

# The Athens of West Africa

*A History of International Education at  
Fourah Bay College, Freetown,  
Sierra Leone*

 Daniel J. Paracka, Jr.

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Sierra Leone

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## *Dedication*

***Barre***: a Limba term that has multiple meanings including a work group, a court of law, a safety belt for climbing, a hoop. It exudes a sense of connectedness and community—and is therefore an appropriate metaphor for higher education in today’s international world.<sup>1</sup>

*This dissertation is dedicated to the Limba of Wara Wara Bafodia who taught me that life’s experiences have many meanings and need to be considered from multiple perspectives. The Limba have accepted and accommodated Christianity, Islam, and traditional religion. Many people have a Christian name, an Islamic name, and a traditional name. They attend church on Sunday, the mosque on Friday, and traditional rites as called for.*

---

<sup>1</sup> European travelers in the “Mandingo country” of Sierra Leone documented “burrees which served as public schools; ‘where their youth are taught to read and write Arabic.’” Skinner described the “barri” as “a building or covered area used by alimamis and headmen for hearing court cases and receiving visitors. See David E. Skinner, “Islam and Education in the Colony and Hinterland of Sierra Leone (1750–1914),” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* (Vol. X, No. 3, 1975), 507.

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# Abbreviations

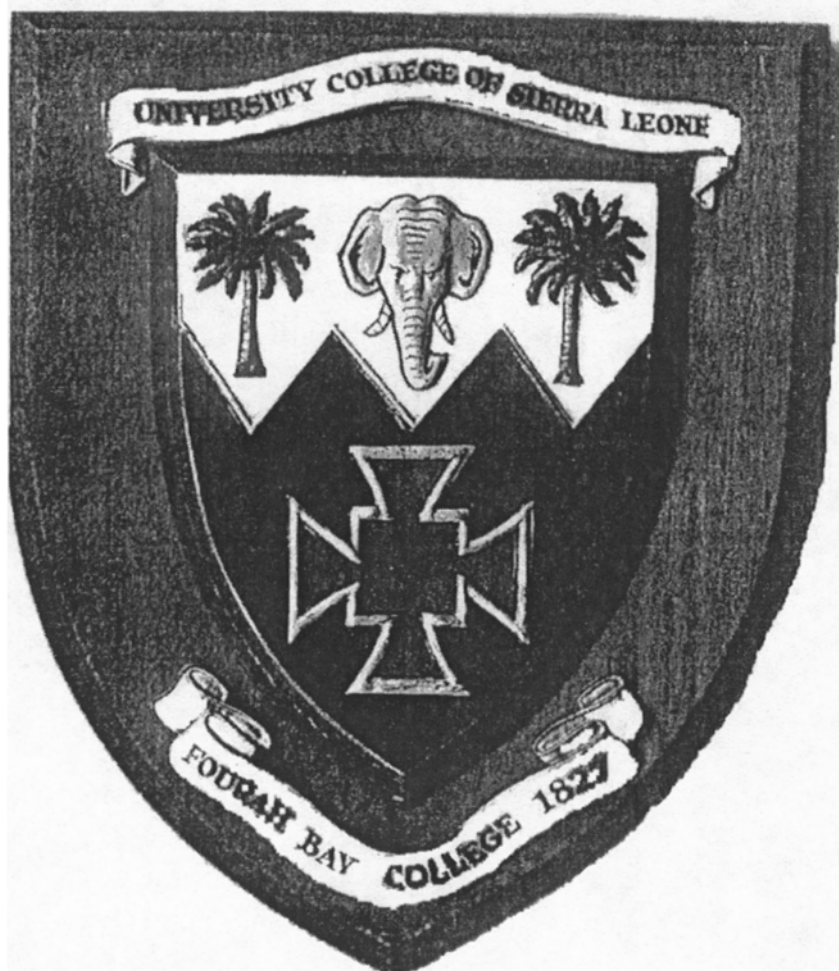
ACS	American Colonization Society
AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
APC	All Peoples Congress
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CD&W	Colonial Development & Welfare
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
EO	Executive Outcomes
FBC	Fourah Bay College
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MMTC	Milton Margai Teacher's College
NCBWA	National Congress of British West Africa
NUC	Njala University College
O AU	Organization of African Unity
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SLPP	Sierra Leone People's Party
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
USL	University of Sierra Leone
VSO	Volunteer Service Organization
WMMS	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society



## THE ATHENS OF WEST AFRICA



THE ATHENS OF WEST AFRICA





# Introduction

This book is about Fourah Bay College (FBC) and its role as an institution of higher learning in both its African and international context. The study traces the College's development through periods of missionary education (1787–1875), colonial education (1876–1937), and development education (1938–2001). FBC's unique construction as a socio-cultural microcosm of the political, racial, religious, and social tensions that characterized the colonial and postcolonial revolutions in West Africa makes its history a valuable resource for gaining insight into the ways certain epistemologies and ideologies collide to form institutions that shape society.

**Part One** (1787–1875) analyzes the impact of FBC's missionary roots. FBC was known as the “Athens of West Africa” due to a strong focus within its curriculum on learning Greek and Latin and because of the unparalleled success of its graduates at home and abroad.<sup>1</sup> The text most often employed for the study of Greek was the Greek New Testament. Founded by the Anglican Church, FBC was not a secular college. Students studied to become priests and catechists and helped spread Christianity throughout West Africa. It is the oldest Western-styled college in Africa.<sup>2</sup>

Missionary Education encompassed a complex mix of well-intentioned humanitarianism, rigid indoctrination, and economic expansionism.<sup>3</sup> Liberated slaves and returned diasporan Africans played a central role in helping to end the slave trade and in the development of a primarily Western-styled educational system for West Africa. African and European missionary scholars were actively involved in linguistic transcription and translated the Bible into the many languages of West Africa. The period provided a measure of freedom and opportunity to Western-educated Africans.

