Whatsoever Thy Hand Findeth to Do, Do It With Thy Might: S.H.A. Case and J.T. Ojukutu-Macauley and Artisan Trade Unions in Sierra Leone, 1875-1900.

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Introduction

The present study is concerned with the lives of two influential nineteenth century Sierra Leonean trade unionists. Through an examination of the lives and times of Samuel Henry Athanasius Case (1845-1901) and James Thomas Ojukutu-Macauley (1846-1904) this thesis explores the importance of religious beliefs and organisations, social connections, and education in the formation of the first trade unions in Sierra Leone during the final decades of the nineteenth century. The life history approach of this thesis resulted from the encouragement of my supervisor, Klaas van Walraven, as I explored the literature and newspaper sources prior to undertaking the fieldwork. While there is plenty of material on strikes and labour conflicts during this period, the protagonists of these struggles have for the most part been absent from the accounts of Sierra Leonean history. This is all the more striking given the admiration these men received from their contemporaries. And when they do appear, Case and Ojukutu-Macauley are often given but passing mention in the historiography. Ojukutu-Macauley in particular is often reduced to his, admittedly impressive, record as a builder. The present thesis shows he was also a committed preacher and educator, a thinking man, and a celebrated host appreciated for his great parties. This thesis shows that these men participated in the construction of what they considered to be a more just society. This went beyond narrow economic interests and extended to religiously inspired claims about social order. They were constantly forging new relationships with the rest of their society. In short, these men led complex and multifaceted lives which have been underexplored. The present thesis is an effort to bring these stories to the fore, without ignoring the larger processes of social change surrounding these two lives.

Overview of the Chapters

This thesis is subdivided into 9 chapters. Chapter 1 sketches the relevant historical background to the rest of the study. It details the founding of the Sierra Leone colony, the development of its society, and some aspects of its economy. Chapter 2 develops the problem statement, theoretical framework, and research questions. Chapter 3 discusses the methods and methodologies of the research detailing the way in which information was collected and offers some reflections on the epistemology underlying the research and analysis. Chapters 4 through 7 more or less chronologically discuss the lives and careers of Case and Ojukutu-Macauley and the society they inhabited. Chapter 8 briefly discusses their post mortem

influence on subsequent trade unions in Sierra Leone. The major themes from chapter 4 through 8 are summarised and analysed in Chapter 9.

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CMS: Church Missionary Society

U.M.F.C.: United Methodist Free Churches

I.O.G.T.: International Order of Good Templars

C.S.O. M.P.: Colonial Secretary's Office Minute Paper

TNA: The National Archives

SLNA: Sierra Leone National Archive

Contents

Chapter 1 Setting the Stage: The Formation of Sierra Leonean Society 1787-ca.1870

Settlement of black British subjects in the area that would become the colony of Sierra Leone began in 1787. On 14 May a group of settlers from London arrived near the present site of Freetown. Their settlement had been the result of a resettlement plan put forward by English abolitionist Granville Sharp. The prospective settlers had served as sailors in the British navy, or they had been liberated American slaves who had fought on the British side during the American War of Independence. In Sierra Leone they were expected to live as free farmers and citizens of the British Empire in contrast to the poverty and deprivation they experienced in England.[1] The colony fared poorly as the inhabitants suffered from disease and came into conflict with the local Temne population. In 1792 a second group of settlers arrived, the so-called Nova Scotians. They had been resettled in Nova Scotia in the aftermath of the American War of Independence during which they had sided with the British. The Nova Scotians constructed a new settlement and named it the Province of Freedom. In 1800 British authorities settled a group of Jamaican Maroons in the colony.[2]

In its early days the colony was not directly administered by the British government. Instead the colony was managed by a private company, the Sierra Leone Company, with Sharp among its leaders. In January 1808 the Company's poor financial performance led to the British government taking over the administration of the colony. The Crown subsequently used the colony to resettle the slaves it liberated from slave ships intercepted by the Royal Navy after the abolition of the slave trade in 1807. These people and their descendants were subsequently known as the Liberated Africans and they became the largest population in colonial Freetown.[3] Authors provide different numbers of Liberated Africans. According to Wyse, 84,000 Liberated Africans were settled in the colony between 1808 and 1864.[4] Richard Anderson provided a figure of 99,752 for the same period. Of this number 72,290 were settled in the colony after their liberation with the others voluntarily or involuntarily settling

[1] C. Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (London, 1962), 11-20.

[2] G. Cole, 'Re-thinking the Demographic Make-Up of Krio Society' in: M. Dixon-Fyle and G. Cole, eds., *New Perspectives on the Sierra Leone Krio* (New York, 2006), 33-51, 36.

[3] L. Spitzer, *The Creoles of Sierra Leone: Responses to Colonialism, 1870-1945* (Madison, 1974), 10-11.

[4] A. Wyse, *The Krio of Sierra Leone: An Interpretive History* (Freetown, 1989), 2.

elsewhere.[5] Many Liberated Africans were voluntarily or forcibly resettled outside of the colony. After the Mutiny Act of 1807, which liberated the approximately 10,000 black soldiers of the British army, the British government resorted to recruiting from Liberated Africans in Sierra Leone. Between 1810 and 1863 the army drafted 5,169 Liberated Africans.[6] The British government also used recently arrived Liberated Africans to relieve labour shortages in other British possessions in the Atlantic. To circumvent the reluctance of settlers who had established themselves in Sierra Leone to be relocated, the government increasingly resorted to coercion and targeted more vulnerable groups. Children as young as twelve as well as people still confined to the confiscated slave vessels awaiting their formal liberation were targeted for recruitment.[7]

These four groups, i.e., the original settlers, the Nova Scotians, Maroons, and Liberated Africans, brought a wide range of cultural, social and religious influences with them that contributed to the formation of Freetown society in the nineteenth century. Expectations that the settlers would behave as "Black Englishmen" and that the colony would be a source for the spread of Christianity and European mores were only partly fulfilled. All four groups retained some part of their African heritage although European customs and dress were dominant particularly among the colony's upper strata.[8] Literacy in English and the adoption of European modes of dress and customs were required for admission into the colony's upper social strata. Many rural inhabitants of the colony did not live such Europeanised lives, and most Sierra Leoneans practised a combination of African and European customs.[9]

The inhabitants of the colony are known by a variety of names in the historiography. Several authors employed the appellation *creole*.[10] This term originated in the West Indies where it referred to anything of West Indian origin in contrast to anything of European, African, or otherwise non-West Indian origin. In Sierra Leone the term referred to the way of life with which the settlers and their descendants identified. Becoming part of this *creole* identity required local Africans to take an English name, to dress in European clothes, and to

[5] R. Anderson, 'The Diaspora of Sierra Leone's Liberated Africans: Enlistment, Forced Migration, and "Liberation" at Freetown, 1808-1863', *African Economic History* 41 (2013), 101-138, 101-102.

[6] Anderson, 'Diaspora', 103.

[7] Ibidem, 116-119.

[8] Wyse, *Krio of Sierra Leone*, 6.

[9] Ibidem, 10-12.

[10] E.g. Spitzer, *Creoles.* Fyfe, *A History*.

adopt European manners. Linguistically, learning Krio, the language of the *creoles*, and English were crucial. Joining the upper stratum of the colony's society additionally required literacy, the ownership of property in the form of real estate, and conspicuous consumption in order to demonstrate the extent of one's wealth.[11] The term *creole* is problematic for two reasons. Firstly, the word was only seldomly used as a self-description by nineteenth century inhabitants of the colony of Sierra Leone. Secondly, scholars employing the term have argued for the existence of a unified 'Creole society' in the nineteenth century. The inhabitants of the colony came from very different backgrounds and did not live in one cohesive society. Instead, there were many religious, ethnic and class distinctions in Sierra Leone in this period. Using terms like 'Creole society' implies a social cohesion which did not exist. Moreover, this conception of a cohesive Creole society originated from the colony's elite and was not widely shared or accepted according to Skinner and Harrell-Bond.[12]

Other authors preferred the term Krio when referring to the colony's inhabitants.[13] The origin of this term is unclear. One proposed origin is the Yoruba *akiriyo* meaning 'those who go about from place to place after church'.[14] Wyse agreed with Skinner and Harrell-Bond that Sierra Leonean society in the nineteenth century still contained many different identities. Yet, he argued that people recognised certain shared cultural traits. Furthermore, outside observers, such as European visitors or the various groups residing in the hinterland, were using the term 'Creole' or some equivalent to refer to all inhabitants of the colony regardless of internal division in that society. Wyse argued that, while Krio society was still in formation in the nineteenth century and had not yet become cohesive, the term was still applicable due to shared traits and beliefs. He also point to the ability of lower class Sierra Leoneans of becoming acculturated to the higher strata of society through hard work and by adopting the social mores of higher strata.[15] This thesis follows Everill in using the term Sierra Leonean to refer to the inhabitants of the colony as a way to resolve the debate on the

[11] Spitzer, *Creoles*, 12-13.

[12] D. Skinner and B.E. Harrell-Bond, 'Misunderstandings arising from the use of the term 'Creole' in the literature on Sierra Leone', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 47:3 (1977), 305-320, 305-306.

[13] E.g. Wyse, *Krio of Sierra Leone*.

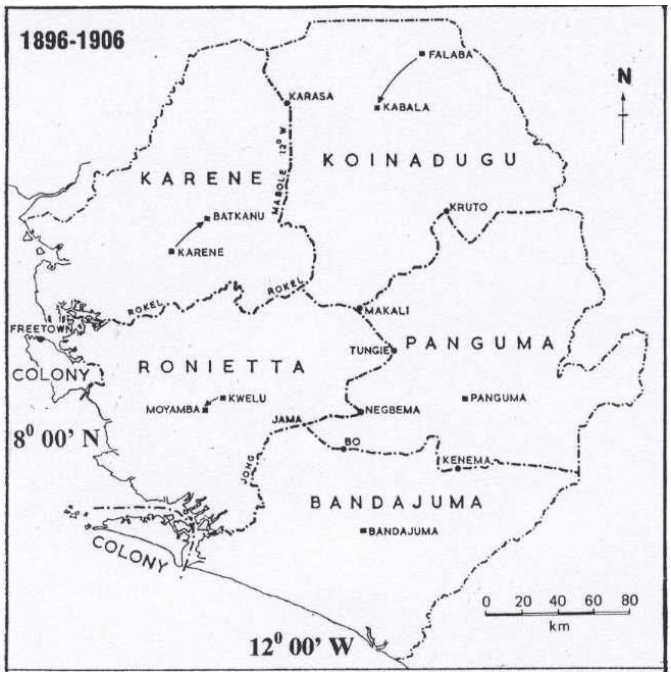
[14] Wyse, *Krio of Sierra Leone*, 6.

[15] A. Wyse, 'On Misunderstanding Arising from the Use of the term 'Creole' in the Literature on Sierra Leone: a Rejoinder', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 49:4 (1979), 408-417, 408-410.

nomenclature. This term was used by the inhabitants as a self-identification.[16] The inhabitants of the territory of the modern-day Republic of Sierra Leone which was brought under British control through the Protectorate in 1896 are not included in this term. They are referred to either by their ethnic identity, for example Mende or Temne, or as the inhabitants of the Hinterland, as the inhabitants of the colony called them. The territories of the colony and the Protectorate are shown in Figure 1.

The process of identity formation in the colony thus consisted of two simultaneous processes. According to Northrup these processes, the process of creolisation and the process of Africanisation, were fostered by the various settler populations. Christianity was spread to arriving Liberated Africans by older Liberated Africans and other settlers. Similarly, the English language was a useful lingua franca adopted by the settlers in the fragmented linguistic situation of the colony.[17]

Figure 1 Sierra Leone Colony and Protectorate 1896. Source: F. Akiwumi, Environmental and Social Change in Southwestern Sierra Leone: Timber Extraction(1832-1898) and Rutile Mining(1967-2005)(San Marcos, Tx.: Texas State University, 2006 diss.), 14.



[16] B. Everill, *Abolition and Empire in Sierra Leone and Liberia* (Basingstoke: Pallgrave MacMillan, 2013), 2 and 181.

[17] D. Northrup, 'Becoming African: Identity Formation among Liberated Slaves in Nineteenth-Century Sierra Leone', *Slavery and Abolition* 27:1 (2006), 1-21, 6-8.

The African identities of the colony's Liberated African population underwent profound changes in Sierra Leone. In the colony new African identities were formed. By 1848 the government identified 19 'tribes' or 'nations' in the colony. In the colony local identities became subsumed in larger, overarching identities. Instead of identifying with a particular regional identity, people identified themselves in one of the nations. Some of these nations, such as the Yoruba and Igbo, had shared a language or some political unity in their country of origin. Others, such as the Popo, did not share a common language or membership of a common polity. These new nations were the product of the conditions in which the new inhabitants of the colony found themselves in. New identities were formed around the need to cooperate in various mutual aid societies in the colony.[18] Life in the colony produced new identities which gradually became subsumed in a more general Sierra Leonean society. This unity developed throughout the nineteenth century, though it was by no means finalised by the end of the century.

The settlers brought a variety of religious beliefs with them. By 1900 the majority of the colony's population was Christian with a significant Muslim minority and smaller groups of adherents of various traditional beliefs.[19] Muslim Sierra Leoneans descended from the local Islamic population as well as Yoruba Liberated Africans whose ancestors had converted to Islam during the Fulani *jihad* of the early nineteenth century.[20] Sierra Leone's Christian population was spread among several different denominations. The Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) sent missionaries to Sierra Leone beginning in 1799.[21] The Nova Scotians were Wesleyan Methodists.[22] The colonial government regarded the Methodist Nova Scotians with some apprehension. When in 1794 Nova Scotian protest against colonial policy turned into riots, governor Zachary Macaulay partly blamed the unrest on unruly Methodists.[23]

The Methodists themselves were not a homogenous group. In 1844 Antony O'Connor

[18] Northrup, 'Becoming African', 8-12.

[19] Cole, 'Re-thinking the Demographic', 44.

[20] Wyse, *Krio of Sierra Leone*, 9. The Yoruba were not uniformly Islamic, as demonstrated below Ojukutu-Macauley's family, for instance, was Christian.

[21] J. Agbeti, *West African Church history: Christian Missions and Church Foundations: 1482-1919* (Leiden, 1986), 19-24

[22] Ibidem, 49.

[23] C. Pybus, ''A less favourable specimen': The Abolitionist Response to Self-Emancipated Slaves in Sierra Leone', *Parliamentary History* 26:1(2007) 97-112, 101-103.

led the Liberated Africans out of the Methodist church to form the West African Methodist Society. O'Connor protested the fact that Liberated Africans had not been allowed to preach from the pulpit but were instead relegated to the reading table. After O'Connor's death in 1855 the West African Methodist society joined the recently formed United Methodist Free Churches (U.M.F.C.) in Great Britain in 1859.[24] The U.M.F.C. was an off-shoot of the Methodist movement that developed in Great Britain in the eighteenth century. Methodism arose as the social importance of Anglicanism declined due to the rise of deism and rationalism, corruption and a declining interest in religious worship among working people.[25] Led by John and Charles Wesley and George Whitfield, Methodism emphasised a "personal religious transformation, including charity, literacy, self-discipline, and other practices which overlapped with eighteenth-century discourses of civic engagement and self-improvement", but it was also perceived as a dangerously zealous movement.[26] Throughout the nineteenth century Wesleyan Methodism in Britain experienced a series of conflicts that would lead to the formation of the United Methodist Free Churches in 1857. As the Wesleyan church expanded a divide between more radical and liberal lower-class members and more politically conservative higher-class members developed.[27] Secessions from the church occurred as local congregations opposed an increasingly centralised and powerful ministry that reduced the importance of the local laity. These conflicts, together with disagreements over a range of issues such as temperance, the relations between church and state, and a political divide between conservative Wesleyans and radical liberal Free Methodists led to the formation of local associations such as the Liverpool and Rochdale Associations. These bodies merged, along with others, into the United Methodist Free Churches in 1857.[28] There were several other missionary societies and Christian denominations present in Sierra Leone.[29] A.T. Porter argued that church membership was an important reflection of social status among Liberated Africans. As their fortunes and status increased, they tended to move

[24] Fyfe, *A History*, 232-233 and 293.

[25] D. Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (London, 2005), 13.

[26] M. G. Anderson, *Imagining Methodism in 18th-Century Britain: Enthusiasm, Belief and the Borders of the Self* (Baltimore, 2012), 2.

[27] D.A. Gowland, *Methodist Secessions: The origins of Free Methodism in three Lancashire Towns: Manchester, Rochdale, Liverpool* (Manchester, 1979), 22-27.

[28] Ibidem, 167-169.

[29] See for a complete overview. J. Agbeti, *West African Church history: Christian Missions and Church Foundations: 1482-1919* (Leiden, 1986).

from smaller nonconformist denominations to the larger Methodist and ultimately Anglican churches. [30]

Although this thesis focusses on the Christian population of the colony, there was also a substantial Muslim population in the colony, and the adjacent territories were predominantly Muslim. Islamic scholars and merchants had been active in the area since before the founding of the Sierra Leone Company in 1792 and spread the religion to the local population. They established relationships with the Sierra Leone Company and, after 1807, with the British colonial government. Muslim settlements were constructed near Freetown and the Islamic population of the colony was augmented by Liberated Africans who converted upon their arrival or who had been Muslim prior to their enslavement. Members of these communities engaged in various economic activities ranging from artisan occupations and local retail trade to long-distance trade with the interior. Relations with the colonial government were sometimes contentious, and the colonial government was alarmed by the influence of Islam on the Liberated African communities. Nevertheless, colonial officials realised the importance of the Muslim population to British interests. Thomas George Lawson, government interpreter between 1852 and 1889, argued that caravan trade with the interior depended on the networks of Islamic traders. In his official capacity he maintained the relationships between the Islamic community and the government. Following Lawson's work the colonial government strove for formalisation of its relationships to the Islamic community. It did so by setting up an Arabic and English school akin to the existing Christian schools, by creating a headman (*alimani*) for the community, and by incorporating aspects of Islamic personal law into the colony's legal system.[31]

In addition to the various religious congregations many Liberated Africans also came together in a variety of benefit organisations. These benefit societies financially supported members suffering from illness as well as the next of kin of deceased members. These organisations also played an important part in other forms of welfare such as supporting community members who had lost their homes to fire.[32] By the late 1880s the colonial government estimated the total number of benefit societies to be around forty-five with an

[30] A. Porter, 'Religious Affiliation in Freetown, Sierra Leone', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 23:1 (1953), 3-14, 13.

[31] The information in this paragraph is derived from D. Skinner, 'The Influence of Islam in Sierra Leone History: Institutions, Practices, and Leadership, *Journal of West African History* 2:1 (2016), 27-72, 29-34.

[32] J. Peterson, *Province of Freedom*: *A History of Sierra Leone, 1787-1870* (London, 1969), 259-261.

estimated total membership of two thousand. However, due to a lack of official registration these numbers were only a rough estimate.[33]

Nineteenth century Freetown brought together a large variety of European and African influences. According to Akintola Wyse African customs were not only practiced by the Liberated Africans, such as those of the influential group of Yoruba descent, but also by the Nova Scotians as well as local Sierra Leoneans who became part of the colony's population through intermarriage and acculturation.[34] The settlers of 1787, Nova Scotians, and Maroons all spoke English or a creole language influenced by English and had adopted European customs. In addition, the colony's inhabitants maintained ties to the African Diaspora in the British colonies in the Americas and the United States. Nemata Blyden has shown the influence this numerically small group had on early colonial Freetown. She cites the examples of Daniel Coker Sr. and Daniel Coker Jr. The elder Coker had come to Sierra Leone from Baltimore seeking to escape the increasing racism in the post-Independence United States. Coker Sr. contributed to the foundation of the West African Methodist church as a minister and his son was a politically active schoolmaster. Another prominent American immigrant was Edward Jones who rose to become the principal of Fourah Bay Institution (later Fourah Bay College). This missionary education institution founded in 1837 would come to offer university degrees through its association with Durham University from 1876 onwards.[35] Furthermore, Blyden showed the influence immigrants from the West Indies exerted. They formed a number of newspapers through which the colony's population voiced its discontent with colonial policies. These publications worried the colonial government because of their perceived ability to stir up unrest among the colony's population.[36]

After a series of reforms in 1858 two institutions were principally responsible for the administration of the colony. The Executive Council consisted of the Governor, the Chief Justice, Queen's Advocate, Colonial Secretary, and the Officer Commanding the Troops. The Executive Council served as an advisory body to the Governor in the day-to-day management of the colony. The Legislative Council was made up of the members of the Executive Council

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[33] *Blue Book for the year ending 31st December 1887*, The National Archives (henceforth TNA), CO 272/64, 448-449.

[34] Cole, 'Re-thinking the Demographic', 40-44.

[35] N. Blyden, '"We have the Cause of Africa at Heart": West Indians and African Americans in 19th Century Freetown", in: M. Dixon-Fyle and G. Cole, eds., *New Perspectives on the Sierra Leone Krio* (New York, 2006), 91-105.

[36] Ibidem, 99-101.

in addition to up to three unofficial members who were appointed by the Governor. In 1862 a group of thirty-nine representatives came together to propose a candidate for the Legislative Council. The representatives consisted of fourteen Europeans, the Afro-West Indian contractor Charles Hazleborg, and prominent Liberated Africans. After some debate they nominated John Ezzidio, a self-educated Wesleyan Liberated African. Ezziodio had arrived in Sierra Leone as a freed slave three and a half decades earlier and had become a prominent merchant.[37] Ezzidio's appointment to the Legislative Council shows the growing influence of the Sierra Leone's Liberated African population on government policy. Throughout the 1870s and 1880s prominent Liberated Africans used the press as well as their influence in the Legislative Council to attempt to further their own interests.

The churches also played an important role in the colony's politics. Governor McCarthy (1816-1824) instituted the parish system to accommodate the newly arrived Liberated Africans. In this system the new arrivals were settled in the villages surrounding Freetown. Here the CMS would ensure that they and their children were educated. The settlers were trained in a craft and were expected to attend church. By providing the religious and secular education of the settlers the CMS became an important part of the colonial administration.[38] In Freetown the CMS had a monopoly on secondary education until the Wesleyans founded their own secondary education institutes in the 1870s. The churches would remain the only providers of education until the twentieth century alongside the Islamic institutions emerging in the 1890s.[39] As a result the churches were an important locus of political influence for Sierra Leoneans in educational matters.

The economy of the colony and the wealth of its mercantile class depended on the import and export trade. Throughout the nineteenth century Freetown facilitated the export of agricultural products from the hinterland and the imports of a variety of goods from Europe. Freetown's importance as a trading hub was enhanced by the city being the administrative centre of the British colonies in West Africa. In Freetown traders and merchants had access to the capital and labour required to conduct the aforementioned import and export trade. During the 1850s and 1860s the colony experienced a boom in trade, mainly in palm oil and

[37] Fyfe, *A History*, 318-322.

[38] Everill, *Abolition and Empire*, 21.

[39] L. Shyllon, *The Dynamics of Methodism in Sierra Leone, 1860-1911: Western European Influence and Culture in Church Development* (Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, 1983 diss.), 136.

kernels in addition to ground nuts, hides, and gold.[40] Throughout the nineteenth century the colonial government struggled to raise sufficient revenue. In the first half of the century the colony depended on a variety of taxes on various forms of property. These included taxes on land and houses as well as a tax on horses and carriages. In addition, the colony levied a road tax for the maintenance of the colony's road system.[41] These taxes were generally disliked and in 1872 Governor John Pope Henessy abolished the house, land, and road taxes. These direct taxes were replaced by a system of customs duties.[42] The effects of this system of raising revenue are discussed in detail in chapters 5,6, and 7 of this thesis. For now, it suffices to note that the colony's economic prosperity and its government's ability to raise sufficient revenue depended on the value of its exports and imports. After Pope Henessy's reforms the colony experienced an economic downturn and fiscal deficits. These circumstances profoundly shaped the political priorities of the colony's politically powerful mercantile elite. In turn their activities influenced the colony's artisan trade union organisers.

Thus, the emergence of trade unions in Sierra Leone in the 1880s and the 1890s must be seen in the context of a complex economic and social situation. Like other members of colonial Sierra Leonean society, the trade unionists of the late nineteenth century navigated a complex set of political, economic and cultural issues. Like their compatriots Sierra Leonean artisans struggled to advance their own social and economic position. Such a process involved education, adopting a particular set of values and behaviours closely modelled on Victorian Britain while retaining distinct African influences in the context of an economy which heavily depended on the continued fortunes of the import and export trade. As shown in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, a global economic downturn in the 1870s and 1880s impacted all of these processes. The following chapter introduces the existing historiography on these issues and their contribution to the nascent labour movement before outlining a new approach to the labour history of Sierra Leone. The existing literature on the history of trade unions and strike activity is reviewed in the subsequent chapter, which establishes the specific importance of the artisan trade unionists who are the subject of the present thesis.

[40] A. Howard, 'The Role of Freetown in the Commercial Life of Sierra Leone', in C. Fyfe and E. Jones, eds., *Freetown: a Symposium* (Freetown, 1968), 38-64, 38-39.

[41] N.A. Cox-George, *Finance and Development in West Africa: The Sierra Leone Experience* (London, 1961), 58-63.

[42] Ibidem, 79.

Chapter 2 Literature Review, Problem Statement, Theoretical Framework and Research Questions

This chapter first reviews the existing literature on the labour history of Sierra Leone in the relevant period. It then moves to establish a problem statement and reviews several theoretical approaches to the topic of the research. Finally, a set of research questions is formulated.

Literature Review

While Sierra Leone experienced financial difficulties and political upheaval in the 1880s, the colony was rocked by the appearance of its first trade union and the occurrence of strikes. The following literature review provides an overview of existing interpretations of trade union activity in Sierra Leone in the 1880s and the 1890s. Next, it proposes a different approach which better accommodates the complex political, social, and economic condition of the colony in this period.

H.E. Conway provided a chronological account of strikes in Sierra Leone from the late nineteenth century until the Second World War. Conway argued that strikes were motivated by low wages and were disconnected from larger political issues until the rise of the West African Youth League in the 1930s.[43] David Fashole Luke provided a chronological account of the history of trade unions in Sierra Leone. Like Conway, Fashole Luke started his account in the late nineteenth century. Fashole Luke, like Conway, argued that when Sierra Leonean workers went on strike, they did so in response to particular situations which they deemed unjust.[44]

Fashole Luke also briefly described the history of Sierra Leone's first trade union: The Mechanics Alliance. This union was founded in 1884 by artisan and printer S.H.A. Case. Its membership quickly declined and the union was dissolved soon after it was founded. The newspaper *The Artisan* which Case launched alongside the Mechanics Alliance fared equally poorly. Luke attributed this failure to the message of the two initiatives not addressing the concerns of most workers. Case sought to improve the social position of artisans by emphasising self-improvement. Furthermore, the paper soon shifted its focus to matters

[43] H.E. Conway, 'Labour Protest Activity in Sierra Leone during the Early Part of the Twentieth Century', *Labour History* 15 (1968), 49-63, 49-51.

[44] D. Fashole Luke, 'The Development of Modern Trade Unionism in Sierra Leone, Part 1', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 18:3 (1985), 425-454, 426-427.

beyond workers' grievances, such as the organisation of the colony's centenary celebrations in 1887. Fashole Luke explained the failure of the Mechanics Alliance and *The Artisan* as the result of a disconnect between the interests of their intended audience and Case's aims.[45] The more detailed exploration of Case's life in the course of this thesis serves to shed further light on Fashole Luke's assessment of *The Artisan*. Additionally, Fashole Luke payed some attention to the political context of the strikes and trade unions he described. He argued that striking railway workers and the union they formed after the First World War were a focal point around which the colony's elite could rally to voice their own grievances against the colonial administration.[46]

Ibrahim Abdullah's work further elaborated on the importance of *The Artisan* and the Mechanics Alliance to the formation of trade unions in Sierra Leone. Whereas Fashole Luke deemed railway workers the most important group of strikers and trade unionists in late nineteenth century Sierra Leone, Abdullah argued that artisans were responsible for formulating a working-class identity before construction on the railway was begun in 1896. The term artisan, used interchangeably with the term mechanic, is relevant in this context as it had a specific connotation. In Britain the term denoted a skilled wage worker and was used in contrast to labourer, a term denoting an unskilled worker. Artisans desired a properly structured society in which their skills, acquired through apprenticeship and training, would be rewarded with high wages and a right to work. Early artisan organisation focused on controlling output and the supply of labour in order to keep their average wage up.[47] The term artisan thus simultaneously described a type of worker and expressed an ideal of what such a skilled worker ought to be like and how they ought to be treated.

