, a young poet marched up to the podium and objected. "My grandfather", he said, "told me that Bai Bureh wore the hunter's hat." Their Bai Bureh, Joe said, had to be a man of power and the ordinary Muslim elder's hat (in Green's drawing) simply would not do. He was told by another older Sierra Leonean, "You've just got to understand, for most people, that museum statue *is* Bai Bureh."

When civil war broke out in Sierra Leone in the 1990's, the RUF rebel leader, Foday Sankoh, began wearing a cap identical to the one I put on the statue's head in an apparent effort to make people believe he had somehow become the reincarnation of Bai Bureh and had inherited the warrior's powers. And when the war ended, the government built a large Sierra Leone Peace & Cultural Monument next to State House to celebrate the country's history. Included in the permanent exhibition is a giant mural showing Bai Bureh wearing the same tricorne cap with tassels that I mistakenly gave him thirty years earlier.



It always puzzled me that no one had ever seen an actual photograph of Bai Bureh, especially during the time he was under house arrest in Ascension Town. The local press reported at the time that hundreds of people gathered in front of the captured warrior's house every day to catch a glimpse of him. Those crowds probably included some of the prolific Krio photographers working in the city at the time, such as the Lisk-Carew Brothers and W.S. Johnston. They all had studios in Freetown and were already taking pictures of other famous Sierra Leoneans including Madame Yoko and Kai Londo. In addition, the British military and colonial community included many amateur photographers. I suspect there can only be one explanation for the absence of photographs. I have no solid evidence to back this up but I suspect there was a prohibition against anyone taking the Bai Bureh's picture, subject to arrest or, in the case of the military, to court-martial proceedings. The British Governor certainly did not want to see Bai Bureh promoted as a symbol of African resistance to British rule. He must have been quite satisfied with Green's drawing of the defeated old man sitting on a box, an image that would be instilled in the minds of generations of Sierra Leoneans to come.

As the years went by I began to search for an actual photograph, convinced that one had to exist somewhere. When the internet appeared in the 1980's, my search area grew vastly larger. Then, on August 12, 2012, 108 years after Bai Bureh's death and 50 years after Mr. Marsh made the statue based on Green's pencil drawing, an incredible thing happened. A photograph of the great warrior appeared on EBay, the famous auction site. I was contacted by an old friend, William Hart, an authority on the history and cultures of Sierra Leone. Bill had also seen the picture and was excited about the prospect of us acquiring it for the people of Sierra Leone.



Hart described the picture: "It was a small black and white photograph of an elderly man, with white hair and beard, dressed in a ronko gown. That type of ronko with a slanting pocket on the chest is often worn by chiefs in Northern Sierra Leone today. The old man was also wearing a small round embroidered hat like those worn by Muslim elders in Sierra Leone. The old man was seated, facing the camera, and apparently at ease. He was sitting in the back yard of someone's house, and there were other figures in the background, including a girl picking a papaya. And standing just behind the old man on the right side of the photo, there was an African policeman holding a very long rifle with a fixed bayonet. But he also seemed very much at ease, as he looked down at the seated figure with what appears to be an expression of admiration."

We later realized there were actually two women in the picture, the second one hidden by Bai Bureh's head and three men in the background wearing white jackets may have been servants.



Bai Bureh, Chief of the Timini,  
 when a prisoner at Sierra Leone  
 in 1898.  
 An original Photogr. by  
 Lieut. Arthur Greer W. Ind. Regt.  
 who died Aug. 7, 1900, when  
 storming a blockade  
 after the relief of  
 Kumassie

Below the picture was a hand-printed inscription which read:

*Bai Bureh, Chief of the Timini when a prisoner at Sierra Leone in 1898. An original photograph by Lieutenant Arthur Greer, West Indian Regiment who died August 7, 1900, when storming a blockade after the relief of Kumassie.*

It was hard, after all the years that had passed, to realize I was actually looking at a genuine photograph of the famous warrior. Bill and I immediately agreed that we had to purchase the photo and make it available to Sierra Leone.

Bill went ahead and contacted the seller but she couldn't shed much light on the history of the photograph. She could only say it was attached to a page in a leather-bound photo album she had purchased at a sale in Norwich some months earlier. The album contained over a hundred original photographs of European royalty and public figures of different types from the period 1893-1913.

Here is the rest of the story in Bill Hart's own words:

"I had better luck, though, tracing John Arthur Greer, the photographer. Records showed that Lt. Greer was in Sierra Leone at the time of the Hut Tax War in 1898. And he was, indeed, an officer with the 3rd West Indian Regiment, just as recorded in the photo album. And Greer died in 1900, exactly as describe, in a night attack on a stockade outside Kumasi in the Gold Coast (modern Ghana) on August 7, 1900. This didn't prove that the old man in the photograph was Bai Bureh, but since all the other information in the inscription was correct, it certainly suggested that the label "Bai Bureh, Chief of the Timini" was also correct."

"But I did uncover an excellent lead. I learned that Greer was from the town of Lurgan in Northern Ireland and that his great-nephew Hugh Greer and his wife Adele still live in the family home, Woodville House, on the outskirts of town. As luck would have it, I live in Northern Ireland, and so I immediately contacted the Greer's by phone. They were intrigued to hear about great-uncle Arthur's photograph, and they agreed to look through their family papers to see if there was anything that might shed light on it."

"A few days later they phoned me back, and I could hardly believe my ears: they had found a letter written by Arthur Greer to his sister, from Wilberforce (presumably Wilberforce Barracks in Freetown) dated May 1899, in which he described going with a fellow officer to visit Bai Bureh. By then, the old man was living as a political prisoner in a house in Ascension Town, near the house where the Asante king Prempeh I was also a prisoner. Greer asked the two deposed rulers if he could photograph them, and while Prempeh was aloof and refused, Bai Bureh was approachable and raised no objection.

"Now, this was proof that the photograph was genuine beyond anything we could have hoped for, and I immediately contacted Gary Schulze with the good news that he could now bid for the photograph with complete confidence that it was exactly as advertised."

The starting price on EBay was £350, a reasonable sum for such a treasure, but there was no way to know how high the price would go. We agreed that I would begin the bidding and put a ceiling on my top bid comfortably above what we thought anyone else would pay. In the meantime Bill Hart agreed to check out the information accompanying the photograph to see whether we could establish that it was genuine.

The day the auction closed there was only one other bidder and the price had gone up to £778. With a half hour to go, I put in a bid for £3200, certain that there was no way the other person would top that. Then I dozed off. When I woke up I found that the auction had ended and a last-minute bidder had jumped in and bought the photograph for £3500. I immediately panicked, afraid the picture would disappear into someone's private collection and never be seen again. I emailed the seller asking her to contact the buyer and tell him I would pay him twice what he bought it for.

The buyer turned out to be a London-based Frenchman who deals in vintage photographs and bought the picture on speculation. Realizing how anxious I was to get it, he made a counter-offer of £10,000, finally agreeing to £7,000. And so, on August 26, 2012 I finally became the owner of Lt. Arthur Greer's photograph of Bai Bureh.

One of the first people I notified was Joe Opala. Joe was excited to hear that the photograph had finally been purchased and he developed an elaborate plan for me to introduce the photograph when I visited Sierra Leone. He asked the Deputy Coordinator of the Bunce Island Project, Isatu Smith, to handle the logistics.

Before leaving New York, I had a dozen large prints of the picture made and framed for presentation to His Excellency President Ernest Bai Koroma and other dignitaries in Sierra Leone. To my amazement the tiny picture enlarged remarkably well, thanks to the photographic skills of Peter Andersen who cleaned up some of the distortion in the original.

Upon my arrival in Freetown on April 21, 2013, an initial press conference was held at the Ministry of Tourism and Cultural Affairs followed by additional meetings at the British Council and the Sierra Leone Museum. The Minister of Tourism, Peter Bayuku Konteh, was also very excited by the discovery and wanted to promote it as much as possible. The photograph generated a great deal of interest throughout the capitol and our press release was reproduced in most of the city's newspapers. Everyone wanted to see what Bai Bureh really looked like. There were a few sceptics who questioned its authenticity but they were quickly silenced when they were told about the Arthur Greer letter that Bill Hart had discovered.

## American Discovers Bai Bureh's Original Photo

*By Kumba Fillee*

An American in Sierra Leone, Gary Schulze, has unveiled the original photograph of Bai Bureh—one of Sierra Leone's greatest heroes—at the Ministry of Tourism and Cultural Affairs.

Speaking at the ceremony, Gary Schulze said he discovered the photo on eBay, the online auction house, in August 2012 through his longtime friend William Hart. He said both of them collected antique arts, artifacts, documents and photos relating to Sierra Leone and that when they saw it they knew it was something rare. He added that he, Schulze, decided to bring the photo to Sierra Leone. Mr Schulze disclosed that Hart was able to trace the photo through Lt. Greer close to a village in north Ireland "where Bai Bureh documents still live in the same house". He also found that there is a stack of letters Greer wrote to his family during his military service abroad including Sierra Leone's "Hot Tax War". He said Bai Bureh's family allowed Lt. Greer to read the letter written last. Page 8



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On April 2nd I left Freetown by boat for Shenge where I was installed in an elaborate two-day ceremony as Honorary Paramount Chief Pieh Gbanyior Caulker II of Kagboro Chiefdom. I presented a framed copy of the photograph to Paramount Chief Doris Lenga Caulker and her Section Chiefs at the court barri.

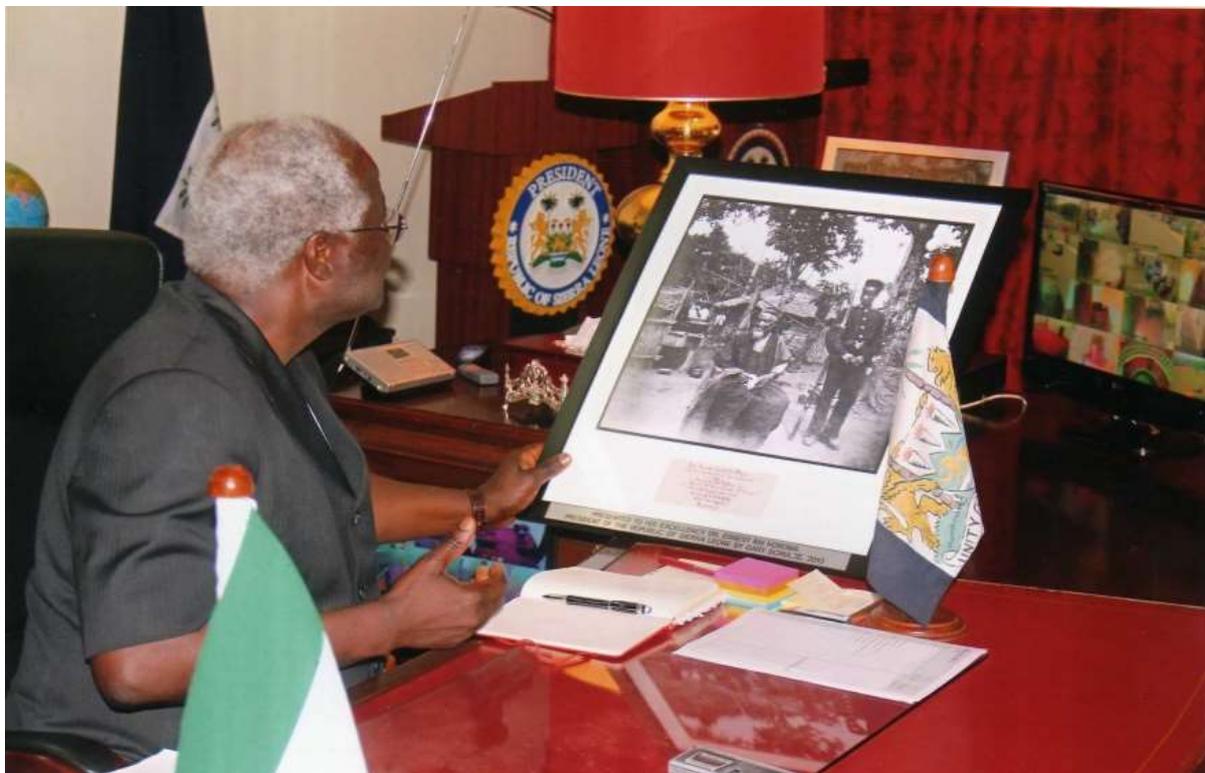
Once back in Freetown, promotional activities continued with presentations at Fourah Bay College, the American School, the American Embassy, and Albert Academy, where I had taught in the early 1960's. The Principal assembled the entire student body in front of the building where I told them how the picture had been found and then presented a framed copy to the school. At the end of the presentation, the boys mobbed around me to get a better look at the photograph they had heard so much about in the media. I also presented a copy to Former Sierra Leone President Alhaji Ahmed Tejan Kabbah at his residence in Jubba.