**Part Two** (1876–1937) analyzes the complex forces at work at FBC aiding and resisting colonial rule. The transition from slavery to colonialism was not peaceful or conducive to local development. European powers such as Great Britain attempted to establish monopoly control over the entire African continent and an emerging global market.<sup>4</sup> Christianity, a powerful vehicle for spreading Western education and culture as well as a rationale for denigrating traditional African cultural knowledge and social institutions, was as pervasive

as colonialism. European missionaries and colonial governments operated in concert to maintain their hegemonic control. This occurred as church and state split apart in Europe and the United States. Although FBC's African faculty and students tended to support the integration of West Africa into the global community, they consistently opposed colonial rule. African scholars repeatedly recommended to the European administrators to include courses in African languages and culture. They made little progress. The emerging African educated elite of the twentieth century challenged both traditional African and European authority.<sup>5</sup>

Colonial Education placed clear limits on the educational scope and mission of the College. Enrollment remained small in numbers (the high for the period was 58 students in 1915) but students came from all the colonies in British West Africa. FBC was required to maintain international (British) standards of academic excellence in order to qualify as a university institution. FBC faculty and students were often much more familiar with British history and culture than with the history and culture of indigenous ethnic groups in Sierra Leone or other parts of West Africa. Throughout the missionary and colonial periods, the faculty at FBC was predominantly West African.

**Part Three** (1938–2001) analyzes the new social and political conditions at FBC following World War II and Sierra Leone's independence in 1961. In particular, the study examines curricular change at FBC in the field of African Studies and the development of culturally relevant material throughout the educational system. At independence, FBC students and faculty wanted their own curriculum, not one dependent on the West for its content. Academic freedom and political independence were closely linked concepts among African students and scholars of the period. The universities of the new African nations wanted to assume responsibility for preparing their citizens to meet the challenges of modern society, improving the quality of life and ending dependency. However, they were not necessarily prepared to rediscover themselves or to promote their values and identity abroad. The political and economic spoils of the neo-colonialist, Cold War era took precedence over local needs and concerns. Fourah Bay College may have attempted to develop a shared sense of national identity, but it did not emphasize learning the language, customs, or culture of different ethnic groups of the country or region. Development Education in Sierra Leone was characterized by a drive for modernization but was undermined by the corrupting influences of a self-serving autocrat and global power politics.

The history of Africa stretches back to the very beginning of human history. The value of education is deeply embedded in African society. Traditional education in Africa emphasizes passing on knowledge, skills, and values from generation to generation. According to Nigerian scholar Toyin Falola:

No discipline is better able to illustrate the African academy than history. Even before the emergence of academic institutions, the African intelligentsia devoted generous space to history. Nationalists and politicians gave history a prominent role in their thinking and writing. When academics joined in writing about Africa, historians occupied the forefront in presenting the past as a valuable tool to build nationalism and create a strong nation-state. All the errors and misconceptions about Africa by Europeans became points of attack for African historians.<sup>6</sup>

The written history of FBC has focused on the roles played by the many celebrated African and African-descended faculty and alumni of the College. FBC was a male-only institution for most of its existence. The dominant role of male figures within and outside the institution reflected the paternalism of the period and its historiography. These men played important roles in the educational, cultural, and political leadership of West Africa. Their names are invoked with great pride: Samuel Ajai Crowther, Edward Jones, George Crowley Nicol, James Africanus Horton, James Holy Johnson, A.B.C. Sidthorpe, Henry Johnson, Obadiah Moore, Obadiah Johnson, Edward W. Blyden, Orishatukeh Faduma, T.J.Thompson, J.E.Casely Hayford, A.E. Tuboku-Metzger, Charles Nicholas Lewis, Adolphus Williamson Howell, Thomas Sylvester Johnson, Magnus John Sampson, Victor Adolphus Tettey, Israel Ransome-Kuti, Lapido Solanke, Laminah Sankoh, Milton Margai, Arku Korsah, Henry Lightfoot-Boston, (Ms.) Lati Hyde, Kenneth Onwuka Dike, Robert Kweku Atta Gardiner, Davidson Nicol, Harry Sawyerr, Eldred Jones, Arthur Porter, Daniel Chaytor, Awadagin Williams, Cyril Foray, Arthur Abraham, and Magbaily Fyle. While this study includes an analysis of the thoughts and ideas of these men, it focuses on the role of the institution they tried to reform.

Equally important and equally emphasized in many previous historical accounts were the European faculty who taught at FBC. They included: Leopold Butscher, Charles Haensel, Charles Reichardt, Sigismund Koelle, Frederick Schon, Metcalf Sunter, Frank Nevill, James Denton, J.L.C.Horstead, Eric Downing, (Ms.) Lindis Dolphin, Hadow Harris, Kenneth Little, Peter Kup, John Hargreaves, Paul Hair, David Dalby, Michael Crowder, John Peterson, and Joseph Opala. There were others, but these principals and faculty made substantial long-term commitments to the College, their tenure at FBC averaging ten years or more. Crowder, Dalby, Hargreaves, and Hair only taught at FBC for a couple of years but their interest and careers followed closely events and developments at the College. There were so many European faculty at FBC in the 1950s and 1960s that it would be extremely difficult to acknowledge all of them.

Both African and European academics have contributed enormously to the College's development. This work argues that people willing to engage themselves respectfully with others different from themselves benefited the most from such intercultural learning experiences. It also shows that those who entered cross-cultural environments assuming the superiority of Western culture, "civilization," over African culture have done great damage. It distinguishes the individual efforts of FBC students, faculty, and alumni to address local needs and bridge cultural differences from the constraints of a rather narrow curriculum and chronically under-funded institution.

FBC has often stood at the center of controversy surrounding complex interactions related to colonialism, nationalism, Pan-Africanism, independence, the Cold War, and African studies. Colleges and universities play a critical role in transferring, reinforcing, influencing and shaping the attitudes, beliefs, and values of society. According to many authors, the modern version of these institutions has been particularly effective in spreading Western attitudes, beliefs, and values on a global scale.<sup>7</sup> The history of FBC provides a rich context for evaluating this premise, drawing particular attention to the relationship between West Africa, Great Britain and the United States. Its story places education in the context of international relations and social investment.

African multicultural challenges to the accepted worldviews and methods of the Western academics have helped develop a more comprehensive approach to scholarship. The large and diverse African continent has proven its ability to resist forces of Westernization despite the West's relentless onslaught. The diversity of Africa resists homogenization. However, the value of its diversity has been little appreciated. To the contrary, the ethnic and linguistic diversity of Africa constantly comes under attack and derision as the source of its problems rather than as its strength.<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, the importance of oral history and literature in Africa as a way of studying this diversity has helped to change modern social science research in profound ways.