Abdullah divided Sierra Leonean society in the nineteenth century in four classes. At the top was a merchant class active in the trade with the hinterland, followed by a petty bourgeoisie of retailers. Just below this petty bourgeoisie was a class comprised of artisans, apprentices and unskilled labourers. The lowest class consisted of rural "Krio" (Sierra Leoneans) and unskilled African labourers from the hinterland.[48]

Abdullah's study of early artisan organisation revealed the complex and at times

[45] Fashole Luke, 'Modern trade unionism', 427.

[46] Ibidem, 427-429.

[47] E. Hobsbawm, *Uncommon People: Resistance, rebellion and Jazz* (London, 1998), 76-81.

[48] I. Abdullah, 'Rethinking African Labour and Working-Class History: The Artisan origins of the Sierra Leonean Working Class', *Social History* 23:1 (1998), 80-96, 87.

contradictory relationship between what he called the nascent working class and the colony's mercantile class. On the one hand artisans and merchants both drew from what Abdullah called an inherent ideology. By this he meant certain ideas and a cultural heritage which informed all forms of protest.[49] In Sierra Leone this inherent idea consisted of insisting on one's status as a British subject and Christian ideas of justice. As a result merchants insisted on the ties between Sierra Leone and Britain and argued that the state ought to guarantee their rights and freedoms while professing their loyalty to Britain.[50] Abdullah argued that the working class developing around *The Artisan* and the Mechanics Alliance adopted a similar rhetoric while simultaneously attacking the colony's merchants for their role in the financial difficulties experienced by artisans.[51] Thus while artisans and merchants were influenced by the same values they were divided by contrary economic interests.

Abdullah argued that the importance of artisans in the making of a Sierra Leonean working class identity had been neglected in the literature. Abdullah referred to E.P. Thompson's *Making of the English Working Class* to define the importance of artisans to the formulation of a working class identity.[52] Thompson saw class as a real process that occurs in the relationships between humans. Economic change provides the impetus for this process, but classes only come into being when constructed as such by human beings. According to Thompson: "And class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared) feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs."[53]

Thompson saw class as a relation between actors rather than a category or structure existing outside of the experience of those who made up the class. Consequently, Thompson argued that the study of class relies on the study of changing relationships, ideas, and institutions throughout a period of social change.[54] It follows from Thompson and Abdullah's arguments that *The Artisan* and the Mechanics' Alliance were important as the first expressions of a class consciousness among Sierra Leonean workers.

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[49] Abdullah, 'Artisan Origins', 84-85.

[50] I. Abdullah, *The Colonial Stage, Mining Capital and Wage Labour in Sierra Leone, 1884-1945: A Study in Class Formation and Action* (University of Toronto, 1990 diss.), 52.

[51] Ibidem, 63-64.

[52] Abdullah, 'Artisan Origins', 81.

[53] E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1963), 9.

[54] Ibidem, 11.

Global Labour History and Beyond

After the publication of Abdullah's article in 1998 the labour history of Sierra Leone has remained an understudied topic. Subsequent developments in the field of labour history can elaborate on the existing literature and reinvigorate research on the topic. Especially since labour history has benefitted from substantial theoretical development since the late 1990s.

In 1999 Marcel van der Linden and Jan Lucassen published the brief *Prolegomena for a Global Labour History*. They argued that the expansion of the field of labour history since the 1970s had left it without a central problem or object of study. Moreover, they argued that the theoretical foundations of the field were inadequate as they were largely based on the experiences of a limited section of the working population, namely male wage workers in only a part of the world, primarily Europe and North America. In response van der Linden and Lucassen proposed that the central research objective of Global History should be to "study the global development of labour throughout history without implicitly using (a particular interpretation of part of) European history as a model."[55]

Subsequent publications elaborated on the points put forward in the *Prolegomena*. Van der Linden argued that the traditional definition of workers as "a) individuals who b) live exclusively by selling their labour power to an entrepreneur for a wage; and c) that they conclude this contract with the entrepreneur voluntarily and for a limited period." Van der Linden argued that such an archetypical worker is a rarity, and that in reality workers are part of a more complex set of social and economic relations. These include their own household which performs various forms of labour to ensure economic survival. Many workers are part of complex set of employment relationships to for example several employers or a subcontracting system. He insisted on the need to widen conceptions of labour relations beyond free wage work.[56]

Beyond this expanded conception of a working-class Global Labour History also widens the scope of research by including a larger number different workers in its analysis, including informal activities, in the study of labour movements and by emphasising a transnational approach to research. The latter element is of particular importance as, as van der Linden argued, labour history is burdened by methodological nationalism and

[55] M van der Linden and J. Lucassen, *Prolegomena for a Global Labour History* (Amsterdam: International Institute of Social History, 1999), 5-7.

[56] M. van der Linden, 'The Globalization of Labour and Working-Class history and its Consequences', in J. Lucassen, ed., *Global Labour History: A State of the Art* (Bern, 2008 Second Pressing), 24-27.

Eurocentrism. By the former term he meant that nations are taken as the central unit of analysis wherein nations and national territories are conflated with societies. That is to say that methodological nationalists assume that all relevant activities take place within the border of socially homogenous nations. Such an approach would not allow for sub-national or transnational processes that shape the processes studied by labour historians.[57] This focus on the global and transnational dimensions of labour history meant a rejection of "Thompsonian" labour history and its focus on the making of national working classes.[58]

While Global Labour History can provide new insights and pave the way for new research, its scope was initially limited by its emphasis on the economic position of workers,. D.S. Cobble argued that the existing bias towards wage workers in labour history not only categorically excluded groups of people from the field of labour history, but also that it left important aspects of the lives of male wage workers unstudied. Cobble wrote the following on the contribution of feminist history to labour history:

> "Indeed, one of the fundamental insights of the worldwide upsurge of feminist labor history since the 1970s has been that limiting labor history to "waged work" meant not only excluding the work and lives of most women historically but also making it impossible to understand the politics, institutions, and identities of male wage workers. Men, like women, relied on the reproductive labor of others to sustain their market work. Men, like women, also were social beings, embedded in families and communities. The goals of the movements built by men and women, as well as the successes and defeats of these movements, are not fully grasped without connecting the public and the private, the individual and the social, market work and family work."[59]

Thus, while Global Labour History has widened the definition of a worker, it has narrowed the research on workers by excluding social and cultural aspects of workers' lives and organisation. Cobble's approach complements Abdullah's work by asking the researcher

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[57] M. van der Linden, *Workers of the World: Essays Toward a Global Labour History* (Leiden, Boston: Brill 2008), 5-8.

[58] S. Bellucci and A. Eckert, 'The 'Labour Question' in Africanist Historiography', in: Idem, eds., *General Labour History of Africa: Workers, Employers and Governments* (Woodbridge; Boydell and Brewer, 2019), 1-14, 4.

[59] D.S. Cobble, 'The Promise and Peril of New Global Labour History', *International Labour and Working-class History* 82 (2012), 99-107, 102.

to delve even deeper into the experiences of workers regardless of their economic status. Cobble's emphasis on the importance of the interaction of waged work and one's role in a complex social work further paves the way for a more prominent role of biographical studies in labour history. A detailed study of life trajectories brings out the various ways in which the individual and the social, as well as the professional and the non-professional, influenced each other the artisan trade union movement discussed here.

Artisans were not only workers. They were not merely influenced by an inherent idea emanating from the society of which they were a part. Artisans also acted as thinkers in their own right. This idea is taken from Gramsci's argument that "Each man, finally, outside his professional activity, carries on some form of intellectual activity, that is, he is a "philosopher", an artist, a man of taste, he participates in a particular conception of the world, has a conscious line of moral conduct, and therefore contributes to sustain a conception of the world or to modify it, that is, to bring into being new modes of thought."[60] A similar point about the relation between workers in their professional activities and their conceptions of the world was made by Eric Hobsbawm. Hobsbawm argued that the itinerant lives of nineteenth century cobblers and shoemakers contributed to their political radicalism in times of economic and political upheaval. This, he argued, was partly the result of the large number of people, both inside and outside their craft, with whom they would discuss political ideas. [61]

It follows from the discussion above that a new contribution to the literature should connect the formation of a new, or at least changing worldview, among Sierra Leonean artisans to their connections to the rest of society. Moreover, it should aim to situate the changing social positions of artisan within local and transnational influences on this process.

The changing relations between the artisans and the rest of society consist of two aspects. On the one hand, these connections consisted of adapting pre-existing as well as developing ideas in society. On the other hand, they consisted of new sets of interpersonal relationships. In this regard this research adopts parts of the theoretical framework of Abner Cohen's 1981 monograph *The Politics of Elite Culture*. Cohen's book focussed on "Creole" civil servants in Sierra Leone and was based on research conducted in 1970. Defining an elite as "collectivity of persons who occupy commanding positions in some important sphere of social life and who share a variety of interest arising from similarities of training, experience

[60] A. Gramsci, 'The formation of the Intellectuals', in G. Smith and Q. Hoare, eds., *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (London, 1971), 5-13, 11.

[61] E. Hobsbawm, *Uncommon People*, 21-26.

public duties and way of life*"*, Cohen argued that elites and other social groups simultaneously fulfil universalistic and particularistic functions. The particularistic functions of a social group ensure its survival as a coherent group and serve to enhance the group's material position. The universalistic functions of a social group consist of the set of obligations or responsibilities the group has towards the rest of society.[62]

This idea rests on a conception of class relations rests on the work of the influential French early sociologist Émile Durkheim. In *The Division of Labour in Society* he argued that the economic and industrial developments of the nineteenth century had created an economic and social system characterised by an increasing specialisation of occupations, administrative functions, and scientific disciplines.[63] According to Durkheim these different specialised forces are held together by a series of mutual interdependencies. These interdependences are partly regulated through formal legislations but mostly through unwritten laws.[64] According to Durkheim society functions akin to a body in which the different organs operate co-dependently and must simultaneously strive to execute their own tasks more efficiently while doing so in a way that ensure the proper functioning of the whole.[65]

According to Cohen elites, defined as above, participate in a way of life which sets them apart from the rest of society. This way of life consists inter alia of etiquette and mores, styles of dress and speech and marriage rules. According to Cohen:

> "These patterns of symbolic activity arise from different private motives and serve a variety of purposes, and cannot therefore be dismissed as mere strategies adopted to legitimize an ideology of eliteness. They are nevertheless invariably intimately related to such an ideology, and their consequences, though often unintended by the actors, are crucial in maintaining power groups."[66]

Introduction to the rules of this 'cult of eliteness' can only successfully occur informally. That is to say that introduction to this way of life is only available to people who spend a great deal of time surrounded by fully initiated members of the elite. The skills necessary to participate in an elite cannot be acquired through formal education. Instead they must be acquired through such varied means as social context as the (extended) family, clubs

[62] A. Cohen, *The Politics of Elite Culture* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1981), xii-xv.

[63] E. Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society* transl. G. Simpson (New York, London, 1964), 39-40.

[64] Ibidem, 147.

[65] Ibidem, 389-390.

[66] Cohen, *Politics of Elite*, 3.

and associations to which one belongs or through extracurricular activities.[67] An extensive set of networks is the most important prerequisite for elite membership. Through these networks the elite's group identity is maintained and transmitted and the totality of these networks and the associated customs and rules form the basis of an elite culture.[68] Yet this elite is, by the nature of the function they fulfil in the social system, connected to the rest of society and adapts its ideology to fulfil this function.

The inherent ideology referred to by Abdullah functioned like Abner's cult of eliteness, although the latter is distinct from the former. The constituent elements of the 'cult of elitness' were disseminated through the various social institutions discussed in Chapter 1. The colony's schools, churches and benefit societies were based on it and in turn reinforced the central values of nineteenth century middle- and upper-class Sierra Leonean society. Christianity, social advancement through self-improvement and education, and mutual support were all central to these institutions. These values were appropriated by artisans in their trade union activities as will be shown throughout this thesis. In doing so it pays particular attention to the ways in which artisans absorbed these values and what role they played in their subsequent alteration and dissemination. In other words, the position of artisans in the networks which maintained the inherent ideology has remained under-researched.

Problem Statement

In its application of Cohen's theory of elite formation to the present case study this thesis uses it as an analytical tool intended to direct the focus of this research. It provides the present thesis with a theoretical concept to understand the importance of interpersonal relationships on artisan trade union activity and class formation. Thus, the central problem addressed by this thesis consists of the hitherto incomplete understanding of personal networks in artisan organisation. By examining the lives and careers of two prominent artisans this thesis addresses three sub-problems.

Firstly, it examines the particularistic and universalistic aspects of the worldview expressed by artisan trade unionists. A study of the former is achieved by examining to what extend and by what means artisan trade unionists attempted to a) improve their own economic position specifically by making demands for better payment for their labour, and b)

[67] Cohen, *Politics of Elite*, 2-3.

[68] Ibidem, 60-61.

to restrict membership of their own professional groups. As the rest of this thesis will show artisan unionists made claims not only about the improvement of their own socio-economic position but also about the way in which artisans ought to serve their view of a common good. These claims were linked to religious ideas but also to the Colony's economic situation beyond their own interests.

Secondly, the research concerns the interpersonal relations and the process of forming these relationships. These interpersonal relationships have remained understudied despite their considerable importance. As argued above colonial Sierra Leone and particularly Freetown was a small space both in terms of physical size and social distance. It was a place where a relatively small group of people would continuously interact with each other in different ways. As shown in the introduction Sierra Leone was awash with social organisations in the form of benefit societies, religious bodies, clubs, and secret societies. The role of these bodies in directing the development of thinking and action among trade union activists constitutes an important gap in the present literature. They played a particularly important role in influencing trade union thinking and action. Furthermore, the networks cultivated within these organisations provided concrete financial and other support to *The Artisan* and access to political decision making. These organisations were also relevant as they function as spaces were trade unionists performed social roles other than their professional roles as artisans and union organisers. They filled the roles of preachers, secular public speakers, and a host of other functions. The degree to which these other roles interacted with their actions as artisan organisers is an object of study in this thesis.

Thirdly, this thesis re-examines the argument that artisan trade union activities in the 1880s and 1890s constituted the beginning of a distinct working-class identity. This requires an appraisal of the degree to which artisans saw themselves as a separate class, the extent to which they organised themselves exclusively along class lines, and the extent to which others identified them as a separate class. Furthermore, the composition of this class is relevant. Did artisans include other categories of workers, like the unskilled labourers to whom they were typically contrasted, in their own social class?

In order to accomplish these objectives this research adopts a life history approach. It portrays the lives of two prominent artisan trade union members who will be briefly introduced in the following section.

Introduction to the Subjects

This section briefly introduces the two subjects of the present thesis: S.H.A. Case (1845-1901) and James Thomas Ojukutu-Macauley (1846-1904).[69] The subsequent sections of this chapter will fully discuss the importance of biography to the present problem, while this section shows why these two men are relevant subjects of study regardless of the specific biographical approach applied.

Case's involvement in the founding of the colony's first trade union, the Mechanics' Alliance, and the accompanying paper *The Artisan* has already been discussed in the foregoing literature review. Although Case's activities as a trade unionist and as a printer have been documented previously, there has been little discussion of the rest of his life and activities both prior to and after this. Thus, a re-examination of his life and career can shed a valuable light on these activities using the theoretical discussions in this chapter.

Ojukutu-Macauley has been referred to as Freetown's premier builder and carpenter of the late nineteenth century.[70] These authors make no mention of any connection between Ojukutu-Macauley and strike action or trade union organisation. However, the primary source research for this thesis has revealed that Ojukutu-Macauley was often directly involved in discussions on the problems of the colony's artisans. Like Case, Ojukutu-Macauley was an important member of the U.M.F.C. churches in Sierra Leone. As such these two men are relevant subjects of study given the importance of church membership to social life in the Freetown. Studying Ojukutu-Macauley's life may thus serve to more fully understand the role of the church in discussions on labour issues.

Ojukutu-Macauley's career also presents an interesting contrast to Case's. Whereas Case held a large variety of different artisan and non-artisan jobs throughout his life, Ojukutu-Macauley had an uninterrupted career as a master artisan which spanned three decades. As such their lives illustrate a division between different sections of the colony's artisans of whom one part was often forced to seek non-artisan employment while others ran their own successful workshops.

The similarities and differences between Case and Ojukutu-Macauley's lives make them suitable subjects for the present thesis. Their respective lives and careers highlight differences among artisans as well as the objectives shared amongst them. The degree to

[69] His name was spelt in many different ways by the contemporary sources: Ojukutu Macauley, Ojukutu-Macauley, Ojukutu Macaulay.

[70] A.B.C. Sibthorpe, *The History of Sierra Leone* (London, 1974 4th Edition), 191. Fyfe, *A History*, 527.

which their lives, or indeed the lives of any biographical subject, can be taken as representative for larger social processes is more fully discussed in Chapter 3. For now, the brief outline of previous discussions on them in the literature suffices. The following section of this chapter provides a more general theoretical overview of biographical writing and its relationship to the historical discipline.

History and function of biography

The relationship between biography and academic history is complex. Many biographers and historians interested in a biographical approach have noted the marginal position of biographical studies within the academic discipline of history.[71] Descriptions of the lives of important and exceptional figures date back to Antiquity and continued through the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. Such texts, called *vita* (Latin meaning life, pl. *vitae*) or *bios* (Greek, meaning life), narrated the lives of important secular figures such as kings, statesmen and generals as well as saints and other notable religious figures. The term biography emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to denote such narrations of important lives.[72] The publication of commemorative biographies usually coincided with important personal milestones. Such biographies lack a critical portrayal of the subject, as they were intended as a celebration of the subject. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century the interpretive biography developed. These biographies were intended to situate the subject within the larger context of the society in which the subject participated. Biographical magazines proliferated in the eighteenth and nineteenth century throughout Europe.[73] With the development of history as an academic discipline in the nineteenth century biography has taken a marginal place, although it never disappeared entirely.

In the 1920s and 1930s a series of structuralist approaches to history arose. These approaches departed from the approach to academic history developed by the nineteenth century historian Leopold von Ranke. The Rankean approach to history was based on close textual analysis of hitherto unutilised material contained in state archives. The Rankean

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[71] D. Nasaw, 'Introduction', *The American Historical Review* 114:3 (2009), 573-578, 573.; J.C Kannmeyer, 'Biografiese geskiedskrywing: 'n Rekenskap', *Tydskrif vir Letterkunde* 43:1 (2006), 42-56, 43.; N. Salvatore, 'Biography and Social History: An Intimate Relationship', *Labour History* 87 (2004), 187-191, 187.

[72] B. de Haan and H. Renders, 'Towards Traditions and Nations' in: Idem, eds., *Theoretical Discussions of Biography: Approaches from history, microhistory and Life Writing* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014), 11-23, 12-13.

[73] H. Renders, 'Roots of Biography', in: B de Haan and H. Renders, eds., *Theoretical Discussions of Biography: Approaches from history, microhistory and Life Writing* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014), 24-42, 24-28.

positivist approach to history assumed that such an approach would lead to an undisputedly factual form of political history.[74] The *Annales* school, which arose in France in the 1920s and 1930s, sought to widen the analytical scope of the historical discipline. This was expressed in the incorporation of insights from disciplines such as geography and anthropology. The *Annales* school displayed an interest in the influence of processes beyond human experience on history. Lucien Febvre was interested in the importance of geographical space on human history. He emphasised distance, space, and position.[75] *Annales* historiography was strongly structuralist, and, therefore, less concerned with the actions of historical individuals. Their focus was on the *longue durée*, the development of human history constrained by structural factors such as the aforementioned interest in geographical space.[76]

The *Annales* school did not entirely forego an interest in human psychology. However, its interest lay in *mentalités*, more general outlooks on life studied over longer periods of history rather than individual psychological analysis. Even so biographical approaches to history developed within the *Annales* school. This interest consisted partly of an interest in autobiographical reflections of historians who sought to connect their own lives to the research they undertook. Additionally, an interest in *mentalités* inspired Lucien Febvre's book *Un Destin, Martin Luther* which explored the relationship between Luther and the pressing political and social issues of his time i.e., the Catholic Church selling indulgences, the conflict between Luther and emperor Charles V. Febvre himself did not regard his work as a biography, but subsequent authors have disagreed with Febvre's view. Especially since Febvre's study of the interactions between individuals and larger social structures has subsequently become a major focus of biographical studies.[77]

Meanwhile, Marxist historians argued that class conflict drives historical change. Although Marxism is a broad category covering an enormous variation of schools of thought,

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[74] L. Stone, 'The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History', *Past and Present* 85 (1979), 3-24, 5.

[75] E. O'Flaherty, 'Annales School', in: J.D. Wright, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences* (2nd Edition, 2015), 708-713, 708-709.

[76] M. Harsgor, 'Total History: The Annales School', *Journal of Contemporary History* 13:1 (1978), 1-13, 4. K. van Walraven, 'Prologue: Reflections on Historiography and Biography and the Study of Africa's Past', In: K. van Walraven, ed., *The Individual in African History: The Importance of Biography in African Historical Studies* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2020), 1-50, 1-2.

[77] B.Caine, *Biography and History* (Basingstoke, 2019 2nd Edition), 19-20. L. Febvre, *Un Destin, Martin Luther* (Paris, 1945 2nd Edition). 1.

some relevant Marxist concepts and argument are briefly discussed here. Marxist historians shared an emphasis of the economic and social issues over politics and culture with members of the *Annales* school.[78] A Marxist critique of the *Annales* school consisted of the charge that the latter paid insufficient attention to historical discontinuities as different systems of social production succeed one another.[79] The Marxists held that historical change is the consequence of conflicts between classes over the organisation of labour and the distribution of resources throughout societies. This view did not entirely preclude the possibility of biography as a means of Marxist scholarship.[80]

Julian Roche examined the works of the French Marxist philosopher Lucien Sève. Sève strove to create a Marxist theory of individuality suited to the production of biographies. Sève argued that individuals are shaped by the social relations of production which prevail in the society these individuals inhabit. According to Sève static and unchanging individuals do not exist. Instead a personality is constantly developed through a series of actions within a historically developed set of social relations. The evolution of these actions by a given individual constitute a biography according to Sève.[81] In other words, instead of retrieving some essential characteristics of a biographical subject who is assumed to possess an unchanging individual personality, a Marxist biography as understood by Sève consists of a study of the totality of activities by a given subject within their historical context. Consequently, a given subject cannot transcend the limits imposed by their own class position.[82]

The restrictions imposed by such a class position are not necessarily mutually exclusive with the agency of the individual who is the subject of a biography. In a critical discussion of Georgi Plekhanov's essay 'The role of the Individual in History' William Shaw argued that historical materialism, the Marxist view that history is determined by changing relationships of production and the resulting material conditions of society, is compatible

[78] L. Hunt, 'French History in the Last Twenty Years: The Rise and Fall of the *Annales* Paradigm', *Journal of Contemporary History* 21 (1986), 209-224, 214.

[79] N. Birnbaum, 'The Annales School and Social Theory [With Discussion]', *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 1:3/4 (1978), 225-242, 232-233. This is not to say that there the two approaches did not find some common ground or cooperation, see Birnbaum's article.

[80] Cain, *Biography and History*, 17-18.

[81] J. Roche, 'Can Biography benefit from a Marxist Theory of Individuality? Lucien Sève's contribution to Biographical theory and practice', *Rethinking Marxism* 30:2 (2018), 291-306, 292-294.

[82] Roche, 'Marxist Theory of Individuality', 294-295.

with individual agency. Shaw contrasted Plekhanov's view to the view espoused by Friedrich Engels. Engels argued that freedom consists of the conscious application of the laws of historical materialism towards one's own goals.[83] Plekhanov argued that within the laws of historical materialism, which determine socio-economic conditions in a given historical circumstance, individual personalities can play a pivotal role in the course of history on the condition that prevailing historical circumstances allow it.[84]

Thus, a Marxist view of history does not deny the importance of individual personalities in historical processes. However, these personalities are not innate and unchangeable and their influence on the course of history is limited by particular socio-economic conditions which are to be understood from the perspective of historical materialism. It is for these reasons that the present thesis devotes considerable attention to the economic context in which the lives of Case and Ojukutu-Macauley took place. Within this context the actions taken by Case and Ojukutu-Macauley to ameliorate the conditions of the colony's artisans are not merely determined by these conditions. Rather, they are the product of conscious and purposeful action.

Adopting elements of a Marxist framework raises concerns over an overly rigid interpretation of the concept of class. E.P. Thompson saw class as a dynamic historical process which is itself the result of prevailing socio-economic conditions. Classes are formed by people in similar economic positions who come together and organise around their own interests.[85] Therefore, this thesis seeks to critically examine the concept of class formation. Rather than treating class as an analytical tool in itself, it sees the formation of a working class as a hypothesis to be examined. Building on Cohen's work this thesis explores the possibility that artisans organised themselves through their connections to the colony's merchants rather than exclusively through institutions built amongst themselves. It investigates whether Cohen's 'cult of eliteness' provides an alternative social group displacing or supporting solidarity among artisans. As discussed in Chapter 1, church membership, education and adherence to particular styles of speech and dress all influenced one's standing in nineteenth century Sierra Leone.

Another relevant critique of class as a concept was provided by Kenneth Grundy.

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[83] W.H. Shaw, 'Plekhanov on the role of the individual in history', *Studies in Soviet Thought* 35:3 (1988), 247-265, 252.

[84] Ibidem, 255-257.

[85] Thompson, *English Working Class*, 11.

Grundy focussed on the applicability of a class-based analysis to African societies. His arguments are important to the present thesis as a means to prevent the methodological nationalism van der Linden cautioned against. Grundy argued that class is not an exclusively Marxist concept and that " all societies […] are characterised by social divisions arising out of common social, economic and political conditions that definitively determine or at least influence each individual's political viewpoint."[86] Like Thompson, Grundy argued that class divisions are changeable and that their alteration can occur relatively quickly, in the span of a generation or less.[87] Thus when this thesis claims to provide an analysis of class formation that should be taken to refer to dynamic processes of social change in which individual actors possess a degree of agency.

Approaching the problematic from a biographical perspective serves to bridge the gap between the focus on globalising processes by Global Labour History scholars and the Thompsonian focus on national working classes. It will become clear from the material discussed in the subsequent chapters that organisation among artisans took place entirely within the territory of the colony. Yet, as discussed in Chapter 1, Sierra Leone and its inhabitants were part of a complex set of transnational networks. These included the colony's incorporation into the British colonial empire and the colony's consequent economic dependence on commercial interactions. Additionally, the population of Sierra Leone maintained ties to Britain through commerce as well as education and the various Christian denominations, but also to various parts of the African continent where the various Liberated African populations hailed from.

Given the methodological critiques of biographical writing offered by postmodernist theorists, a detailed discussion of this approach will be postponed until Chapter 3. According to the Marxists discussed above biographical subjects are shaped by prevailing social relations of production within which they have varying degrees of agency. In the postmodern view the existence of such subjects is questioned. It will be shown throughout this thesis that Case and Ojukutu-Macauley continuously adopted different social roles and presented themselves in different ways. Consequently, any biographical writing is in and of itself selective rather than simple description of a life in a neutral and complete manner. Furthermore, the subjects of such a biography could also change the roles in which they saw

[86] K. Grundy, 'The 'Class Struggle' in Africa: An Examination of Conflicting Theories', *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 2:3 (1964), 379-393, 380.

[87] Ibidem.

themselves or be presented in different roles by their contemporaries.[88] This debate will be taken up again in Chapter 3.

Biography and the history of Sierra Leone

This section examines the various ways in which biographical writing can serve to elucidate the labour history of Sierra Leone. Biographies on important political figures in nineteenth century Sierra Leone have been produced. Furthermore, historical dictionaries have been produced consisting of brief biographical sketches.[89] The biographical monographs concern important intellectual and political persons. Case and Ojukutu-Macauley are only scarcely mentioned in these works. Foray's *Historical Dictionary* contained a lemma on Case, but Magbaily-Fyle's 2006 *New Edition* did not. Case received occasional mentions in Hargreaves' biography of Samuel Lewis as well as some non-biographical historical works. None of the biographical dictionaries contains a lemma on Ojukutu-Macauley and he is mentioned even less than Case in the non-biographical literature. Despite his reputation as a great and important builder Ojukutu-Macauley seems largely forgotten in the literature.