I then received a call from Isatu Smith. She said that the Paramount Chief of Kasseh and the elders of the Kasseh Descendants Union were upset that they had not been brought into our plans from the beginning. They felt that they should have been invited to greet me at the airport when I arrived from the States. Isatu and I went out to Wellington to meet with Paramount Chief Bai Bureh Sallu Lugbu II of Kasseh Maconteh Chiefdom at his Freetown residence. He introduced us to an elderly gentleman, Amara Kamara, who turned out to be Bai Bureh's great grand-son. The chief, who is also a Member of Parliament, invited me to visit Kasseh where he said they would hold a big celebration in honour of the newly-discovered photograph and take me to Bai Bureh' gravesite to pay my respects. Before leaving, I noticed a wooden plaque hanging on the chief's living room wall depicting Lieutenant Green's old drawing of Bai Bureh. I told him I would give him a framed copy of the new picture to replace it with.



On May 10, together with Paramount Chief Caulker, Peter Andersen, Lucy Sumner, Isatu Smith, and former Foreign Minister Shirley Gbujama, I presented two framed copies of the photograph to President Koroma at the State House. Isatu introduced us and explained how the picture had been discovered. In response, the President said that Bai Bureh was one of Sierra Leone's greatest heroes. He went on to say that "the presentation of the real portrait of Bai Bureh will help to recreate the image of Bai Bureh and also help to shed some light on some of his activities that are missing in our history books." Sometime later, the then U.S. Ambassador to Sierra Leone, Michael Owen, told me that President Koroma is extremely proud of the picture and showed it to him when he visited his office. The President told Ambassador Owen that he wants to keep it close by in his office a place where visitors can clearly see it.



The following day we had a ceremony at the museum to officially unveil the photograph and launch the “Face of Bai Bureh Photo Exhibit”, attended by VIP’s including the Minister of Tourism, the Chairman of the Monuments & Relics Commission, the Director of The Central Bank of Sierra Leone, and other dignitaries. The Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Tourism served as M.C. and the guests were entertained by the Freetown Players and Lansana Keleng & Co. The Bank Director announced that future currency would bear the newly-discovered image of Bai Bureh.

The old Bai Bureh statue Mr. Marsh created 50 years had been carried out onto the lawn in back of the museum and stood in the sun with a faint smile on his face next to a gigantic blow-up of the newly-discovered photograph resting on an aisle. It was almost as if he was thinking, “Well now you all know what I really looked like.” Oddly enough the resemblance between the two faces was startling, especially since Marsh had worked entirely from his imagination.



An old sacrificial pot was placed in front of the Marsh statue and libations were poured to honour the ancestral spirit of Bai Bureh by Paramount Chief Bai Bureh Sallu Lugbu II of Kasseh, Paramount Chief Doris Lenga Kroma Caulker of Kagboro Chiefdom, accompanied by Bai Bureh’s great-grandson, Amara Kamara, and Elders of the Kasseh Descendants Association.

Since I was now an Honorary Paramount Chief, I was invited to join them.



After the museum ceremony, the Bai Bureh photograph went on public display at the museum. And just as Mr. Marsh's statue in 1963 attracted crowds of people, hundreds came to see the newly-discovered picture.



A few days later, accompanied by the Minister of Tourism, Isatu Smith, and Lucy Sumner, I journeyed to Kasseh, Bai Bureh's home village in the Port Loko District, to visit his gravesite. En route we stopped and were taken into the bush and shown bronze engraved markers indicating the graves of British soldiers who died in the 1898 Hut Tax War. They were all members of the same West Indian Regiment that Lieutenants Henry Edward Green and Arthur Greer had belonged to.

Upon our arrival we were met by hundreds of Temne people in a welcoming procession with drumming led by the Paramount Chief and village elders. Some young men dragged out a wooden sculpture of Bai Bureh modelled after the old Lieutenant Green drawing. It had apparently been kept in a shrine somewhere in the village.



The Minister and I, together with Isatu Smith and Lucy Sumner, were then led barefooted into the bush with white bandannas around our foreheads to visit Bai Bureh's gravesite. Moving down the path we often came across white sheets stretched across the trail with an opening through which we had to pass backwards on our way to the gravesite.

At the site the tribal elders began chanting, "Lontha, Lontha, ka rabai" ("The End, The End"), the ancient Temne veneration, as they poured libations on the gravesite. They spread rice on the ground and placed a chicken next to the grain, waiting anxiously to see if the animal would eat the rice. When the bird began to feed, the elders knew the ancestral spirits had accepted their offerings. "We have brought a white man here", said Paramount Chief Bai Bureh Sallu Lugbu II, speaking in Temne. "This white man came to us with the true picture of you so now we know what you really looked like. Now, he is an American, not an Englishman", continued the chief, as he addressed his famous ancestor and predecessor, Bai Bureh of Kasseh.



As we emerged from the sacred bush with the chief and his elders and made our way back to the centre of the village, he confessed to me that I was the only white person ever allowed to visit Bai Bureh's gravesite, an honour they had bestowed upon me for finding the photograph and bringing it to Kasseh.



The following year I returned to Sierra Leone and found that wooden figures and plaques were beginning to appear in the market-place patterned after the image in Arthur Greer's photograph. In addition, a children's book had been published, "Bai Bureh and the Hut Tax War", written by Kande-Bura Kamara, with drawings of the warrior based on the photograph. The original pencil drawing by Lieutenant Green and later the museum statue I commissioned had caught the public's attention at different periods in Sierra Leone's history. Now the new photograph was taking their place.



Bill Hart summed it up well:

“Sierra Leoneans can now see their great hero not just in a drawing or a cartoon, or a woodcarving, or a manikin dressed up to look like a real person. For the first time since he died more than a hundred years ago Bai Bureh’s people can look into his face and gage as best they can what kind of man he was, and imagine how it would have been to greet him, as one would a paramount chief today, bowing slightly, and shaking his hand and speaking to him respectfully.”

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This article relies for some of its content on a booklet titled, *The Face of Bai Bureh: A National Hero Emerges from the Darkness*, with contributions by Gary Schulze, William Hart, and Joseph Opala. Printed under the authority of the Ministry of Tourism & Cultural Affairs, it was made available to the public when the Bai Bureh photograph was unveiled in 2013.

Special thanks to the following people: Peter Andersen, Paramount Chief Doris Lenga Kroma Caulker II, Musa Coker, William Hart, Alpha Kanu, Peter Bayuku Konteh, Paramount Chief Bai Bureh Sallu Lugbu II, Joseph Opala, Ambassador Michael Owen, Julius Parker, Alhusine Sesay, Isatu Smith, Lucy Sumner, David Wright. And in memory of Dr. M.C.F. Easmon, J.D. Marsh, Henry Edward Green, and Arthur Greer.

Thanks also to the U.S Peace Corps for giving three of the people involved in this story the opportunity to enrich our lives by serving in Sierra Leone – Peter Andersen, Joseph Opala, and the author, Gary Schulze.

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## Notable Sierra Leonean Figures of the Past:

### A Biographical Sketch of William Charles De Graft Rosenior, 1862-1929<sup>2</sup>

By Nigel Browne-Davies

There are a significant number of biographies on notable Sierra Leoneans during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>3</sup> In biographies of Sierra Leoneans during this era, academic scholars have mainly focused on the mercantile, professional and political class in Sierra Leone during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>4</sup> However, although scholars have been concerned with the mercantile, professional and political elite in Sierra Leone during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there have been fewer studies that have examined the lives of prominent Sierra Leonean figures outside these occupational spheres.<sup>5</sup> However, through involvement in local politics,

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<sup>2</sup>This series of biographies has been inspired by the newspaper column, 'Some Notables Of Sierra Leone In The Past: Early Impressions,' that appeared in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* between 17 December, 1898 and 29 July, 1899. The 'Some Notables' column was written by a Sierra Leonean using the pseudonym, 'Dee Tee' and the column contained biographies of well-known Sierra Leoneans such as Moses Henry Davies, the journalist, Dr Robert Smith, who served as the Acting Colonial Surgeon, Charles Shaw Harding, the Maroon merchant, and Anthony O'Connor, the founder of the West African Methodist Church. The series of biographies were so popular, that after Dee Tee published a column on the life of Charles Shaw Harding on 28 January, 1899 and stated his intent to end the column, popular demand ensured that Dee Tee continued the column until 29 July, 1899. Even after the series of biographies were discontinued, Dr John Allen Scotland wrote to the editor of the *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, and suggested that Dee Tee publish a book containing the biographies of these notable figures.

<sup>3</sup>For example, Hargreaves, J.D., *A Life of Sir Samuel Lewis*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958), Fyfe, Christopher, *Africanus Horton: West African Scientist and Patriot*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), and Ayandele, E.A., *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917*, (London: Frank Cass, 1970). Biographies by scholars such as Professors E.A. Ayandele, Christopher Fyfe, and John D. Hargreaves are examples of scholarly works that focused on the careers of clergymen, doctors, and lawyers in colonial Sierra Leone.

<sup>4</sup>Wyse, Akintola, *H.C. Bankole-Bright and Politics in Colonial Sierra Leone, 1919-1958*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 5, 20. The mercantilist and professional class in Sierra Leone mainly formed the political class; the two groups were not necessarily mutually exclusive. Although some members of the Freetown City Council were not merchants or members of the professions, individuals appointed to the Legislative Council were mainly merchants or members of the professions.

<sup>5</sup>Cole (Ed.), Gibril R., Dixon-Fyle (Ed.), Mac, 'Introduction' in Dixon-Fyle, Mac, Cole, Gibril Raschid, *New Perspectives on the Sierra Leone Krio*, (United States: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 6, 9. Some academics have been critical of the focus of some scholars on the elite elements in Freetown society and of scholars who attempt to project the Freetown elite as representative of Creole society. As Professors Mac Dixon-Fyle and Gibril Cole stated, Creole society was "largely a working class society" and "the lifestyle of the more affluent Krio has, by and large, been presented as if it was representative of the Krio as a whole." Scholars such as Professor Akintola Wyse and to an extent Professor John Peterson have also been critical of the overemphasis on the highly Westernized professional and mercantilist class in Sierra Leone. However, the focus of academics on the

the church, and civic affairs, members of other professions such as artisans and traders<sup>6</sup> were included in the social circle of the local elite during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>7</sup> Among the celebrated artisans of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was William Charles De Graft Rosenior, a well-known goldsmith and jeweller in Freetown, Sierra Leone.<sup>8</sup>

The life of William Rosenior is reflective of the dynamic changes that occurred in Sierra Leone between the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. William Rosenior was born in the mid-Victorian era, and he lived to see the beginning of New Imperialism and the Scramble for Africa, the end of the First World War, and the tragedy of the Influenza Epidemic. Although he began life at the decline of Nova Scotian, Maroon, and Liberated African identities, his education at the Wesleyan High School, apprenticeship to a local goldsmith, and his subsequent success as an artisan and notable citizen ensured that Rosenior secured a place in the elite section of the emerging Creole society.

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Creole elite is perhaps partly because of the visible role and the significant contributions of members of the professional and political class for which Sierra Leone was designated the 'Athens of West Africa.'