This study highlights the roles and recommendations of Sierra Leonean scholars in the College's development. It includes identifying core Western values related to Christianity, capitalism, and nationalism transmitted and reinforced through the College. It also includes identifying how Fourah Bay College, as it encountered Western values, has worked to transmit and promote African cultural values, worldviews and institutions.



# PART ONE

## Missionary Education, 1787–1875

Christian missionaries of both African and European descent predominated in the development of modern European educational systems in West Africa during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> Freetown, Sierra Leone was founded as the “Province of Freedom” in 1787 by British philanthropists, abolitionists, and African-Americans who had fought on the British side in the American War of Independence. In Sierra Leone, the Church Missionary Society (CMS), originally known as the “Society for Missions to Africa and the East,” founded in England in 1799, took responsibility for establishing schools and hiring instructors. The CMS hired many of Fourah Bay College’s (FBC) early faculty from the United Brethren Mission of Moravia, Germany and the Basel Mission, located in a German speaking region of Switzerland.<sup>2</sup> European missionaries took responsibility for spreading Western civilization and Christianity. Returned diasporan African missionaries joined them in these endeavors in part to help end the slave trade. The CMS was closely involved with the abolitionist movement. The history of FBC is inextricably bound with that of the CMS.

At the end of the eighteenth century, several different groups of free blacks from Great Britain and the Americas returned to settle in Freetown. They were then joined by large numbers of Africans liberated from slave ships by the British Naval Squadron in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> These groups combined aspects of different African and European cultures into a unique set of customs and culture known today as Krio. More than one hundred years after the founding of Freetown, an American sponsored educational commission described the Krio as “an interesting social group who have exerted considerable influence in the affairs of practically every colony on the West Coast of Africa.”<sup>4</sup> Their influence has commanded attention and respect far beyond their numerical means. As one scholar has recently concluded:

For the Creoles (descendents of liberated slaves) in particular, the principle of emancipation through education was extremely important in the light of the traumatic experiences of slavery and their determination to rebuild their lives in the “province of freedom” as Freetown came to be

known. The Creoles also never lost sight of the fact that the battle against slavery was championed by learned men of the educated and enlightened classes in Britain, or that the eventual abolition of slavery in 1772 was premised on high moral principles and religious convictions and secured through democratic legislation. Against this background, it is hardly surprising that the Creoles of the early colonial period manifested an extremely profound and somewhat naive respect for western education and Christian religious values and morality, as well as the democratic process and the rule of law.<sup>5</sup>

The Krio historical perspective, as expressed above, emphasized the role of abolitionists and the importance of education to the development of Sierra Leone.

In the early 1800s, Freetown became a center for the suppression of the slave trade. Abolitionists viewed education and the spread of Christianity as extremely important to ending the slave trade. The abolitionists' moral arguments for ending the slave trade found support in emerging economic theory that asserted the greater profitability of free labor over slave labor. In addition, the economic interests of the abolitionists themselves had switched from the West Indies to the East Indies.<sup>6</sup> Skeptics have challenged the motivations of missionaries who were advancing their own moral authority. For example, scholars have noted that although both Sierra Leone and Liberia originated from the philanthropic venture of catering for the welfare of repatriated freed slaves, freed slaves in Europe and America were also viewed as constituting a social problem, hence their emigration back to Africa was encouraged.<sup>7</sup>

Breaking the vicious cycle of violence that had developed through the Atlantic slave trade was no easy undertaking. It took a concerted effort that involved both indigenous and returned diasporan Africans as well as Europeans. The returned diasporan Africans, as former soldiers and seafarers, possessed the awareness and skills needed to help suppress slave trading in the area. They served with the British Naval squadron and even captained some ships.<sup>8</sup> The Africans rescued by these ships landed in Freetown. Between 1807 and 1840, more than 60,000 Africans arrived in the Liberated African Yard in Freetown.<sup>9</sup> These "returnees" or "liberated" Africans included people of Yoruba, Ibo, Hausa, Bambara, Bassa, Congolese, and Ashanti descent. In 1854, German researcher Sigismund Koelle published a collection of vocabularies of some 100 African languages spoken in Freetown.<sup>10</sup> The returned diasporan and European missionary community helped to settle and provide a Western education to these diverse "refugees" of the slave trade.<sup>11</sup>

Many of the liberated Africans returned to their homelands in Nigeria, Ghana, and the Congo to preach the horrors of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Returned diasporan Africans and liberated Africans formed the basis of Krio

culture and played an important role in helping indigenous African communities understand the abusive, condescending, and degrading treatment of slaves in the New World. Krio scholar Cream Wright noted: “The existence in colonial Sierra Leone of a group of liberated Africans having unprecedented affinity with British culture provided a platform for cultural penetration, but also acted as a catalyst for the destabilization and rejection of colonial domination.”<sup>12</sup> Another important but less emphasized factor helping to end the slave trade was the significant increase in legitimate trade in products such as palm oil, groundnuts, and ginger.<sup>13</sup> The role of Africans and liberated African missionaries in ending the slave trade has often taken a back seat to the British explanation that emphasized the role of abolitionists. Owing to its missionary abolitionist roots, FBC faculty, students, and alumni often argued from a moral standpoint. However, the College’s arguments did not always carry sufficient economic or political force to persuade those with power to support its educational mission.

Missionary colonialism was considered a cultural rescue mission.<sup>14</sup> Many of the European missionaries from the Church Missionary Society of England who came to work in West Africa died, primarily due to malaria and often after just a few months stay. According to FBC historian, T.J.Thompson,

The literature dealing with West African problems of undoubted merit, written by West Africans and the popular organ of public opinion in the Settlement in the Seventies [1870s] recognized to the fullest extent, and echoed with genuine admiration the feelings and sentiments of appreciation and gratitude of the West African peoples to the Church Missionary Society for the pre-eminent services it had rendered in the cause of religion, evangelization and education to Liberated Africans and their descendents.<sup>15</sup>

Such accolades have been reiterated throughout the history of FBC. For example, Cyril Foray (FBC Principal, 1985–1993) opened his lecture on the sesquicentennial celebration of Fourah Bay College in 1977 by honoring the European missionary role:

It has become fashionable nowadays, particularly among revisionist historians, to make disparaging remarks about the early missionaries and to indulge in the use of the most uncharitable epithets in referring to their plans and policies. For our part we hasten to pay tribute, unqualified and sincere, to the selfless exertions, enterprising zeal, and the noble sacrifices of the Church Missionary Society.<sup>16</sup>

In the first half of the 19th century, out of 127 European missionaries sent by the CMS to Sierra Leone, 39 died after an average of two years service, and

fifty returned home.<sup>17</sup> From this, we may infer that as many as 38 lived out their lives in Africa, making it their home.