The overall paucity of sources on their two lives is discussed in Chapter 3. Given the overall objectives of the present research the lack of sources on the interior lives of Case and Ojukutu-Macauley is unfortunate. Such sources would undoubtedly have helped to paint a more complete picture of the reasoning and motivation behind Case and Ojukutu-Macauley's actions. Yet, the focus of the research is not thinking in a private sphere but rather the formation and expression of ideas in a variety of public settings. In other words, the present research is concerned with ideas expressed in public with the objective of effecting social change.

Given the methodological constraints imposed on the production of a full-length biographical monograph on each of the two historical subjects of this thesis and its research

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[88] A. Eckert and A. Jones, 'Introduction: Writing About Everyday Life', *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 15:1 (2002), 5-16,9.

[89] J.D. Hargreaves, *A life of Sir Samuel Lewis* (London, 1958); C. Fyfe, *Africanus Horton 1835-1883: West African Scientist and Patriot* (New York, 1972); H.R. Lynch, *Edward Wilmot Blyden: Pan-Negro Patriot*(London, 1967); A.M. Cromwell, *An African Victorian Feminist: The Life and Times of Adelaide Smith Casely Hayford, 1868-1960* (Washington D.C., 1992); E.A. Ayandele, *Holy Johnson*: *Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917* (London, 1970). Biographical Dictionaries: C.P. Foray, *Historical Dictionary of Sierra Leone* (Metuchen, N.J., London, 1977); C. Magbaily-Fyle, *Historical Dictionary of Sierra Leone: New Edition* (Lanham, Toronto, Oxford, 2006); L.H.Ofosu-Appiah, *Dictionary of African Biography Volume 2: Sierra Leone-Zaïre* (Algonac, Michigan, 1979).

objectives, other options must be explored. Such alternatives are prosopography and group biography. L. Stone defined the former approach as "the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives."[90] According to Stone this approach can be used to study the relationships between a relatively small number of individuals to demonstrate the cohesion of the social group to which they belong. Such an approach to prosopography elucidates the way in which social groups are held together by ties of blood, marriage, educational and occupational background and economic interests.[91] A prosopography is founded on a large aggregate of biographical data, but it does not constitute a biography in and of itself. L.B. Namier saw his prosopography on the British parliament at the time of the American Revolution as an introduction to a narrative history of this period.[92] Thus prosopography is an interesting accumulation of biographical data but does not itself constitute a biographical analysis.

Group biography arose in the 1970s to address the concern that biographies portrayed their subjects in artificial isolation from other people. Some of these works took the form of biographies of family members particularly sisters to explore the importance of interpersonal familial relationships. Group biographies extend beyond the aforementioned family biographies and include studies on the internal dynamics of powerful groups or formal political organisations. To quote Barbara Cain's summary of group biography:

> "Group biography has been particularly attractive to those concerned to link life stories with wider historical processes and to use them to illustrate particular historical developments or patterns. But it has been of interest also to many seeking new approaches to intellectual biography, as it offers a way of showing not only social and personal connections but also political developments which have directed the attention of people in particular ways as well as how important personal interaction has been in the development of particular ideas."[93]

It is for this reason that the study of the lives of two prominent artisan trade unionists can provide a new perspective on the problem addressed in this thesis. Thus, the approach of the present thesis can address the existing gaps in labour history historiography by

[90] L. Stone, 'Prosopography', *Daedalus* 100:1 (1971), 46-79, 46.

[91] Ibidem, 47.

[92] L.B. Namier, *The Structure of Politics at Accession of George III, Vol I* (London, 1929), vii.

[93] Caine, *Biography and History*, 58-62.

embedding its biographical account into the theoretical framework outlined in the previous section. However, its analysis of the lives of its two protagonists must be augmented by a re-examination of the social context in which these lives played out. The data collected in the context of the present thesis revealed that relevant developments in the actions of the unskilled workers in Freetown took place. As such the conditions of unskilled labourers in Sierra Leone as well as political developments within the colony's mercantile elite and the colony's economic situation are discussed. This approach results in a biographical account that is often augmented by considerations of broader social trends in which the lives of its subjects took place.

This interaction between various forms of biography and history is central to discussions on the relevance of biography to social history. A view of the importance of biographical studies in understanding of historical processes is given by Wengraf, Chamberlayne and Bornat.

> "Biographical social researchers in the 1990s were increasingly attempting to describe people as historically formed actors whose biographies are necessary to render fully intelligible their historical action in context-its conditions, meanings, and outcomes, whether such conditions, meanings, and outcomes be conscious or unconscious. We expect this to develop further in the 21st century."[94]

A particular form of biographical writing distinct from biography consists of so-called life histories. The life history method originated in anthropology and were built on lengthy narrations of lived lives by informants. The source of life history is the life story which is an informant's narration of their own life to the researcher in the form of an interview. This life story is not the same as the lived experience of the life but rather an attempt by the informant to provide some coherence to that lived experience. After this initial interpretation of the lived experience by the informant the researcher adds another layer of interpretation by acquiring further source material in the form of additional interviews and documentary data.[95] While distinctions between different forms of biographical writing are often blurry, a useful distinction between a full biography and other forms of "biographical books" is made by

[94] T. Wengraf, P. Chamberlayne and J. Bornat, 'A biographical Turn in the Social Sciences? A British-European View', *Cultural Studies-Critical Methodologies* 2:2 (2002), 245-269, 251.

[95] I., Goodson, 'The Story of Life History: Origins of the Life History Method in Sociology', *Identity* 1:2 (2001), 129-142,138-139.

Backscheider. Whereas the former involves a close relationship between author and subject resulting in the work conveying an intimate understanding of the subject's life, the latter utilise the subject's life to explore matters outside of that life.[96]

The present study is categorised here as a life history rather than a biography, as its objective is to provide an insight into a process of social change through a discussion of two lives.[97] The advantage of utilising two life histories to contribute to larger historical debates was developed by Peša. Building on Vansina's essay 'The Power of Systematic Doubt in Historical Inquiry', in which he advocated a process of hypothesis formulation and subsequent doubts of this hypothesis based on empirical research, Peša argued that life histories can be used to question existing explanations in the historiography.[98] Using multiple individual lives instead of only one highlights the possibility that processes of social changes are perceived very differently, or even lead to very different life trajectories, between different actors.[99] These tensions are highlighted in the present thesis through its discussion of two separate life histories.

In short, this objective of enhancing our understanding of artisan trade unionism in Sierra Leone in the final quarter of the nineteenth century requires an understanding of the historical context in which these lives were situated. Simultaneously, the study of these two lives highlights important historical developments. These two lives cannot provide a comprehensive overview of the larger processes of social change in which they were situated. As is discussed below, Case and Ojukutu-Macauley's experiences were fundamentally different from those of many, if not most, of their contemporaries. The importance of a life history approach to the existing literature is that it has the potential of providing new answers to old questions and to bring up new questions.

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[96] P.R. Backscheider, *Reflections on Biography* (Oxford, 1999), 232-234.

[97] It should be noted that the terms 'biography' and 'life history' are often used interchangeably. K. van Walraven, 'Prologue: Reflections on Historiography and Biography and the Study of Africa's Past', In: K. van Walraven, ed., *The Individual in African History: The Importance of Biography in African Historical Studies* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2020), 1-50, 9-10.

[98] I. Peša, 'From Life Histories to Social History', In: K. van Walraven, ed., *The Individual in African History: The Importance of Biography in African Historical Studies* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2020), 91-113, 93.
J. Vansina, ''The Power of Systematic Doubt in Historical Enquiry', *History in Africa* 1 (1974), 109-127.

[99] Peša, 'From Life Histories', 92.

Research Questions

The discussion above leads to the following general problem statement to be addressed in the present thesis. In short, the present thesis contributes to the literature on strike activity, trade union formation and class formation in Sierra Leone in the period ca. 1875-1900. It does so in the following ways. Firstly, it provides a new account of significant strike action and trade union formation among artisans during this period in Sierra Leone. Secondly, it contributes to the existing literature by incorporating more recent theoretical developments within the labour history literature which have hitherto not been applied to this particular period and location. Thirdly, it enriches existing class analyses by including non-economic factors in the social hierarchy of Sierra Leone in this period. The various theoretical issues and problem statement discussed above are addressed in this thesis by answering the following overarching research question divided into five sub-questions.

To what extent did S.H.A. Case and J.T. Ojukutu-Macauley contribute to the formation of an artisan working-class in Sierra Leone in the period 1875-1900?

Sub-Questions:

- How did Case and Ojukutu-Macauley and the organisations to which they belonged argue for the interests of artisans? To what extent were there arguments universalistic and to what extent where they particularistic?
- How did their social position in terms of education, occupation and religion influence these arguments?
- How did the social networks in which Case and Ojukutu-Macauley participated influence their ability to present these arguments and possibly have them implemented?
- To what extent did these activities lead to the formation of a working-class identity among artisans?
- To what extent did this class identity include and exclude other groups of workers, particularly unskilled labourers?

Chapter 3 Sources Methods and Methodology

Whereas Chapter 2 concentrated on the research objectives of various forms of biographical research, this chapter focusses on the operationalisation of the research objectives formulated in the previous chapter. It first discusses life history and post-modernist approaches to biographical writing. It then continues with a brief survey of the sources employed. Thereafter, it presents an account of the process of collecting the data and the pitfalls of the methods employed. Finally, some reflections on the process of doing biographical research are offered.

Life History Methodology

The origins of life history have already been discussed in Chapter 2 above. Chapter 2 outlined theoretical approaches to biography and the relationship between biographical studies and the historical discipline. This section discusses some epistemological and methodological issues associated with biographical writing. This chapter discusses the ways in which that method has been employed in the present study. As highlighted by Goodson in the previous chapter, life histories are traditionally based on oral accounts retrieved by the research through oral interviews with their subjects. In the case of the present thesis this approach was obviously impossible. Instead, the information on which this thesis is based was derived from a variety of mostly written sources. The process of narrating one's life to an interviewer introduces a number of methodological issues, which differ from the problems derived from using the written sources utilised in the present thesis.

Using interviews or other forms of oral history as the source for a life history brings up questions on the nature and reliability of memory and recollection, the interaction between informant and researcher, and the issue of self-construction through narration.[100] An approach resting on documentary evidence has been advocated by Plummer. Yet, the documents he identified as source material for writing on life consist of ego-documents, that is, documents or objects produced by the subject themselves.[101] The absence of both of these sources of self-narration so crucial to many life histories results in a substantially different research approach in the present thesis.

The importance of analysing the subject's self-narration or self-construction relates to

[100] J. Martin, 'Life History Methodology', in: P. Green, ed., *Slices of Life: Qualitative Research Snapshots* (Melbourne 2002), 110-120, 111-112.

[101] K. Plummer, *Documents of Life 2* (London 2001 2nd edition), 3.

postmodernist approaches to biography and life history. Postmodernist scholars contended that the traditional biography was written from the perspective of an omniscient narrator/biographer pretending to divulge a full truth of the subject's life. They argued that such an approach was problematic.[102] Pierre Bourdieu discussed what he called a 'life history'. According to Bourdieu the conception of such a 'life history' is linear in a double sense. It is linear in the sense that it moves from a beginning, namely birth, to an end, namely death. It is also linear in the sense that it follows a logical path from a *raison d'être* to an end which is the objective of this *raison d'être.* This linearity is imposed upon a life in consequence of writing a 'life history'.[103] Under the influence of such thinking biographical studies shifted their emphasis to studying narrated lives, often using oral interviews as source material.[104]

Such narrative (self)constructions are of limited use to the purposes of the present thesis for two reasons. Firstly, there has been a theoretical acknowledgement that post-cultural turn social sciences struggle to account for material issues. There is considerable discussion whether biographies can reveal the realities behind individual stories.[105] Secondly, in this particular case there is little to no material available providing such a self-narration. There are a few instances in which Case and Ojukutu-Macauley refer to themselves, often to derive authority to speak on a particular issue from their biographies, but few of them encompass their entire lives. Therefore, the evidence on their self-construction is fragmentary at best.

In the absence of first-person self-narrations another source of information capable of answering questions of identity must be found. An approach grounded in methodological realism can offer a solution to this problem. In this perspective causality is not a relation between discrete causes and effects but rather an analysis of the causal powers of the relations between individuals in structures. Objects, agents, and structures have liabilities that make them act in a specific way. Therefore, an analysis of the causal powers of any given

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[102] C.J. Lambert, 'Postmodern Biography: Lively Hypotheses and *Dead Certainties*', *Biography* 18:4 (1995), 305-327, 305-306.

[103] P. Bourdieu, 'L'Illusion Biographique', *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* 62-63 (1986), 69-72, 69-70.

[104] A. Nilsen, 'From Questions of Method to Epistemological Issues: The Case of Biographical Research', in: P. Alasuutari, L. Bickman and J. Brannen, eds., *Sage Handbook of Social Research Methods* (London, 2008), 81-94, 87-89.

[105] Ibidem, 91-92.

actor or structure depends on a thorough empirical analysis of the nature of that actor or structure.[106] Thus, "By looking at the actual relations entered into by identifiable agents, the interdependencies between activities and between characteristics can be identified." Such qualitative small-scale research contributes to identifying the way in which causal powers operate.[107] Thus, instead of approaching the question from the perspective of self-narration, this thesis reconstructs a series of relations entered into by its two subjects.

Thus, the focus of this study shifts away from self-constructions and wider questions of motivation, although the latter are not done away with entirely. It presents a reconstruction of two lives from cradle to grave based on a variety of sources. The description of these two lives is linked to larger processes of social change. As this study is interested in the ways in which two individual artisans interacted with larger social structures, agency is a significant concept. Agents have the ability to change or reproduce existing structures.[108] When connected to the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 2, a critical realist approach accommodates the ability of individuals to change social structures, or even to bring new ones into existence, while also recognising the causal power of existing structures and the way these influence individual or group action.

According to Fletcher, critical realism is founded on a separation of ontology and epistemology. This means that the study of being, the field of study of ontology, is not the same as the study of that which can be known, the field of study of epistemology. In critical realism reality may be understood through theory identifying causal mechanisms. Critical realist ontology distinguishes three layers of reality:

> "The first is the empirical level, which is the realm of events as we experience them. At this level, events or objects can be measured empirically and are often explained through 'common sense,' but these events are always mediated through the filter of human experience and interpretation. This is the transitive level of reality, where social ideas, meanings, decisions, and actions occur – but, importantly, these can be causal. The middle level consists of the actual. At this level, there is no filter of human experience. Events occur whether or not we

[106] R.A. Sayer, *Method in Social Science: a Realist Approach* (London: Routledge, 1992 2nd revised edition), 105.

[107] Sayer, *Methods in Social Science*, 242.

[108] C.Houeland, *Punching above their weight: Nigerian trade unions in the political economy of oil*, (Ås, 2018 diss.), 22-23.

> experience or interpret them, and these true occurrences are often different from what is observed at the empirical level […] Finally, the third level is the real. At this level causal structures, or 'causal mechanisms,' exist. These are the inherent properties in an object or structure that act as causal forces to produce events;"[109]

Thus, at the empirical level there is room for interpretation by individual actors. This study mainly concerns itself with the mediation of social structures through human experience. The study of two lives serves to illuminate the various ways in which historical actors might interact with larger social structures. It is important to note that critical realist scholars argue that the levels of the 'actual' and the 'real' are intransitive, that is, they occur regardless of the ability of an observer to perceive them.[110] The Thompsonian definition of class puts the focus of the present research into the empirical or transitive level of reality due to its focus on a process of meaning making by human agents. A critical realist perspective separates the causal powers of human agents and non-human structures.[111] Houeland argued that the powers of workers in the transitive, social realm are derived from the lower, intransitive level. In the case of the worker she mentions the ability of a worker to work or not to work, while combinations of workers in trade unions have different powers irreducible to the powers of individual workers.[112] As such, this thesis investigates the extent to which human-made structures, such as trade unions, religion, and class were refashioned by human agents so as to modify their causal powers. As is shown in subsequent chapters, artisan trade unionists appropriated existing social structures and modified them for their own purposes. The conclusion of this thesis will draw on the empirical material discussed in chapters 4 through 8 to briefly discuss the mutual influencing between agents and larger social structures. Having identified the critical realist contribution to the present thesis, the next section will outline the source material undergirding the description and analysis presented in this text.

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[109] A.J. Fletcher, 'Applying Critical Realism in Qualitative Research: Methodology Meets Method', *Journal of Social Science Methodology* 20:2 (2017), 181-194, 182-183.

[110] R. Bhaskar, 'Philosophy and Scientific Realism', in: M. Archer et al., eds., *Critical Realism: Essential Readings* (Hoboken 2013), 16-47, 16-17.

[111] D. Elder-Vass, 'Searching for Realism, Structure and Agency in Actor Network Theory', *The British Journal of Sociology* 59:3 (2008), 455-473, 456.

[112] Houeland, *Punching Above Their Weight*, 20.

Sources

Newspapers

Newspaper articles account for a large share of the information presented throughout this thesis. Chapter 1 has already discussed the importance of the press in the colony. For the period discussed by this thesis several different newspapers are available (see Table 1). Newspapers were accessed through the Readex database *African Newspapers*.[113]

The newspapers provide invaluable information. Most of the information on Case and Ojukutu-Macauley's life trajectories was taken from these sources. The newspapers often reported on religious and social gatherings in the colony, often providing detailed lists of attendees. The papers were also important platforms for discourse on social issues and are therefore a good source of information on attitudes, proposed solutions, and grievances surrounding the colony's problems. Advertisements in newspapers give an impression of the type of work performed by the advertiser. In several instances they were used to gain an understanding of the type of work performed by Case, Ojukutu-Macauley, or other relevant people. Aside from these papers, physical copies of Case's *The Artisan* and *Commonwealth* were consulted from the collection of the British Library. These are obviously valuable sources for Case's opinions.

Table 1 Sierra Leonean Newspapers available through Readex, c. 1850-1922.

Title	No. of issues	Publication Start	Publication ended
African Interpreter and Advocate	12	02/02/1867	24/04/1869
Colony and Provincial Reporter	352	21/09/1912	06/11/1920
Independent	84	24/12/1874	23/05/1878
Sierra Leone Guardian and Foreign Mails	408	10/04/1908	20/12/1918
Sierra Leone Times	403	05/03/1892	16/04/1904
Sierra Leone Weekly News	1912	06/09/1884	30/12/1922[114]

[113] Readex African Newspapers, Series 1 <https://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/readex/welcome?p=WHNPAFR1>(last accessed 18 February 2020).

[114] The *Weekly News* continued publication into the 1950s, but is only digitally available until 1922 through Readex

There are also several problems associated with the use of newspapers as a source of information. As shown in Table 1, there are significant gaps in the coverage of the papers. Most crucially, the period between 1878 and 1884 is not covered by any newspaper sources. This is regrettable, as this significantly reduces the available material covering a significant period in Case and Ojukutu-Macauley's lives. Also, some papers are illegible or simply missing from the record. The period after 1884 is best documented. The appearance of the *Sierra Leone Times* in 1892 as a serious competitor to the *Weekly News* has the potential of highlighting some aspects of the disagreements within the Freetown public in the 1890s. The newspapers also reflected the concerns of a rather limited section of the colony's population. Newspapers were generally run and supported by wealthy urban elites and mainly reflect the concerns of the urban merchants, professionals, and wealthier artisans.[115] The colony's lower-class inhabitants were not represented by the press. Moreover, the press was strongly Christian, the *Weekly News* was founded by a Methodist Reverend for example, leaving out the colony's sizeable Muslim population discussed in Chapter 1.

Government Archives

This thesis is based on archival sources from a number of archives in Sierra Leone and the United Kingdom. This section first discusses the government archives in both countries and the ways in which they complement the newspaper sources. It then turns to the various non-governmental archives which have been used.

The two most important archival collections are the collections of the Sierra Leone National Archives (henceforth abbreviated to SLNA) in Freetown and the records of the Colonial Office in the collection of The National Archives in the UK (henceforth abbreviated to TNA). These two archives have some material in common, but their collections also differ in important ways. Most of the material they share consists of the correspondence of the colony's governors to the Secretary of State for the colonies in London. These despatches, and the enclosure attached to them, are an important source on the various issues which demanded the attention of the colonial government. Both archives also contain the minutes of the colony's administrative councils, the Legislative Council and the Executive Council. Both archives also contain the annual *Blue Books* of statistical information. These are important sources of information concerning the colony's demography, economy, and membership of various social organisations and religious bodies.

[115] G.K. Deveneaux, 'Public Opinion and Colonial Policy in Nineteenth-Century Sierra Leone' *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 9:1 (1976), 45-67, 48-50.

Apart from these sources which can be consulted in both archives, the two archives provide a host of unique sources. The SLNA contains a large number of minute papers. These minute papers contain correspondences between different departments and officials of the colonial administration in the colony. They often contain petitions, reports, or correspondence relating to the daily administration of the colony. These often contain handwritten remarks added by various colonial officials which outline the development of a particular policy.[116] There are also various other collections of intragovernmental correspondence in the SLNA.

Archival sources for labour issues are somewhat scant. There was no dedicated labour department in the colonial government, as was the case in most of the British colonial empire.[117] Moreover, one must consider the objectives of the colonial government when it produced the data stored in the archive. The priorities of the government and future researcher, or even other contemporary institutions, did not necessarily align. Information on labour issues was thus collected by various departments. The Department for Native affairs collected some rather unreliable data on the influx of migrants into the colony. Accurate statistics on employment or wage rates are hard to come by. Luckily, rigorous existing scholarship helps to mitigate these to some extent, although, as will be discussed elsewhere, these studies have their shortcomings as well.

Other Written Sources

While newspaper articles and government reports and documents constitute a substantial portion of the evidence collected in the course of the research, a few other sources have been utilised. These will be briefly discussed over the course of the next few paragraphs.

A few non-government archives were visited in the course of the research. The first one is the archival collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry in London. This collection holds some material on the Masonic Lodge to which Case belonged towards the end of his life. The collection of the Wesley House in Cambridge has also been consulted for information relating to the history of the United Methodist Free Churches.

Some contemporary secondary sources have also been accessed from the collection of the British Library in London and the Leiden University Libraries. These include A.B.C.

[116] The minutes from the office of the Colonial Secretary are cited as C.S.O. M.P. with a corresponding number.

[117] S. Bellucci and A. Eckert, 'The 'Labour Question' in Africanist Historiography', in: Idem, eds., *General Labour History of Africa: Workers, Employers and Governments* (Woodbrigde: Boydell and Brewer, 2019), 1-14, 2.

Sibthorpe's *The History of Sierra Leone* and several other published speeches, essays, and books. These writings provide a contemporary view of events and assessments of the impact Case and Ojukutu-Macauley made on their contemporaries.

Oral sources

While oral sources contribute relatively little to the present thesis, they are nevertheless worthy of some discussion. The objective of conversing with local informants was two-fold. Firstly, it was aimed at gaining a better understanding of the functioning of local religious communities. This ranged from brief explanations on the meaning of various administrative terms in the church hierarchy to discussions of the history of the buildings and congregations. Secondly, I made an endeavour to speak to persons who could provide some oral accounts on the two subjects. The passage of time made these problematic as primary sources for the lives of Case and Ojukutu-Macauley. Still, there were a few useful results from these conversations. Most notably the location of Case's former house and workshop and a useful account of the history of Freemasonry in Sierra Leone were obtained.

Operationalisation

Some preliminary research was carried out prior to the fieldwork period. This consisted of searching the Readex database for relevant information. Some of this information was previously collected during an internship at the International Institute of Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam. From this project a great deal of material relating to various strikes discussed in this thesis has been retained and used.

The fieldwork in Freetown was carried out between 12 September 2018 and 23 December 2018. Research during this period consisted of perusing the collections of the SLNA located on the campus of the University of Sierra Leone. This collection houses the various materials discussed above. Another strand of research consisted of visits to various locations revealed to have been relevant to Case and Ojukutu-Macauley's lives. These include various churches belonging to their respective religious denominations. Informal conversations and memorial plaques provided further context to the material in the archives and newspapers.

While the archives in Freetown are a rich source of information, using them presents several challenges. There are few comprehensive indices available for the collection and even some individual boxes contain no indication of their contents. The labels on some volumes are so worn away as to be illegible. More seriously still is that over the course of history material has been lost or seriously damaged. Some handwritten reports are nearly illegible

due to the deterioration of the paper or the washing out of the ink.

Oral sources were acquired via a form of snowball sampling. Usually informants were found after a visit to any particular location. Discussions with persons present at churches led them to refer me to someone my informant might have deemed to be more knowledgeable on the particular topic of discussion. These conversations often coincided with visits or small tours around a church building to examine the memorial plaques.

Research in London took place between 2 and 30 January 2019. It consisted of consulting the archival collections of the TNA, the collections of the British Library, including physical copies of *The Artisan*, the collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry, as well as Wesley House in Cambridge.

The archival material perused in London mainly served to fill gaps left by the material in Freetown. Some crucial materials that had been lost to the collection in Freetown were still available in London. The detailed reports of the 1892 strike cited in Chapter 6 were missing from the collection in Freetown. The collection was also consulted in case research in the collections of the British Library yielded additional questions for the archival material that had remained unaddressed by the material consulted in Freetown. Brief visits to the Wesley House collection and the collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry yielded additional material. The physical copies of *The Artisan* available in the British Library were crucial. No further oral interviews were conducted in London.

After the fieldwork period in Freetown and London, the material collected was organised further. Arranging the material for the thesis yielded additional questions and resulted in additional searches in the newspaper sources described above.

Miscellaneous comments

The preceding sections of this chapter as well as Chapter 2 have mainly considered the theoretical and technical aspects of the research. This chapter has also discussed the shortcomings of the material cited in this thesis. Yet, the research has not only yielded the data cited in his thesis which consists mainly of references to written material, but also a host of experiences which are not so easily captured in a footnote. Reference has already been made to the ‘smallness’ of colonial Freetown. This notion has not only resulted from material on the demography of the city or of an examination of maps such as Map 1. Moving through the historical city centre in pursuit of informants, sightseeing, or travelling to the archive amidst the many structures erected during the period under review in this thesis, provides one with a particular familiarity which is difficult to convey in an academic discussion.

For instance, it is only a few minutes' walk from Case's home and workshop to Samaria Church where he attended church and preached for some two decades. The former site of the Artisan Workshop, which was destroyed in 1999, is only a few streets, perhaps ten minutes walking, away from Wesley Church, where Case went to church between 1895 and 1901. Figure 2 shows the small grid-like arrangement of the city centre and illustrates the smallness of colonial Freetown.

Figure 2: Map *of Freetown 1894 Source: C.P. Lucas, A Historical Geography of the British Colonies Vol. III: West Africa (Oxford 1894), 157.*

While there is little material discussing the modes of transport of most inhabitants of the colony prior to the construction of the railway after 1896, apart from horse-drawn

carriages used for recreational purposes by the city's elites until a sleeping sickness epidemic in the late 1850s, no mention is made of the large scale use of any vehicles for personal transport.[118] Therefore, Case and Ojukutu-Macauley presumably made most of their daily trips on foot. Unfortunately, it is entirely unclear what they were doing during those walks. Were they spent in quiet contemplation? Did they encounter friends or acquaintances along the way and stop to talk?

Figure 3 Site of Case's home and workshop in December 2018, photo by the author

While the source material provides accounts of social functions attended by Case and Ojukutu-Macauley, it is often silent on the contents of the conversations Case and Ojukutu-Macauley had there. In virtually all instances it is not recorded with whom Case and Ojukutu-Macauley interacted. Apart from a few instances where the written sources make mention of it, it is unclear who they counted as their friends. In other words, there is substantial information on *who* Case and Ojukutu-Macauley knew, or at least are likely to have known given their repeated interactions, but it is unclear *how well* they knew these people.