<sup>6</sup>'Deaths of Well-Known Citizens', *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 16 September, 1905, hereafter the *S.L.W.N.* Wellesley-Cole, Robert, *An innocent in Britain, or, The missing link: documented autobiography*, (United Kingdom: Campbell Matthews, 1988), p. 42. Several artisans such as goldsmiths, tailors, shoemakers, cabinet-makers, undertakers, and carpenters, were ranked among the elite of Sierra Leone during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Cabinet-makers such as Samuel Tillotson Shaw of Phoenix Hall Fame who, alongside his business partner, George Robert Davis (or Davies), owned a joinery and undertaking business, attended exclusive social events and was a leading signatory on petitions to the colonial government.

<sup>7</sup>'Deaths of Well-Known Citizens', *S.L.W.N.* 16 September, 1905. Wellesley-Cole, *An innocent in Britain*, (United Kingdom: Campbell Matthews, 1988), p. 42. For example, the late Dr Robert Wellesley-Cole provided his perspective into the stratification of Freetown society during the late nineteenth century when stated that his "grandfather...was a Master tailor, in those days the highest echelon of Creole society below the triumvirate of Clergy, Lawyer and Doctor. It shared honours with Master shoemaker, and Trader."

<sup>8</sup>'Audi Alteram Partem: To the Editor of the Sierra Leone Times,' *Sierra Leone Times*, 16 January, 1897, hereafter the *S.L.T.* 'Mr. W.C. DeGraft Rosenior', *S.L.W.N.*, 29 June, 1929. Although Joseph DeGraft, the Fanti grandfather of William Rosenior signed his surname in the 1831 Census as 'Joseph DeGraft' and his son, Joseph DeGraft Jr. signed his surname as 'Joseph DeGraft' in the 1862 petition drafted by the committee of the Nova Scotian and Maroon Descendants' Association, based upon the available evidence, William Rosenior probably spelled his surname as 'De Graft Rosenior' rather than as 'DeGraft Rosenior.' Although some members of the Rosenior family currently spell the surname as 'de Graft-Rosenior', 'de-Graft' or 'DeGraft', and in some rare cases it was spelled as 'De Graff' or 'DeGraf', throughout this article, the surname shall be referred to as 'DeGraft' in reference to Joseph DeGraft and his children and 'De Graft Rosenior' in reference to William Rosenior and his children.

William Charles De Graft Rosenior was born at 7pm on 15 November, 1862 in Wilberforce Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone, to Matthew Jenkins Rosenior, and Nancy Ann DeGraft.<sup>9</sup> Wilberforce Street, a prominent part of Settler Town,<sup>10</sup> was the residence of Nancy Ann DeGraft and it was her mother, Rebecca Anderson, née York, who reported the birth of William Rosenior at the Office of the Registrar-General.<sup>11</sup> Although William Rosenior was born out of wedlock, the circumstances of his birth were not a handicap to his ambition and status in Freetown society.<sup>12</sup>

On both his maternal and paternal lineage, W.C.D. Rosenior descended from the Nova Scotian Settlers or the Jamaican Maroon immigrants.<sup>13</sup> Matthew Jenkins Rosenior was born to a mother of Nova Scotian or Maroon descent<sup>14</sup> and he was possibly of European descent on his

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<sup>9</sup>Harriet Tubman Resource Center Digital Archive, Register of Births, Vol. 4, Freetown District, 14 September 1862 to 16 October 1863, [Part 2; 9 November, 1862 to 18 March, 1863], *Harriet Tubman Resource Center Digital Archive*, URL: [http://digital.tubmaninstitute.ca/items/show/672#.VQ4Mj\\_msU3J](http://digital.tubmaninstitute.ca/items/show/672#.VQ4Mj_msU3J), page 21, Entry 104. William Rosenior was born at the home of his mother in Wilberforce Street. His maternal grandmother, Rebecca Anderson, née York, (1812/3-27 March, 1896) was the informant who reported the birth for registration at the Office of the Registrar-General.

<sup>10</sup>Rankin, F. Harrison, *The White Man's Grave: A Visit to Sierra Leone, in 1834*, Volume 1, (Britain: R. Bentley, 1836), p. 75. 'Death of Mrs. Wright Nee Jane Caulker [sic],' *S.L.W.N.*, 11 March, 1911. Settler Town was traditionally the Nova Scotian residential district of Freetown from 1800 until the early twentieth century.

<sup>11</sup>Harriet Tubman Resource Center Digital Archive, Register of Births, Vol. 4, Freetown District, 14 September, 1862 to 16 October, 1863, [Part 2; 9 November, 1862 to 18 March, 1863], *Harriet Tubman Resource Center Digital Archive*, URL: [http://digital.tubmaninstitute.ca/items/show/672#.VQ4Mj\\_msU3J](http://digital.tubmaninstitute.ca/items/show/672#.VQ4Mj_msU3J), page 21, Entry 104.

<sup>12</sup>Harriet Tubman Resource Center Digital Archive, Register of Births, Vol. 4, Freetown District, 14 September, 1862 to 16 October, 1863, [Part 2; 9 November, 1862 to 18 March, 1863], *Harriet Tubman Resource Center Digital Archive*, URL: [http://digital.tubmaninstitute.ca/items/show/672#.VQ4Mj\\_msU3J](http://digital.tubmaninstitute.ca/items/show/672#.VQ4Mj_msU3J), page 21, Entry 104. Fyfe, Christopher, *A History of Sierra Leone*, (Oxford: Oxford University of London, 1962), pp. 103, 234-35, 379-80. Walker, James St. George, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 206. As Professors Fyfe and Walker noted in their publications, births out of wedlock were a common aspect of Sierra Leone society from the founding of the Colony to the early to mid-nineteenth century and there was little stigma attached to illegitimacy. Thus, the birth of William Rosenior out of wedlock was not unusual for Freetown society in the nineteenth century and births out of wedlock were perhaps nearly as common as births in wedlock.

<sup>13</sup>The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, CO 267/273, 'Address of Condolence to Queen Victoria on the death of Prince Albert from the Nova Scotian and Maroon Descendants' Association,' 17 April, 1862. Nancy Ann DeGraft, (1834/5-2 August, 1893) was of Nova Scotian descent on her maternal lineage; Matthew Jenkins Rosenior was also of Maroon or Nova Scotian descent.

<sup>14</sup>TNA, Kew, CO 267/273, 'Address of Condolence to Queen Victoria on the death of Prince Albert from the Nova Scotian and Maroon Descendants' Association,' 17 April, 1862. 'M.C. Rosenior, Confectioner And Preserve Factor,' *The African Interpreter and Advocate*, 20 July, 1867. 'M.C. Rosenior, Confectioner And Preserve Factor,' *The African Interpreter and Advocate*, 25 January, 1868. Harriet Tubman Resource Center Digital Archive, Register of Deaths, Freetown District, 12 December, 1881 to 2 September, 1882, [Part 2; 17 January, 1882 to 8 April, 1882], Harriet Tubman Resource Center Digital Archive, URL: <http://digital.tubmaninstitute.ca/items/show/610#.VSHyJvnF83L>, page 2, Entry 204. Matthew Rosenior was possibly of Maroon and Nova Scotian descent. He owned properties in King Tom and at No. 424 Percival Street and George Street; he may have been related to the Elizabeth Bonard of Percival Street, possibly of Maroon

paternal lineage.<sup>15</sup> Nancy Ann DeGraft was one of several children of Joseph DeGraft, a Fanti immigrant who worked as a second writing clerk in the Liberated African Department<sup>16</sup> and Rebecca Anderson, née York.<sup>17</sup> The York family were a Nova Scotian family descended from the original immigrants who settled in Sierra Leone via Nova Scotia and established Freetown in 1792.<sup>18</sup> The

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descent, who was in debt to William De Graft Rosenior. Matthew Rosenior was also present at the death of Catherine Aitkin (1825-6 September, 1882), a laundress who lived at Liverpool Street. This may have been a family friend of Matthew Rosenior, or may have been a relative of Rosenior.

<sup>15</sup>TNA, Kew, CO 267/273, 'Address of Condolence to Queen Victoria on the death of Prince Albert from the Nova Scotian and Maroon Descendants' Association,' 17 April, 1862. 'M.C. Rosenior, Confectioner And Preserve Factor,' *The African Interpreter and Advocate*, 20 July, 1867. 'M.C. Rosenior, Confectioner And Preserve Factor,' *The African Interpreter and Advocate*, 25 January, 1868. Harriet Tubman Resource Center Digital Archive, Register of Deaths, Freetown District, 12 December, 1881 to 2 September, 1882, [Part 2; 17 January, 1882 to 8 April, 1882], Harriet Tubman Resource Center Digital Archive, URL: <http://digital.tubmaninstitute.ca/items/show/610#.VSHyJvnF83L>, page 2, Entry 204. The precise origins of Matthew Jenkins Rosenior, (1838/9-8 January, 1883) are unclear. Matthew Jenkins Rosenior, who later on changed his name to Matthew Chambers Rosenior, was possibly of Maroon and Nova Scotian descent and probably had a Brazilian or European father of French, Spanish, Portuguese, Swiss, or German origin. His father may have been a merchant, naval officer, or slave captain or trader. However, there was a Senior family among the Nova Scotians and Maroons and an Archibald Senior signed the Nova Scotian and Maroon address to Queen Victoria in 1862. Thus, Matthew Rosenior may have been born a Senior who changed his name to 'Rosenior.' Alternatively, Matthew Rosenior may have been born as the son of a 'disbanded soldier' who served in the West India Regiment.

<sup>16</sup>TNA, Kew, CO 267/99, 'Return of Coloured Settlers holding Government appointments.' TNA, Kew, CO 267/111, 1831 Census of Population and Liberated Africans. Joseph DeGraft was a Fanti from Cape Coast who settled in Sierra Leone in 1829. He was one of the two enumerators for the 1831 census and he transcribed the census for the Western half or area of Freetown, including his household at Wellington Street. Among the members of the household of Joseph DeGraft were his housekeeper, R. York, who was presumably Rebecca York, and a daughter whose name was abbreviated in the census as W. DeGraft or A. DeGraft. It is unclear what happened to the A. DeGraft recorded as a child of Joseph DeGraft Sr. in the 1831 Census of Sierra Leone; however it is most likely that this daughter died young.

<sup>17</sup>'Death of Mrs. Rebecca Anderson', *S.L.T.*, 28 March, 1896 'Thanks For Sympathy,' *S.L.T.*, 4 April, 1896. Joseph DeGraft lived at Wellington Street in the "Western half" of Freetown and later on had at least three other children with his housekeeper, Rebecca Anderson, née York: Nancy Ann DeGraft, Joseph DeGraft and Mary Ann DeGraft, (January 1837-20 July, 1887) a seamstress who had at least two or three children and died in Walpole Street. Joseph DeGraft Jr. was probably the father of the child of Rebecca Peterson born at his residence at Rawdon Street. Susanna DeGraft recorded as having a son named Henry Alfred Augustus born at Rawdon Street on 21 January, 1870, and Amelia DeGraft who had a son called Joseph born at Rawdon Street on 22 August, 1869 may have been the daughters of Joseph DeGraft Sr. or were possibly his granddaughters through Joseph DeGraft Jr. Rebecca DeGraft of Rawdon Street, recorded as the informant for the births of Henry Alfred Augustus, the son of Susanna DeGraft, and Joseph, the son of Amelia DeGraft, was probably the same individual as the Rebecca Peterson recorded in the birth registers for 1862 as having a child at the residence of Joseph DeGraft Jr. However, it is also possible that this Rebecca DeGraft was a granddaughter or daughter of Joseph DeGraft Sr. It is also possible that Matilda DeGraft recorded as giving birth to a son born at 2am on 31 March, 1881 at the residence of Joseph Peterson at Little East Street, was also a member of the DeGraft family.