The importance of training Africans who could administer the colonies without succumbing to illness did not go unrecognized by British authorities or Sierra Leoneans interested in increased trade and better employment opportunities. In addition, FBC trained Africans as missionary educators because “interior Chiefs had demonstrated their willingness to be taught, but by members of their race.”<sup>18</sup> Returned African diasporan missionaries did not simply spread Christianity.

Western-educated Africans aided in opening the interior of Africa to European trade. Mission work was as much about developing acceptance for new economic and social organization as it was about religious conversion.<sup>19</sup>

Writing in the late twentieth century, American scholar Edward Berman claimed that:

Missionaries, Africans as well as their European mentors, disseminated education neither for its own sake nor to enable Africans to challenge colonial rule. Missionaries established schools because education was deemed indispensable to the main purpose of the Christian denominations—spreading the gospel of Jesus Christ.... The school was used as an inducement to lure Africans into the missionary orbit. Africans were no less averse to using missionaries for their own purposes than the missionaries were for theirs. African reasons for attending mission schools varied, but most were related to well-defined political, social, or economic goals. The recent studies reveal that few Africans attended mission schools for the sake of their eschatological message.<sup>20</sup>

Christianity like Islam assimilated to the African context.<sup>21</sup> All of these different perspectives will be examined further throughout [Part One](#).

[Chapter One](#) focuses on the role of repatriated diasporan Africans and European missionaries who helped spread Western education and Christianity throughout West Africa. The initial emphasis was on codifying African languages for Bible translations. To accomplish this, linguists codified local languages into Western scripts. The same process had occurred centuries earlier with Arabic. In the early years of the College’s existence, many of the faculty were German missionaries and linguists including John Raban, Frederick Schon, Sigismund Koelle and Charles Reichardt. Reichardt lived and taught at FBC for roughly thirty years. All of the German missionaries made extensive use of African informants for the study of African languages. The College’s first student and graduate, Bishop Samuel Ajai Crowther, exemplified the role. Crowther was a scholar who valued learning and helped establish many schools and churches in Nigeria. He worked closely with all of the German linguists noted above. Crowther, Schon, Koelle, and Reichardt

were among the leading linguistic researchers of African languages in the nineteenth century.

In the early 1800's, diasporan blacks returning to West Africa obtained positions of authority. In Sierra Leone in the 1840's, they held such positions as Principal of Fourah Bay College and Governor of the Colony. African-American and Afro-Caribbean missionaries who returned to Africa were a force resisting as well as aiding European expansionism. [Chapter Two](#) focuses on the role of these diasporan returnees. From 1840 to 1858, an African-American, principal Edward Jones, mentored several outspoken and talented FBC students including James Africanus Horton and James "Holy" Johnson. Horton and Johnson were leading proponents of African self-determination and the need to establish a West African university.

From 1859 to 1864, Fourah Bay College was closed ostensibly due to a lack of qualified students and faculty. Protest over the closing galvanized into public outcry for the development of a West African university. [Chapter Three](#) focuses on the West African call for a secular university. The greatest proponent of the West African university was Edward Wilmot Blyden. Originally from the West Indies, Blyden's views were widely published in West Africa, Great Britain, and the United States. He valued classical education because he felt that it was free of the contemporary "race-poison" that characterized much of the scholarly thinking of the period.<sup>22</sup>

A host of Africans educated in Sierra Leone became missionaries, teachers, and clerks employed throughout English speaking West Africa.<sup>23</sup> As noted by one scholar:

Between 1843–1899, the C.M.S. in West Africa was served by 112 "native clergy." Of these 112 "native clergy," at least 100 were West Africa-born, and at least 70 were Sierra Leone-born. At least 55, that is roughly one half of all the native clergy, were trained at Fourah Bay.... Of these, at least 55 Fourah Baytrained clergy, at least 40 were Sierra Leone-born.... It must be added that most of the Sierra Leone-born at this date were sons of the Creole communities in Freetown and the Peninsula.... Of the at least 55 clergy trained before 1900, eleven received degrees.<sup>24</sup>

However, not everyone wanted to be a teacher or priest. Many successful Sierra Leonean traders invested considerable funds in education, often sending their children to England to study law or medicine. In the latter half of the century, critics such as Edward Wilmot Blyden condemned the value of an overseas education as undermining the development of African culture and knowledge while simultaneously arguing the need to establish a West African University.<sup>25</sup> More recently, other observers have argued that the Africans who studied "in England not only heightened their racial pride and consciousness, but also fostered a critical perspective toward European cultural and religious

influences in West Africa.”<sup>26</sup> African students’ experience abroad instilled an intense interest in both African and European cultures and society. Samuel Ajai Crowther and James Africanus Horton, two of the most influential African scholars to come out of Fourah Bay College in the early nineteenth century, wrote in-depth, cross-cultural, and comparative analyses of African and European cultures.<sup>27</sup> Returned diasporan Africans, such as those listed above played important roles in the early development of FBC. They brought with them a critical international perspective that demanded equal rights for Africans and people of African descent with those of Europeans. In this first part, we will see how African and returned diasporan missionaries spread Christianity and Western education throughout West Africa, but not in an uncontested form.

# CHAPTER ONE

## Founding a Christian Institution, 1787–1840

Understanding the relationship that developed between West Africa, Great Britain, and the United States through the Atlantic slave trade is crucial to understanding the origins of the Freetown colony and the introduction of Western education to West Africa. According to W.E.B. Du Bois, “that sinister traffic, on which the British Empire and the American Republic were largely built, cost black Africa no less than 100,000,000 souls, the wreckage of its political and social life, and left the continent in precisely that state of helplessness which invites aggression and exploitation.”<sup>1</sup> Africans were seized from their homes and exchanged for European manufactured goods and then transported to the Americas where they worked to produce sugar, cotton, rice, and other raw materials to supply the industries of Europe. After the British declared an abolition of the slave trade in 1807, this last process continued as cheap African labor was used to extract precious minerals and other natural and agricultural resources that were then shipped to Europe for processing. The finished products were then sold back to Africa and the world.<sup>2</sup> While primary responsibility for these developments may lie with the dominant forces of Western industry and military technology, a level of cooperation and complicity among African actors contributed to the process. The historical question arises: what was the role of teachers and scholars in this process?