All of this makes any interpretation of the social and cultural life of Case and Ojukutu-Macauley fraught with difficulties. The uncertainty of a lot of biographical information informs the need to fill the gaps in the material with a degree of reasonable

[118] R. Law, 'Wheeled Transport in Pre-Colonial West Africa', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 50:3 (1980), 249-262, 253.

speculation.[119] Moreover, as Lepore has suggested, it is well possible, even essential, for biographers to develop some kind of emotional attachment to their subjects, a fact that introduces the serious possibility of over-insertion by the authors.[120] Making reference to a wide range of different materials with a consideration of various theoretical perspectives aims to counteract this tendency. The use of a mixture of different methods and sources is aimed at increasing the number of perspectives on the events discussed.

The influence of the archival material that is not cited in this thesis has also been important to the final thesis. Much of the cited material was contained in great leather volumes or cardboard boxes filled with other material. Browsing this material provided an insight into the priorities of the colonial government. This grants some insight into what has been called the "fantasy of the imperial archive", the view held by the colonial government that its archives were a comprehensive repository of knowledge.[121] The uncited information ranges from the mundane to the scandalous, including a report on workplace romance in the colonial hospital. At other times, as discussed elsewhere, the producers of the information themselves admitted to its unreliability and incompleteness.

Conclusion

A life history is a construct derived from the combination of a great variety of different materials. This thesis leans heavily on the use of written newspaper accounts and archival material. Nevertheless, I have argued that the experience of doing research has informed this thesis to a greater extent than the footnotes suggest. The same applies to the litany of archival material which has been perused in the course of the research but not included in the final text.

The gaps in the material necessitate a degree of speculation based on the available sources. Biographical studies produce a degree of intimacy between researcher and the researched subjects. Therefore, this chapter has discussed, so far as possible, the various ways in which the course of the research may have informed certain choices of interpretation in the subsequent text. The following chapters are situated mostly in the empirical level of the

[119] D.D. Cordell, 'Introduction: People and History in Modern Africa', in: D.D. Cordell, ed., *The Human Tradition in Modern Africa* (Lanham, 2012), 1-9, 8.

[120] J. Lepore, 'Historians who love too much: reflections on Microhistory and Biography', *The Journal of American History* 88:1 (2001), 129-144, 133-134.

[121] M. Manoff, 'Theories of the Archive across the Disciplines', *Portal: libraries and the academy* 4:1 (2004), 9-25, 14-16.

critical realist ontology and concern themselves with the mediation of social structures by individual actors in a more or less chronological order, although sometimes thematic considerations have taken precedence over strict chronology.

Chapter 4 Early lives: Case and Ojukutu-Macauley,1845-1885

Samuel Henry Athanasius Case and James Thomas Ojukutu-Macauley were born in Freetown less than one year apart. Case was born on 30 July 1845 to John and Nancy Case of Wellington Street. Case is described as being of Popo decent meaning that his ancestors hailed from Dahomey.[122] The Popo were a fractured and multilingual group, as discussed in Chapter 1, and it is unclear to what extent this heritage influenced Case's further life and career.[123] In 1853 his father died leaving the education of the eight-year-old Case in the hands of his mother. His parents' occupations and economic status are unknown. Like other Liberated Africans the Case family was committed to providing their son with a good education. Case received his primary education at the Government School and was sent to the Grammar school at age thirteen. His obituary remembered him as a capable and industrious student who performed well in school.[124] During his education Case met the future amateur historian A.B.C. Sibthorpe. Sibthorpe wrote that the two men maintained an intimate friendship until Case's passing in 1901.[125]

James Thomas Ojukutu-Macauley was born on 28 July 1846 in Freetown. His father Henry was a cattle merchant and his mother was a petty trader.[126] His family was of Egba descent, a subgroup of the Yoruba. Like Case he received his primary education from the renowned school teacher Mr. Moore. Here Ojukutu-Macauley was educated alongside the future mayor of Freetown Samuel Lewis, Lewis' brother Alfred, who would go on to work for the colonial government in Gambia, and Richard Beale Blaize, later a wealthy businessman who was at one time the government printer in Gambia.[127] The remaining trajectory of Ojukutu-Macauley's education is poorly recorded. It certainly ended when he became an apprentice to a noted builder Mr. Thomas in 1865 at age 19.[128] It is highly likely that Ojukutu-Macauley and Case encountered each other as children although none of the evidence suggests any particular familiarity between the two at this stage of their lives. The reasons for Ojukutu-Macauley becoming a builder rather than taking up a career as a

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[122] C.P. Foray, *Historical Dictionary of Sierra Leone* (Metuchen, N.J., London, 1977), 33-34. Fyfe, *A History*, 170. Death of Mr. S.H.A. Case, *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (henceforth *SLWN*), 4 May 1901, 6.

[123] See page 5 above.

[124] 'Death of Mr. S.H.A. Case, *SLWN* ,4 May 1901, 6.

[125] Sibthorpe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 138.

[126] His mother's name is not mentioned in the source material.

[127] 'Death of Mr. J.T. Ojukutu-Macauley, *SLWN*, 15 October 1904, 2. Fyfe, *A History*, 491 and 537.

[128] 'Death of Mr. J.T. Ojukutu-Macauley', *SLWN*,15 October 1904, 2.

merchant, like his father, are unknown. The nature of his parents' occupation may shed some light on this question. Henry Macauley's work as a cattle trader exemplified the importance of trading connections with the interior of Sierra Leone. The area around Freetown was unsuited for grazing cattle and livestock. Meat, cattle, and livestock had to be imported from the interior for consumption in Freetown as well as for export trade.[129] Ojukutu-Macauley's mother was one of many female petty traders in Freetown. Female traders had played an important part in the Sierra Leonean economy ever since the arrival of the Nova Scotians in 1792. Their trading activities ranged from simply selling the surpluses produced in their household to sizeable mercantile undertakings. Although many European observers disapproved of the Sierra Leonean focus on trade rather than agriculture, trade remained a mainstay for many Sierra Leonean women. The important role of women in trade was carried from Africa, particularly Yorubaland, to North America and thence to Sierra Leone by the Nova Scotians. Liberated African women and their descendants carried on trade on varying scales until the end of the nineteenth century. These trade activities resulted in a notable degree of economic and sexual freedom of women, especially compared to the strict Victorian morals of the British as well as the local upper and middle classes.[130]

The scale of the operations, and consequently the economic standing, of the Macauley family is unknown. Consequently, the motivations bringing Ojukutu-Macauley into his subsequent career remain obscure. His obituary in the *Weekly News* simply reported that "Macaulay left school, and was placed as an apprentice in the establishment of a Mr. Thomas, a builder of the fore front rank."[131] The demand for skilled carpenters and builders was high throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Many successful traders had homes built and many churches were built or renovated. Perhaps Ojukutu-Macauley chose carpentry for this reason or perhaps other factors informed his decision. It is well possible he showed a natural ability or inclination towards the trade. Later in life he expressed a clear pride in his occupation indicating a strong moral, emotional attachment to his work.

Whatever his motivations may have been for choosing a career in carpentry, it turned out to be a profitable decision. In 1870 he became a full master builder and opened his own

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[129] T.J. Alldridge, *A Transformed Colony: Sierra Leone, as It Was, and as It Is: Its Progress, Peoples, Native Customs and Undeveloped Wealth* (Westport, 1970[1909]), 148.

[130] This description of female traders in Sierrra Leone is derived from: E. White, *Sierra Leone's Settler Women Traders: Women on the Afro-European Frontier* (Ann Arbor, 1990 4th pressing), 20-28.

[131] 'Death of Mr. J.T. Ojukutu-Macauley', *SLWN,* 15 October 1904, 2.

workshop.[132] In 1876 Ojukutu-Macauley opened a new workshop on Water Street. He offered services as a carpenter, joiner and undertaker. He especially advertised his funerary services and his "New Fashionable and Splendid Hearse with Rich Plumes."[133] The combination of carpentry and joinery work, and funeral services was not uncommon as evidenced by other contemporary advertisements.[134]

Case's early career was considerably less straightforward. The timeline of his activities throughout the 1860s is somewhat hazy. Case spent eighteen months at the Grammar School starting at the age of thirteen. Upon finishing his education at the Grammar School, he became a clerk for the Messr. Macaulay trading firm at age 14 or 15, that is to say around 1859-1860. He left this position after six months to become an apprentice stonemason under an unnamed relative. It is unclear whether Case finished his apprenticeship, but he reportedly acquitted himself well. An unspecified time later he joined the jail department as an assistant keeper. Case left this department as well and became a bookkeeper for the noted merchant T.W. Hughes. Late in 1869 Case was offered a clerkship in the Royal Engineers Department in Gambia. The latter colony had recently suffered from a cholera epidemic and a resulting shortage in staff. Case spent two years in Gambia before returning to Sierra Leone in 1871 to work as a foreman of works during construction or repair works to the military barracks. In 1872 Case was sent to Cape Coast in Gold Coast. He returned to Freetown after the 1873-1874 Ashanti War. After his return to Sierra Leone in 1874 Case worked for the Imperial Government in various capacities until 1886.[135] In 1875 Case served as assistant architect and surveyor on the expansion of Kissy Road Church.[136]

Apart from these professional activities the two men made their name in connection to various social and religious associations in Freetown. Case was born into the Wesleyan Church but moved to the U.M.F.C. while working for T.W. Hughes, whose piety inspired Case to join the U.M.F.C. according to his obituary. He became a local preacher and attracted the attention of the church's superintendent. Case served as a catechist for some time but ultimately left this position thereby foregoing the possibility of becoming a fully ordained minister.[137] By 1875 Case had become the secretary of the Young Men's Christian

[132] 'Death of Mr. J.T. Ojukutu-Macauley', *SLWN* ,15 October 1904, 2.

[133] Advertisement in *Independent*, 27 April 1876, 3.

[134] Advertisement for J.S. Beckley, *Independent,* 14 September 1876, 4.

[135] 'Death of Mr. S.H.A. Case, *SLWN* ,4 May 1901, 6.

[136] 'Local', *Independent* March 11, 1875, 3.

[137] 'Death of Mr. S.H.A. Case', *SLWN*, 4 May 1901, 6.

Association.[138] At the same time Case was active as a temperance activist in the colony as a member of the International Order of Good Templars (I.O.G.T.). As part of his activities in the temperance movement Case presided over the founding of a tent of the Independent Order of Rechabites, a benefit organisation aligned with the I.O.G.T. The tent functioned as a benefit society. Members were expected to pay a contribution in return for which they would receive benefits in the case of illness or death.[139] During his work in the temperance movement Case met Reverend J.C. May. May (1845-1902) had become the principal of the Wesleyan Boys' High school in 1874 and would go on to found the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* in 1884 with the help of Edward Blyden and May's brother Cornelius.[140]

Ojukutu-Macauley's activities during this period are less well documented. According to the memorial plaque dedicated to him Ojukutu-Macauley fulfilled the function of superintendent of the Sunday school attached to Samaria Church for twenty years.[141] This puts his commencement in that position in the 1870s or the early 1880s. It is likely, given that Case started preaching in his twenties, that Ojukutu-Macauley had become a preacher in the U.M.F.C. before he took up the position of superintendent.

[138] 'Local', *Independent*, 28 October 1875, 3.

[139] *Independent*, 13 September 1877, 2.

[140] 'Death of Mr. S.H.A. Case', *SLWN*, 4 May 1901, 6.

[141] His twenty-year term as superintendent of the Sunday school is mentioned on a memorial plaque in Ojukutu-Macauley's honour in Samaria Church, see the image on page 48 below.

Figure 4: Memorial Plaque to J.T. Ojukutu-Macauley in Samaria Church, photo by the author

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The 1850s and 1860s were a time of economic growth in Sierra Leone. Furthermore, the colony's inhabitants, particularly the Liberated Africans, were advancing socially and attained a degree of political influence shown by the appointment of John Ezzidio to the Legislative Council in 1862. The 1860s and 1870s also witnessed the rise of important intellectual figures in the British Colonies in West Africa. The works of Edward Blyden and Africanus Horton stand out in this regard. As the writings of both men are relevant to the political climate in which Case and Ojukutu-Macauley operated their works are briefly discussed in the subsequent paragraphs.

Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832-1912) and James Africanus Beale Horton (1835-1883) were two important figures in early Pan-Africanism. Blyden hailed from the island of St. Thomas in the Danish West Indies, after 1917 the U.S. Virgin Islands, but spent a great deal of his life and career in Liberia and Sierra Leone after emigrating to Liberia in 1850.[142] Africanus Horton was born in Freetown and educated at the C.M.S. Grammar School which he entered in May 1845. Horton studied medicine in London and Edinburgh between 1855

[142] H.R. Lynch, *Edward Wilmot Blyden: Pan-Negro Patriot* (London, 1967), xv-5.

and 1859.[143]

The 1870s and 1880s were a period of worldwide economic crisis and the effects of this global economic downturn were felt in Sierra Leone. The city's merchants were affected by the falling prices of agricultural goods and looked to the colonial government for a relief of the colony's economic woes. In 1877 the colony was forced to apply for a for a grant-in-aid from the British government.[144] Although Governor Pope Henessy's fiscal reforms had made him greatly popular among the population of the colony, they were detrimental to the colony's finances.[145] The economic downturn of the 1870s and 1880s was caused by greatly falling prices of raw agricultural exports.[146]

Both Blyden and Horton presented potential solutions in their published works as well as in private correspondence to the colonial administration. In 1868, already before the economic downturn of the 1870s, Horton published *West African Countries and Peoples*. The work deals with a wide variety of topics relating to future self-government of the British Colonies in West Africa. Some of Horton's proposals for the short-term improvement of the colony's economic and political situation are relevant to the current discussion. Horton argued that the British government should expand the territories under its direct administration around the Sierra Leone colony. Protecting merchants working in the hinterland and extending the area where customs could be collected, would double the colony's revenues according to Horton.[147] Horton advocated the reinstitution of the apprentice system in which they would be trained in various craft to be employed by the government in the colony.[148] In 1872 Blyden, reporting on his travels in the hinterland of the Sierra Leone colony, claimed that the local African population desired British government intervention to curtail the slave trade and promote legitimate commerce.[149] In 1874 Blyden wrote Governor Berkely to repeat his argument that the British Government ought to extend its influence into the hinterland of the colony in order to facilitate commerce and

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[143] C. Fyfe, *Africanus Horton: West African Scientist and Patriot* (New York, 1972), 21-26 and 33-38.

[144] *Independent*, 12 April 1877, 3-4.

[145] O. Goerg, 'Between Everyday Life and Exception: Celebrating Pope Henessy Day in Freetown, 1872-c.1905', *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 15:1 (2002), 119-131, 122-123.

[146] J. Forbes Munro, *Africa and the International Economy, 1800-1960* (London, 1976), 71-72.

[147] J.A.B. Horton, *West African Countries and Peoples* (Edinburgh, 1969[1868]), 188-192.

[148] Ibidem, 192-193.

[149] E. Blyden '47: To Sir J. Pope Henessy', in: H.R. Lynch ed., *Selected Letters of Edward Wilmot Blyden* (Milwood, NY, 1978) 101-109, 101-103.

consequently the economic development of the colony.[150] Similar proposals for the annexation of parts of the hinterland of the colony were also put forward by prominent Sierra Leonean politicians. In 1874 Legislative Council member William Grant wrote a letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies arguing for the outright annexation of territories in the hinterland in order to stimulate trade and thereby improve the colony's financial position.[151]

The British government at the time did not pursue this course of action. As the colony's financial condition remained precarious, influential Sierra Leoneans continued to argue for annexation. The problems facing Sierra Leonean artisans in the 1870s were different from those of the merchants and they required different solutions from those proposed by Horton, Blyden, and Grant. Case first made his arguments for the establishment of an artisan trade union in the mid-1870s. In a letter to the *Independent* Case anonymously outlined many of the ideas that were to inform his future actions. While the piece is anonymous, the description of the author's career matches Case's career outlined above confirming his authorship of the piece.

> "In former days when our fathers were trained by European and other foreign artificers, each mechanic was able to show a degree of efficiency not inferior to his master thereby proving how capable the native mind is of improvement in many things. In these days the cry is universal that a competent or first-class workman is a commodity not frequently available; and this is not in one trade only but in the general handicraft trades pursued in the colony.
>
> Unfortunately for us, literary knowledge is more acceptable than scientific knowledge in this colony, the former providing certain employment and competency while in the latter the provision is accidental and precarious, thus the enterprising mechanic who gives- after years of persevering labour- evidences of superior scientific attainments is entirely ignored, and after struggling in vain to find subsistence betakes himself to the more lucrative undertaking of shopkeeper or hawker, and thus genius sinks into oblivion[…] besides he finds himself more respected, gains admittance into better company, and regrets he had wasted so

[150] E. Blyden, '56: To Sir George Berkely', in: H.R. Lynch, ed., *Selected Letters of Edward Wilmot Blyden* (Milwood, NY, 1978),160-165.

[151] 'The Annexation Question', *SLWN,* 29 August 1885.

much valuable time in the past *fooling* as it were over science." [152] (emphasis in the original)

Case attributed the falling standards of workmanship to lacking industrial education. He described the problem and its solution as follows:

" the apprentice who was turned away by his master as incorrigible and useless, or that has absconded from his master after a few months' training, receives the same amount of wages as the one, who, having served his time and well mastered his trade, should be better paid for his superior workmanship, hence there is no inducement to other apprentices to serve their time in whatever trade. […] "Now in the absence of a mechanic's alliance or some such institution to protect the trades, it would be profitable to the community who would participate in the general good arising from it, if the Government in view of the system of compulsory education in England and elsewhere, would adopt some such measures as would remove this growing disgrace and crying evil. If an industrial school were established here under proper management, the youths turned from it should possess certificates according to their respective efficiency, this would largely increase the desire to learn, and will become an inducement to others to fully serve their time and hold their certificates when so much must depend on it;"[153]

Case finished the piece by emphasising his own experience with the problem and detailing just how much was at stake:

"In conclusion I beg to state that my experience acquired during a residence of some years in the Gambia, Cape Coast and other places on the Coast gives me the liberty to state further that the above suggestions will not fail to have a beneficial effect on the handicraft industries of the Colony which must outlive – nay outlive the numerous shops and trading sheds at present covering the town; and not till then shall Sierra Leone occupy her position of greater usefulness as compared

[152] 'To the Editor of the Independent', *Independent*, 8 July 1875, 3.

[153] Ibidem.

with her present position as the fountain head of literary knowledge in British West Africa."[154]

This piece contained all of the arguments Case would make in his subsequent publications and speeches. The arguments he put forth in the piece quoted above were taken up by other artisans in the colony. Clearly, Case was opposed to the great importance the colony's elites attached to their affiliation with and knowledge of literary classics, which expressed itself through the clearly classicist names given to middle class Sierra Leoneans including Case's friend Sibthorpe, whose middle name Belisarius was derived from a sixth-century Roman military commander. Even though Case himself was acquainted with this curriculum through his own education at the Grammar School, he now rejected the usefulness of this particular body of knowledge to the colony's economic prosperity.

One initiative to address these grievances was sparked by the death of Charles Hazleborg in 1875. Hazleborg was not an artisan himself but was remembered as an important contributor to the works of the colony's artisans. In his obituary the Sierra Leonean newspaper *Independent* wrote: "Mr. Hazleborg was one of the oldest of our West Indian residents and has contributed in a great measure towards imparting whatever mechanical ingenuity our native workmen now possess."[155] Four master mechanics proposed the formation of a mechanics' alliance to continue Hazleborg's work in improving the condition of Sierra Leonean mechanics and artisans. They noted the place where the letter was composed as "The Workshop, Mechanics Alliance".[156] Another initiative was recalled during the first meeting of Case's Mechanics Alliance in 1884. The stonemason J.A. Douglas mentioned that Case's cousin William Glouster and Douglas had been approached eight years before the meeting by Algernon Montagu, a British official who occupied a number of judicial and government positions until his death in 1880. He reported that Montagu had encouraged them to form a trade union.[157] This would place that event around 1875-6, more or less contemporaneously with Case's letter to the *Independent*. The sources cited above do not explicitly connect Case to these activities. Yet, the recurring use of the term mechanic's alliance, the personal connection between Case and Glouster, and the similarities in the rhetoric of Case's letter of 1875 and the rhetoric he would use in *The Artisan*, strongly hint at

[154] Ibidem.

[155] *Independent*, 25 February 1875, 2.

[156] *Independent*, 11 March 1875, 3.

[157] 'Meeting of Mechanics', *The Artisan*, 30 July 1884.

Case's involvement in artisan union organisation almost a decade before the founding of *The Artisan* and the Mechanics' Alliance.

The material cited above reveals a salient aspect of early trade union or organisation in Sierra Leone: the involvement of prominent non-artisans. The involvement of Hazleborg and Montagu shows that merchants and government officials were interested in the work and conditions of artisans. It also indicates that artisans and merchants and government officials interacted with each other regularly and that they discussed the state of artisan workmanship in the colony. The proposed solution to the grievances of the artisans, self-improvement through education, shows that at this point artisans strove to live up to the ideals of self-advancement permeating colonial Freetown.

There is no evidence that Ojukutu-Macauley was involved in any of the aforementioned activities. Perhaps the success of his workshop, indicated by its expansion in 1876, and his other activities in the church prevented his involvement. Or perhaps he was not yet involved in working to improve the conditions of Sierra Leonean artisans in the public sphere. The material on his activities during this period is simply too sparse to draw any definitive conclusions. It is unlikely that Ojukutu-Macauley was unaware of Case's efforts, the two men were, after all, both important members of the same religious community and Case's efforts were publicised in the local newspapers. Despite this, Case's efforts had not yet won over one of the colony's most important artisans.

Conclusion

As shown in this chapter several important trends which would continue to influence trade union activity in the 1880s go back as far as the middle of the 1870s. The colony's fiscal position had been undermined by Pope Henessy's reforms enacted in 1872. The colony's budget was strained further by the loan taken out in 1877. All in all, the colony's financial position was tremendously precarious by the early 1880s. This deterioration of the colony's finances was accompanied by calls from the colony's mercantile class as well as Horton and Blyden for the government to improve trade by expanding the colony's territory. Artisans in Sierra Leone were beginning to express their grievances and proposed the format on of unions to address them. Case was a central figure in these efforts. These efforts, few and far between as they were, were supported by some prominent colonial officials and Sierra Leonean merchants. The proposed solutions emphasised the importance of education which would serve to reinforce the differences between fully trained artisans and other manual workers. Case drew on a long and established tradition of self-advancement through

education to address these issues. Strike action was not yet considered as a means to bring about the desired improvements to the condition of Sierra Leonean artisans.

The close relationship between artisans and other classes in colonial Freetown were fostered by a shared cultural and particularly educational background. Case and Ojukutu-Macauley both attended prominent educational institutions and cultivated lasting relationships with prominent Sierra Leoneans. As such they were exposed to many of the same institutions that contributed to preparing them for participation in the social circles of upper-class colonial Freetown. This ability to participate in the colony's social life, or the cult of eliteness as Cohen called it, would be expressed throughout their further lives and careers. Case's activities continued into the 1880s where they culminated in the establishment of the *The Artisan* and the Mechanics' Alliance. Whereas the reach of his activities was limited in 1875, by 1884 they had grown tremendously, albeit with many difficulties as the next chapter discusses.

Chapter 5 *The Artisan* and the Mechanics' Alliance 1884-1888

As shown in the previous chapter, Case's efforts to organise Freetown's artisans can be traced back to 1875. His efforts at the time did not have a decisive impact, nor did they materialise into the founding of a union until 1884. Before turning to the history of *The Artisan* and the Mechanics' Alliance as well as Case and Ojuktu-Macauley's other activities in this period, the deteriorating condition of the colony's finances between 1875 and 1884 must be discussed.

The colony's financial troubles were further exacerbated by falling prices of agricultural products.[158] As a result the value of imports and exports in Sierra Leone decreased throughout the 1880s.[159] Even though the volume of exports increased, such as in the case of palm kernels which saw an increase in export volume from 8,000 tons in the 1860s to 20,000 tons in the early 1890s, this development was not enough to offset the dramatic fall in prices.[160] By 1887 prices of export crops such as coffee, ginger, arrowroot, and chili peppers were too low to justify their production.[161] As government revenue greatly depended on the value of trade this process forced the government to constantly worry over its fiscal position.

By 1881 the debt to the Imperial treasury incurred in 1877 had not yet been payed off. Nevertheless, the Secretary of State for the colonies, the Earl of Kimberly, noted with satisfaction that Governor Rowe had improved the colony's financial situation. Kimberly praised Rowe's energy in "encouraging trade and securing the due payment of revenue".[162] Yet, the estimates for the following year were pessimistic. The Governor expected a fall in revenue amounting to almost £2,000 and an increase in expenditure of almost £2,500. All in all, that would have meant a net loss of nearly £4,500 on a total budget of £ 66,000. Compared to 1880 the expected loss of revenue for 1882 amounted to almost £6,000.[163] Later

[158] P. Wickins, *Africa 1880-1980: An Economic History* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1986), 16-17.

[159] O. Goerg, *Pouvoir Colonial, Municipalités et Espaces Urbains : Conakry-Freetown des années 1880 à 1914 Vol 1* (l'Harmattan : Paris, Montreal, 1997), 60.

[160] Howard, 'Freetown in the Commercial Life', 39.

[161] Fyfe, *A History*, 466-467.

[162] Kimberly to Havelock', 6th May 1881, *Secretary of State Despatches 3rd January 1881-19th May 1881*, Sierra Leone National Archive (henceforth SLNA).

[163] *Minutes of the Legislative Council, 1881-1888,* TNA, CO 270/28, 60-62.

the same year the Governor told the Legislative Council that the state of government revenue "presented reasonable grounds for some anxiety".[164] By July 1883 the government felt compelled to increase the duties on tobacco, gunpowder, and firearms as the deficit was estimated to be almost £8,000 by the end of the year.[165] The introduction of the new customs measures was projected to greatly increase government revenue in the fiscal year 1883-1884.[166] The colony's fiscal problems reinvigorated public discussions on possible solutions to the revenue crisis and new proposals for the relief of the colony were put forth publicly. Case would soon find himself embroiled in these discussions.

Amidst these economic difficulties Case decided to launch a new business. The Artisan Workshop was opened in early 1884. Its first product was a Prospectus for *The Artisan,* which came out in March.[167] The Workshop was not only the printing location for *The Artisan*. Case advertised a variety of printing services, including but not limited to menu cards, engravings and paintings. Case also sold stationery through this new venture.[168] The first issue of *The Artisan* appeared on 24 May 1884. The objective of the paper was "to encourage native industry, and to impart such instructions as may serve to advance a class hitherto much downtrodden and neglected."[169] Case had high hopes for the success of the paper. In the Prospectus he wrote: "The Proprietor (An Artisan) moved with sympathy and much thought at the hopeless condition of his fellow craftsmen has spared no expense in the establishment of the journal above referred to in the hope that good may result from its influence and teachings, and looks for a large support from all class [sic] of workmen."[170] Case also showed his piety by adorning his newspapers with a quote from *Ecclesiastes* 9:10: "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." This quote simultaneously signalled Case's piety and summarised the paper's mission to push the colony's workmen to perform greater efforts.

Case reported that his Prospectus had received a warm welcome from "many influential persons" and had been promised contributions to his paper from "eminent officers

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[164] *Minutes of the Legislative Council, 1881-1888,* TNA, CO 270/28, 105.

[165] Ibidem, 210.

[166] Ibidem, 229.

[167] 'Prospectus', *The Artisan,* 24 May 1884.

[168] 'Advertisements', *The Artisan,* 24 May 1884.

[169] 'Prospectus, *The Artisan*, 24 May 1884.

[170] Ibidem.

in the Royal Engineers and the Civil Service."[171] Case's work for the Public Works Department as well as his other activities had endowed him with a significant network which he could now use to enhance his paper. Case was still employed by the Public Works Department as foreman of works. The colony's financial troubles hit the Department hard. In the early 1880s the Department's expenses increased considerably, from £ 4,008 2s.6d. in 1880 to £6,210 5s. 4d. in 1883. Yet, by 1888 the Departments total expenses had fallen to a mere £ 1,341 8s. 11d.[172]

In addition to these works undertaken by the local government, the British government undertook a large construction project in connection with the defence of the colony. Sierra Leone was a crucial port for merchant and military vessels sailing from Britain to the Cape of Good Hope. As such the British government invested a considerable sum of money in the defence of the colony. In 1884 an estimate of £30,000 was made for the construction of various defensive structures in and around Freetown in addition to £22,000 for necessary armaments. The expense of these works was to be borne by the colonial government as the colony lacked the required funds.[173] In addition a host of private and religious construction projects were undertaken.