<sup>18</sup>TNA, Kew, CO 217/63 'List of the blacks at Birchtown who gave their names for Sierra Leone in 1791.' TNA, Kew, WO 1/352, 1802 List of Nova Scotians and Maroons in Sierra Leone TNA, Kew, CO 267/91, Commissioners' Report Appendix A1-2 (Lists of Nova Scotians and Maroons in 1826). Wilson, Ellen Gibson, *The Loyal Blacks*, (New York: Capricorn Books, 1976), pp. 323, 327-8, 395. Ishmael York, (1754/55-c. 1802) was an African American born in the Carolinas, who joined or escaped to the British Lines during the American Revolutionary War. Ishmael York was among the 3000 African Americans who were resettled in Nova Scotia,

Nova Scotian community, alongside the Maroons, and the larger ethnic groups among the Recaptives such as the Yoruba, Igbo, Popo, Kalabari, Efik, Moko, and Bacongo,<sup>19</sup> maintained a distinct identity until the late nineteenth century, and arguably beyond.<sup>20</sup> Thus, William Rosenior would have grown up hearing stories from his maternal grandmother of the Nova Scotian arrival in 1792 and of the golden age of Settler ascendancy.<sup>21</sup>

However, during the period in which William Rosenior was born and raised, the Nova Scotian and Maroon communities were being rapidly absorbed into the idiosyncratic Creole culture. The economic depravity of the Settler and Maroon communities, the remarkably rapid rise of the Liberated Africans and their colony-born children, intermarriage between the various ethnic groups, and an increasing sense of a 'Sierra Leonean' identity, contributed to the subsequent decline of separate Settler, Maroon, or Liberated African identities.<sup>22</sup>

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and York lived in Birchtown, Shelbourne County, Nova Scotia. He joined the 1,196 blacks who decided to settle in Africa under the auspices of the Sierra Leone Company and he was recorded in the 'List of the blacks at Birchtown who gave their names for Sierra Leone in 1791'. In Sierra Leone, York was twice elected as a hundredor by the Nova Scotian community and he was among the anti-government rebels seeking to liberate the Sierra Leone Colony from the rule of the Sierra Leone Company in the 1800 Settler Rebellion. After losing an arm fighting in the rebellion, York was banished to the Rio Nunez in Guinea. His son, Benjamin York, a writing clerk who had been in Nova Scotia, remained in the colony or returned to Freetown after amnesty was granted to the York family. Ishmael York was most likely the grandfather of Rebecca York, who was probably the daughter of Benjamin York.

<sup>19</sup>Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 170, 463. The Yoruba were known as the 'Aku' after their greeting, 'Ekushe,' The Moko were also known as the 'Moco' and came from the Cameroons. The Bacongo originated from the Congo and populated areas such as Congo Town and Brookfields. Perhaps one of the most important studies on the Liberated Africans is the *Province of freedom: a history of Sierra Leone, 1787-1870*, (United States: Northwestern University Press, 1969) by Professor John Peterson.

<sup>20</sup>Wilson, *The Loyal Blacks*, (New York: Capricorn Books, 1976), pp. 361-76. Walker, *The Black Loyalists*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), pp. 361, 382-4. *The Loyal Blacks* by Ellen Gibson Wilson and Professor James St. George Walker's study, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992) are perhaps the most important studies that examine the emergence and development of the Nova Scotian Settler community in Sierra Leone.

<sup>21</sup>Sibthorpe, Aaron Belisarius Cosimo, *The History of Sierra Leone*, (1868. 1906. Reprint, United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, 1970), pp. 34, 50. Walker, *The Black Loyalists*, pp. 307-316. This period between 1816 and 1824 was the golden age of Settler society.

<sup>22</sup>Horton, James Africanus Beale, *West African Countries and Peoples, British and Native: With the Requirements Necessary for Establishing that Self Government Recommended by the Committee of the House of Commons, 1865; and a Vindication of the African Race*, (Britain: W. J. Johnson, 1868), p. 89. Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, p. 378. Walker, *The Black Loyalists*, p. 374. As James Africanus Beale Horton stated in 1868, "the inhabitants of the Colony have been gradually blending into one race, and a national spirit is being developed."

However, some Settler and Maroon descendants made a concerted effort to retain a corporate identity.<sup>23</sup> Thus, by 1859, the Nova Scotian and Maroon Descendants Association had been formed, and served to represent some of the interests of the remaining original settlers and their Sierra Leonean descendants.<sup>24</sup> In 1862, the Committee members of the Nova Scotian and Maroon Descendants Association, including Matthew Jenkins Rosenior and Joseph DeGraft Jr., the maternal uncle of William Rosenior, signed a memorial petition addressed to Queen Victoria, pledging their loyalty to the crown.<sup>25</sup> However, this association did not necessarily represent the majority of the diverse interests of the Settlers and Maroons, and in some cases the committee members, such as Matthew Jenkins Rosenior, were married to the colony-born children of Liberated Africans.<sup>26</sup> Thus, as a result of intermarriage and the frequent interactions between Sierra Leoneans of various origins through educational and professional links,<sup>27</sup> the Nova Scotian and Maroon

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<sup>23</sup>Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, p. 293. Walker, *The Black Loyalists*, pp. 363, 373.

<sup>24</sup>TNA, Kew, CO 267/263, 'Memorial of the Nova Scotians and their descendants,' 1 January, 1859. However, although the Nova Scotian and Maroon Descendants' Association represented some members of the Nova Scotian and Maroon communities and articulated their viewpoints, not all members of the Nova Scotian or Maroon communities were actively involved in the association. The association probably represented a minority of Settlers and Maroons; prominent Nova Scotian descendants such as John Alexander Wise and William Hirst Wise and Maroon descendants such as Charles Shaw Harding were conspicuously missing from the early signatories of the association.

<sup>25</sup>TNA, Kew, CO 267/273, 'Address of Condolence to Queen Victoria on the death of Prince Albert from the Nova Scotian and Maroon Descendants' Association,' 17 April, 1862.

<sup>26</sup>EAP443/1/3/7, Register of Births, Vol. 4, Freetown District, 14 September, 1862 to 16 October, 1863, *British Library Endangered Archives Programme*, URL: [http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview\\_item.a4d?catId=189223;r=5447](http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_item.a4d?catId=189223;r=5447). 'EAP443/1/3/9, Register of Births, Vol. 5, Freetown District, 9 October, 1863 to 4 December, 1864', *British Library Endangered Archives Programme*, URL: [http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview\\_item.a4d?catId=189225;r=14771](http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_item.a4d?catId=189225;r=14771). Matthew Jenkins Rosenior was married to Mary Ann Campbell, the niece of Rev. John Campbell, (c. 1821/3-20 February, 1906), a 'colony-born' Creole, who was of Yoruba and Igbo Liberated African descent and was one of the first Africans ordained as a reverend in Sierra Leone. Matthew Rosenior and Mary Ann Rosenior had their first son, Wilfred Peare Rosenior who was born at 2am on 15 September, 1862. The birth of Wilfred Peare in September, 1862 and the birth of William Rosenior in November 1862 indicates that Matthew Rosenior probably had a relationship with Nancy Ann DeGraft shortly before or during his marriage. However, Wilfred Peare presumably died between 1862 and 1863, as in 1864, Matthew Rosenior and Mary Ann Campbell Rosenior had another son also named Wilfred Peare born at 2pm on 8 January, 1864. This second son may have also died, as all subsequent male line descendants of the Rosenior family appear to descend from William Charles De Graft Rosenior. Matthew Rosenior and Mary Ann Rosenior had another daughter, Janet Alethea Rosenior, born at Percival Street at 8pm on 30 January, 1866. This was the Janet Mary Ann Rosenior of Kissy Road who gave birth to a son called Vidal Rosenior born at 12 noon on 11 October, 1885 and who died aged 2 years and 11 months on the 15 September, 1888. Janet Rosenior was probably a trader as she also lived in Conakry, Guinea in 1903.

<sup>27</sup>Harriet Tubman Resource Center Digital Archive, Register of Deaths, Freetown District, 12 December, 1881 to 2 September, 1882, [Part 2; 17 January, 1882 to 8 April, 1882], *Harriet Tubman Resource Center Digital Archive*, URL: <http://digital.tubmaninstitute.ca/items/show/610#.VSHyJvnF83L>, Entry 204. Matthew Chambers

communities were increasingly absorbed into a Freetown society, divided by class and social rank, rather than by ethnic origin.<sup>28</sup>

The family history of William Charles De Graft Rosenior reflects some of the ethnic diversity of families in Freetown during the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>29</sup> In 1876, Nancy Ann DeGraft, of partial Fanti and Nova Scotian descent, married Thomas Pilot, a prominent Sierra Leonean merchant, possibly descended from a disbanded soldier, who was based at Wellington Street, Freetown.<sup>30</sup> The marriage of Nancy Ann DeGraft to Thomas Pilot would have been a significant event in the life of William De Graft Rosenior,<sup>31</sup> and he may have been sent to live with his father during this period.<sup>32</sup>

In the early 1870s, William Rosenior was enrolled at the Wesleyan Boys' High School, an educational institution that had been established by the Methodist Missionary Society to educate

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Rosenior was also an acquaintance and possible patient of Dr Robert Smith (1839/40-4 July, 1885). Frederick Smith, the infant son of Dr Robert Smith, died at the residence of Matthew Chambers Rosenior in King Tom. Matthew Rosenior was the informant who recorded the death of Frederick Smith at the Office of the Registrar-General.

<sup>28</sup>Wellesley-Cole, *An innocent in Britain*, (United Kingdom: Campbell Matthews, 1988), p. 42. Although ethnic divisions between the Nova Scotians, Maroons, and Liberated Africans perhaps retained some importance among individual families, these concerns were probably less important than the considerations of class in elite society in Freetown.

<sup>29</sup>The family of William Rosenior included the descendants of Nova Scotians, Maroons, Liberated Africans, and other African immigrants who settled in the colony.

<sup>30</sup>'Married', *Independent*, 13 July, 1876. *Street's India And Colonial Mercantile Directory For 1870*, (London: 1870), p. 227. 'On The Spot,' *Sierra Leone Guardian*, 16 June, 1916, hereafter *S.L.G.* Thomas Pilot was a well-known merchant in Sierra Leone who owned property at Wellington Street, Freetown. In the edition of *Street's Indian and Colonial Mercantile Directory For 1870* published in 1870, Thomas Pilot was listed among the "Merchants and Importers," in the Colony of Sierra Leone. The Pilot family may have been descended from a disbanded soldier and Elizabeth Pilot (1818-13 May, 1874) a trader who died at Wellington Street, was probably the mother of Thomas Pilot. Thomas Pilot was also related to Matilda Pilot who gave to birth a girl at 5:30am on 10 January, 1870 at Wellington Street. Thomas Pilot was also possibly related to Peter Pilot, (1807/8-27 October, 1888), a disbanded soldier and Maria Pilot (1821-16 April, 1881) who had a son called Peter born at 1am on the 27 December, 1865 at Fourah Bay Road. There were other possible relations of Thomas Pilot such as: Nancy Pilot who had a boy at 9am on 11 May, 1863; this may be the same Nancy Pilot who had a daughter born on the 13 August, 1866 at Short Street. Another possible relation of Thomas Pilot was Mary Pilot who had a son born at 8:30am on 8 March, 1885 at Second Lane.

<sup>31</sup>Nancy DeGraft may have had other children who died shortly after birth. Nancy Ann DeGraft may have been the 'Ann De Graft', a trader, recorded in the death registers for the Freetown District as having a child who was born on 17 October, 1872 and who died aged one month and thirteen days on 30 November, 1872. Although Nancy Ann DeGraft married Thomas Pilot in 1876, she may have also been the 'Nancy Graft' who had a stillborn daughter on 29 March, 1878.