This chapter will examine both the curriculum of FBC as well as the activities and accomplishments of individual faculty, students, and alumni. It is an important goal of this study to understand the complex relationships among Africans, Europeans, Americans, and diasporan Africans, particularly the effect of such relationships on the development of education in West Africa. Freed slaves and other diasporan Africans played a central role in the development of a primarily Western styled educational system in West Africa. Their participation was critical to the spread of new ideas and perspectives in West Africa, Europe and America. They helped interpret and negotiate between very different worldviews. What, historically, has often been overlooked in studying this exchange is that European culture has had much to learn about itself through its interaction with African culture.

West Africans had extensive contact with British culture and the English language for nearly a century before the founding of Freetown in 1787. Many British and other European traders married into African families and lived their entire lives on the coast. With British participation, the slave trade reached its highest volume in the latter half of the 18th century when an average of more than 70,000 persons were transported per year. Approximately six percent of these slaves were shipped to North America. During this period, the British transported more slaves to the Americas than all the other European powers combined. Between 1760 and 1780, Sierra Leone provided more than 20 percent of the total number of slaves transported. Many of these Sierra Leoneans were traded to Europeans for munitions to support intra-African warfare in the Futa Djallon area.<sup>3</sup> These enslaved Sierra Leonean farmers were skilled rice technicians and therefore particularly coveted for work on the rice plantations of coastal South Carolina and Georgia. The wealthiest men in the United States at the time of American independence owned extensive rice plantations.<sup>4</sup> It was, therefore, a bold initiative undertaken in 1787 by British philanthropists, abolitionists, and African-Americans who fought on the side of the British in the American War of Independence to found a settlement in Sierra Leone, the heart of slave trading country.

The British promised freedom to African-Americans who fought against the American revolutionaries. Following the British loss of the American colonies, Great Britain experienced a significant increase in its black population, most of whom were black seamen, soldiers, or servants of British officers who had served Great Britain in the war. Most had been born in North America or the West Indies and almost all were men. Some had married British women. Many of these blacks were poor and destitute and as such posed a social problem in England. The British Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor organized a humanitarian effort to help them survive in England. However, providing social services and assistance proved very costly and ineffective. The government had no sponsored social welfare programs and very little experience working with culturally diverse populations. A plan to resettle the blacks in Africa gained momentum under the glowing reports of the naturalist Henry Smeathman and the successful lobbying of the abolitionist Granville Sharp. Smeathman was a schemer, a speculator, and businessman. He convinced both blacks and whites of the suitability of Sierra Leone for agriculture. However, the rocky soil of the mountainous Freetown peninsula proved to be unsuitable for agriculture, particularly Western agricultural produce and cash crops.

Granville Sharp was a man of principles and a devout Christian. He was best remembered for his role in the James Somerset case heard by Lord Mansfield in 1772, which was largely understood to have freed any slave from the colonies who set foot in Great Britain.<sup>5</sup> Sharp was particularly interested in proving the worthiness of a certain form of representative governance,



frankpledge, which rested on dividing communities into units of ten households and 100 households, called “tithings” and “hundreds,” and electing tithingmen and hundredors. In 1786, Smeathman published his *Plan of a Settlement to be Made Near Sierra Leona*.<sup>6</sup> The philanthropists backing the project named the new colony, “the Province of Freedom.”

Together, Smeathman and Sharp embodied all the characteristics valued in the enlightenment period. The “enlightened” citizen, opening the world to the benefits of Western civilization, was part scientist, part humanitarian, part venture capitalist, and part Christian evangelist.<sup>7</sup>

The abolitionists’ motivations for ending the slave trade abided in self-interest, as will shortly be illustrated, as well as humanitarianism.<sup>8</sup> In addition, both British and Sierra Leonean scholars have attributed racist motives to the resettlement plan as a partial attempt to rid England of its growing black population.<sup>9</sup> Similar claims have occurred concerning black emigration from the United States to Liberia.<sup>10</sup>

Humanitarianism and economic liberalism combined forces in the establishment of Granville Town later known as the Freetown Colony.<sup>11</sup> Abolitionists believed that the best way to abolish the slave trade was by proving the profitability of legitimate trade with Africa. After the loss of the American colonies, Great Britain was concerned about competition from the United States.<sup>12</sup> The idea that free labor might be more profitable than slave labor began to gain currency as part of this competition. The British abolitionists believed that sugar grown by free men in Africa could undercut the slave grown sugar of the Americas. The British establishment of a freed Black Colony in Sierra Leone (the same area from which the United States received its most valued rice-farming slaves) had strategic economic and political implications. In the early 1800’s, Freetown became a center for the suppression of the slave trade.

Implementing Sharp’s and Smeathman’s plan for a settlement proved difficult and there were many delays. Not long after the British government approved the plan, Smeathman passed away. After his death when the Committee and the government began to reconsider the settlement plan, diasporan Africans submitted a deposition calling for the plan’s implementation. They negotiated with the British government for certificates attesting to their status as freemen and faithful subjects of the King as well as for many provisions including firearms.<sup>13</sup> More than a year elapsed between approval of the plan and the actual voyage.

In May 1787, approximately four hundred poor black loyalists from England sailed to Sierra Leone. They arrived at the beginning of the rainy season that would later destroy the crops they planted. Malaria was also prevalent during the rainy season. There was an extremely high mortality and desertion rate among the settlers. Some were captured and sold into slavery. The relationships among the settlers, the local indigenous people, and the slave traders were

fraught with problems. Some settlers turned to the European slave traders for help in surviving. Others turned to the local inhabitants for help. The settlers traded their provisions with the local Africans for food. European slave traders accused the settlers of engaging in the slave trade with local Africans. Settlers and traders blamed each other for spoiling relations with the local Africans. The returned diasporan settlers believed that the British government sided with slave traders in their disputes.<sup>14</sup> In 1789, local Africans attacked and destroyed the settlement. However, the local Africans had given three days advance warning and slave traders helped evacuate eighty-seven settlers.<sup>15</sup> By 1791, only forty-eight of the four hundred Black settlers remained.<sup>16</sup> These few remaining, courageous, and strong-willed settlers realized that while the settlement had an important role to play in undermining the slave trade, they also would need more help.