Construction work quickly became a contentious political issue in the Colony and Case found himself embroiled in the controversy. Case had claimed in the Prospectus that "Politics, - except when they bear strict reference to the Artisan class- will not be included in our programme."[174] Yet, *The Artisan* did include several pieces on government policy from the very beginning. In the second issue of the paper Case covered the controversial Building Ordinance then under review in the Legislative Council of the colony. The ordinance required residents to replace the bamboo thatching on their roofs with sheets of corrugated iron. Case opposed the measure. It would have entailed expensive reconstruction of all bamboo thatched roofs. Additionally, the increased weight of the corrugated roofs would have meant that Freetown's poorest inhabitants would have to undertake extensive reconstruction efforts which were beyond their financial means. Case accused the Native Association of

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[171] 'Our First Issue, *The Artisan*, 24 May 1884.

[172] *Blue Book for the Year ending 31st December 1880*, TNA, CO 272/57, 60-67. *Blue Book for the Year ending 31st December 1883,* TNA, CO 272/59, 60-67 *Blue Book for the Year ending 31st December 1888*, TNA CO 272/65, 60-67.

[173] 'Correspondence relating to the defence of colonial possessions and garrisons abroad' enclosed in *Secretary of State Despatches 1884 7th Aug. 1884 to 30th Dec. 1884,* SLNA.

[174] 'Prospectus', *The Artisan*, 24 May 1884.

abandoning the poorest members of the community and of indifference.[175]

The Native Association, an association of local merchants, had sent a petition to the Legislative Council. During the Council Meeting of 13 Governor Havelock had rejected proposals to grant exceptions to the ordinance to Freetown's poorest inhabitants. Governor Havelock argued that any exceptions would render the ordinance useless and that no exceptions could be made.[176] Another petition protesting the ordinance was submitted to the governor by a group calling itself the Sierra Leone Peace Society, but it was similarly dismissed.[177]

By this time the main objective of *The Artisan*, the formation of an artisan union, was coming to fruition. The first meeting of the Mechanics' Alliance took place on 9 July 1884 and was attended by 120 men representing a variety of artisan occupations. Case opened the meeting with a hymn and a prayer before J.A. Douglas moved to elect William Glouster chairman of the meeting. Case moved to elect a committee to propose a course for the future of the Mechanics' Alliance. The membership of the committee reflected the composition of the assembly. It consisted of six tailors, six carpenters, six masons and six shipwrights in addition to 2 members of each other trade.[178]

Despite this successful first meeting Case encountered some resistance to the initiative. In *The Artisan* he responded to critics of the scheme who were worried over the Alliance's perceived militancy. Case responded by writing: "The Union is not intended to be aggressive as some think and speak; it is intended to promote and perfect as well as could be, the industries of the Colony, and to assert the rightful claims of the mechanics, not by bravado-but by merit."[179]

In a piece entitled 'Unity is Strength' Case responded to what he called "cynical opinions of persons adverse to the ultimate success of the Alliance." Case contrasted the broad scope of the Alliance, which was aimed at all craftsmen, to previous organisations which operated "in the interest of just one branch of the trade." The Mechanics Alliance would allow all workmen to "develop his resources and render the workman at once skilful and independent."[180] Case contrasted his own initiative to the Native Association which he

[175] *The Artisan*, 25 June 1884.

[176] *Minutes of the Legislative Council 1881-1888*, TNA, CO 270/28, 346-348.

[177] Ibidem, 350-351.

[178] Meeting of Mechanics', *The Artisan*, 30 July 1884.

[179] The Artisan Alliance', *The Artisan*, 30 July 1884.

[180] Unity is Strength', *The Artisan*, 27 August 1884.

had accused of neglecting the interests of the city's poorer population during the controversy over the building ordinance earlier that year.

The next meeting of the Mechanics' Alliance on 6 August was another success. By the end of the meeting the Alliance had amassed 111 paying members contributing a total of £13 10s and more prospective members.[181] Criticism of the organisation persisted. Case's stated objective of re-imposing long apprenticeships was criticised in a contribution to *The Artisan.* An anonymous writer expressed concern over the proposal to impose strict seven-yearlong apprenticeships. He worried that apprentices would serve only as "beasts of burden" who would be made to do all manner of menial tasks for their master. The writer worried that giving the master artisans too much control over their apprentices would lead to exploitation. He expressed the concern that apprentices would be underfed and overworked. Nevertheless, the writer approved of Case's work with *The Artisan* and the Mechanics' Alliance.[182]

Case replied with a brief 'a word to apprentices' in which he reaffirmed the importance of a thorough apprenticeship without directly addressing any of the questions of the writer.[183] While dismissing the concerns of the apprentices, Case advocated on behalf of the colony's labourers in a piece titled 'The Labourer's Wages'. In the article Case, quoting Deuteronomy, berated the colony's employers for paying their labourers' wages too late. In the piece he even referred to labourers threatening a strike in such instances and urged employers to their Christian duties to treat their workers right.[184]

Just before the start of 1885, the year in which many of the aforementioned issues would come to a head, Case reflected on the past year. The successes of the spring and summer were beginning to lose their lustre. He was evidently already concerned about the future of the Mechanics' Alliance when he wrote: "The Mechanics Alliance which came into existence soon after [the publication of *The Artisan*] has not prospered as one would wish. The feeling of unbrotherly exclusiveness has begun to undermine the social life of the organisation and we feel afraid that unless this evil be nipped in the bud, it will grow to the utter destruction of a good and useful movement." [185] Clearly, few master artisans were willing to extend solidarity to other groups of workers or even amongst themselves. Vis-à-vis

[181] 'Chips', *The Artisan,* 27 August 1884.

[182] 'Our Boys', *The Artisan,* 27 August 1884.

[183] 'A word to apprentices', *The Artisan,* 27 August 1884.

[184] 'The Labourer's Wages', *The Artisan,* 8 October 1884.

[185] 'The Year 1884', *The Artisan,* 31 December 1884.

groups of workers judged to be beneath them, such as labourers and apprentices, they emphasised the need to maintain a certain hierarchy. The declining reputation of the artisan trades in general might have moved master artisans away from organising themselves in order to maintain their employment. Case himself had hastened to dispel the notion that his union was to take a confrontational attitude towards the rest of society, particularly the middle classes on whose support Case so heavily depended.

The Artisan fared poorly as well. Case was forced to rely on private donations and contributions to continue publishing the paper. Nevertheless, work on both projects continued into the next year. By late 1884 the union had 190 paying members.[186] In January 1885 the Mechanics' Alliance assembled again and issued its rules and regulations. The objectives of the union, which was to function similarly to other benefit societies, was formulated as follows: "to raise a fund by entrance fees, subscription of members, fines and donations; for the relief of members in sickness; for assisting members in distressed circumstances; and for improving the moral and social condition of the members as to them shall seem expedient."[187] These objectives show the union's dual purpose as a benefit society in addition to its objective of advocating on behalf of the colony's artisans.

By the time of the union's first anniversary in August 1885 only 51 paying members remained. Case remarked bitterly, "we hope that the chaff had been separated from the grain" although he hoped that, "the names now on the book are all true and sound seed destined to flourish and prosper."[188] By this time Case had already substantially overhauled *The Artisan* in hopes of keeping it afloat. In April 1885, Case took the time to thank those who had financially supported *The Artisan* and thus allowed its publication to continue. As noted above interest in *The Artisan* was limited and as such it depended on donations from friends and sympathisers.[189] This situation prompted Case to make a series of changes to the paper in its second year. The price of the paper was increased from 1d. to 3d. per issue as the expenses of producing it had increased.

Case had edited the paper without receiving a salary before, but now he was feeling a growing pressure on his personal finances necessitated the increased price, so that he could pay himself for his work. Furthermore, the scope of the paper was widened, as it failed to

[186] This figure was presented in 'The Mechanics Alliance', *The Artisan,* 29 July 1885.

[187] 'Rules and Regulations of the Mechanics Alliance', *The Artisan,* 28 January 1885.

[188] 'The Mechanics' Alliance', *The Artisan,* 29 July 1885.

[189] 'Our First Volume', *The Artisan,* 25 February 1885.

attract enough contributors to write about industrial matters as had originally been intended.[190] In June 1885 Case announced that *The Artisan* would no longer be published monthly. Instead the paper would be published "occasionally" with prior notice given to such persons as were interested in the paper. Case continued to blame *The Artisan's* failure on the alleged indifference of the working class.[191] The failure of *The Artisan* came at an inopportune time, as 1885 was to witness a serious labour conflict.

The colony's financial problems and the depression of the trade prompted the formation of a new commercial association. The German merchant Ernst Vohsen formed the Sierra Leone Association to promote the interests of trade, agriculture, and industry in early 1885.[192] Case hoped to subsume the Mechanics' Alliance into the Association. Efforts to this end were made by members of the Mechanics' Alliance in early 1885, but they came to naught after the Association's rapid collapse.[193] On 6 August 1885 Samuel Lewis, who had been appointed to the Legislative Council in 1882, delivered a lecture on the ongoing financial and economic problems of the colony to the Sierra Leone Association. Lewis blamed falling revenues from trade on war and unrest beyond the borders of the colony. He argued that order could be restored by the British government through the peaceful acquisition of territory.[194] The members of the Association generally agreed with Lewis' arguments although they doubted whether such an annexation would be feasible given the colonial government's lack of interest in an expansion of the colony's territory. In a subsequent meeting held on 8 October of the same year the members of the Association disagreed with each other over the question of annexation. After a heated debate the members fell out with each other. Due to this internal dissent the Association lost its position as an effective political institution at a pivotal time.[195] In *The Artisan* Case sided with Association President Vohsen and argued that the annexation of a portion of the hinterland would indeed benefit the population of Sierra Leone.[196] Vohsen and Case would go on to collaborate in religious matters. For instance, in March 1886 Vohsen presided over a service intended to

[190] 'The Artisan New Series', *The Artisan,* 29 April 1885.

[191] 'The Artisan New Series', *The Artisan,* 24 June 1885.

[192] 'Variety Basket', *The Artisan,* 28 January 1885.

[193] 'Our Letter-Box, *The Artisan,* 25 February 1885.

[194] S. Lewis, *Paper by Samuel Lewis, on Certain Questions Affecting the Interests of the Colony of Sierra Leone* (Freetown, 1885), 3-7. Hargreaves, *Samuel Lewis,* 32.

[195] Hargreaves, *Sir Samuel Lewis,* 50-51.

[196] 'The Mass Meeting', *The Artisan,* 14 October 1885.

raise money for Case's Tabernacle Church.[197] Furthermore, both men were members of the centenary celebrations committee in 1886 and 1887.

With the failure of the Association a solution to the crisis was now far off. In August private trading firms and the colonial government reduced the wages of the colony's labourers by a quarter, from 1s. to 9d. a day.[198] A writer calling himself "an honest labourer" complained in *The Artisan* that this rate was insufficient when the price of rice, the staple food, was 3d. per pound. The writer complained that Freetown's elite, represented by the churches and the Sierra Leone Association, was indifferent to the fate of unskilled labourers and their families.[199] In the same issue another contributor argued that the Mechanics Alliance ought to reach out to Sierra Leone's poorer classes. He also urged the Alliance's Leadership to draw up concrete plans to widen the membership of the Alliance.[200]

These plans did not come to fruition and the possibility of a strike, which Case had warned about in October 1884, materialised. In November 1885 the reduction of labourers' wages was applied to the carriers working on the military construction projects carried out by the Royal Engineers Department, where Case was still employed as foreman of works. As a result, the labourers went on strike demanding the restoration of their former wage of 1s. per day. The scope of the strike was limited to labourers carrying materials to the construction sites of the government's new military installations. The strikers succeeded in their objective and their former wages were restored.[201]

Case's knowledge of the strike and the extent of his involvement remain unclear. He was evidently aware of the problems of the labourers. As the foreman of the works he would have been in daily contact with labourers employed on the works. Case noted the complaints of the labourers at least a year prior to the strike and had attempted to rectify the issue. Case was not alone in his sympathy for the strikers. The *Weekly News* noted "It is a pity that the poor labourers whose numerous families must be supported by their manual labour cannot receive in return for their services a sum adequate for their wants. I am glad to learn that their demand has been conceded and they are now allowed a shilling a day as in days of old."[202]

This outburst of discontent among the labourers did not have a reinvigorating effect

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[197] 'General News', *SLWN*, 13 March 1886, 3.

[198] Before decimalisation 1 pound (£) consisted of 20 shillings(s.) of 12 pence(d.) each.

[199] 'The Sierra Leone Labourer's Wage reduced from 1/- to 9d. per day', *The Artisan,* 14 October 1885.

[200] 'To the Editor of The Artisan', *The Artisan,* 14 October 1885.

[201] 'My view of Things', *SLWN,* 5 December 1885.

[202] 'My view of Things', *SLWN,* 5 December 1885.

on either *The Artisan* or the Mechanics' Alliance. It had not widened its scope to include unskilled workers for the reasons discussed above. The fact that *The Artisan* was not published at this crucial time did not help matters. After the issue of 14 October 1885, *The Artisan* did not appear again until February 1886. The absence of the paper was explained as follows, "at an exceedingly critical period we have been obliged to change our publisher and principal operative."[203]

As discussed in chapter 4, Ojukutu-Macauley had become the Superintendent of the Samaria Sunday School by 1884 at the very latest. Announcements in the *Weekly News* show that both he and Case continued to preach for the U.M.F.C., particularly in Samaria Church. Furthermore, Case was the district secretary for the U.M.F.C..[204] Their contributions to the church went beyond delivering sermons. Throughout the 1880s the U.M.F.C. constructed or restored a number of churches. In October 1884 the Building Committee of the U.M.F.C. approved the construction of Tabernacle Church. The work was carried out by members of the church themselves. Ojukutu-Macauley was contracted for the carpentry and Case, as the architect of the building, was to oversee the works. Work on Tabernacle Church was scheduled to start in November.[205] In their respective positions as carpenter and overseer Case and Ojukutu-Macauley must have closely collaborated on the project. Unfortunately, no record exists of their interactions during this period. The absence of evidence of a falling out or other complications aside from financial constraints suggests that the two men worked together satisfactorily, although there are also no indications of a particular familiarity between the two. Nevertheless, the regular interaction necessitated by the process of constructions mean that the construction of Tabernacle Church was the very latest opportunity at which the two men grew familiar with one another. More likely, it was one of many interactions the men had in the context of their work for the U.M.F.C.

The old Tabernacle chapel had been deemed too dangerous by the colonial surveyor to be used for religious service or other purposes in January 1885.[206] The first stones for the new church were laid on 3 March 1885.[207] The construction of the church was funded by the U.M.F.C. but it struggled to raise enough money. In March 1886 the *Weekly News* noted that

[203] 'The Artisan New Series', *The Artisan,* 17 February 1886.

[204] 'Bananas Church, U.M.F.C.', *The Artisan,* 10 December 1884.

[205] 'Tabernacle Church', *The Artisan,* 8 October 1884.

[206] 'Chips', *The Artisan*', 28 January 1885.

[207] 'Works in Progress', *The Artisan* 25 March 1885.

the number of attendants at two special services held to raise money for the project was "by no means encouraging".[208] Work on the church was finished in 1887 when the building was dubbed Centenary Tabernacle Church in honour of the colony's one hundredth anniversary. Samaria Church, located right around the corner from Case's Artisan Workshop, was also the subject of a reconstruction. In early 1886 Superintendent Truscott departed for a twelve month stay in America to raise funds for the project.[209] The rebuilt Samaria Church, overseen by Ojukutu-Macauley, was opened in early 1890.[210] Beside these religious buildings Ojukutu-Macauley was also employed in several notable secular projects. Ojukutu-Macauley built Centenary House, a large office complex commissioned by Samuel Lewis, around 1887.[211]

There is no evidence that Ojukutu-Macauley was ever associated with the Mechanics' Alliance during this period. His absence is notable as he would become an important trade unionist in the 1890s. It is highly unlikely that he was unaware of the existence of the Mechanics' Alliance or *The Artisan*. He and Case went to the same church, where they both held prominent positions, and the two men worked together on the construction of Centenary Tabernacle Church. It is possible that Ojukutu-Macauley was a member but that his membership has simply gone unreported. Yet, given Ojukutu-Macauley's prominent position, his long-standing connections to some of the colony's most important people, such as Samuel Lewis, make it unlikely that his work would have gone unnoticed. More likely, Ojukutu-Macauley had some reason not to associate himself with the Alliance. The lack of evidence prevents any substantiated interpretation of Ojukutu-Macauley's absence but it is noteworthy. He had worked with Case on Tabernacle Church, where there would have been ample opportunity for an exchange on the subject between the two men. Perhaps Ojukutu-Macauley deemed the work unnecessary or perhaps he regarded the Mechanics' Alliance as impotent. Perhaps he judged the union to have been detrimental to his own business prospects. Case's assurances to the public about the union's militance suggest that such concerns were present. Ojukutu-Macauley could have simply weighed his options in this light when he decided against throwing his weight behind the Mechanics' Alliance.

Beyond the work on Tabernacle Church, the U.M.F.C. consumed a significant portion

[208] 'General News, *SLNW,* 20 March, 1886, 5.

[209] 'General News', *SLWN*, 6 February 1886, 3.

[210] 'Reopening of Samaria Church, *SLWN* 8 February 1890, 4.

[211] Fyfe, *A History*, 467 and 527.

of Case and Ojukutu-Macauley's time and effort. Case received significant support from high-ranking members of the church. In some instances, this support came in the form of donations which were crucial to sustaining the paper. Reverend Truscott was acknowledged for his donation in January 1885.[212] Connections between the U.M.F.C. in Sierra Leone and in Britain enabled *The Artisan* to reach an audience in the UK.[213] However, none of this was sufficient to prevent the failure of the paper. The failure of *The Artisan* was far from unique. Out of twelve newspapers published during the 1880s only one, May's *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, was in print by the end of the decade. Many subscribers would not pay and even the *Weekly News* depended on insisting prepayment by its subscribers and relied partially on donations.[214]

By 1886 the fruits of the efforts made in 1884 and 1885 to establish a successful artisan organisation had withered away. Neither Case's Mechanics' Alliance nor Vohsen's Sierra Leone Association had made any sustained progress in their stated objectives. Yet, the problems they were intended to address had not dissipated. The disastrous state of the colony's agricultural exports necessitated the development of other economic sectors. Yet, any initiatives from the colony's inhabitants, artisan or otherwise, ultimately depended on the colonial government to be enacted. Petitions continued to be an important instrument in such attempts to sway the colonial government.

In 1886 Vohsen made efforts to persuade the colonial government to intervene in the ongoing agricultural and commercial crisis. In a petition to the Governor, the remaining members of the Association urged him to end the policy of increasing duties on imports and exports and to reduce government expenses to reduce the colony's deficit.[215] In an accompanying letter to the *Weekly News* Vohsen argued that the colonial government ought to support agriculture in the hinterland. A system of stipends, payments to allied chiefs, existed. Vohsen argued that the system ought to be used to supply the chiefs with ground-nuts instead of cash to promote agriculture and thus the export trade.[216] Case joined Vohsen and others in decrying the ongoing increases to the import and export duties. In response to Governor Samuel Rowe's increase in taxation in 1888 Case wrote "Truly the rights of the

[212] 'Our Letter-Box', *The Artisan*, 28 January 1885.

[213] Ibidem.

[214] Fyfe, *A History*, 464-465.

[215] Memorial reprinted in *SLWN*, 19 June 1886, 3.

[216] 'Stipends to native chiefs', *SLWN*, 19 June 1886, 3.

people must be asserted by the people."[217] Obviously, dissatisfaction with the actions of the colonial government was running high and the colonial government was losing the goodwill it had gained after Pope Hennessy's popular term as Governor.

It had been hoped that 1887 would bring some relief of the colony's ongoing woes and that longstanding policy proposals would finally materialise. That year Queen Victoria celebrated her 50th anniversary as Queen of the United Kingdom. This event generated a serious buzz in the Freetown press and the upcoming event was the reason for the publication of *The Artisan'*s appearance on 4 August 1886.[218] As noted by Fashole Luke "the paper [*The Artisan*] and its editor [Case] were a fertile source of proposals for a program of festivities to celebrate the centenary of the founding of Freetown in 1887 which coincided with Queen Victoria's golden Jubilee."[219] In 1886 Case remained involved as the Alliance's honorary secretary with Glouster acting as its President and Case's son Josephus as its secretary. Meetings of the Mechanics' Alliance were no longer held in public venues but in the private homes of its leadership.[220] In August 1886 one letter writer suggested that organising an exhibition of the work of the colony's mechanics by the Mechanics' Alliance could set a good example to other mechanics. The anonymous member of the Alliance probably saw the celebrations as a good opportunity to reinvigorate the dying Alliance.[221] Yet, in the very same issue Case declared that the Alliance, whose membership had declined to a meagre 24, was useless in its present configuration and ought to be abolished.[222] In October *The Artisan* reported the final demise of the Mechanics Alliance.[223]

Case remained involved in the preparations for the celebrations as a member of the committee responsible for its organisation. The committee was filled with prominent Sierra Leoneans including Samuel Lewis, future mayor of Freetown Th. Colenso Bishop, Ernst Vohsen, and Edward Blyden.[224] The final results of the committee's efforts were underwhelming. The celebrations consisted of a small exhibition, a play written by Edward Blyden, and the long-awaited opening of Wilberforce Memorial Hall. A number of buildings

[217] 'The Artisan No.6', *The Artisan,* 30 June 1888

[218] 'The Artisan no. 8', *The Artisan,* 4 August 1886.

[219] Fashole Luke, 'Modern Trade Unionism', 427.

[220] 'Chips', *The Artisan,* 17 February 1886.

[221] 'Our Letterbox', *The Artisan,* 4 August 1886.

[222] 'Mechanics Alliance', *The Artisan,* 4 August 1886.

[223] 'The Artisan No.10', *The Artisan,* 20 October 1886.

[224] 'Centennial Committee' *SLWN,* 9 October 1886.

including the new Tabernacle church were named in honour of the centenary.[225]

All of this work caught up with Case in late 1886. In November 1886 he resigned from his position in the Royal Engineers Department due to ill-health although he apparently remained connected to the military works in some capacity.[226] Despite his resignation from the Royal Engineers Department Case persisted in the publication of *The Artisan* until late 1888 in addition to all of his aforementioned activities. Additionally, Case worked as an independent surveyor after his resignation. He offered a variety of services ranging from the preparation of survey plans of land and buildings to the arrangement of imports of building materials.[227] The first issue of *The Artisan* in 1887, published in February following a hiatus in the publication since November 1886, even opened somewhat optimistically. In the editorial Case proposed a more frequent publication of *The Artisan* and called for the support of the paper and its proprietor's supporters and friends.[228] This optimism did not last long. The third volume of *The Artisan*, published occasionally between February 1887 and December 1888, marked the final departure of the paper from its original intent. Instead of focussing on labour issues Case filled his paper with news from the colony's churches, particularly the U.M.F.C. as well as news from his own friends and colleagues both new and old.

Yet, as shown in the next chapter, one of Case's priorities was to be implemented after the failure of *The Artisan*. Throughout the paper's history Case continued to argue for reforms to the colony's technical education. In the first issue of *The Artisan* Case returned to his previous arguments in favour of government-funded technical education. He criticised parents for foregoing this kind of education for their children in favour of literary education:

> "The above subject [Practical Education] so far as it refers to the education of our youths in the mechanical art is nearly unknown in this Colony. No parent or guardian thinks it of any importance to direct the early impulses of his charge to a love and fondness of the mechanical art. […] This omission is peculiar to Sierra Leone in keeping with the notion that manual employment is undignified."[229]

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[225] Fyfe, *A History*, 466.

[226] 'General News', *SLWN*, 4 December 1886.

[227] Advertisement in *The Artisan*, 2 February 1887.

[228] 'The Artisan No.11, *The Artisan*, 2 February 1887.

[229] 'Practical Education', *The Artisan*, 24 May 1884.

One correspondent writing in February 1886 argued that the lack of appreciation for skilled manual labour led to a general lack of skilled labour while there was an abundance of unskilled labour. The correspondent lamented that "Boys are taught Greek and Latin to no purpose, and their parents feel happy in being able to pay for the meaningless training, which serves no practical end in their case."[230] Although Case had been educated at the Grammar School, he denounced the overemphasis of literary education. He departed from the prevailing middle-class view that manual labour was beneath a person of a certain education. This, like his distaste for the elite's classicism, indicated a striking departure from the mores of the cult of eliteness.

The Centenary celebration in 1887 provided hope that an industrial, or technical, school could finally be established. In February of that year, a piece on the topic expressed great optimism:

> "The Company floated by the energy and enterprise of Mr. Lawson, during his recent visit to England; the large plantation at Christineville the private undertaking of the Hon'ble Samuel Lewis; the interest taken on the subject of Technical Education by the Administrator-in-Chief; the proposition of the Centenary Committee to establish an Industrial School- point to the general utility of the subject, as one that must give new life to Sierra Leone, during the next century of its existence, with results at once hopeful and inspiring."[231]

In the same piece Case once more outlined the benefits of technical education for the colony's artisans and the colony as a whole.

> "Taking it for granted that the large number of working-men must remain to the end working-men, and that only, there is still nothing incompatible with their happiness and dignity, if such means offered for the elevation of their class as such, without any alteration of the basis of the existing organisation of industry. Under such conditions and advantages the working-men will become instruments of progress; and rejoicing in the spirit of independence and self-respect, infused into them, the whole class -improved by association- would rise in material comfort and security, and still more intellectual and moral attainments."[232]

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[230] 'Technical Education, *The Artisan*, 17 February 1886.

[231] 'An Industrial School', *The Artisan*, 2 February 1887.

[232] Ibidem.

The issue of technical education was linked simultaneously to the improvement of the artisan working-class and the colony as a whole. Case hailed self-improvement as the basis of a general social improvement. Such a view was common in nineteenth century Sierra Leone, but Case had fashioned his own version of it by introducing skilled manual labour as a core pillar of this process of improvement. As will be shown in Chapter 6, the implementation of government funded technical education would still take almost a decade longer. Yet, it was one of the few tangible achievements of Case's efforts. Unlike the Mechanics' Alliance, the Technical Education scheme received continued and sustained support among the city's upper class and was adopted by the colonial government. It is important to remember that reforms to the education of the colony's artisans were at least two decades old by this time, having already been proposed by Africanus Horton in 1868.

Technical education was aimed at the improvement of the condition of the artisan class. Support for these reforms from the colony's merchants cannot simply be explained by sympathy for the colony's artisans or even their personal acquaintance with well-known artisans such as Case. The lack of good workmen was proving to be an acute problem by the 1880s. E. Davies noted that the quality of construction in Freetown noticeably declined in the 1880s.[233] Some prominent Sierra Leoneans resorted to building their own houses rather than entrusting this task to the unreliable builders of Freetown.[234]

Conclusion

To conclude this chapter the following paragraphs briefly discuss the material presented above in the context of the research questions posed in Chapter 2. The main objective of *The Artisan* and the Mechanics' Alliance was the improvement of the social and economic condition of the colony's artisans. Case emphasised the importance of self-improvement through education and this is reflected in his recurring calls for government-funded technical education. The purpose of this improvement was twofold. Firstly, it served to increase the standards of workmanship among artisans thereby increasing their social standing and increasing the price of their work. Secondly, it aimed to provide a greater distinction between apprentices and fully trained workman. Case argued that the origin of the artisans' problems was the blurring distinction between fully qualified artisans and partly trained apprentices who nevertheless performed the same work at the same low wage rate.

[233] E. Davies, 'The Architecture of Freetown', in: C. Fyfe and E. Jones, eds., *Freetown: A Symposium* (Freetown 1968), 118-136, 122.

[234] Fyfe, *A History*, 443.