<sup>32</sup>This would not have been uncommon in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. Another Settler descendant born out of wedlock in the late nineteenth century in Wellington Village, was taken to Freetown to live with his father, when it was decided that he should attend the Wesleyan Boys' High School.

the children of families of the Methodist denomination.<sup>33</sup> Educational institutions such as the Wesleyan Boys' High School offered the colony-born children of Recaptive, Settler, and Maroon descent, the opportunity to interact and develop friendships that their parents and grandparents had sometimes been unable to form.<sup>34</sup> Thus, it was at the Wesleyan Boy's High School that William Rosenior developed lifelong friendships with classmates of Recaptive, Maroon, and Nova Scotian origin such as John William Moses Horton, Samuel Tillotson Shaw, and George Meheux Spilsbury.<sup>35</sup>

After completing his studies at the Wesleyan Boy's High School, William Rosenior was apprenticed to a goldsmith in Freetown.<sup>36</sup> It was not uncommon for members of the Nova Scotian and Maroon communities to train as artisans and William Rosenior was among those youths who decided to train as a goldsmith.<sup>37</sup> The opportunities for young men to train locally as artisans were attractive to some Sierra Leonean families because often training as an artisan did not require any

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<sup>33</sup>Character Sketch Of The Late Rev. Joseph Claudius May Delivered By The Rev. W.G. Nicol, M.A., 'S.L.W.N.', 9 April, 1927. Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, pp. 353, 398. The Wesleyan Boys' High School is presently known as the Methodist Boys' High School. William Rosenior was not among the eight day pupils who formed the first class of entrants at the Wesleyan Boys High School, which opened on 6 April, 1874. These eight pupils included Alexander J. Williams, later known as Dr Sapara-Williams of Lagos, Daniel Morley Punshon Thorpe, and James Augustus Beckley. The author unsuccessfully attempted to get a published copy of the Methodist Boys' High School Register which may have provided further insight into the date in which William Rosenior was enrolled at the school.

<sup>34</sup>Character Sketch Of The Late Rev. Joseph Claudius May Delivered By The Rev. W.G. Nicol, M.A., 'S.L.W.N.', 9 April, 1927. Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, pp. 353, 380, 398. The ties of friendship and marriage were thus developed at institutions such as the Wesleyan Boys High School and the Church Missionary Society Grammar School.

<sup>35</sup>'Marriage Spilsbury-Wright,' *S.L.T.*, 26 January, 1895. 'Death of Miss Elizabeth C. Shaw,' *S.L.W.N.*, 12 August, 1911. 'Death of Mr. J.W.M. Horton', *S.L.W.N.*, 25 November, 1916. John William Moses Horton, (1862-24 November, 1916), was the son of Moses Pindar Horton, (d. 1868), a Liberated African of Popo or Dahomeyan descent from the modern country of the Republic of Benin. Horton served as the city treasurer of the Freetown City Council and was the father of Constance Agatha Cummings-John (7 January, 1918-21 February, 2000). George Meheux Spilsbury, (7 August, 1860-November 1929), a notable druggist of Nova Scotian and Maroon descent, was one of the three sons of Henry Fowler Spilsbury (d. 1872) and Martha Spilsbury, née Edmonds, (1836/7-22 March, 1900). Rosenior was also a contemporary of Arthur Williamson O'Dwyer (21 February 1861-12 May, 1929), a postmaster and merchant of Irish and Sierra Leonean descent who was based in Duke Town Old Calabar.

<sup>36</sup>William Rosenior may have been apprenticed to Moses J. Johnson of Soldier Street or Thomas Alexander Brown.

<sup>37</sup>Butt-Thompson, Frederick William, *Sierra Leone in History and Tradition*, (Britain: H.F. & G Witherby, 1925), p. 130. Walker, *The Black Loyalists*, pp. 256, 316, 356. From their arrival in Sierra Leone, the Nova Scotian and Maroon communities had engaged in artisan trades and even during the late nineteenth century, skilled artisans of Settler or Maroon descent were sought after for their expertise in carpentry. Although the Settlers and Maroons were challenged by the Liberated Africans and other immigrants in artisan trades, the old immigrants still retained their inclination toward work as artisans.

further training in Britain, which the professions such as law and medicine required.<sup>38</sup> Thus, families who could not afford to educate their children in Britain, could apprentice them to a local artisan who would prepare them for a local occupation, which was economically beneficial and furthermore was in some cases deemed to be equally prestigious.<sup>39</sup>

After William Rosenior completed his apprenticeship, he opened a workshop at No. 6 Regent Road.<sup>40</sup> In due course, William Rosenior perfected his craft and became a well-respected and highly celebrated goldsmith.<sup>41</sup> Although there were other goldsmiths in Freetown,<sup>42</sup> William Rosenior was arguably the most sought after goldsmith and jeweller during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>43</sup> In 1903, he designed the silver key used by Lady King-Harman to unlock the bookcase for the opening of the Wesleyan Boys' High School Library.<sup>44</sup> At an event held at the Wilberforce Memorial Hall in honour of T.F. Victor Buxton and his wife, William Rosenior designed a serviette of gold rings on behalf of the Sierra Leonean community and an "African Gold Merry-thought brooch" for the Bishop Crowther's Dorcas Society that were presented to T.F. Victor Buxton

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<sup>38</sup>Wellesley-Cole, *An innocent in Britain*, p. 42. In addition to the economic benefits of training as an artisan, Dr Wellesley-Cole noted the prestige attached to such occupations may have been due to the fact that "all these occupations shared one thing in common. They were independent of the Government, and they all had direct connections with England." Although these artisan trades may not necessarily have had direct connections with England, they were independent of the colonial and imperial governments.

<sup>39</sup>Walker, *The Black Loyalists*, pp. 256, 316, 356. There is little evidence that Matthew Rosenior accumulated a significant amount of wealth that would have provided for William Rosenior to study abroad. Matthew Rosenior was listed as a trader in the birth registers between 1862 and 1866; by 1866, Rosenior subsequently changed his name to Matthew Chambers Rosenior and from 1867 he advertised his services as a confectioner in the Freetown press. By his death on 8 January, 1883, Rosenior was listed as a painter or printer. Matthew Rosenior's subsequent change of profession indicates that wealth may have eluded him and although he owned properties in King Tom, Percival Street and George Street, he may not have left a significant fortune, if any, for William Rosenior. Furthermore, although Thomas Pilot, the stepfather of William Rosenior, was a prominent merchant, this did not automatically mean that William Rosenior would have been educated in England, if such a career path was indeed a consideration or possibility.

<sup>40</sup>'Presentation to Mr. and Mrs. T.F. Victor Buxton At The Wilberforce Hall, March 4th 1913,' *S.L.W.N.*, 15 March, 1913.

<sup>41</sup>'Some Jottings By-J,' *S.L.W.N.*, 24 June, 1899.

<sup>42</sup>'Marriage Of Mr. W. Bracton Johnson To Miss Cassandra Sally Richards.,' *S.L.T.*, 23 June, 1894.

<sup>43</sup>Although there were a number of other goldsmiths in Freetown, Sierra Leone such as William Barker (1844-29 March, 1889) and James B. Peterson, William Rosenior was able to distinguish his craft from his fellow artisans.

<sup>44</sup>'The Opening of the Wesleyan High School, Old Boy's Library,' *S.L.W.N.*, 2 May, 1903. Samuel Tillotson Shaw, the cabinet-maker and undertaker, crafted the bookcase using pitch pine wood.

and his wife.<sup>45</sup> Betrothed couples in Freetown sought after rings crafted by William Rosenior, and some contemporaries remarked that no wedding was complete without rings designed by Rosenior the Jeweller.<sup>46</sup> Thus, it was as an artisan that William Rosenior first became a household name in Freetown society.<sup>47</sup>

However, similar to other artisans, William Rosenior did not limit his opportunities to his profession and he also engaged in mercantilist pursuits.<sup>48</sup> Artisans regularly engaged in trade and some travelled to the hinterland of Sierra Leone and as far as the Rio Nunez in Guinea in order to engage in trade.<sup>49</sup> In 1899, William Rosenior was appointed as an agent for Chester Brothers, a company based in Manchester.<sup>50</sup> As a businessman, Rosenior travelled upcountry to the Protectorate of Sierra Leone for lengthy periods of time and he engaged in trade in places such as Hangha and Segwemba.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>Presentation to Mr. and Mrs. T.F. Victor Buxton At The Wilberforce Hall, March 4th 1913, *S.L.W.N.*, 15 March, 1913. Although J. Ade Lasite designed a horse-shoe brooch at his workshop at Westmoreland Street on behalf of the Civil Service Association, five out of the six gold jewelleries presented to Mr and Mrs. T.F. Victor Buxton were designed by William Rosenior. The jewelleries were elaborately designed and the gold brooch for the Bishop Crowther's Dorcas Society was raised on a ribbon which contained the word 'Jubilee' in the centre with the words in scripted letters. William Rosenior also designed an "African Gold filigree heart-shaped pendant" with "Buxton Memorial Church 1913" in bold letters on behalf of Buxton Memorial Church. On behalf of the Women's Progressive Union he designed an African Gold Zodiac Ring for Mr. Buxton in addition to an "African Gold filigree butterfly brooch" with an outstretched wing on which were arranged the twelve signs of the Zodiac. William Rosenior was exceptionally skilled in his craft; the ring he designed was a "perfect fit" for Mr. Buxton's fingers, even though Rosenior had only judged Mr. Buxton's fingers from a distance, as any measurements would have divulged the plans for the presentation of gifts to the Buxtons.

<sup>46</sup>This was communicated to a great-grandson of William Rosenior by a contemporary who lived during the period in which William Rosenior was active as a goldsmith.

<sup>47</sup>Presentation to Mr. and Mrs. T.F. Victor Buxton At The Wilberforce Hall, March 4th 1913, *S.L.W.N.*, 15 March, 1913. 'Marriage-Cole-Rosenoir [sic]', *S.L.G.*, 6 February, 1914.

<sup>48</sup>Collection And Printing Of Dr. Blyden's Works, *S.L.W.N.*, 29 February, 1908.

<sup>49</sup>Jurors Panelled For The September Sessions Of The Supreme Court, *S.L.W.N.*, 3 October, 1891. Interview with Sarah Rebecca Letitia Campbell, Maple Grove, Minnesota, 7 March, 2008. For example, Samuel Tillotson Shaw was recorded as a "trader" when he was panelled to serve as a juror.

<sup>50</sup>Chester Bros., Manchester: West African Merchants', *S.L.T.*, 9 December, 1899. Rosenior was responsible for taking orders from customers in Freetown and for inspecting samples of items sent by Chester Brothers to Freetown.

<sup>51</sup>Collection And Printing Of Dr. Blyden's Works, *S.L.W.N.*, 29 February, 1908. William Rosenior may have also subscribed to some of the viewpoints of Edward Wilmot Blyden, the notable pan-Africanist and Rosenior donated funds for the collection and printing of the works of Edward Blyden.

William Rosenior also enjoyed success in his personal life.<sup>52</sup> He married Clementina Laretta Manley-Rollings,<sup>53</sup> a member of a prominent Sierra Leonean family of Westmoreland Street.<sup>54</sup> The couple, described as “universally popular” in Freetown, had at least four children<sup>55</sup> and lived at their

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<sup>52</sup>Harriet Tubman Resource Center Digital Archive, Register of Births, Vol. 6, Freetown District, 24 March, 1889 to 20 April, 1890, [Part 2; 13 June, 1889 to 16 September, 1889], *Harriet Tubman Resource Center Digital Archive*, URL: <http://digital.tubmaninstitute.ca/items/show/700#.VRyiXPnF83K>, page 24, entry 235. William Rosenior was also present at the birth of Joseph Rigsby D’Graft born at Goderich Street at 12 noon on 3 September, 1889. Mary Ann Clarke, the mother of Joseph Rigsby D’Graft, was possibly the daughter of Mary Ann DeGraft, a seamstress who was the maternal aunt of William Rosenior. However, although it is unlikely, it is also possible that William Rosenior was the father of Joseph Rigsby D’Graft.