Emancipated black British loyalists from the American War of Independence (to whom originally the British government had provided asylum in Nova Scotia) were the next group to arrive in Freetown. Life in Nova Scotia had proved difficult and the African-American Nova Scotians sought refuge in Sierra Leone as they heard other African loyalists had settled there. Almost twelve hundred “Black Loyalists” or “Nova Scotians” arrived in March of 1792 supported by the newly established Sierra Leone Company, a commercial enterprise founded in England. The Sierra Leone Company was to derive profits from agriculture and local trade, but not from trade in slaves. The Nova Scotians were a politically conscious group. They were the first people in Africa to voice new world political slogans. They were vehemently opposed to taxation without representation. They resented white authority and challenged the company’s rights to control the affairs of the settlement. They established a formal militia, trial by jury, and a government of frankpledge. When the Sierra Leone Company attempted to charge the settlers rent to offset financial losses the “measure was met with violent resistance from the settlers who maintained that submission to the tax would undermine their newly won freedom.”<sup>17</sup>

In 1799, over five hundred Jamaican Maroons arrived in Freetown just in time to help put down the Nova Scotians’ rebellion against the British controlled company. The Maroons were descendants of Ashanti warriors who had proved ungovernable as slaves in Jamaica and in return for their freedom trained as a militia. The Maroons had quelled uprisings throughout the British Empire. They settled the land in Sierra Leone as repayment for their mercenary policing. These returned diasporan Africans also played a significant role in ending the slave trade.<sup>18</sup> As former soldiers and seafarers, they possessed the awareness and skills needed to help suppress slave trading in the area. They served with the British Naval squadron, even captaining some ships.<sup>19</sup>

From 1787 to 1808, the Sierra Leone Company struggled to survive, receiving considerable assistance from the British government. In 1807, the British parliament passed legislation aimed at abolishing the slave trade and

stationed its naval squadron in the deep natural harbor of Freetown in order to be able to patrol the West African coast and intercept slave ships. The squadron was relatively small and faced an almost impossible task. In 1808, the Freetown Peninsula became a crown colony known as Sierra Leone and the colonial government began to admit and provide support for Africans freed from captured slave ships.<sup>20</sup> With this official action the population of the colony increased dramatically.<sup>21</sup> The influence of these “liberated” or “repatriated” slaves, such as Samuel Ajai Crowther, who returned to their homelands to preach the horrors of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, as well as dramatic increases in legitimate trade in products such as palm oil, groundnuts, and ginger, proved the most effective means for ending the slave trade.

The colony of Sierra Leone consisted of several towns and villages on the mountain peninsula (an area 12 miles wide and 26 miles long) surrounding Freetown. It quickly became the administrative center for British West Africa. As detailed by African-American journalist and historian, George Washington Williams:

On the 8th of August, 1807, the colony was surrendered into the hands of the Crown, and was made an English colony. During the same year in which the transfer was made, [British] Parliament declared the slave-trade piracy; and a naval squadron was stationed along the coast for the purpose of suppressing it. At the first, many colored people of good circumstances, feeling that they would be safe under the English flag, moved from the United States to Sierra Leone. But the chief source of supply of population was the captured slaves, who were always unloaded at this place. When the English Government took charge of Sierra Leone, the population was 2,000, the majority of whom were from the West Indies or Nova Scotia. In 1811 it was nearly 5,000; in 1820 it was 12,000; in 1833 it was 30,000; in 1844 it was 40,000; in 1869 it was 55,374, with but 129 white men. On the 31st of March, 1827, the slaves that had been captured and liberated by the English squadron numbered 11, 878.<sup>22</sup>

According to a Sierra Leonean scholar of education, the rescued slaves “were brought in, in the most deplorable and wretched condition—naked, ignorant, weak and sick.... To educate such a miserable heterogeneous crowd to any appreciable extent was simply a colossal task.”<sup>23</sup> As described by a British historian, “on landing, the men were provided with two suits of clothing, a hoe and cutlass, and 2d. per day by the Government, and were settled, sometimes by the boatload, sometimes by tribe, in villages a few miles outside Freetown. Plots of land, generally about a half rood in extent were also allotted, the idea being to make the newcomers self-supporting.”<sup>24</sup> In a most immediate sense, the colony was a humanitarian effort aimed at helping refugees of the slave trade.

Between 1807 and 1840, more than sixty thousand Africans arrived in the Liberated African Yard in Freetown.<sup>25</sup> Liberated Africans included people of Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa, Bamarras, Bassa, Congolese, Ashanti, and Mende descent. The Church Missionary Society (CMS) of England began sending white clerics to Freetown in 1804. With the help of the Christian Nova Scotians, they concentrated on teaching the liberated Africans the “civilizing” benefits of Christianity. However, most of the liberated Yorubas refused to abandon the Islamic faith and “liberated Africans who became Christians did not eschew their traditional customs and rites.”<sup>26</sup>

The black poor of London, the black Loyalists of Nova Scotia, the Jamaican Maroons, and the liberated Africans combined aspects of Western and African cultures into a unique set of customs and culture known today as Krio.<sup>27</sup> These diasporan repatriates had experienced the horrors of the slave trade and were determined to end it. Committed to legitimate trade and democratic principles, they were precariously poised between African and European slave traders. Returned diasporan Africans in Africa stood apart from the indigenous population due largely to exposure to Western culture and education.<sup>28</sup> The Krio community studied and learned from Europeans and in many ways understood European culture better than Europeans. Krio culture was deemed by American scholar Leo Spitzer to be “a self-conscious imitation of Victorian England.”<sup>29</sup> The Krio were living under the watchful eye, tutelage, and philanthropy of the British abolitionists. The relationship between the Krio of the Freetown colony and the indigenous rural people of the Sierra Leone interior, or “protectorate” as it was later known, while sometimes beneficial and supportive, was often strained. Throughout much of their history, the Krio fluctuated between acting as defenders of African culture and accusing Africans of savagery. Similarly, the relationship between the Krio and British colonialists was both mutually reinforcing and disdainful. The ambiguity of these cross-cultural interactions often led to suspicion and mistrust. The Krio were political mediators, negotiating and staving off conflict between two very different worlds. Krio culture is a result of numerous African and European influences. Multiculturalism and international education are modern terms that do not directly apply to the circumstances of FBC in the nineteenth century. However, the roots of such concepts may be discerned in the language and interests of the faculty, students, and alumni of the college who challenged accepted social constructs and negotiated complex cross-cultural dynamics.