Yet, neither *The Artisan* nor the Mechanics' Alliance were concerned exclusively with these aforementioned issues. From the outset Case also aimed to contribute to the general improvement of the Sierra Leonean economy although these efforts were even less successful than the Mechanics' Alliance. Due to the economic crisis previous proposals to enlarge the colony in order to encourage trade and boost revenues were revived but were not successfully implemented. There was a clear need for a broad movement of Sierra Leoneans to persuade the colonial government to take action. In early 1885 Case hoped to subsume the Mechanics' Alliance in Vohsen's mercantile Sierra Leone Association. The Association and the Mechanics' Alliance collapsed before such a merger could materialise.

While Case proved willing to cooperate with the colony's mercantile class on economic issues, his relationship to other categories of manual workers was more complex. Case was evidently sympathetic to the situation of the colony's labourers. Case spent a great deal of his time around the sizeable unskilled migrant labour force employed by the Public Works Department. In 1884 and 1885 he published on their struggle and he recognised the possibility that the unrest among labourers might lead to a strike roughly a year before this strike came to pass. Yet, attempts to widen the scope of the Alliance to include labourers were unsuccessful. When the labourers went on strike in November 1885, Case did not publicly address the strike

His assurances that the Mechanics' Alliance was intended to be a moderate rather than a militant organisation must be seen in light of Case's deep connections to the middle classes and his desire to revive an idealised artisan of former days. The Mechanics' Alliance certainly provided the contours of an artisan working class but its failure also points to the absence of a solid basis for solidarity along class lines. The Mechanics' Alliance really lacked a concrete goal to work towards beyond rather vague statements about the improvement of standards of work. Unlike the striking labourers in 1885, the Mechanics' Alliance had no short-term goal to organise around. It was aimed at far-reaching changes to society but lacked a programme.

Finally, the position of Ojukutu-Macauley in all of the foregoing is worthy of some consideration. There is no indication that he was directly involved in any of Case's work, apart from the construction of Centenary Tabernacle Church. Ojukutu-Macauley continued to build up his reputation as a builder through his work on U.M.F.C. churches as well as private construction projects. Given that Ojukutu-Macauley and Case had gone to the same school, attended and preached in the same church, and that they worked together in various capacities, it is highly improbable that Ojukutu-Macauley was unaware of *The Artisan* and

the Mechanics' Alliance. His choice not to participate is salient, but one can only speculate on its cause in the absence of more definitive evidence. Perhaps he did not see the use of a trade union at this time. Perhaps he simply did not share the objectives of the Mechanics' Alliance. Perhaps he was opposed to joining an organisation as weak as the Mechanics' Alliance. Perhaps the rumours of the unions militance dissuaded him from joining for fear of jeopardising his business.

In short, a number of causes led to the failure of the Mechanics' Alliance and *The Artisan* which Case hoped to use to improve the conditions of the colony's artisans. He hoped to raise standards of workmanship and to reinvigorate the colony's stagnant economy. His work appealed to artisans as well as the colony's mercantile middle class. While Case failed to bring about any concrete improvements, he nevertheless succeeded in expanding his network and thereby laid the foundation for more successful attempts to reform the colony's technical education. Ojukutu-Macauley similarly played an important role in the colony's religious life and was becoming a renowned builder and an important member of the community. In 1889 they would come to work together to change the colony's technical education.

Chapter 6 After the Alliance: The Struggle for Technical Education and Renewed Unrest, 1888-1892

The previous chapter discussed the rise and fall of *The Artisan* and the Mechanics' Alliance, which, despite hopeful beginnings, never fully realised their potential. As such it seemed unlikely that any of the proposals for which Case had exerted himself would come to fruition. Yet, by 1889 the implementation of a government funded scheme for technical education was being seriously considered by the colonial government. This chapter discusses the process by which this change came about. It also examines Case's apparent gradual retreat from labour issues and the beginning of Ojukutu-Macauley's involvement. Thereafter the chapter examines the 1892 strike to contrast the grievances of artisans and labourers. The 1892 strike gave a new impetus to the artisan trade union movement after the failure of the Mechanics' Alliance.

During *The Artisan*'s dying days Case began cooperating with professor John Augustus, later Abayomi, Cole. Cole (1848-1943), born of Sierra Leonean parents in Nigeria in 1848 and educated in Sierra Leone, had worked for the United Brethren Church Mission in Sierra Leone. In 1887 Cole travelled to the United States and became an ordained minister in the American Wesleyan Methodist Church. During his trip to America he gave lectures while making preparations for the establishment of an Industrial and Scientific Institute in Sierra Leone. Case was to become the secretary of this institution.[235] Case printed one of the addresses given by Cole in America through The Artisan Workshop for sale to the general public.[236] The following year Case and Cole collaborated to publish a newspaper called *The Commonwealth*. *The Commonwealth* only lasted for four issues and dealt with a variety of topics including Cole's experiences during his recent trip to the United States, technical education in Sierra Leone, and a variety of papers given during public meetings in Freetown.[237]

Despite *The Artisan*'s failure, Case continued to operate his printing business into the 1890s. In addition to publishing *The Commonwealth*, Case provided a variety of services from his workshop. In 1889 he provided the decorations for a bazaar held to raise funds for

[235] 'Professor J. Augustus Cole in America', *The Artisan,* 16 July 1887.; A. Wyse, 'Abayomi-Cole, J.A.', in: L.H. Ofosu-Appiah, ed., *Dictionary of African Biography Volume 2* (Algonac, Michigan, 1979), 35-36.

[236] See advertisement in *The Artisan,* 6 October 1887.

[237] *The Commonwealth,* 4 August 1888.

Samaria Church.[238] He also published another short-lived paper called *The Trader* in 1891.[239] In 1893 he printed the annual school report, apparently very well according to the *Sierra Leone Times*.[240] Case also remained a prominent and prolific speaker in the late 1880s and the 1890s. In addition to continuing to preach for the U.M.F.C., Case was a member of various clubs in Freetown. A brief overview of some of the most salient clubs and social events in which Case participated serves to show the extent to which Case had become part of the colony's active social life. He became a member of the Grand East End Club somewhere in the 1880s. The Grand East End Club was among the various clubs in Freetown to organise annual sports events.[241] A few years later Case was a member of the Unity Club. The club organised a variety of lectures and its membership included many important Sierra Leoneans. Speakers for the club included Edward Blyden and John Augustus Cole.[242] Amidst all of these activities Case's previous efforts as a labour activist appear to have largely ceased. His involvement in various religious, cultural, and social clubs show how Case had gradually become more integrated into the social life of the colony's upper and middle classes.

Cole and Case's Institute, if it got off the ground at all, did not last long. There are no indications in the contemporary press nor in subsequent publications that it ever saw the light of day. Yet, it is emblematic of the increasing attention for technical education in the Colony. Technical education reforms received an impulse from the arrival of Governor James Shaw Hay in 1886 who urged the Board of Education to consider the issue.[243] In *The Artisan* Case reported on the meeting. The report, reprinted from the *Methodist Herald*, outlined the arguments in favour of the scheme. Like Case, the members of the Board were concerned about the lack of skilled workmen. The disastrous condition of the colony's trade led the members of the Board to worry over future unemployment. Although it was hoped that the upcoming centenary celebrations would stimulate such efforts, as discussed, these hopes were

[238] 'A Grand Bazaar', *SLWN*, 26 January 1889, 6.

[239] Fyfe, *A History*, 496.

[240] 'General Report of Schools for the year 1892', *Sierra Leone Times* (henceforth *SLT*), 11 February 1893, 3.; 'The inspector of school's report for last year', *SLT*, 3 November 1894.

[241] 'Banquet at the Wilberforce Memorial Hall in Honor of Simon Octavius Lardner, Esq., Justice of the Peace', *SLWN*, 1 June 1889, 5. Fyfe, *A History*, 464.

[242] 'First Anniversary of the Unity Club', *SLWN*, 23 April 1892, 4. 'Unity and Self-Respect', *SLWN*, 20 June 1891, 2.

[243] 'Technical Education', *SLWN*, 14 August 1886, 2.

unfounded.[244]

Although the hoped-for education reform did not materialise in 1886, it was only a matter of time before the issue would be back on the agenda. In 1889 the Board of Education tried again. This time the initiative was sparked by a letter from the Secretary for the Colonies Lord Knutsford. On 26 September 1889 the Board met to discuss Knutford's letter urging the colonial administration to take action. Claiming support from the colony's merchants, artisans, and "the people at large", The Board unanimously passed a resolution encouraging the government to appoint a special committee to look into the question of technical education. The Board hoped that increased technological skill in the Colony would enable the development of local industry engaged in the processing of raw materials using machinery.[245]

Both Ojukutu-Macauley and Case were present during the meeting to present their views on the matter. Ojukutu-Macauley's comments are quoted at length below. His view was that technical education served both a practical purpose for the economic improvement of the colony as well as a moral one. He also lamented the lack of appreciation for artisan work by wealthy members of the community:

> "Now we must first understand what is meant by Technical Education. It is the manner of preparing the knowledge […] or discipline of character in an individual.[…] The present state of our mechanics, demands the sympathy of the intelligent portion of our community[…] But it is a circumstance much to be lamented that on the contrary their labour and ability is being deprecated(hear hear). The only vocation that an intelligent boy could be placed to by his parents or guardians is either a Lawyer, doctor or minister or being apprentices in a mercantile establishment or in Her Majesty's Customs (loud cheers). The bad effect of which leads them in a few years to be unfit for positions of trust or usefulness. The boys who have been receiving instruction under me as Carpenters [….] But the bulk of these are boys who have received little or no education. […] It would be well for us to have a definite purpose and aim in this attempt(hear hear) to see that our future young men be more reliable in their respective

[244] 'Technical Education', *The Artisan*, 4 August 1886, 2.

[245] 'Technical and Industrial Education', *SLWN*, 5 October 1889, 6-7.

handicrafts than go about as clerks with decent dresses for fifteen or twenty shillings per month and then live as intelligent rogues (cheers)."[246]

Case addressed the meeting right after Ojukutu-Macauley. He had the following to say: " The meaning and intention of this scheme is that our workmen should become more intelligent and more skilled and with the aid of competent instructors better work will in time be performed and as a result more money will be earned."[247]

The substance of the argument Case put forth during the meeting was the same it had been since the middle of the 1870s. Hitherto such efforts had been unsuccessful. Yet, by 1889 the colonial government supported the scheme and urged the Board of Education to take action. The colonial government and the colony's inhabitants faced three problems which were hoped to be addressed by technical education reform. Firstly, the economic depression of the 1880s necessitated the development of the new economic sectors to revitalise the ailing economy. Secondly, the shortage of qualified workmen became untenable. The quality of workmanship deteriorated to such an extent during the 1880s that finding qualified workmen became so difficult that several prominent Sierra Leoneans decided to take the construction of their homes into their own hands, as discussed in Chapter 5. Thirdly, the wages payed to qualified artisans were reduced due to the competition from less qualified workmen. These factors, which have been documented in the previous chapters of this thesis, explain the increasing support for reforms to technical education, but they do not necessarily explain why Case and Ojukutu-Macauley were given a platform during a meeting of the Board of Education. In order to explore this issue a brief discussion of the composition of the Board is in order.

The various religious bodies of the colony, Christian as well as Muslim, played a crucial role in the provision of education in the colony. As discussed in Chapter 1, the churches had a virtual monopoly on education while an Islamic education system developed alongside it during the nineteenth century. Government sponsored Islamic education would not be introduced until 1891 and thus the Board was exclusively composed of Christian educators and prominent Christian citizens. The various churches had a degree of influence on education policy in the colony through their involvement in the Board which no other body in the colony had. The Wesleyan Reverend J.C. May and U.M.F.C. Superintendent William Vivian were present during the meeting of 26 September. J.C. May and Case had

[246] 'Industrial Education', *SLWN*, 5 October 1889, 6.

[247] Ibidem.

known each other for at least fourteen years by this point, their association going back to the I.O.G.T in 1875. Case and Ojukutu-Macauley were both prominent members of Vivian's U.M.F.C., which had been an important source of support for *The Artisan*. These associations were, of course, not the sole reason for Case and Ojukutu-Macauley's presence during the meeting. Their previous efforts as builders, church members, educators, and trade union organisers obviously lend credence to their contributions to the debate. Yet, all of these activities took place within a particular section of the Colony's population to which Case and Ojukutu-Macauley had belonged since their primary school education. From a young age Case and Ojukutu-Macauley were associated with various prominent Sierra Leoneans, forging connections that would last a life time. Case had already attempted to cultivate these connections during *The Artisan*'s lifespan with limited success. Yet, now a new possibility to achieve Case's longstanding objective of technical education reform was created. Moreover, although Case himself did not enjoy a formal position of power enabling him to utilise these changing circumstances to bring about the desired education reforms, he was connected to those people who did have the necessary institutional power to do so. Seemingly Case's career and the network he had acquired throughout his life successfully culminated in this meeting.

However, the momentum behind this push for technical education dissipated rapidly. Although the Board of Education and the government seemed enthusiastic about stimulating technical education, money remained an insurmountable obstacle. The government promised a contribution of £300 on the condition that £600 would be raised privately. The Board proved unable to raise this sum and thus the initiative was abandoned.[248] Again, a promising initiative aimed at acquiring and wielding political power in the colony had foundered.

This episode also illustrates the failure of the colonial government to address such longstanding issues. Indeed, technical education was far from the only area of labour-related policy in which colonial government remained inadequate. The colonial government also proved unequal to the task of regulating migration to and from the colony. This caused tensions between colony-born Sierra Leoneans and migrants from the hinterland. These tensions came to a head during and after the 1892 strike.

From the second half of the 1880s onwards the colony's press and government became increasingly alarmed by a perceived influx of people from the hinterland into Freetown. In 1885 internal correspondence of the colonial government referred to the

[248] Fyfe, *A History*, 526.

possibility of a riot between local Sierra Leoneans and immigrants.[249] In 1886 the *Weekly News* spoke of "the multitudes of aboriginal tribes that now infest the land."[250] Freetown was attractive to migrants hoping to find employment in the military construction works. Additionally, workers from the hinterland were recruited to work in other British Colonies or the Congo Free State. The colonial government was ambivalent about requests from recruiters to move people from Sierra Leone. In March 1885 the Executive Council denied such a request from the Congo International Association. Aware of the colony's official commitment to combat slavery, the Council worried that some of the workers might be captured and made into slaves or find themselves in conditions of forced labour in the Congo Free State.[251] This rejection did not prevent others from making similar requests. In response the colonial government amended the law in order to prevent recruitment of workers for foreign companies and governments. The Executive Council reserved the right to deviate from this rule and grant permission for recruitment on occasion.[252]

The colonial government was unable to effectively regulate the movement of people into the Colony. According to Goerg the various flows of migration gradually reduced the percentage of Sierra Leoneans in the population of Freetown from 90% in the 1870s to 67% in 1881 and to about 50% by 1900. Even though Goerg's numbers are uncertain by her own admission, they nevertheless reflect the constant anxiety of the colony's inhabitants about the influx of migrants from the Hinterland. [253] The government floated several proposals on the accommodation of escaped slaves from the Hinterland. In 1889 the government considered apprenticing them to artisans in the colony.[254] Yet, in the same correspondence the government worried about the overcrowding of the labour market in Freetown. Moreover, the movement of inhabitants from the agriculturally productive parts of the hinterland to Freetown thus reduced output while increasing the demand for food in the city. Finally, the government was worried about the possibility that these new migrants would cause rising levels of crime.[255]

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[249] 'Colonial Secretary to Officer Commanding the Troops, 25 December 1885', *Colonial Secretary Letter Book Vol 63* SLNA.

[250] 'My View of Things', *SLWN,* 22 May 1886, 2.

[251] *Executive Council Minutes 1882-1890,* SLNA, 434.

[252] *Executive Council Minutes 1895-1897,* TNA, CO 270/34, 303.

[253] Goerg, *Pouvoir Colonial,* 109.

[254] 'Native Affairs no. 318', SLNA, C.S.O. M.P. 4457/1892.

[255] 'Copy of 'Aborigines no.222, 29 August 1889', SLNA, C.S.O. M.P. 4457/1892.

These underlying tensions and the colonial government's failure to regulate the labour market played an important role in the strike of November 1892. In its 26 November issue the *Weekly News* called it 'the first systematic strike of the labouring classes."[256] The reason for the strike was the reduction of wages from 1s. to 9d. a day. On the morning of 15 November, the petitioners marched on government house to appeal to Governor Fleming. The Governor requested that one of the protestors informed him of their grievances. Fleming, claiming to be ignorant of the particulars of this case, asked to protestors to set their grievances in writing so that he could pass them on. When Fleming received the strikers' petition, he forwarded it to the Officer Commanding the Troops, A.B. Ellis. Fleming reported that his effort to keep the peace failed as the strikers began "to parade the streets intimidating others and making use of more or less violence although no serious cases of injury have been reported."[257] The petitioners identified themselves as having worked on the military works since 1885. They demanded that their rate of pay would be increased from 1s. rather than decreased, citing the need to maintain their families.[258]

Ellis responded to Fleming's communication two days later. His reply provides several important insights into the reasons behind the strike. According to his reply, the striking workers were simply unskilled casual labourers who were entitled to only 9d. a day. This was the apparent going market rate for such labour. This rate had purportedly been the rate paid when the works commenced only to be raised in an unspecified year when the colony experienced a dearth of labour. The wage reduction in 1892 was motivated by two reasons. Firstly, other employers of labour had requested that the government lowered its wage rate in conformity with the going wage rate of 9d. a day. Secondly, the funding for the military construction project had nearly run out.[259]

Other material provides ample reason to question the account presented by Ellis. As shown in Chapter 5, Case had already warned about the possibility of a strike in October 1884. The next year a reduction in wages from 1s. to 9d. a day was instituted by both the colonial government and private mercantile establishments due to the concurrent economic

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[256] 'The Strike of Labourers', *SLWN* 26 November 1892, 8.

[257] 'Fleming to Ripon', NO. 416, 26 November 1892, *Despatches to Secretary of State 1 Sep.-30 Nov. 1892,* TNA, CO 267/396.

[258] 'Enclosure NO.1 in Despatch NO. 416' enclosed in 'Fleming to Ripon', No.416, 26 November 1892, *Despatches to Secretary of State 1 Sep.-30 Nov. 1892,* TNA, CO 267/396.

[259] 'Enclosure No. 2. In Despatch No. 416, enclosed in Fleming to Ripon', No.416, 26 November 1892, *Despatches to Secretary of State,* TNA, CO 267/396.

recession. After the November 1885 strike wages for unskilled labourers employed by the Royal Engineers Department were restored to 1s. a day. According to the *Weekly News* wages for unskilled labour ranged between 1s. and 1s. 3d. a day until 1888 when they were reduced although the paper provided no source for this statement, and its statements are not corroborated by other sources.[260]

Other sources of information on wages are similarly imprecise. Nevertheless, they cast doubt on the information provided by Ellis. The *Blue Books* contain some data on average wage rates, although they too are imprecise and unsourced. The matter is further complicated by the changing categories of labour distinguished by the colonial government. Wage data provided by the Blue Books was divided in three categories: 'predial', 'domestic' and 'Trades'. Until 1885, the *Blue Books* only provided data on 'predial' i.e., agricultural labour in the colony and the 'Trades'. It is therefore unclear whether these wage rates also refer to labour in the city or exclusively to wage labour in the rural areas of the colony. Yet, the figure provided here is the only available average wage rate.[261] From 1885 the wage data is provided in greater detail although the sources for the average wage rates remain unstated. The previous category of 'predial' labour is still present but two categories of unskilled labourer were added to the 'trades' heading: 'mechanics' labourer' and 'porter or carrier'. Additionally, the heading 'trades' now provides figures for various occupations including several artisan occupations. Table 1 below outlines the daily wage rates provided by the Blue Books for the period 1880-1892.

Table 2 Wage Rates 1881-1892.

Year	Wage 'Predial'	Wage 'Mechanics' Labourer'	Wage 'Porter or Carrier'
1881	8d. -1s.	-	-
1882	8d. -1s.	-	-
1883	8d.-1s.	-	-
1884	8d.-1s.	-	-
1885	-	1s.	9d.to 1s.
1886	-	1s.	9d. to1s.

[260] 'The Strike of Labourers', *SLWN*, 26 November 1892, 8.

[261] See the Blue books for 1880 through 1884. The relevant call numbers in the TNA are CO 272/57 -CO 272/61 for the period 1880-1884 and CO 272/62-CO 272/69 for 1885-1892. See Table 2.

1887	-	1s.	9d. to 1s.
1888	-	1s.	9d. to 1s.
1889	-	1s.	9d. to 1s.
1890	-	1s.	9d. to 1s.
1891	-	1s.	9d. to 1s.
1892	-	1s.	9d. to 1s.

Thus, wages for unskilled labour were nominally stagnant during this period according to the Blue Books. Frankema and Van Waijenburg, basing their findings on the Blue books in addition to other administrative sources, provide two important additional findings. Their figures refer to unskilled workers in the private sector. Firstly, they found that nominal wage rates in pence per day fell from 9.8 in 1880 to 7.2 in 1892. They found noticeable declines in 1886, when nominal wages fell from 9.9 to 8.6 d. a day, and 1891 when this rate fell to 7.2 and remained at that level until 1897. Secondly, prices of food and other necessities fell also during the same period although more slowly than nominal wages. Consequently, real wages for urban unskilled labourers fell slightly between 1880 and 1892, according to the figures presented by Frankema and Van Waijenburg.[262] Overall, the evidence indicates that real wages were at best stagnant, and probably declined slightly, for unskilled urban workers. Ellis' assertion that the nominal wage rates paid to the striking workers were higher than the rates paid elsewhere by private employers is supported by the evidence on privately employed unskilled labourers presented by Frankema and Van Waijenburg, at least with regards to the carriers employed by the Royal Engineers Department.

Yet, a potentially more important distinction between workers was highlighted during the strike. In his report Ellis distinguished so-called "Freetown labourers" from "Country labourers" and asserted that the former prevented the latter from working.[263] Thus, it seems that the strike spread from relatively well-paid colony-born unskilled labourers working for the colonial government to workers from the hinterland who received lower average wages. However, a piece from the *Sierra Leone Times* suggests that the wage issue was more complex than that. J.A. Fitzjohn, the paper's editor who had his own column titled 'One

[262] E. Frankema and M van Waijenbrug, 'Structural Impediments to African Growth? New evidence from real wages in British Africa, 1880-1965', *The Journal of Economic History* 72:4 (2012), 895-926.

[263] See note 260.

Thing and Another', alleged that the Government only lowered the wages of those workers whom it directly employed. According to Fitzjohn, workers employed by contractors did not face reduced wages.[264] This argument is not corroborated by any other sources. The distinction between subcontracted workers and workers directly employed by the Government is absent from other sources.

The strike was a serious issue for the colonial government, as it lacked the resources to suppress the strike. The minutes of meeting of the Executive Council on 19 November 1892 reveal the government's weakness. The Civil Police, numbering only a dozen men, had insufficient manpower to contain the strikers who were reported to be holding large meetings. Governor Fleming was unwilling to supplement the Civil Police with military forces to contain the strike. Fleming instead proposed to activate the Public Order Ordinance of 1888 in order to supplement the Civil Police with 200 additional special constables.[265] On the same day the *Sierra Leone Times* urged governor Fleming to take a harsh stance towards the strikers. Yet the strike appears to have continued until the first day of December. The 26 November issue of the *Sierra Leone Times* contained some contradictory assessments of the strike. *Sierra Leone Times* editor J.A. Fitzjohn argued that the strikers' negotiation position was weak, as plenty of workers could be found to do the job for 9d. a day. Furthermore, he argued that the disturbances could only serve to lose the strikers the sympathy they had from the rest of the colony's population. He also denounced the reported intimidation of workers from the hinterland by Sierra Leonean labourers.[266] His next editorial similarly denounced the intimidation by the strikers while conceding that the prevailing wage rate of 9d. was too low. Fitzjohn blamed "agitators" for inciting unrest for the purpose of a general wage increase. Again, he argued that the workers lacked the unity to pursue their purpose.[267] Indeed the strike was fizzling out by that time. Another piece in the same issue reported that the strike was dying down. The special constables were recruited from among the strikers and peace had largely returned to the colony, although the strike continued among the labourers of the Royal Engineers.[268] On 3 December the *Times* reported that the force of special constables was gradually being reduced and that an agreement between the strikers and the government

[264] 'One thing and another', *SLT,* 26 November 1892, 2.

[265] *Minutes of the Executive Council 1890-1892,* SLNA, 142-143.

[266] 'One thing and Another', *SLT,* 19 November 1892, 2.

[267] 'One thing and Another', *SLT,* 26 November 1892, 2.

[268] 'The Rod of Power', *SLT,* 26 November 1892, 2.

was in sight.[269]

The 1892 strike was an important event and its repercussions went beyond the effect it had on the labourers and their employers. The strike also had an effect on the efforts of the colony's artisans to organise themselves. There is no indication that any other artisans were directly involved in the strike. Obviously, the strike would have made it impossible for them to carry on their work as normal as work was disrupted throughout Freetown. The artisans of Freetown appear to have only belatedly responded to the upheaval. On 1 December 1892 Ojukutu-Macauley presided over a meeting of Mechanics in Wilberforce Memorial hall. Information on the meeting is scarce, the *Weekly News* made no mention of it at all, but according to the *Sierra Leone Times* of 3 December "important Resolutions relative to the prices at which payment for labour rendered should be obtained."[270] Although this meeting did not immediately lead to the formation of a new artisan trade union to replace the long-defunct Mechanics' Alliance, it was the starting point for new artisan organisation. The most marked departure from the Alliance was the wage demands that were now being put forward by artisans. As will be discussed in Chapter 7, this meeting set the tone for artisan trade union activity in the 1890s.

The aftershock of the strike was felt into 1893. In late January Captain J.T. Walsh, commanding the mail steamer *Matadi,* entered Freetown Harbour. His ship was loaded by Kroo dockworkers for two days. By 6pm on the second day work had not finished, and Walsh, eager to depart, attempted to persuade the dockworkers to continue working for two more hours. They refused unless Walsh payed them another full day's worth of wages. Walsh initially refused. He reported to the *Weekly News* that he eventually saw no other option but to give in to the demand. Walsh suggested that a committee be established to mediate between employers and workers to prevent what he viewed as unreasonable demands by workers.[271] In a response to Walsh's letter the *Weekly News* reported that the strike had caused a shortage of available workers to load the ships. The paper's response to the strike, expressed again in this piece, was as ambivalent as all middle-class replies to strike action had been hitherto. Appealing to an idea of fairness the paper denounced attempts to reduce

[269] 'One thing and Another', *SLT,* 3 December 1892, 2.

[270] 'The Labour Strike', *SLT,* 3 December 1892, 3.

[271] 'The Labour Question', *SLWN,* 4 March 1893, 5.

the labourers' wages while simultaneously berating the strikers for their 'disorderly spirit'.[272]

Conclusion

In short, the period between 1889 and 1893 was of great significance to Case and Ojukutu-Macauley both in their professional careers and their involvement in the growing labour movement. After the end of *The Artisan*'s publication in 1888 and the failure of the technical education initiative of the Board of Education, the possibility of successfully addressing the artisans' grievances seemed increasingly remote. Yet, by late 1892 new life appeared to have been blown into the movement due to the 1892 strike. The strike also exposed the growing importance of the distinction between the colony's inhabitants and migrants from the hinterland. The renewed artisan union movement of the 1890s played an important role in press coverage of the colony's growing labour-related problems. Ojukutu-Macauley and Case, albeit with a smaller role for the latter, would continue to play a central role in these developments.

The 1892 strike was ultimately unsuccessful but it had important ramifications for the colony. The strike highlighted tensions between migrant workers from the hinterland and colony-born labourers. The *Sierra Leone Times* explicitly argued that workers from the hinterland were deserving of the same protection as colony-born workers. While the press generally sympathised with the strikers expressing their grievances, the papers also urged restraint and orderly conduct. Coverage of the strike in the *Sierra Leone Times* contrasts markedly with the generally deprecating comments made on migrants from the hinterland in the *Weekly News* several years earlier. For now, concerns about crime resulting from migration from the hinterland was not expressed. The papers were similarly ambivalent about the labourers' strike.