<sup>53</sup>‘Marriage Of Mr. G.A. Bishop To Miss Rollings,’ *S.L.W.N.*, 8 May, 1886. ‘Notice to Creditors, In The Supreme Court of The Colony Sierra Leone [sic] In the Estate Of Clementina Laretta DeGraft Rosenior (Deceased),’ *The West African Mail and Trade Gazette*, 13 August, 1921, hereafter W.A.M.T.G.. Clementina Laretta Manley-Rollings, (1868/9-4 September, 1918) was a daughter of Thomas Rollings, (1817- 19 June, 1892) and Jane Rollings, (1829/30-20 May, 1894, possibly née Manley of Westmoreland Street, Freetown. William Rosenior probably married Clementina Rosenior after 1886 or during the early 1890s; as late as 1886, Clementina Rollings was recorded as one of the six bridesmaid “clad in rich pink silk” at the wedding of her sister, Bernice Jane Rollings. William Rosenior was not the only Old Boy of the High School to marry into the Rollings family; James Thomas Roberts (1871-1956), a principal of the Wesleyan Boy’s High School and the founder of Accra High School, married Florence Theresa P. Rollings, (d. 6 June, 1951) the daughter of Thomas James Macfoy Rollings and the niece of Clementina Rosenior.

<sup>54</sup>‘The Late Mr. Thomas Rollings,’ *Sierra Leone Times*, 25 June, 1892. ‘Death,’ *Sierra Leone Times*, 9 June, 1894. ‘Marriage Of Mr. G.A. Bishop To Miss Rollings,’ *S.L.W.N.*, 8 May, 1886. Although the origins of the Rollings family are not definitively known, the family had strong ties to Gloucester Village, Trinidad and the Maroon Town area of Freetown and owned properties at Trelawney and Westmoreland streets. The family was most likely of disbanded soldier or Liberated African descent and may have derived the surname ‘Rollings’ from William Rawlins or Rawlings, a European hotelier who owned the Commercial Hotel in Freetown during the early nineteenth century. The main ancestors of the family were Thomas Rollings, (1816/7-1892) and his wife, Jane Rollings (1839/30-1894), née Manley and in addition to Clementina Rosenior, their other children included: Thomas James Macfoy Rollings, (d. 19 December, 1908), a shopkeeper and member of the Sierra Leone Chamber of Commerce, who also lived at Westmoreland Street, Christiana Nancy Rollings (1852/3-April 8, 1900) who was married to Hon. John Henry Malamah-Thomas, (1844-1922), and Bernice Jane Rollings, who married Mr. Gilbert A. Bishop, the son of Thomas Bishop, a merchant who eventually served as Mayor of Freetown. Jacob William Rollings, (1849/50-d. 28 December, 1884), another relation who was probably the son of Thomas and Jane Rollings, was a businessman at Trelawney Street; he was married to Marriette Anne Lake, the eldest daughter of Isaac John Lake, a merchant at Trelawney Street and Nancy Lake (née Blaize), (1840-1888), the sister of Mr. Richard Beale Blaize, a prominent Saro merchant. However, there may have been other Rollings families who were not related to the family with connections to Gloucester Village and Trinidad; a John Rollings of Fourah Bay and an Eliza Rollings are referred to in the birth and registers for the Freetown District.

<sup>55</sup>‘Marriage-Nichols-Spaine,’ *S.L.W.N.*, 13 May, 1899. ‘Wesleyan High School: Dramatic Cantata And Concert At The Wilberforce Memorial Hall: The Cantata,’ *S.L.W.N.*, 17 December, 1904. ‘Marriage-Cole-Rosenoir [sic],’ *S.L.G.*, 6 February. These four children from eldest to youngest were Matthew De Graft Rosenior II, Rebecca Clementina Rosenior (d. 5 December, 1961), probably named after her mother and paternal great-grandmother and who married George Eledy-Cole, Jacob Collins Willoughby De Graft Rosenior, (1895-c. 1940/53), fondly known as Jack to friends and Willoughby or Willo to family members, and Elizabeth ‘Lizzie’ Rosenior of Westmoreland Street, who possibly married into the Bob-Jones family. Matthew De Graft Rosenior II is the primary ancestor of the De Graft Rosenior family in Sierra Leone and Jacob Collins Willoughby Rosenior, who settled in Cameroon and married Marie-Louise Ebenya Burnley, (30 September, 1906-11 September, 1988), is the primary ancestor of the De Graft Rosenior family in Cameroon.

residences at No. 6 Regent Road, Charlotte Street and Wilberforce Street, Freetown.<sup>56</sup> William Rosenior ensured that his two sons, Matthew and Jacob, attended his alma mater, the Wesleyan Boy's High School.<sup>57</sup> Similar to their father, Jack and Matthew Rosenior developed long-lasting acquaintances and friendships with colleagues at the Boys' High School, who later became lawyers and medical doctors.<sup>58</sup>

William De Graft Rosenior had benefitted from the educational opportunities and lifelong friendships that he developed while at school and he was an enthusiastic member of the Old Boys Association of the Wesleyan Boys' High School.<sup>59</sup> Rosenior served on the managing committee of the Old Boys Association for the Semi-Jubilee celebrations of the Wesleyan Boys' High School.<sup>60</sup> William Rosenior continued to maintain close friendships with his former colleagues at the Wesleyan High School such as Samuel Tillotson Shaw and Collins Josephus Shaw,<sup>61</sup> whose family were possibly acquainted with Matthew Jenkins Rosenior.<sup>62</sup> In 1895, he attended the wedding of his friend George

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<sup>56</sup>Presentation to Mr. and Mrs. T.F. Victor Buxton At The Wilberforce Hall, March 4th 1913,' *S.L.W.N.*, 15 March, 1913. 'Death of Mr. J.W.M. Horton', *S.L.W.N.*, 25 November, 1916. Partly through his inheritance and through the success of his business commitments, Rosenior owned properties in prime locations in Freetown.

<sup>57</sup>'Wesleyan High School: Dramatic Cantata And Concert At The Wilberforce Memorial Hall: The Cantata,' *S.L.W.N.*, 17 December, 1904. As a student of the Wesleyan High School, Matthew Rosenior appeared in a cantata entitled "Sir Francis Drake or, the Days of the Spanish Armada" which was held at the Wilberforce Memorial Hall. Rosenior appeared as a maid of honour to Queen Elizabeth who was played by Prince J. Williams.

<sup>58</sup>Luke, Sir Emile Fashole Luke, K.B.E., 'M.B.H.S.-1901-1911,' *Methodist Boy's High School Centenary Magazine 1874-1974*, (Sierra Leone: Methodist Boy's High School Old Boy's Association, 1974), p. 10. Jack Rosenior was a contemporary of the late Sir Emile Fashole Luke at the Wesleyan Boys' High School and Sir Emile Luke mentioned Jack Rosenior in his reminisces of his time at the Boys' High School.

<sup>59</sup>'Semi-Jubilee Celebrations Of The Wesleyan High School,' *S.L.W.N.*, 20 May, 1899. 'Semi-Jubilee Of The High School: List of Contributors: To the Editor of the Weekly News,' *S.L.W.N.*, 9 June, 1900.

<sup>60</sup>'Semi-Jubilee Celebrations Of The Wesleyan High School,' *S.L.W.N.*, 20 May, 1899. Rosenior served on the general committee and was elected to the managing committee alongside Rowland May and his friend, Samuel Tillotson Shaw.

<sup>61</sup>'Death of Miss Elizabeth C. Shaw,' *S.L.W.N.*, 12 August, 1911. This Shaw family was possibly of Maroon, Nova Scotian and English descent. The parents of Samuel Tillotson Shaw, Collins Josephus Shaw, and Elizabeth C. Shaw were James William Shaw, (1832-26 July, 1882), possibly the descendant of a discharged soldier or a Maroon descendant of Captain Charles Shaw, and Elizabeth Shaw, née Leigh, (1834/5-15 November 1888), possibly a descendant of William Henry Leigh, (1780/1-30 May, 1818) an English merchant and his Nova Scotian mistress. James and Elizabeth Shaw were prominent traders and lived in Kissy Street, Freetown. William Rosenior probably named his son, Jacob Collins Willoughby De Graft Rosenior, after his friend, Collins Josephus Shaw, the brother of Samuel Tillotson Shaw. Collins Josephus Shaw later changed his name to Colin Shaw. Matthew De Graft Rosenior, the son of W.C.D. Rosenior, may have also married a daughter of Colin Josephus Shaw.

<sup>62</sup>'Death of Miss Elizabeth C. Shaw', *S.L.W.N.*, 12 August, 1911. Matthew Jenkins Rosenior may have known and been on friendly terms with some members of the Shaw family. He was listed as the informant for the birth of

Meheux Spilsbury,<sup>63</sup> and alongside some of his former colleagues at the Boys' High School, he attended the wedding of his niece in 1896.<sup>64</sup> Even in tragic circumstances, William Rosenior and his friends were almost inseparable and his close friend Johnnie W.M. Horton died at Rosenior's residence in Charlotte Street.<sup>65</sup>

In addition to William Rosenior's support for his alma mater, he was also an ardent Methodist<sup>66</sup> and he actively engaged in the activities of the church.<sup>67</sup> On some occasions, William Rosenior gave addresses to local children at Sunday schools.<sup>68</sup> Through his work addressing children at Sunday school, William Rosenior was able to combine two of his interests, education and religion and his biblical lessons were often captivating for his young audiences.<sup>69</sup> However, William Rosenior was not a sectarian, and he gave addresses at Baptist churches and financially supported other churches outside the Methodist denomination.<sup>70</sup> He was actively involved in the temperance movement and he participated in the Good Temperance Lodge meetings held at Lumley Street, Freetown.<sup>71</sup>

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Eliza Shaw's child, born at his residence at Percival Street. However, Eliza Shaw may have been a member of a Shaw family that was not related to the family of Samuel Tillotson Shaw and Colin Josephus Shaw. Although Matthew Rosenior was initially listed as the father of Eliza Shaw's child, his name was crossed out on the register in the section listing him as the father.

<sup>63</sup>Marriage Spilsbury-Wright,' *S.L.T.*, 26 January, 1895. On the 24 January, 1895, George Meheux Spilsbury married Maria Lucretia Wright, (1871/2-December, 1900), the daughter of J.B. Wright, a merchant of Sherbro. The wedding ceremony was held at Holy Trinity Church in Kissy Road and "personal friends" of Spilsbury were in attendance.

<sup>64</sup>Marriage-Nicolls-Thomas,' *Sierra Leone Times*, 12 December, 1896. This was the wedding of Laura Henrietta Thomas to Christopher Claudius Nicols.

<sup>65</sup>Death of Mr. J.W.M. Horton,' *S.L.W.N.*, 25 November, 1916.

<sup>66</sup>Obituary: The Late Mrs. Nancy Ann Pilot,' *S.L.T.*, 12 August, 1893. Nancy Ann Pilot, the mother of William Rosenior, was described as a "lifelong" member of Zion Methodist Church, Wilberforce Street, Freetown, one of the original churches established by the Nova Scotian Settlers.

<sup>67</sup>Notice Number Two: The Restoration and Enlargement of Zion Chapel-Wilberforce Street,' *S.L.W.N.*, 30 September 1922.

<sup>68</sup>Bible Union Gathering At Church Of God: Address By Mr. De Graft Rosenior,' *S.L.W.N.*, 18 September, 1897.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid. William Rosenior gave an address to children at the Church of God, Regent Road. Rosenior emphasised the importance of shoes in the daily life of the children and in their "great journey to the world to come" by using the acronym, "S to imply Salvation, H Heaven, O Onward, and E Eternity." According to observers, Rosenior was said to have so "handled the subject as to keep the attention of the children rivitted [sic] to the end."

<sup>70</sup>Bible Union Gathering At Church Of God: Address By Mr. De Graft Rosenior,' *S.L.W.N.*, 18 September, 1897.