Pan-Africanism, a philosophy uniting people of African origin around the world, originated in Sierra Leone through its extensive diasporan connections. In the early 1800’s, free blacks in the United States began to take an interest in returning to Africa. For example, the African-American Quaker, Paul Cuffe, whose father was Akan (West African) and mother Wampanoag (Native-American), made two voyages to Sierra Leone in 1811–1812, with the express purpose of “fostering trade in goods not humans.” He helped settle nine

African-American families—thirty-eight people—in Sierra Leone. Cuffe's activities and those of the families he helped to settle in Sierra Leone were fraught with difficulties. White colonial officials in Freetown were principally interested in getting rich rather than in the well-being of black settlers. African-American investors in diasporan African resettlements, like Cuffe, reported that colonial officials colluded with certain trading firms and engaged in other unfair and oppressive trade practices. When Cuffe returned to the United States in 1812, the country was at war with Great Britain, and the government impounded his ship. Although he regained possession of his ship, Cuffe was not allowed to return to Sierra Leone until after the war had ended.<sup>30</sup> United States and British competition over trade with Africa thus impeded the development of legitimate trade among Africans and with diasporan Africans.

In the late 1820's and 1830's as European immigrants arrived in the United States in ever-greater numbers, free Northern blacks faced increased prejudice and violence. Whites increasingly supported plans to send African-Americans back to Africa. Between 1817 and 1832, the American Colonization Society (ACS) sent 1,420 African-Americans to Liberia. The Nova Scotians and black poor of London had all lived in the United States; one of the Nova Scotians had been a servant of George Washington.<sup>31</sup> By 1854, more than 12,000 blacks had left the United States through the efforts of the ACS. However, as noted by W.E. B. Du Bois, "American Negroes found that on arriving in Africa the natives regarded them as strangers. They were alien in tribal and clan relationships; they did not know the native languages nor native culture patterns."<sup>32</sup> Diasporan blacks returning to Africa had a lot to learn about Africa but they also had a lot to tell about slavery in the Americas. Diasporan higher education did not support such learning.<sup>33</sup>

### The Christian Institution

The Christian Institution was the immediate forerunner to Fourah Bay College. According to Paul Hair, a historian from England who taught at FBC from 1955–1959 and again from 1961–1963, "the CMS founded the Christian Institution in 1814 as a residential school for liberated boys and girls."<sup>34</sup> According to Thomas Josiah Thompson, who attended FBC from 1928–1930, "the first Principal was Reverend Leopold Butscher, a German in Lutheran Orders. He had been designated for this particular work in 1814. He did all the preliminary organising, and superintended the building operations in 1815, opened the school in 1816, and died in July 1817."<sup>35</sup> Butscher was one of a long procession of German or Swiss missionaries who conducted extensive research on the languages of West Africa at Fourah Bay. This may have been due to the fact that the German missionaries were better skilled at research than their British counterparts. Or it may have been that "salaries being much too small to attract Englishmen with sufficient skills, they [CMS] relied on German

missionaries [to teach at FBC] who began a most distinguished series of linguistic studies.”<sup>36</sup>

The site at Leicester Mountain, outside of Freetown, where the Christian Institution began was of a considerable elevation and therefore considered healthier by the Europeans. In 1815, three temporary houses were erected, one for the male students, one for the female students, and one for the superintendent as well as a kitchen and other necessary buildings. In 1815, while the new school was under construction, there were thirty-seven boys and six girls attending, all of whom had been rescued from slave ships.<sup>37</sup> Reverend Butscher contributed as much as half of his salary to support the school children.<sup>38</sup> Butscher had returned from the Susu mission to Freetown to head the Christian Institution. In the words of one West African scholar:

He taught stone-masonry and other practical skills. Yet his distinction was not in the work of his hands but in the ideas he formulated on slavery. What he had to say on the subject was in advance of his time, and it was not until 1839, when Thomas Fowell Buxton published his *The Slave Trade and its Remedy*, that belated attention was drawn to what Butscher had said as long before as 1812. From his experience among the SuSu, Butscher said the slave trade had been the most important source of income for inland peoples and that abolition had threatened the very foundation of economic enterprise for those peoples. Seizing slaves on the high seas, as had been the policy of the British Government, did not strike at the root cause of continued enslavement; what was needed, Butscher said, was an export commodity that could genuinely replace slaves. It should therefore be the single most urgent objective of both missionaries and government to develop an alternative source of wealth for African societies.<sup>39</sup>

As noted by a twentieth century Sierra Leonean FBC faculty member and principal, the Christian “Institution was intended to provide opportunities for its pupils to acquire knowledge of agriculture and useful trades; those that showed aptitude could be trained as teachers or priests.”<sup>40</sup> The Institution had “some seventy Recaptive settlers” learning “farming and trade skills.” Governor MacCarthy wanted Butscher to focus on two criteria for education: to teach the “recaptives to earn a living and, above all, teach them loyalty.”<sup>41</sup> Prior to Governor MacCarthy’s tenure, the CMS did not view Freetown with its corrupting European influences as an advantageous location in which to concentrate missionary work.<sup>42</sup>

From the time Governor M’Carthy (1814–1824) landed in Sierra Leone he saw, and showed the CMS, the disadvantages of missionary work outside the Colony, and the advantages of concentrating all efforts at civilizing

Africans within the colony of Sierra Leone [Freetown and the peninsula]. It was during his time that some system was introduced in educational efforts combining the work of the African Institution, the Sierra Leone Government, the CMS and the Wesleyen Methodist Missionary Society.<sup>43</sup>

An 1815 CMS Report outlined the student qualifications, purpose, and vision of the Christian Institution: “It is proposed to receive into this institution the multitudes of African children who are liberated from smuggling vessels. Any benevolent person who gives five pounds per annum may have the honour to support and educate one such child.”<sup>44</sup> The African students were given names of sponsors from England and of the missionaries serving the Colony. The names of missionaries such as Horton, Durning, Johnson, Bickersteth, Renner, Decker, Taylor, and Wilhelm can all be found to this day among FBC students and in the Krio community.