Contrasting the efforts of the Board of Education to the strike of 1892 provides some important insights into the fundamental differences between artisan organisation and the strikes by labourers. The efforts made by artisans, in this case by Case and Ojukutu-Macauley, had been aimed at improving the economic condition and social standing of artisans through government funded education. These efforts were aimed at reaffirming the boundaries between fully qualified artisans and various non-artisan workers. Their efforts were primarily aimed at formalising the distinction between fully qualified artisans and

[272] 'The Labour Question', *SLWN*, 4 March 1893, 4.

apprentices. By fixing the labour of apprentices in their own workshops, artisans could limit competition and raise the prices of their work while improving the quality of the work performed. Declining standards of workmanship were acutely felt by the city's mercantile and clerical elite in the construction of their own dwellings and churches. Support for technical education from the colonial government was informed by the need to reverse the colony's economic decline as a result of the depression.

These factors explain why there was widespread support for technical education, but they do not fully explain Case and Ojukutu-Macauley's continued involvement in the matter. Both men were part of the same social circles as many influential Sierra Leoneans. This connection extended beyond cooperation in the professional sphere, such as Ojukutu-Macauley's work for Samuel Lewis, into the private sphere. Their involvement in the U.M.F.C. as committee members and preachers as well as their involvement in leisure activities cemented their position in the colony's 'cult of eliteness'. Consequently, they were well-connected to prominent and influential individuals.

Despite the support artisan organisers received from the colony's upper strata, their efforts failed to result in higher wages. This failure was not exclusive to artisan organisations. Although artisan and middle-class organisations expended significant effort in their initiatives, they were unable to materialise their proposals. This weakness was partly due to the colonial government's unwillingness or inability to pursue their initiatives.

The opposite is true for the colony's labourers. On the whole they lacked the support from the upper and middle class enjoyed by the artisans. Although the papers sympathised with their objectives and decried the reduction of their wages by the colonial government as unfair, they did not support strike action. Moreover, the press did not comment on the practices of private employers who generally paid lower wages to labourers. Despite some attempts by Case to include labourers into the Mechanics' Alliance, there does not appear to have been any cooperation between labourers and artisans during the strikes of 1885 and 1892.

The demands of the labourers were motivated by acute financial needs. Although government employed labourers earned comparatively high wages, provided that they actually received the 1s. per day nominal wage rate, when set against the figures provided by Frankema and Van Waijenburg, they still struggled to provide for their families. Despite their lack of formal organisation, they were able to paralyze economic activity in the city for over a week in 1892. Granted, the 1892 strike was unsuccessful in its final objective but that fact does not diminish the impact that concerted labour action by labourers could have.

The weakness of the colonial government, particularly its lack of an adequate police force, certainly contributed to the longevity of the 1892 strike. The colonial government was simply unable to effectively regulate the labour market. It was unable to stem the migrations from the hinterland and, as in the case of the influx of escaped slaves, was even incapable of accurately estimating the size of this migratory flow. Ironically, the same influx of labourers from the hinterland, 'Country labourers' in Ellis' words, was seen by Fitzjohn as a way to undermine the negotiation position of the strikers. The Freetown press which reported with concern on the "masses of aborigine tribes" sternly warned the strikers to refrain from intimidating them into participating in the strike.

The artisans of the colony appear to have absorbed the wage demands made by the strikers. The meeting of the artisans on 1 December 1892 is poorly documented, but its significance is noticeable nonetheless. Until that meeting there are no recorded wage demands put forth by artisans. As Chapter 7 will show, wage demands became a focal point of artisan unions by the mid-1890s. Case's apparent lack of involvement in the events of 1892 is striking given his record as an active unionist. His apparent silence on the grievances of the condition of the labourers contrasts starkly to his support for them in 1884 and 1885.

Ojukutu-Macauley chairing the meeting of 3 December marks his documented debut as a labour organiser. His involvement is significant given his established reputation as a great artisan. Chapter 7 will shed further light on the diverging priorities of Case and Ojukutu-Macauley throughout the 1890s up until their deaths in 1901 and 1904 respectively.

Chapter 7 Rising Stars and the Labour Question, 1893-1904

By early 1893 the consternation caused by the strike had died down. New artisan trade unions were still a few years away, but the changing priorities of activist artisans had already become apparent in December 1892. The 1890s were a decade of great significance during which debates over the labour question, the construction of the railway, the establishment of the Protectorate, and the formation of new artisan unions took place alongside one another. This chapter first discusses the economic circumstances of the colony, which were improving markedly after the disastrous 1880s, before returning to the lives and careers of Case and Ojukutu-Macauley and the newly formed artisan trade unions.

After 1887 the colony's imports and exports increased markedly (see Table 3 and Table 4). Consequently, government revenue rose sharply in the early 1890s. Although imports and exports continued to fluctuate, the general trend of the value of imports and exports was upwards. Consequently, government revenue, which was heavily reliant on the value of exports, increased as well. (See Table 5)

Table 3 Annual Exports by Destination, 1885-1894 Source: *Colonial Office List 1896*, SLNA, 211.

Year	Exports to UK (£)	Exports to other UK colonies (£)	Exports to other destinations (£)	Total Exports (£)
1885	122,088	21,297	183,546	326,932
1886	111, 335	17,302	196,715	325,352
1887	120,188	15,695	197,634	333,517
1888	166, 569	17,651	154,823	339,047
1889	131,077	23,992	164,650	319,719
1890	147, 436	21,043	180,840	349,313
1891	218,294	32,177	227,185	477,659
1892	195,298	35,245	189,908	420,451
1893	166,055	30,480	202,129	398,664
1894	196,171	24,873	205,445	426,499

Table 4 Annual Imports by origin 1885-1894. Source: *Colonial Office List 1896,* SLNA, 211.

Year	Imports from UK (£)	Imports from UK colonies (£)	Imports from Elsewhere (£)	Total Imports (£)
1885	229,422	4,472	72,415	306,309
1886	186,750	3,588	74,528	264,866
1887	274,746	1,923	58, 351	308,038
1888	190,529	1,211	58,407	250,147
1889	210,800	1,119	65,761	277,781
1890	295,012	1,627	93,269	389,908
1891	345,031	2,145	106,202	453,378
1892	332, 198	4,814	76,105	413, 117
1893	325, 829	5,543	86,094	417,466
1894	381,248	11,012	85,764	478,024

Table 5 Government Revenue and Expenditure 1885-1894 Source: *Colonial Office List 1896,* SLNA, 211.

Year	Government Revenue (£)	Government Expenditure (£)
1885	64,751	67,917
1886	58,407	58,982
1887	60,637	58,334
1888	63,035	63,288
1889	70,836	66,771
1890	73,708	88,056
1891	89,896	77,965
1892	86,866	83,852
1893	92,769	84,691
1894	93, 838	93,100

Pessimism over the colony's economy by no means disappeared in the 1890s. Worries over the depression of the trade were replaced by concerns over migration. As discussed previously in Chapters 5 and 6, migration from the hinterland caused the inhabitants of the colony as well as the colonial government considerable anxiety. The colonial government was unable to regulate this migration or even to correctly estimate its size.

Data collected by the colonial government show that the population of Freetown increased sharply between the 1881 and 1901 (See Table 6).

Table 6 Population of Freetown and the Colony, 1881-1911. Adapted from R.R. Kuczynski, *Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire Volume I West Africa* (London, 1948), 159.

Year	Population Freetown	Population Colony excluding Freetown	Population Colony including Freetown
1881	20,739	38,342	59,081
1891	28,582	43,920	72,502
1901	33,149	41,530	74,679

Table 6 shows the decreased share of colony-born Sierra Leoneans in the population of Freetown over the same period.[273] This decline can partly be attributed to the aforementioned labour migration from the hinterland to the colony. Some 1500 migrant workers were employed on the fortifications constructed in the 1880s.[274] According to Kuczynski, the decline is also partly attributable to descendants of Liberated Africans changing their self-identification to "Natives", i.e., the descendants of local ethnic groups in the hinterland of the Colony.[275] These developments were accompanied by an increasing influx of labourers from the hinterland. The Temne constituted the largest group. By 1881

[273] The difference in the total population between Tables 5 and 6 is due to Kuczynski excluding people on ships in the harbour as well as "transient traders and stranger" from the figures presented in Table 4. Elsewhere Kuczynski provides the same totals as Goerg. See Kuczynski, *Demographic Survey*, 158, note 5 and Ibidem, 26.

[274] B.E. Harrell-Bond, A.M.Howard and D.E. Skinner, *Community Leadership and the Transformation of Freetown* (The Hague: Mouton, 1978), 33.

[275] Kuczynski, *Demographic Survey*, 161.

1,500 Temne lived in Freetown and this number nearly doubled to almost 3,000 in 1891.[276] The migrant communities in Freetown were governed by 'big men' or headmen who were more established members of the community. They aided newly arriving migrants by connecting them to employers and other members of the community. In the late nineteenth century, the headmen were important intermediaries between the colonial government and private employers and members of their community. By the early twentieth century their importance as intermediaries was diminished by the colonial government. The government became less dependent on the headmen to satisfy its demand for labour. This development occurred alongside government effort to regulate the position of headmen akin to the system of indirect rule applied elsewhere in the British colonial empire including the Protectorate.[277]

Table 7 Sierra Leonean share of the population of Freetown, 1881-1901. Source: Goerg, *Pouvoir Colonial*, 101.

Year	Freetown Population Total	Sierra Leonean Population of Freetown[278]
1881	21,931	14,588
1891	30,033	15,350(deviation of plus/minus 1000)
1901	34,463	16,505

The changing demography led to what Goerg termed a "crisis of confidence".[279] This anxiety was expressed in the Freetown press throughout discussions on the labour question. Discussions about the labour question in the press began shortly after the 1892 strike. The term 'labour question' used in Sierra Leone in the 1890s subsumed four interrelated issues. Firstly, pieces on the labour question discussed the overcrowding of the labour market which was alleged to lead to high unemployment, low wages, and crime. Secondly, pieces on the labour question expressed concern over immigration from the hinterland. Thirdly, the discourse concerned the economic future of the colony. Although the colony fared better than

[276] Harrell-Bond, Howard and Skinner, *Community Leadership*, 77.

[277] Ibidem, 97-104.

[278] Sierra Leonean is used here in the sense discussed in chapter 1, Goerg uses 'creole'.

[279] Goerg, *Pouvoir Colonial*, 109.

it had during the 1880s, there was still a great deal of concern over the economy's capacity to absorb the available labour force. Fourthly, contributors to the discussion complained that they were unable to reliably secure the labour they needed. These articles argued that although labour was plentifully available, it was unreliable. It was deemed unreliable because labourers were said to often change employers and because the quality of artisan work remained poor.

The labour question received particular attention from the *Sierra Leone Times*. Editor Fitzjohn continued to devote considerable attention to the labour question in his 'One thing and Another' columns. In November 1893 Fitzjohn discussed the various options for relieving the overcrowding of the labour market. He concluded that at that point there were no present options to absorb the additional labour. He concluded that private mercantile establishments had no opportunity for growth, and consequently more employment, due to restrictive government policies and French competition. He reckoned that the Civil Service was already overcrowded and thus similarly unable to absorb more unemployed persons. Government investment in the colony through a stimulation of agriculture or the construction of a railway line seemed a remote possibility to Fitzjohn.[280]

Pleas from Fitzjohn's paper to accord equal respect to labourers from the hinterland and colony-born labourers had been prevalent during the 1892 strike. After the end of the strike this call for sympathy quickly dissipated. A year after the strike a piece in the *Times* described the migrants from the hinterland thus:

> "They have denuded the interior, and inflicted upon their former masters, and upon our trade, a most fatal check by virtually causing the abandonment of the produce-yielding pursuits formerly carried on by these masters; and this incalculable mischief they have wrought without any corresponding gain bestowed upon our community by their presence.
>
> Three part rogues- one part gamblers, even the spasmodic fits of labour they now and then manifest, may not in any way be relied on, and the owners of the

[280] 'One Thing and Another', *SLT,* 25 November 1893, 2.

large farming estates in the colony, alone know of the inconvenience they suffer from this dearth of constant labour supply."[281]

[281] 'Agriculture and the Labour Question, no.1', *SLT*, 15 December 1894, 2.

The suggested solution to this problem was the formation of a labour bureau which was to register the incoming migrants and regulate their employment and wages, thereby stabilising the labour supply in the city as well as on the colony's farms. This plan was well received by employers in Freetown.[282] The *Sierra Leone Times* continued to advocate for stricter government regulation of the labour market throughout the 1890s. Yet, their advocacy remained largely ineffective. An assessment of the labour question by Fitzjohn, penned in 1898, was almost identical to his comments on the overcrowding of the labour market in 1893.[283]

The labour question also pertained to the condition of the colony's artisans. The labour migrants from the hinterland lacked a formal organisation at this point, but the artisans were forming organisations to replace the long-defunct Mechanics' Alliance. The scarcity of information on the meeting of December 1892 makes it difficult to assess the influence of this meeting on subsequent artisan unions, but the remarkable similarities between the demands of the unions and their nearly simultaneous emergence makes a degree of coordination between them highly likely. Unlike the Mechanics' Alliance, which had aimed to be an umbrella organisation for all trades, the new unions were organised along occupational lines. An umbrella organisation for all unions did not exist.

In late 1895 and early 1896 three unions announced they would demand higher prices for their work. The Shipwright Union Society was the first to publicly announce new wage rates to be paid to its members. The union announced that the daily wage of a shipwright was to be raised to 4s. in late 1895.[284] They were followed in February 1896 by The Sierra Leone Blacksmith's Union, which demanded higher rates per 1 March 1896.[285] Finally, the Carpenters Defensive Union announced that its members would charge 3s. 6d. a day for the work of journeyman carpenters, fully qualified workmen employed in the workshop of a master, after 1 October 1896.[286] The increased wage demands for journeymen suggest that the unions were formed with the express purpose of closing the ranks among artisans. Providing higher wages was a policy which would have encouraged journeymen to re-join their former workshops, or at the very least would have guaranteed that they would not undercut the wage rates of those left behind in these workshops.

The *Sierra Leone Times* was supportive of these renewed efforts to organise the colony's artisans. In February 1896 this paper ran an article on the emerging unions. The paper recognised Case's early efforts to establish a union for artisans. The paper lamented the failure of Case's efforts, citing the lack of enthusiasm of his contemporaries as the principal cause of his failure.[287] The direct cause of the foundation of these new unions was the

commencement of construction on the railway beginning in 1896. According to the *Times* the blacksmiths and carpenters decided to organise after their apprentices and journeymen were induced to work for the railway by railway engineer Bradford. According to the *Times* this action, reigniting the long-standing problem of masters failing to exert control over their apprentices and journeymen, prompted the founding of the unions of the two respective trades.[288]

The generally positive reception of the new unions was accompanied by strong criticisms of the past failure to organise. The *Sierra Leone Times* argued that Bradford's decision to engage journeymen and apprentices resulted from the absence of a trade union which could have bargained with Bradford. If the Carpenters' Defensive Union hoped to rectify the situation and enforce its higher wage demands, a strike would have been a logical outcome according to the *Times*. Yet, such a step would require a degree of organisation previous unions had not shown, so the *Times* reasoned. The paper was cautiously optimistic that this was indeed the case. According to the paper the union had some 300 members, amounting to 5/6th of the total number of fully qualified carpenters in the colony.[289] An article in the *Weekly News* from 1897 reported a membership of 250.[290] The official statistics of the colonial government reported a lower membership of 146 by the turn of the century.[291]

Regardless of its actual membership the appearance of these new unions a decade after the demise of the Mechanics' Alliance was an important development. The unions now had a shared cause to rally around. The demand was successful and the *Sierra Leone Times* reported that private and public employers accepted the new wage rate.[292] Nevertheless, the new unions in many ways stuck to established modes of protest. The 1896 confrontation with the railways did not lead to a strike organised by members of the Carpenters' Defensive Union. The union very much retained the characteristics of a benefit society. According to the Blue Book, its *raison d'ètre* was the provision of benefits to its members and their relatives.[293] Nevertheless, by producing a wage increase for its members, the union had succeeded where the Mechanics' Alliance had failed.

Ojukutu-Macauley's precise role in the founding of the union and its leadership is unclear but given his stature he was undoubtedly an important figure. During a meeting with the governor in July 1897, Ojukutu-Macauley addressed the governor on behalf of the members of the union.[294] It is unclear who the president of the Carpenter's Defensive Union was at the time of its founding. It may have been Henry Pratt, who was the president of the union by March 1900 and who made a donation to a fund for the celebration of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee on behalf of the union in 1897.[295] Pratt was succeeded as

President of the Carpenter's Defensive Union by C.A. During in 1900, who held this position until his death in 1908.[296]

The positions of the unions within the political context of the colony had changed to an extent. The alliance between the labour movement and mercantile associations envisioned by Case was no longer in view. The *Times* was still supportive of the initiative but the new unions of the 1890s do not seem to have had the same support or involvement from the colony's upper strata. The changing priorities of the unions can be explained by a brief examination of the other influential founders of these unions.

Ojukutu-Macauley was mentioned alongside a host of other artisans as the "principal Freetown workmen" who contributed to the founding of these new unions.[297] Many of the other men on the list provided by the *Sierra Leone Times* were similarly influential artisans. H.B. Macfoy was a similarly influential blacksmith. Macfoy's role in the blacksmiths' union is unclear, but one of his former apprentices, E. Cathcart, became acting secretary of the union in 1896.[298] Other prominent carpenters on the list included Carpenters' Defensive Union President Henry Pratt.[299]

Although Case had been trained as an artisan after his secondary schooling, he had never managed his own workshop and apprentices. Case was an effective social climber who was an artisan among many other things. Although his commitment to improving the condition of the colony's artisans is not in question, he definitely had different priorities. Case had hoped to improve the artisans' lot but this project had been accompanied by overtures to the colony's upper strata, particularly Vohsen's Association. Case was also increasingly involved with various social organisations consisting of the colony's most prominent denizens. Ojukutu-Macauley built a similarly impressive reputation.

Throughout the 1890s the Freetown press extensively covered aspects of Ojukutu-Macauley's life. Ojukutu-Macauley remained active and engaged in the U.M.F.C. throughout the decade. In 1894 he joined superintendent William Vivian on a trip to England to attend the Annual Assembly of the U.M.F.C. in Rochdale.[300] During this visit he preached to sizeable audiences in various English churches.[301]

Ojukutu-Macauley's children were also making their entry into Sierra Leonean society. On November 26, 1891, Ojukutu-Macauley's daughter Mary Adeline married Charles Africanus Macauley, a promising young mechanic. Charles Africanus' father was one of the owners of the Macauley Brothers firm for which Case had once worked. The wedding in Samaria Church was attended by many prominent Sierra Leoneans including Samuel Lewis, J.C. May and T.C. Bishop and many others.[302] The marriages of Ojukutu-

Macauley's children during the 1890s were prominent affairs. Reporting on the marriage of his daughter Machal Elizabeth to Ojukutu-Macauley's former apprentice Zichri Johnson in 1897, the *Weekly News* remarked that "a marriage in which our "No. 1 Builder" is father of one of the contracting parties, must be worth the presence and attention of the *first* and *middle* class of our Freetown community."[303] (emphasis in the original)

Ojukutu-Macauley's star was rising throughout the 1890s. In addition to his work in the church and the celebrations of his children's weddings, Ojukutu-Macauley was part and parcel of social life in the colony. In 1893 he, along with Case and most of the colony's upper crust, attended a banquet in honour of Samuel Lewis' appointment as a Companion in the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George.[304] Ojukutu-Macauley and Lewis had worked together professionally from the 1880s onwards and, according to Ojukutu-Macauley's obituary, had been acquainted since childhood. Lewis had been one of the witnesses at Mary Adeline Macauley's wedding and part of the festivities took part in his house. When Lewis passed away in 1903, Ojukutu-Macauley was one of the executors of his will.[305] In his professional activities Ojukutu-Macauley maintained his reputation as the colony's foremost builder. In July 1893 he became a member of the Chamber of Commerce.[306] The Freetown Chamber of Commerce had been founded the previous year as a continuation of the many unsuccessful attempts at founding such an institution, including the Sierra Leone Association of the 1880s. Its objective was, like so many of the associations discussed throughout this thesis, to influence government policy on behalf of the colony's mercantile community.[307]

The discussion has shown the important role Ojukutu-Macauley played in the community. Ojukutu-Macauley's position was exceptional, indeed few ordinary carpenters received as much attention from the press as he did, but he was by no means unique. Ojukutu-Macauley belonged to a select group of successful artisans who were respected members of the social environment of the colony's upper and middle class. They had successfully advanced their personal status and joined the colony's middle class. Nevertheless, Ojukutu-Macauley continued to be identified in the press as a builder. A distinction remained between those who, like Ojukutu-Macauley, built their careers on manual labour and those who did not. While he and other prominent artisans spent a great deal of their time around the mercantile middle classes, a distinction between artisans and merchants remained.

The priorities of these unions are revealing of the class position of its founders. The priorities were to regulate the supply of labour as well as the wages of qualified artisans. The

emphasis continued to be on the improvement of the quality as well as the availability of workmen. The unions did not aim to confront the mercantile employers of labour. On the contrary, the unions aimed to supply the labour demanded by merchants. The unions did clash with the colonial government in 1896. The new unions and the mercantile community shared the colonial government as an opponent. This convergence of interests was aided by the dual role of successful artisans who were simultaneously skilled workers and business owners. Moreover, as stressed before, merchants and successful artisans came from the same, or at least similar, educational backgrounds.

Case's position was similar in many ways. Out of all of the colony's artisans he was perhaps the most successful social climber. His membership of various clubs such as the Grand East End Club and the Unity Club have already been discussed. Perhaps even more significantly, Case was involved in the colony's budding Freemasonry. Before turning to the history of the Freemasonry in Sierra Leone a brief digression on its beliefs, symbolism and history are in order.

The origins of Freemasonry can be traced back to late medieval Britain. Starting in the fourteenth century, the guilds of various crafts associated with construction work, such as stonemasons and carpenters, issued so-called 'constitutions' or 'ordinances' regulating the admission of new members. Such constitutions became increasingly common in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The various lodges in England were united under a Grand Lodge in 1717, followed by Grand Lodges in Ireland and Scotland in 1723 and 1736.[308] Masonic lodges were formed throughout the states of continental Europe and their colonial empires throughout the eighteenth century.[309] In 1813 a United Grand Lodge of England and Wales was founded after a union between the Grand Lodge of England and various lodges which had detached themselves from the Grand Lodge in the eighteenth century.[310] By 1919 lodges affiliated to all three of the Grand Lodges in Britain were present in Sierra Leone.[311]

Historians of Freemasonry often distinguish between 'operative' and 'speculative' Freemasonry. The former term refers to early masonic lodges, whose membership were active craftsmen. The term 'speculative' refers to the various rituals performed within the lodges. A long-held theory of the origins of Freemasonry postulated that the speculative element was introduced when non-craftsmen joined masonic lodges. Snoek and Bogdan argued that the speculative element had been present from the earliest constitutions.[312]

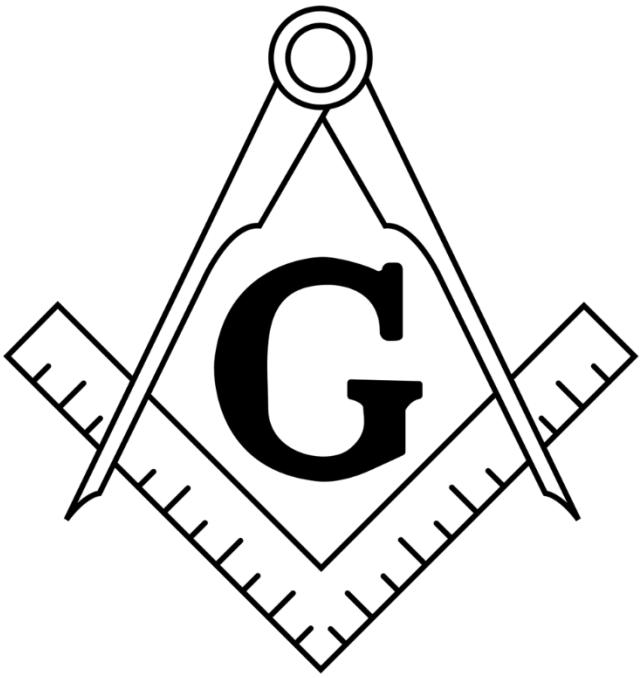
The speculative content of the Freemasonry consisted of a variety of rituals and legends. The United Grand Lodge established in 1813 recognised three degrees: Apprentice,

Fellow Craft and Master Mason. By ascending through these degrees, a member gradually becomes acquainted with the various elements of Masonic beliefs. As the variety of Masonic rituals and practices is too great to be adequately discussed in the context of this chapter, the discussion will be confined to some elements relevant to Freemasonry in Sierra Leone. From the outset Freemasonry was tied to religious practices. Its members were required to regularly attend church, and to serve God. They were also required to observe certain sets of moral behaviour towards other members. This included arranging the funerals of deceased members and taking care of their widows and children.[313]

This religiosity and observance of proper behaviour was also enshrined in Masonic symbols. Figure 5 depicts the square and compasses. A contemporary mason explained the meaning of the symbolism and its expression in the daily conduct of the masons as follows:

> "The main tenet is brotherly love, relief and truth. […] The masons refer to it as the Craft. (…) Freemasonry we use the compass to reminds us to keep within bounds. The actions of masons must remain within bounds. The square reminds us to straighten our conduct and actions. Our actions have to be straight at all times. And we engage in charity work. …) Brothers were sent to hospitals paid by members of the lodge. Scholarships are given by the lodge."[314]

Figure 5: Masonic Square and Compass. Image produced by user MesserWoland https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Square_compasses.svg(Last accessed 17/02/2020).



The Christian influence on Freemasonry is also readily apparent in the ritual history of the Craft.

> "It [the Craft] has an origin dating back to the founding of the Temple of King Solomon. The workmen were organised into different lodges based on their qualifications. When you enter you become an Entered Apprentice. And then, after some training, you become a Fellow of Craft. After some more training you become a Master Mason. Wages were paid according to their ranks. Hence, the reasons for the passwords and handshakes which identified rank and thus pay. Modern day Masons are no longer operative masons. We are speculative Masons. So now, what we do: we apply the tools used in masonry figuratively and in a moral sense"[315]

Freemasonry has been tied to the history of Sierra Leone almost from the beginning of settlement in the colony. The settlement of the Nova Scotians in Sierra Leone was supported by the black Mason and preacher John Marrant. Marrant preached in Nova Scotia and visited London in the early 1790s to advocate for the settlement of Sierra Leone by the Nova Scotians.[316] The first lodge in Freetown, founded in 1820, was, however, not the result of work by black masons. The Freetown Lodge of Good Intent No.721, whose membership included governor MacCarthy, was a lodge for European civilian government personnel and military officers rather than black Sierra Leoneans.[317] A lodge for black Sierra Leoneans was first founded in the early 1880s. The new lodge, simply called Freetown Lodge 1955, E.C. had a rough start.[318] Early founders of the lodge included Dr. Robert Smith, half-brother to noted feminist Adelaide Casely-Hayford, who would serve as the lodge's first Worshipful Master. These first attempts to found a new lodge were hampered by procedural issues and

[313] Snoek and Bogdan, 'History of Freemasonry', 15.

[314] Interview with W. Bankole-Gibson, Freetown 12 December 2018.

[315] Interview with W. Bankole-Gibson, Freetown 12 December 2018.

[316] P.P. Hinks, 'John Marrant and the Meaning of Early Black Freemasonry', *The William and Mary Quarterly* Third Series 64:1 (2007), 105-116, 115.

[317] S.A.J. Pratt, *The Early History of Freetown Lodge No. 1955 E.C.* (Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London 1990 manuscript), 1-2.

[318] The abbreviation E.C., meaning English Constitution, refers to the lodge's alignment with the United Grand Lodge of England, Similarly I.C., Irish Constitution, and S.C., Scottish (or Scotch) Constitution, denote alignment with the Irish and Scottish Grand Lodges respectively.