<sup>71</sup>Gospel Temperance Meeting,' *S.L.W.N.*, 28 April, 1894. 'L.O.G.T.-Pioneer Lodge', *S.L.W.N.*, 20 August, 1910. William Rosenior was a teetotaler who advocated temperance at a time when leading members of the Creole elite such as Theobald Cornelius May, (1857-1929), were also advocates of abstaining from alcohol. William

In addition to the religious and social activities of William Rosenior, he was also a generous benefactor and this would have further endeared him to the Freetown community.<sup>72</sup> Rosenior's donations reflected a concern for the impoverished and his keen support for civic activities and development.<sup>73</sup> Rosenior contributed to the John Henry Thomas Poor Fund<sup>74</sup> and was a regular contributor the annual Saturday Collection Fund for the upkeep of the Princess Christian Cottage Hospital in Freetown.<sup>75</sup> He also donated funds for the creation of the Central Athletic Club and he sold refreshments for the 15th Annual Sports Day.<sup>76</sup> The religious fervour of William Rosenior in addition to his generosity, contributed to his increasing popularity and status in the colony.<sup>77</sup>

Perhaps as a result of his conscientious concern for the educational and religious welfare of his countrymen, William Rosenior developed an interest in local politics.<sup>78</sup> In November, 1903, he attended meetings of the Freetown City Council.<sup>79</sup> In November, 1904, Rosenior unsuccessfully contested for one of the five vacant seats for a position as a city councillor for the Central Ward.<sup>80</sup>

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Rosenior served as a Secretary for the E.R.A. and he was present at the second installation of Elizabeth C. Shaw, as Chief Templar of the Pioneer Lodge in Lumley Street. Elizabeth C. Shaw, (1871-8 August, 1911), was the younger sister of Samuel Tillotson Shaw.

<sup>72</sup>Some Notables of Sierra Leone In The Past: Early Impressions: VII And Last-Chas. Shaw Harding, Esq.,' *S.L.W.N.*, 28 January, 1899. The generosity of popular personalities such as Thomas Bishop and Charles Shaw Harding contributed to their status and these acts of goodwill were well-remembered and celebrated by Freetown society.

<sup>73</sup>Princess Christian Cottage Hospital Saturday Collection,' *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 6 February, 1904. 'Central Athletic Club,' *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 21 December, 1907. 'The John Henry Thomas Poor Fund,' *Colonial And Provincial Reporter*, 30 December, 1916, hereafter *C.A.P.R.*

<sup>74</sup>'The John Henry Thomas Poor Fund,' *C.A.P.R.*, 30 December, 1916. Although a significant number of Sierra Leoneans probably donated funds for altruistic reasons, the newspapers in Freetown regularly published the list of contributors who donated to civic causes. Those individuals who donated the most to a particular cause were recorded at the top of the list with the sum of money they had donated; this contributed to the increase in status for some Sierra Leoneans and reflected their wealth and benevolence.

<sup>75</sup>Princess Christian Cottage Hospital Saturday Collection,' *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 6 February, 1904. 'The John Henry Thomas Poor Fund,' *C.A.P.R.*, 30 December, 1916. Rebecca Rosenior, the daughter of William Rosenior, also contributed to the Saturday Collection Fund.

<sup>76</sup>Central Athletic Club,' *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 21 December, 1907. These acts of generosity by William Rosenior coupled with his extensive involvement in the church would have contributed to his status and popularity in Freetown society. At least some of the generosity of William Rosenior may have been derived from his religiosity and interest in contributing to the development of Sierra Leone.

<sup>77</sup>'Marriage-Cole-Rosenoir [sic],' *S.L.G.*, 6 February, 1914

<sup>78</sup>City Council: Report Of First Quarterly Meeting, 9th November, 1903,' *S.L.W.N.*, 14 November, 1903. 'The City Council Election,' *S.L.W.N.*, 5 November, 1904.

<sup>79</sup>City Council: Report Of First Quarterly Meeting, 9th November, 1903,' *S.L.W.N.*, 14 November, 1903

<sup>80</sup>'The City Council Election,' *S.L.W.N.*, 5 November, 1904. William Rosenior contested for the position against the Honourable Abraham Spencer Hebron, a barrister, Dr. Albert Whiggs Easmon, a medical doctor and two merchants, Emmanuel Henry Cummings and Thomas James Rollings, the brother of Clementina Rosenior. Dr.

However, William Rosenior hardly contributed to public debates in the local press and by his own admission, he “eschewed writing to Newspapers.”<sup>81</sup>

However, in spite of his electoral loss, the professional success of William Rosenior, and his involvement in organisations such as the Old Boys Association and ardent work on behalf of the Methodist Church, confirmed his status as a member of the local Sierra Leonean elite.<sup>82</sup> In February, 1914, the local press announced the marriage of his daughter, Rebecca Clementina Rosenior, to Mr. George Eledy-Cole,<sup>83</sup> which was held at St. George’s Cathedral<sup>84</sup> There were few social events in Freetown during the early twentieth century to which William Rosenior was not among the attendees.<sup>85</sup>

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A.W. Easmon headed the poll with 144 votes and Hon. A.S. Hebron had 126 votes; both Easmon and Hebron were elected as city councillors. It is interesting to note that Rosenior lost the election to two professionals.

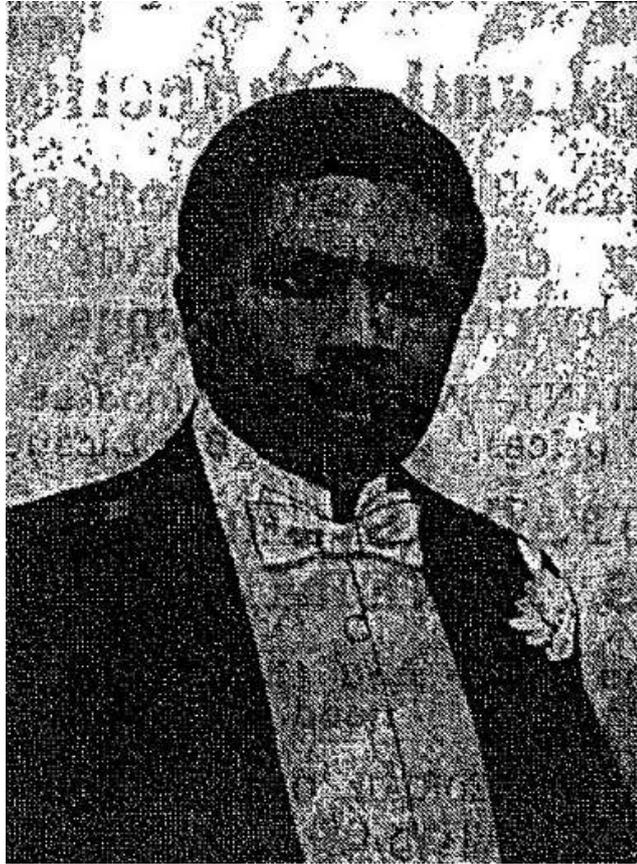
<sup>81</sup>Audi Alteram Partem: To the Editor of the Sierra Leone Times,' *S.L.T.*, 16 January, 1897.

<sup>82</sup>Soiree At Porter's Royal Hotel,' *S.L.T.*, 10 July, 1897. From the 1890s and onward, William Rosenior attended high profile social events such as a soiree in honour of Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee held at Porter’s Royal Hotel. Rosenior was one of the committee members who organised the soiree in honour of the Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee.

<sup>83</sup>Marriage-Cole-Rosenior [sic],’ *S.L.G.*, 6 February, 1914. The wedding was said to have “attracted a great amount of interest in the City owing to the...popularity of the parents of the bride and the high reputation enjoyed by the bridegroom.”

<sup>84</sup>Marriage-Cole-Rosenior [sic],’ *S.L.G.*, 6 February, 1914. Rebecca Rosenior married George Eledy-Cole, a city councillor in Freetown who was the son of G.W. Cole, a prominent employee of the Sierra Leone Old Company. The photographs of George Eledy-Cole were published in the *Sierra Leone Daily Mail* on 1 March, 1934 and the *Sierra Leone Guardian* on 15 June, 1935.

<sup>85</sup>Marriage-Nichols-Spaine,' *S.L.W.N.*, 13 May, 1899. The children of William and Clementina Rosenior also had active roles in some social functions. For example, at the wedding of Rev. J.B. Nichols to Iris Spaine, the daughter of James Hastings Spaine and a niece of William and Clementina Rosenior, the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* reported that 'the bride's gown...of rich ivory white satin, trimmed with lace and orange blossoms, and was made with a full court train...was borne by two little children, Masters Matthew and Jack Rosenior.' The photograph of Matthew and Jacob Rosenior, the 'Two Rosenior Brothers' remains an important part of the Rosenior family album.



**Figure 1. William Charles De Graft Rosnier, (1862-1929)<sup>86</sup>**

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<sup>86</sup>'Lest We Forget,' *Sierra Leone Daily Mail*, 29 April, 1933, hereafter the *S.L.D.M.*

However, in spite of the success that William Rosenior enjoyed during the first decade of the twentieth century, he suffered great anguish during the 1918 Spanish Influenza Epidemic that swept through Sierra Leone in late August 1918. His wife, Clementina Laretta Rosenior, died on 4 September 1918 and was among the two hundred and twenty-three victims of the Influenza Epidemic.<sup>87</sup> The death toll for Freetown was the highest in the week commencing 1 September, 1918 and one observer described the period in which Clementina Rosenior died as a “black week.”<sup>88</sup> The loss of Clementina Rosenior took a heavy toll on the Rosenior family, and the children of William Rosenior regularly placed ‘In Memoriam’ notices on the anniversary of the death of Clementina Rosenior.<sup>89</sup>

In spite of this personal tragedy, William Rosenior continued to participate in the Old Boys Association and his commitment to civic and clerical matters remained unwavering.<sup>90</sup> In October, 1918, Rosenior attended a conference held at Government House on the subject of government secondary education in Sierra Leone.<sup>91</sup> In March 1922, Rosenior gave an address for ‘John Ellis Day’ and the 130<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration of Zion Methodist Church, Wilberforce Street.<sup>92</sup> In July, 1922, he was one of the Old Boys’ of the Wesleyan High School who gave a congratulatory address to the

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<sup>87</sup>‘Deaths For The Week,’ *S.L.W.N.*, 7 September, 1918. ‘Some Sierra Leoneans [sic] Victims of Influenza Epidemic: Deaths,’ *S.L.W.N.*, 14 September, 1918. However, even within this tragedy, the death of Clementina Rosenior was given special attention and she was listed among some of the notable Sierra Leoneans who had died as a result of the Influenza Epidemic.

<sup>88</sup>‘A Black Week,’ *C.A.P.R.*, 14 September, 1918.

<sup>89</sup>‘In Memoriam,’ *S.L.W.N.*, 6 September, 1919. ‘In Memoriam,’ *S.L.W.N.*, 4 September, 1920. ‘In Memoriam,’ *S.L.W.N.*, 3 September, 1921. ‘In Memoriam,’ *S.L.W.N.*, 9 September, 1922.

<sup>90</sup>‘John Ellis Day-Zion Chapel, Wilberforce Street,’ *S.L.W.N.*, 25 March, 1922. ‘Hon. T.G. Reffell: To the Editor of the Weekly News,’ *S.L.W.N.*, 15 July, 1922. ‘Notice Number Two: The Restoration and Enlargement of Zion Chapel-Wilberforce Street,’ *S.L.W.N.*, 30 September, 1922. William Rosenior was involved in the dispute that occurred in the 1920s between two factions of the Old Boys’ Association of the Wesleyan Boys’ High School that sought to hold the anniversary celebrations for that year. William Rosenior was aligned with the faction led by younger members of the Association such as Herbert Christian Bankole-Bright, a medical doctor and member of the Legislative Council of Sierra Leone, as opposed to the other faction led by members such as Claude Dionysius Hotobah-During, a well-known lawyer.

<sup>91</sup>‘Proceedings Of Conference At Government House Re Government Secondary Education,’ *C.A.P.R.*, 26 October, 1918. The conference members discussed proposals such as the establishment of a West African university and a government secondary school in Freetown.