Smith's death in 1882.[319] In 1885 Moses Boyle, the sole remaining original founder, enlisted the aid of other Masons in the colony to reinvigorate the lodge. The charter for the lodge was renewed and some meetings were held in 1887 but the formation of the lodge stalled once more. Finally, the lodge was successfully convened in late 1889 by Major Samuel Fairthlough.[320]

It is unclear precisely when Case joined the lodge. He does not appear on the lists of contributing members in 1891, 1892, or 1897. These same lists show that Case's cousin William Glouster had become a paying member by 1892. The lodge's membership included other previous associates of Case such as future mayor of Freetown T.C. Bishop, another member of the 1887 centenary committee.[321] It is possible that Case joined the lodge before 1897 but that he was not included on the list due to a delay in the payment of his fees. When Case eventually joined the lodge, he was apparently an enthusiastic member.[322] An overview of the lodge's membership is one of the most complete available accounts of the people with whom Case probably had regular contact. Of course, Case had already associated with many of these people before he joined the lodge and his membership may be best interpreted as a continuation of his previously built network.

Case's membership of the lodge was by no means unexpected, given his life and career up to that point. The lodge included a large number of merchants, in additions to a small number of artisans and engineers, diplomats, professionals and clergy.[323] This world was by no means alien to Case and his membership of the lodge is best interpreted as another expression of the social circles in which Case moved and the values he espoused throughout his career. The activities carried out by the lodge described above were, apart from the speculative aspects of Freemasonry, by no means exclusive to the lodge. As discussed in pervious chapters, many charitable and benefit societies existed in Freetown throughout the period. Case's membership of the lodge is a direct extension of these activities. It reflects his continued participation in the social life of the colony's upper strata.

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[319] Pratt, *Freetown Lodge*, 3-4.

[320] Ibidem, 4-7.

[321] *Annual Returns Freetown Lodge, No 1995, Sierra Leone 1885-1893,* Library and Museum of Freemasonry Call Number Box I119; *Annual Returns Freetown Lodge No. 1955, 1894-1899,* Library and Museum of Freemasonry Call Number Box J94.

[322] 'C.G. Barlatt to E. Letchworth', 27 May 1901' *Annual Returns Freetown Lodge No. 1955, 1894-1899,* Library and Museum of Freemasonry Call Number Box J94.

[323] See the list in Pratt, *Freetown Lodge*, 14-17 and the sources cited in note 322.

Case also returned to the Wesleyan Church in 1895 and would remain an active member of that church until his death in 1901. Case continued to be active and involved member of the church serving as a preacher and builder.[324] His son Josephus remained associated with Samaria Church until his death in 1951. According to a memorial plaque placed in his honour in that church, Josephus Case was a local preacher, committee member and superintendent of the Sunday school. Case's return to the Wesleyan Church may reflect his rising social status as it was common for Sierra Leoneans to change their church membership as their social status improved.

In short, Case and Ojukutu-Macauley remained active in a variety of capacities throughout the 1890s and early 1900s. They continued to combine various professional activities with extensive participation in the colony's religious and social life. Ojukutu-Macauley's star was rising throughout the decade and his personal and professional achievements received considerable press coverage. Although Case was no longer involved in the Colony's artisan trade unions, he remained important in other spheres of the colony's public sphere. The new artisan trade unions founded in 1895 and 1896 replicated some aspects of the Mechanics' Alliance's organisation, while departing from it in other respects.

The new unions continued to function as benefit societies, but unlike the Mechanics' Alliance they managed to negotiate the remunerations paid to their members. This did not entail a confrontation with the colony's mercantile class. The unions clashed with the colonial government in 1896, whose relations with the colony's population were unravelling. Support for the unions was partly motivated by the desire of the middle and upper classes to control labour in the colony. The master artisans themselves were similarly motivated to control the labour of their apprentices and journeymen. The colonial government disrupted this control in 1896 by inducing apprentices to leave their masters to work for the Government Railway. The concerns of master artisans and the colony's politically active middle classes reflect a shared concern over control over the labour of others.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the lives and activities of Case and Ojukutu-Macauley after the 1892 strike. This period was marked by economic improvement as well as the rise of new trade union organisations. These new unions continued Case's efforts of the 1870s and the 1880s, albeit with some important changes. The new unions were organised by occupation

[324] 'Death of Mr. S.H.A. Case', *SLWN* 4 May, 1901, 6.

rather than attempting to unite the various trades into one organisation. The unions remained connected to the activities of the colony's upper and middle classes. Although the new unions were not intended to be integrated into the Chamber of Commerce, as Case had hoped to do with the Mechanics' Alliance and the Sierra Leone Association, there were several formal and informal ties between the new union movement and the city's elites. These ranged from artisans' membership in the Chamber of Commerce to membership in various clubs and associations. The result was that successful artisans, such as Case and Ojukutu-Macauley, continuously interacted with the colony's business communities. Moreover, they participated in the same religious and symbolic activities, most notably the nascent Freemasonry, as the colony's upper classes. As a result, the goals of the new unions were closely aligned with those of the colony's upper strata.

The labour question further fostered support for regulations of the labour market among the colony's elites who worried over the deleterious effects of migration from the hinterland on the availability of labour. This concern carried on the long-running apprehensions over the availability of skilled labour. In both issues artisans and merchants called on the colonial government to intervene. Although the substance of such government intervention differed, government sponsored technical education versus a labour bureau, they each reflected the desire to control the labour of younger and foreign workers. The unions of the 1890s were not interested in a confrontation with the colony's mercantile employers for reasons discussed above. Instead they seemed more anxious to ensure their own control over the labour of their apprentices. This hierarchical view of society was strongly informed and supported by notions of a just society rooted in religious ideas. The unions of the 1890s, particularly the Carpenters' Defensive Union, influenced the formation of other unions in the first decades of the twentieth century. The following Chapter will briefly discuss these new unions as well as the deaths of Case and Ojukutu-Macauley. The labour question drew a great deal of attention from the colony's press. Case and Ojukutu-Macauley were not personally involved in discussion on the problem of labour migration, as far as the sources show. Yet, this new problem diverted a great deal of attention away from the situation of the artisans. Again, as in the 1880s, the artisan trade unions played no part in discussion on the conditions of labour of a great majority of the working population

Chapter 8 The End and Beyond

From 1898 onwards Case's health was in decline, although he continued to perform his duties in the church. Case attended his final service at Wesley Church on 24 March 1901. The next day he fell ill and retreated to the home of Bishop Newton where he stayed for a week. His health had significantly deteriorated when he returned home in the first week of April. Case spent some time at his home conversing with various Wesleyan ministers before being moved to William Glouster's house. The Reverend Marke administered the Lord's supper to Case in the evening of 17 April. Case seemed a little stronger the next morning but his strength waned in the afternoon. Samuel Henry Athanasius Case died quietly around seven in the morning of 18 April 1901.[325]

Case's funeral took place in Wesley Church on 19 April.[326] According to Barlatt, Case had requested a Masonic funeral during his life. The lodge's Worshipful Master Dawson had departed to England two days prior to Case's death. Thus, the Masonic funerary service was to be performed by a Past Master of the lodge. William Glouster was the immediate past master but he was unable to perform the service due to his close relation to Case and grief due to the latter's death. Barlatt ordered the secretary of the lodge, Samuel Metzger, to summon the Masons for Case's funeral and a meeting. Metzger asked Past Master Abraham Spencer Hebron to conduct the funerary ceremony in Glouster's stead. According to Barlatt, Hebron did not attend the funeral in Masonic attire and was thus unfit to perform the funerary service at Case's grave. Instead Past Master Buckle performed these services.[327]

Ojukutu-Macauley's health was also declining by 1901. According to General Superintendent of the U.M.F.C., J. Proudfoot, Ojukutu-Macauley's health had been fragile for three years prior to his death and that a sudden illness or other health crisis might result in his death.[328] On October 6 1904 Ojukutu-Macauley visited a church he was building in the village of Wilberforce. During the inspection he fell and broke his right arm. He was brought back to his house in Freetown and attended by doctor W. Easmon. Ojukutu-Macauley appeared to be recovering and was planning to take a walk for exercise. His conditions

[325] 'Death of Mr. S.H.A. Case', *SLWN*, 4 May 1901, 6.

[326] 'Death of Mr. S.H.A. Case, *SLWN*, 20 April 1901, 5.

[327] 'C.G. Barlatt to E. Letchworth', 27 May 1901' *Annual Returns Freetown Lodge No. 1955, 1894-1899,* Library and Museum of Freemasonry Call Number Box J94.

[328] 'Death of Mr. J.T. Ojukutu M'cauley', *SLWN*, 15 October 1904, 2.

suddenly worsened and he died in the evening of 6 October 1904. His funeral took place the next day in Samaria Church. His remains were interred in Ascension Town Cemetery.[329]

Many other influential Sierra Leoneans died around the same time. Samuel Lewis had died in 1903, T.C. Bishop in 1898, J.C. May in 1902, all at relatively young ages.[330] Various authors have noted that the influence of the Sierra Leonean upper and middle classes was waning by the early twentieth century. The colonial government reduced their numbers in the colonial government appointing Europeans instead.[331] The Sierra Leonean mercantile class faced increased competition from Lebanese immigrants from the 1890s onwards. [332]

Yet, at least some of the institutions of Sierra Leonean life persisted. The *Weekly News* was in print until 1952 and remained a widely distributed paper and new newspapers continued to be launched before the First World War.[333] The existing papers, unions, and the Chamber of Commerce were joined by new pressure groups in the early twentieth century, such as the African Civil Servants' Association and various Ratepayers' Associations. While these organisations were not overtly political, their presence and assertion of the rights of (sections of) the African population nonetheless challenged the status-quo in the colony.[334]

Out of the unions formed in the mid-1890s the Carpenters' Defensive Union was undoubtedly the most successful and influential. In 1913 the *Colonial and Provincial Reporter* reported that the masons of Freetown had formed a union along the lines of the Carpenter's Defensive Union.[335] The formation of unions was not restricted to the various artisan crafts. The colony's fishermen also operated a union by at least 1913. The union not only represented the city's fishermen but everyone involved in the production and trade of fish. Its membership included men as well as women, which is unsurprising given the important role women played as petty traders. A report from the *Colonial and Provincial Reporter* states that the union elected a 'King' as well as a 'Mother'. The fishermen's union

[329] 'Death of Mr. Ojukutu-Macauley', *SLWN*, 8 October 1904, 8.

[330] Fyfe, *A History*, 618.

[331] Wyse, *Krio of Sierra Leone*, 62.

[332] N.O. Leighton, 'The Lebanese in Sierra Leone', *Transition* 44 (1974), 23-29. The Lebanese immigrants began to arrive in small numbers in the 1890s. According to Kuczynski the Lebanese community in the Colony numbered 38 men and 3 women in 1901 and 136 men and 39 women in 1911. Kuczynski, *Demographic Survey*, 191.

[333] Fyfe, *A History*, 619.

[334] Wyse, *Krio of Sierra Leone*, 65.

[335] 'Mason's Associations', *Colonial and Provincial Reporter*, 19 April, 1913, 5.

organised religious services, same as the artisan unions.[336]

While there are no recorded instances of the artisan unions organising a strike, several strikes without union support occurred between 1892 and 1914. In November 1896 the *Weekly News* reported on a strike by some mechanics employed by the Survey Department. The report contains little specific information but it appears that a number of mechanics demanded an increase in their pay and went on strike when the department refused their demands. The strikers were apparently replaced by other men who did receive the higher wage demanded by the strikers.[337] In 1904 carpenters and masons employed by the War Department for construction works on Tower Hill went on strike. Under the Municipality Ordinance all artisans were required to acquire a license to practice their trade in the city of Freetown. The artisans employed by the Imperial Government were originally exempted from this requirement. When the municipality decided to revoke the exemption, the men were required to acquire such a license at their own expense. The men went on strike in protest. The War Department offered them an increase in their wages to offset the additional expense, but the men refused. The matter was resolved by the War Department agreeing to bear the cost of the licenses.[338]

The colony's labourers did not organise themselves into unions. After the completion of the military construction works where the strikes of 1885 and 1892 had originated, labourers employed by the government went on strike at least three times between 1892 and the beginning of the First World War. In 1899 the colony's sanitation workers went on strike. In March of that year the sanitary committee of the Municipality decided to reduce the wages of its labourers from 1s. to 9d. a day. As in 1892, the reasons for this reduction were to curtail expenditure and to bring the wages of the labourers in line with the prevailing wage rate in the city. After ten days the striking workers were recalled and granted their former wage of 1s. per day. The municipality ultimately succeeded in paying a lower wage by sourcing labourers who were to be discharged from other works. These new workers were paid 9d. a day and employed alongside the workers still receiving 1s. a day. The former gradually replaced the latter until the wage rate of 9d. was universally enforced.[339]

The Railways became an important site for strikes in the twentieth century. In 1898

[336] 'The Fishermen's Union', *Colonial and Provincial Reporter,* 5 April 1913, 5.

[337] 'Victor's-Multum in Parvo', *SLWN,* 21 November 1896, 6.

[338] Municipal Licenses demanded from Mechanics in the War Department', *SLWN,* 9 July 1904.

[339] 'The City Council of Freetown, *SLWN,* 3 March 1900, 5-6.

the first strike of railway workers occurred.[340] On 1 June 1911, workers in the Railway workshop in Cline Town went on strike. When they entered the yard to convince other workers to join them in the strike to demand an increase in their wages, they were fired upon by the European locomotive superintendent E.G. Barker. Barker alleged that he had been attacked. Two strikers were wounded during the shooting. When the workers at Water Street station heard of the events in Cline Town, they struck in sympathy with the workers in Cline Town. Four strikers in Water Street were arrested by police, prompting the other strikers to march on the police station. Tensions rose as fifty police officers were dispatched to the railway station to maintain order. The European staff locked themselves in the office, arming themselves with revolvers. No further violence occurred and the strike had ended the next day after mediation from the local headmen.[341]

In early 1914 a group of wharf workers petitioned the government for recognition of their union entitled the Watermen's Union, which they had founded about a year prior. The government denied this request.[342] During the First World War the cost of living increased dramatically sparking two nearly simultaneous strikes in Freetown. In February 1918 the crane men of the Government Wharf in Cline Town struck work after their demands for a higher wage to cope with the increased cost of living had been repeatedly denied or ignored.[343] Two weeks later an article on the strike ascertained that the strikers demanded higher payment because of the financial pressure caused by the war.[344]

In July 1919 a great strike broke out on the Sierra Leone Railway over the late and unfair payment of the War Bonus. The strikers were particularly dissatisfied with the fact that European and West Indian employees of the Railways had all received their War Bonus while the petition of the Sierra Leonean had not. The mechanics of the Railways went on strike on 15 July after a petition sent the previous day had not yielded the desired result.[345] The

[340] Fashole Luke, 'Modern Trade Unionism', 427.

[341] This report is based on 'Shooting affray at Cline Town Railway Works', *SLWN*, 3June 1911, 7. and 'Exciting time at Water Street Station', *SLWN*, 3 June 1911, 7.

[342] 'From Watermen's Union', SLNA, C.S.O. M.P. 131/1914.

[343] J.B.C.' Strike of Crane Men- Government Wharf', *SLWN*, 2 February 1918.

[344] 'Random Jottings: The Crane Men Strike', *SLWN*, 16 February 1918.

[345] 'The Strike of the Railway Mechanics', *Sierra Leone Weekly News* 26 July 1919; I. Abdullah, 'Rethinking the Freetown Crowd; The Moral Economy of the 1919 Strikes and Riot in Sierra Leone', *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 28:2 (1994), 197-218, 199-200.

following year a union including both skilled and unskilled employees of the Railways was formed. This union spearheaded a six-week long strike in 1926.[346]

Conclusion

The material discussed above shows that some important trends continued into the twentieth century. Unions remained uninvolved in strike action by unskilled and skilled workers. Strike action remained incidental and largely unsuccessful. Although more unions were founded, they continued to serve the same functions as the older benefit societies. Case and Ojukutu-Macauley passed away alongside a large number of influential contemporaries. The deaths of prominent public figures coincided with a general decline of influence in government affairs and economic life. Case and Ojukutu-Macauley had belonged to a generation which had profoundly shaped the colony and its politics.

[346] A. Wyse, 'The 1926 Railway Strike and Anglo-Krio Relations: An Interpretation', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 14:1 (1981), 93-123.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

The following chapter provides an analysis of the material presented in Chapters 4 through 8. It then proceeds to reflect on the implications of the material presented for the literature presented in the theoretical framework. It presents some suggestions for future research, both from a methodological and a substantive perspective.

Analysis

How does an analysis of Case and Ojukutu-Macauley's life and activities contribute to answering the research questions posed in Chapter 2? The research questions in that chapter were:

To what extent did S.H.A. Case and J.T. Ojukutu-Macauley contribute to the formation of an artisan working-class in Sierra Leone in the period 1875-1900?

Sub-Questions:

- How did Case and Ojukutu-Macauley and the organisations to which they belonged argue for the interests of artisans? To what extent were their arguments universalistic and to what extent where they particularistic?
- How did their social position in terms of education, occupation and religion influence these arguments?
- How did the social networks in which Case and Ojukutu-Macauley participated influence their ability to present these arguments and possibly have them implemented?
- To what extent did these activities lead to the formation of a working-class identity among artisans?
- To what extent did this class identity include other groups of workers, particularly unskilled labourers?

Starting with the universalistic and particularistic aspects of their worldview, a brief review of these arguments sheds more light on the nature and the development of Case and Ojukutu-Macauley's thinking. Case and Ojukutu-Macauley emphasised both the importance of improvement of the artisans' situation and the potential benefits to society. These benefits

went beyond the material benefits of higher wages and improving the quality of work carried out. During the meeting of the Board of Education, Ojukutu-Macauley commented on what he viewed as the moral deficiencies of youths who lacked a form of technical education and pursued a career as a clerk instead. Moreover, Case repeatedly employed references to scripture when constructing his arguments about the value of labour. Clearly, being a good artisan fulfilled moral, or even spiritual, needs as well as material needs. Work, especially skilled manual labour, was conceptualised as a moralising force and contrasted to white-collar occupations which were held to be morally corrosive. A particularistic concern with the social standing of artisans and their deteriorating economic position was paired with a universalistic appeal to moral renewal and economic improvement of Sierra Leonean society.

The answers to the second and third sub questions are closely related and therefore treated together here. Case and Ojukutu-Macauley's social position in terms of education, occupation, and religion played a discernible role throughout their lives and trade union activities. From a young age Case and Ojukutu-Macauley were surrounded by various organisations transmitting the 'cult of eliteness'. Their relationship towards this background remained ambiguous. On the one hand, they both strove to the self-improvement so central to the social aspirations of their contemporaries. Their successful participation in religious organisations, social clubs, and local festivities elevated their social standing. Case relied particularly heavily on the network accumulated during his professional career to keep *The Artisan* afloat. Case sought cooperation between the Mechanics' Alliance and Ernst Vohsen's Sierra Leone Association to strengthen the position of both institutions. Participation in the colony's Free Methodism allowed them avenues to push for education reform in the late 1880s. On the other hand, a rejection of elite values and aspirations played a central part in their advocacy. Both men rejected the deprecation of skilled manual labour in favour of classicism and white-collar employment displayed by the colony's upper and middle classes. The need to appease middle class employers of labour in order to cooperate with them politically led Case to reject the possibility of building a more militant and confrontational union. These social networks thus simultaneously presented an opportunity to bring about the desired reforms to politics as well as an obstacle to a more radical working-class identity.

The formulation of a working-class identity, the subject of the fourth sub question, was a complicated matter in and of itself. This thesis has examined this question using Thompson's definition of class: "And class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared) feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed

to) theirs." Case and Ojukutu-Macauley identified a series of issues particular to a specific group of workers. Case explicitly grounded *The Artisan* in advocacy on behalf of an artisan working class. The history of the Mechanics' Alliance and *The Artisan* show that these ideas were not immediately embraced by a large number of workers. Nor did this new working class have a clearly defined opponent. Elements of middle-class work and culture were denounced, and an ideal of artisanship was formulated. This ideal, as is discussed below in greater detail, was not attainable for a great number of aspiring artisans. The newly formulated idea of an artisan working class did not take root in Sierra Leonean society, although it did inform artisan trade union activity.

The fifth and final sub question provides further insights in to the reasons and consequences of the exclusionary character of the artisan identity put forward by Case and Ojukutu-Macauley. The artisan unions' solutions to the poor social standing of artisans entailed a reinforcement of prior hierarchies between master artisans and their apprentices. This desire reflected the high value placed on social standing and social improvement in nineteenth century Sierra Leonean society. This social standing could be improved by strengthening the ability of master artisans to circumscribe the ability of their apprentices and journeymen to independently operate as artisans. Formalising long apprenticeships under government auspices would give the master artisans greater control over the supply of skilled labour. This increased control would strengthen the ability of artisans to negotiate the wages of all classes of workmen.

Yet, this solution was rejected by journeymen and apprentices. They continued to operate outside of the workshops of master artisans. Putting forward wage demands for journeymen, as the Carpenters' Defensive Union did in 1896, was an attempt to reconcile this difference. Nevertheless, the ideal of the fully qualified master artisan as the basis of skilled manual labour in the colony remained the point of departure of these unions. There was something distinctly nostalgic and reactionary to artisan appeals to restore the well qualified artisan purportedly in existence in the earlier parts of the nineteenth century.

This internal dissent among the ranks of the artisans was accompanied by even greater ambivalence towards the colony's unskilled workforce. The arrival of large numbers of migrant workers from the colony's hinterland sparked tensions between colony-born inhabitants of the colony and the migrants. The discourse on the Labour Question in the 1890s depicted these migrants as lazy, prone to criminality, and as a drain on the agricultural productivity of the colony and the surrounding territory. Calls for greater control over the flow of labour migration from the hinterland by means of the proposed, though never

implemented, labour bureau mirrored master artisans' desire to reassert control over their apprentices.

The artisan unions evinced no concern for the situation of the colony's unskilled labour force. In 1884 and 1885 Case published their grievances in *The Artisan*, yet his actions did not lead to the Alliance widening its appeal. The migrants organised among themselves through networks centred on 'big men' and made no attempt to join the ranks of the established unions. Colony-born labourers were not subject to the same cultural aversion the migrant workers were met with, but there was no place for them in the established union either. The middle-class press was occasionally sympathetic to demands for better pay made by striking labourers, but it hastened to denounce strike action whenever it occurred.

The relationship between artisan and the merchant middle class was similarly complex. As previously stated, the interests of master artisans and the colony's middle class aligned with regards to the control of unskilled and apprentices' labour. A stable supply of labour, both skilled and unskilled, was an important priority of the colony's middle classes. The *Sierra Leone Times* supported the efforts made by the unions to improve the quality of workmanship while being critical of the lack of organisation of the unions. There is no evidence for any further collaboration between the mercantile middle classes and the new union, nor of an envisioned alliance along the lines of Case's desire to pair the Mechanics' Alliance and the Sierra Leone Association. The artisan unions of the 1890s, as well as the other unions formed in the early twentieth century, retained an explicitly Christian identity but it is unclear whether they were similarly supported by the clergy.

Yet, the connection between the two groups went beyond shared economic and political interests. In fact, the biographies of Case and Ojukutu-Macauley show that personal connections between artisans and the middle classes were established long before the emergence of the first unions. These connections were made in school, in the workplace, and in the churches, clubs, and benefit societies. The documented interactions referred to throughout this thesis are probably outnumbered by numerous undocumented encounters, conversations, and interactions that fostered the respected position of Case, Ojukutu-Macauley, and other important artisan organisers. Case's home was at most a few minutes' walk from Samaria Church, and Freetown was a small town to begin with. Their social prestige was enhanced by their successful adherence to the widely held values of self-advancement through education.

It is clear that Case and Ojukutu-Macauley were well-known among the colony's middle class, that they possessed extensive networks, that the interests of the two groups

aligned, and that they conformed to many middle-class notions of success. How did these networks contribute to the artisan unions and related projects e.g., *The Artisan* or the discussion in the technical education committee in 1889? Non-artisans had been involved in efforts to found an artisan trade union ever since the first initiatives of the mid-1870s. Their involvement varied from encouragement, as Algernon Montagu had done, to the financial support provided to Case by the U.M.F.C. in order to keep *The Artisan* afloat. Case had hoped to formalise the alliance between artisans and the mercantile middle classes by joining the Mechanics' Alliance to the Sierra Leone Association. While these initiatives failed, they show that Case's efforts rested on his collaborations with non-artisan contacts.

The 1889 meeting of the Board of Education on the question of technical education was a unique opportunity for direct involvement in policy making. The Board of Education consisted of influential Sierra Leonean political figures as well as senior clergy. There was no political body in the colony in which the Sierra Leonean elites were as well represented as in the Board of Education. This was due to the central role the churches played in the provision of education in the colony. Case and Ojukutu-Macauley derived their authority to speak on this occasion from their involvement in the various churches, in the case of Ojukutu-Macauley in the religious education through the Sunday school, as well as their other notable activities. The initiative foundered due to a lack of funding but was nonetheless a remarkable expression of the potential of concerted action from the artisan and merchant classes.

In conclusion, the artisan trade unions of Case and Ojukutu-Macauley were fraught with contradictions. Their work was strongly influenced by a series of cultural norms, called the 'cult of eliteness' by Cohen, which made their influence clear throughout Case and Ojukutu-Macauley's lives. Their work involved the remaking of existing social institutions, primarily the benefit societies, into vehicles for social action. It is clear that Case and Ojukutu-Macauley were afforded various forms of crucial support throughout their career. The working-class, artisan identity they promoted received only limited support, and conflicts within the artisan class undermined the success of the nascent trade union movement. Their aim to revive an idealised artisan conflicted with the realities faced by many aspiring artisans and colony-born workers clashed with migrant workers. It is clear no singular working-class identity emerged in the course of their work. In the early twentieth century more experiments in organisation were conducted until the Railway union founded in 1920 seemed to present a successful model for organisation. Nevertheless, their lives and works clearly left an impression on their contemporaries and contributed to the complex process of class formation in nineteenth century Sierra Leone.

The representativity of the present case study is limited. Case and Ojukutu-Macauley were exceptional in some ways when compared to other artisans, although they were not unique as successful social climbers. Their lives did exemplify the widely-held aspirations to become well-respected, economically successful members of society. Ojukutu-Macauley was widely seen, both by his contemporaries and later authors, as the best artisan of his time. Case's career trajectory departed from traditional ideals about artisan career paths, but he was not unique in this regard. More importantly, a significant number of other prominent artisans appear to have had similar life trajectories, although additional research would have the potential of discovering differences among prominent artisans. The life histories discussed in this thesis provide evidence of the permeability of the colony's class structure, and in many ways the lives discussed conformed to existing middle-class aspirations.

It is more difficult to compare Case and Ojukutu-Macauley to their less prominent contemporaries. The significant newspaper coverage they received due to their social standing was not accorded to less famous artisans. As a result, it is more difficult to track their lives in a similar manner using the approach to life history employed in this thesis. The source material is often silent on the experiences of less well-off artisans. It is therefore difficult to ascertain the degree to which they would have agreed with Case and Ojukutu-Macauley's descriptions of the issue, the material presented in support of this being the case notwithstanding. The present case study may not accurately reflect the lived experience of all Sierra Leonean artisans in the late nineteenth century. It does, however, reveal new and important information which casts a different light on the existing literature.

Future Research

Finally, a few recommendations for future research emerge from the present thesis. Firstly, similar studies of later artisan organisers, such as those mentioned in Chapter 7, may yield further insights into the further development of the artisan organisations. More research should also be done into the unskilled labourers of the colony, as they have remained relatively understudied. Research into religion among lower class Sierra Leonean labourers could provide interesting contrasts to the views of the artisans discussed throughout this thesis. Generally, the developing field of Global Labour History provides many inroads to revitalise the study of the working lives of women, thereby continuing the work of E. Frances White cited previously in this study, or other groups who have remained understudied. Further unravelling the complex connections between the local Methodist congregations and their connections to the local social and political environment of the colony is warranted.

Another possible avenue for research lies in applying some of the theoretical considerations outlined in this thesis to ethnographic studies of contemporary or other historical cases of trade union organisation.

This thesis has demonstrated the use of adopting a life history approach to historical research on labour issues. Taking two lives as its analytical focus, it has been able to demonstrate the complexities and idiosyncrasies of the labour movement as it struggled to find its footing in the final quarter of the nineteenth century. Pursuing a similar course of research in this regard can clearly be beneficial to stimulate further progress in the field of labour history.

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