<sup>92</sup>‘John Ellis Day-Zion Chapel, Wilberforce Street,’ *S.L.W.N.*, 25 March, 1922. ‘Notice Number Two: The Restoration and Enlargement of Zion Chapel-Wilberforce Street,’ *S.L.W.N.*, 30 September, 1922. He also gave a special reading at a Sunday Service held at the Wilberforce Memorial Hall for the enlargement of Zion Methodist Church, Wilberforce Street.

Honourable Thomas G. Reffell, an Old Boy of Boys' High School, who had been conferred as a Knight Commander of the Liberian Humane Order of African Redemption.<sup>93</sup> However, Rosenior was less active than he had been in previous years and there were fewer references to him in the newspapers following the death of his wife.

Furthermore, although William Rosenior continued to remain active in civic and clerical affairs, he increasingly suffered from illness toward the end of his life. By the 1920s, he was one of the few surviving goldsmiths who had been apprenticed in the 1870s and 1880s and was probably one of the last remaining Old Boys of his graduating class at the Wesleyan Boys' High School. After suffering from a three-month bout of extreme illness, William Rosenior died at the age of 66 on 29 June, 1929.<sup>94</sup> After a funeral service held at St. George's Cathedral, which was well-attended by members of the Wesleyan Boy's High School Old Boys Association,<sup>95</sup> William Rosenior was buried at King Tom Cemetery in Freetown.<sup>96</sup>

The life of William Charles De Graft Rosenior reveals the complex dynamics of social class in Sierra Leone during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Although modern historical literature has often focused on the professional and political elite, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there were a number of professions that provided Sierra Leoneans with the wealth and the respectability of elite society.<sup>97</sup> Skilled tradesmen, such as William Rosenior, also

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<sup>93</sup>John Ellis Day-Zion Chapel, Wilberforce Street', *S.L.W.N.*, 25 March, 1922.

<sup>94</sup>Death of Mr. W. De Graft Rosenior [sic]', *The West Africa Mail and Trade Gazette*, 29 June, 1929. 'Mr. W.C. DeGraft Rosenior,' *S.L.W.N.*, 29 June, 1929. 'Deaths in Freetown, June 19-July 2,' *The West African Mail and Trade Gazette*, 6 July, 1929. William Rosenior died at Liverpool Street, which was the residence of his daughter and son-in-law, Mr. George Eledy-Cole and Rebecca Eledy-Cole, née Rosenior. The *Sierra Leone Weekly News* incorrectly reported that William Rosenior died in his 68<sup>th</sup> year of age, but he died in his 67<sup>th</sup> year.

<sup>95</sup>'Mr. W.C. DeGraft Rosenior,' *S.L.W.N.*, 29 June, 1929.

<sup>96</sup>*Ibid.* W.C.D. Rosenior was one of three Old Boys of the Wesleyan Boy's High School who died in 1929; George Meheux Spilsbury and Arthur Williamson O'Dwyer, both colleagues of Rosenior at the High School, died in 1929.

<sup>97</sup>'Deaths of Well-Known Citizens', *S.L.W.N.* 16 September, 1905. Wellesley-Cole, *An innocent in Britain*, (United Kingdom: Campbell Matthews, 1988), p. 42. Artisans were not only highly valued for their work, but some were included in the social circle of the elite. Although William Rosenior was an artisan, he was able to interact with members of the Freetown elite because of his education at the Wesleyan Boys' High School and his activities and contributions on behalf of the church and local community.

actively contributed to the development of Freetown society and these artisans sometimes held the same bourgeoisie values as their counterparts in the legal and medical fields.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>98</sup>This was not always the case; there was the Carpenters Defensive Union and the Kissy Road Traders' Association. However, even members of these organisations were highly respected members of colonial society in Sierra Leone.

## Appendix A

NAMES	OCCUPATION	European				Melanians				Colonial Residents & Freeborn Blacks				Discharged Soldiers & Families				Liberated Africans				Native Born					
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female						
Total brought forward		1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	14	22	20	7	3	8	3	22	22	13	14	-	10	17	3	5	
W. Mason	Apprentice																										
W. Mason	Apprentice																										
J. DeGraff	Farmer																										
J. DeGraff	Farmer																										
J. DeGraff	Housekeeper																										
J. DeGraff	Housekeeper																										
J. DeGraff	Housekeeper																										
J. DeGraff	Housekeeper																										
J. DeGraff	Housekeeper																										
J. DeGraff	Housekeeper																										
J. DeGraff	Housekeeper																										

Figure 2. Household of Joseph DeGraff at Wellington Street, in the 1831 Census.<sup>99</sup>

Total brought forward		252
Colonial Residents		5927
Kew Farm	Colonial Residents	49
	Liberated Africans	47
	Housekeepers	4
	Native Brought	45
Total		105
Kew Farm	Colonial Residents	49
	Liberated Africans	47
	Housekeepers	4
	Native Brought	45
Total		105
Kew Farm	Colonial Residents	49
	Liberated Africans	47
	Housekeepers	4
	Native Brought	45
Total		105
Kew Farm	Colonial Residents	94
	Liberated Africans	4
	Housekeepers	207
	Native Brought	77
Total		382
Grand Total		5015
Kew Farm	Colonial Residents	58
	Liberated Africans	58
	Discharged Soldiers & Families	186
	Liberated Africans	2284
	Housekeepers	184
Total		2770
Total		5015

Joseph DeGraff  
Housekeeper Wellington Street

Figure 3. The signature of Joseph DeGraff in the 1831 Census

<sup>99</sup>TNA Kew, CO 267/111, 1831 Census of Population and Liberated Africans. This section of the census was transcribed by Joseph DeGraff and is written in his handwriting.

## Appendix B

Page 21.

18. BIRTHS in the _____ of _____ in the Count. of _____											
No.	When Born.	Name, Sex, &c.	Name and Residence of Father.	Name and Residence of Mother.	Rank or Profession of Father.	Signature, Description, and Residence of Subscribers.	When Registered.	Signature of Registrar.	Signature of Minister of the Gospel.	Signature of Justice of the Peace.	Signature of Schoolmaster.
101	1862	Sally Girl	Phabe Cairns	Thomas Cairns	Occupier	Thomas Cairns Walpole Street Freetown	1862	William			
102	1862	Fanny Girl	John Macaulay	James Macaulay	Blaster	John Macaulay Dan Street Freetown	1862	William			
103	1862	Ann Girl	Elois Campbell	James Campbell		James Campbell Freetown	1862	William			
104	1862	William Boy	Ann De Graft	Rebecca De Graft		Rebecca De Graft Freetown	1862	William			
105	1862	Posita Girl	Rebecca De Graft	James De Graft		James De Graft Freetown	1862	William			

Figure 4. Birth Register listing William Charles De Graft Rosenior<sup>100</sup>

<sup>100</sup>EAP443/1/3/7, Register of Births, Vol. 4, Freetown District, 14 September, 1862 to 16 October, 1863, British Library Endangered Archives Programme, URL: [http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview\\_item.a4d?catId=189223;r=5447](http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_item.a4d?catId=189223;r=5447), page 21, Entry 104. See also Harriet Tubman Resource Center Digital Archive, Register of Births, Vol. 4, Freetown District, 14 September 1862 to 16 October 1863, [Part 2; 9 November, 1862 to 18 March, 1863], *Harriet Tubman Resource Center Digital Archive*, URL: [http://digital.tubmaninstitute.ca/items/show/672#.VQ4Mj\\_msU3J](http://digital.tubmaninstitute.ca/items/show/672#.VQ4Mj_msU3J), page 21, Entry 104. The birth of William De Graft Rosenior was recorded as entry no. 104 and was listed on the fourth line of the page.

Appendix C

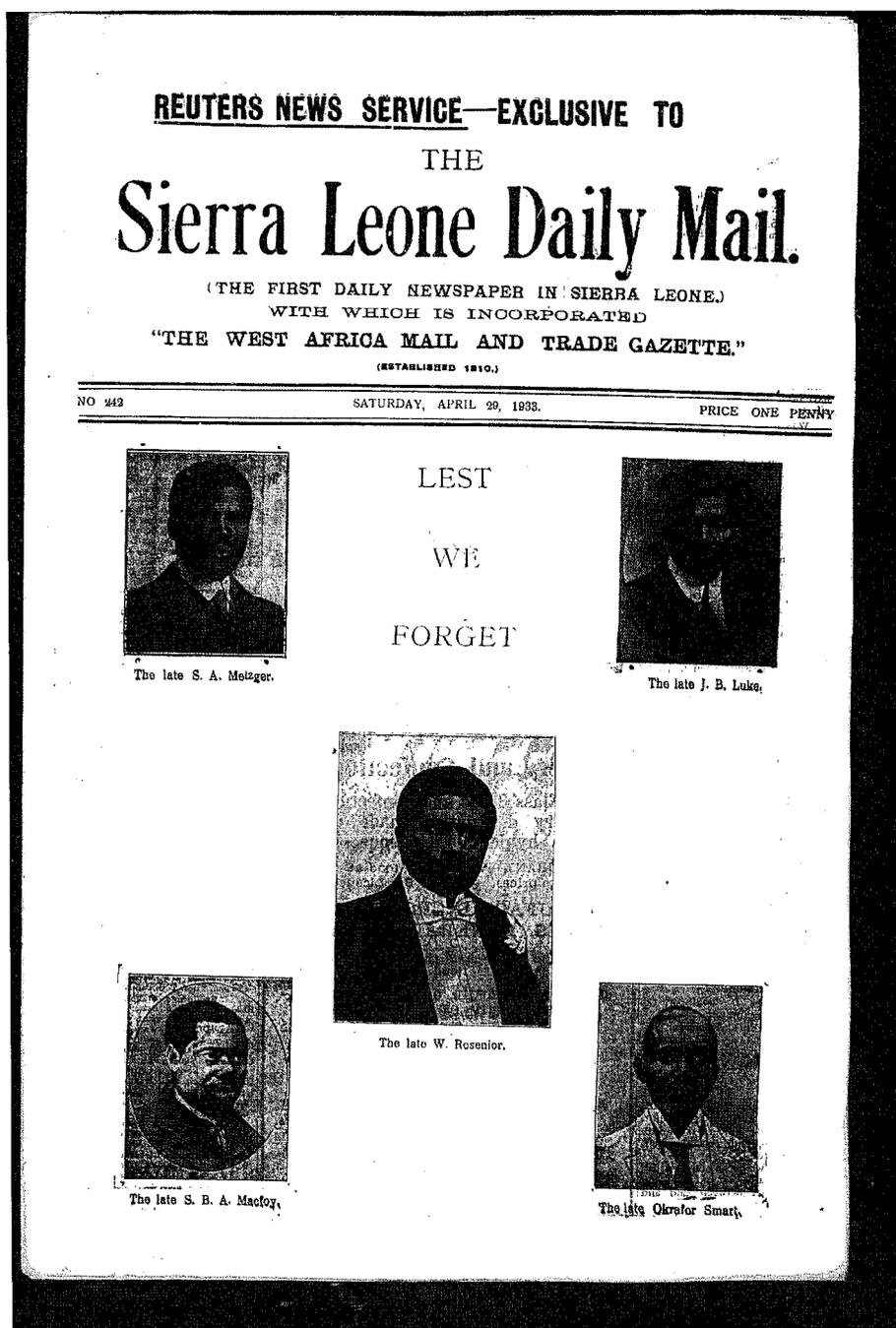


Figure 5. Photograph of William Charles De Graft Rosenior in the *Sierra Leone Daily Mail*<sup>101</sup>

<sup>101</sup>'Lest We Forget,' *S.L.D.M.*, 29 April, 1933. The *Sierra Leone Daily Mail* (later incorporating the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* as the *Daily Mail*) and the *Sierra Leone Daily Guardian* contain a number of photographs of notable Sierra Leonean figures during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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### **Editor's Section**

The use of modern technology means that experiences of living and working in Sierra Leone can now be stored and shared. The following is the first of these 'Podcasts' to be included

Podcast - <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b039rwcf> - Will Millard - Mum Says 'You're a Long Time Dead' – A journey down the Mano River, 2013.

The second part of Will's journey - The River Wild - <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b03b2zb1>