Early “mission statements” were visionary pronouncements more indicative of the hopes and dreams of the sponsors than reports of the actual activities or accomplishments of the Institution. One Report proclaimed that students

should all receive a good English education. Some of them should at a suitable age, be apprenticed, among the respectable colonists, to useful trades, or placed in service; others should be brought up within the precincts of the institution, in a thorough knowledge of the gardening and agriculture adapted to the country; while the more serious and promising youths should receive such further education as may prepare them for being sent out into the interior as schoolmasters, catechists, and ministers. Such as they are likely to settle in the interior, should be well instructed in their respective languages, by natives employed for that purpose. They might here receive, under proper teachers such instruction in Arabic as might render them successful opponents of Mahometans, and might place them as an effectual barrier to the inroads which they have made among the natives.<sup>45</sup>

The idea that European missionaries could instruct Africans in Africa to farm demonstrates the extent of European ideas of superiority. Ironically, European slavers had long coveted Sierra Leoneans for their agricultural expertise.<sup>46</sup>

The diversity of languages prevalent in the Colony contributed to a perceived need for establishing English as a common language, although Arabic was the most common language among African communities in West Africa. Opposition to Islam was also an early prevalent feature of the institution. It is interesting, in this regard, to note the emphasis given to learning local languages. The European missionaries and faculty of FBC made extensive use of African

informants for the study of African languages. For example, John Raban, who began teaching at FBC in 1830 and became Principal in 1832, published the first translations of Yoruba, most likely with the assistance of his student Samuel Ajai Crowther. Crowther, the first student of the Fourah Bay Institution, later published extensive works in Yoruba.

The good intentions of the missionaries' philanthropic venture were highly touted. An official report unabashedly closed with: "The Christian Institution of Sierra Leone, established and supported by the British Church Missionary Society, for the maintenance and education of African children and for the diffusion of Christianity and useful knowledge among the Natives would be an honour to Britain and to the Christian name, and an incalculable blessing to Africa."<sup>47</sup>

For Africans living in coastal trading centers such as the port city of Freetown, a Christian education had direct economic benefits. Western education contributed to class distinctions, as outlined by one Sierra Leonean scholar:

Several factors were responsible for this strenuous application to education in those early days. Most of the colonists were [diasporan returnees] from England and other places (the Americas) where literacy was a class distinction and illiteracy the badge of serfdom. In the new Colony, to be able to read and write was considered a requirement for acceptance into the church. Whenever there was work to be done, the lightest burdens fell to the lot of Africans who could read and write, and the more menial labour had to be done by illiterate Africans. This gave fresh impetus to learning among the people, to whom the experience of extreme hardship and oppression had made all manual labour degrading and distasteful. Newcomers into the settlement were put to work in the public services, under the supervision of their literate companions.<sup>48</sup>

The Institution's strongly Christian character emphasized a Protestant work ethic and the development of practical skills. One of the early African historians of modern Sierra Leone wrote that the establishment of the Christian Institution in 1816

was intended to be under the protection of the British authority, and placed in the most favorable station for diffusing the light of truth among the heathen; and provision was to be made in it for training up the native youth in the knowledge of agriculture and the simple arts, and qualifying some of them to become teachers of their countrymen, and preachers of the gospel among them.<sup>49</sup>



Training teachers and catechists, the institution was in great demand and enjoyed the support of both Church and state, as noted by another historian:

In 1816, there were about 350 children of both sexes enjoying the advantages of a Christian education.... The CMS arranged with the British Government to support 200 of the children at the institution, provided the Government would support all the children above that number. As the previous plan for the support and the naming of a child by benefactors had been discontinued, Government agreed to pay the sum of 5 pounds per annum for every child above the stipulated 200 for whom the CMS made itself responsible.<sup>50</sup>

In 1818, the governor of the colony, Sir Charles MacCarthy implemented a change in the mission of the institution. He wrote to the CMS advising that the institution be converted to a College for male students only and that the younger children be dispersed over the several villages, there to receive at government expense elementary instruction, both manual and mental. The Institution at Leicester was to be reserved for a select few who should extend their studies to "the classics, Arabic and other languages."<sup>51</sup> According to one source, it is at this time that the institution "passed into a college."<sup>52</sup> Governor MacCarthy also wrote on August 28th, 1818 that

the school was losing ground after the death of the Rev. Leopold Butscher, and considering the difficulty of procuring capable Europeans to superintend such an extensive concern, he was inclined to concur with the view that it might be best if the establishment were converted into a college...[where] a certain number of the children of the Colony might be admitted to receive a superior education, at the charge of their parents.<sup>53</sup>

There were thirteen students in attendance when the move from Leicester Mountain to Regent's Town took place in February of 1820 at what was then referred to as a "Seminary." The former buildings at Leicester were converted into a hospital for liberated Africans. The Christian Institution moved from Leicester Mountain to Regent so as not to be so isolated from people. Regent was a "very busy centre with over 1,000 people throbbing with spiritual emotion, the warmth and sincerity of which constituted just the atmosphere in which an institution for the training of spiritual workers could thrive."<sup>54</sup> Eleven of Johnson's students plus two students from Gloucester Town were added to the thirteen from Leicester for a total of twenty-six male students age twelve to eighteen under the new principal G.S. Bull.

W.A.B. Johnson was the pastor of Regent's Town who had "transformed [it] into a thriving and intelligent community."<sup>55</sup> In April 1823, fifteen of the

“Native Seminarists” wrote get-well letters to Reverend Johnson. However, Johnson died in May of 1823.

FBC graduate, T.J.Thompson, commenting on his own circumstances of the 1920s as well as that of the 1820s, wrote: “in 1824, an arrangement between the Government and the Church Missionary Society once more illustrates the very close relationship between the two, and the difficulty of delimiting their respective spheres of influence.”<sup>56</sup> The arrangement supposedly allowed for the government to begin supporting the village schools thereby freeing resources for the CMS to devote to newer projects such as the upkeep and staffing of the Christian Institution.

In 1824, the number of students dwindled from twenty-four to eight and in the summer of 1825 when Mr. Brooks arrived from England specifically to work at Regent, “he found the students dispersed and the Institution deserted.” Mr. Brooks died three months after his arrival.<sup>57</sup>

A future principal of FBC described these years as follows, “between 1820 and 1826 the Seminary had a very chequered career caused largely by the frequent deaths of its [European] lecturers and principals.”<sup>58</sup> F.Harrison Rankin wrote *The White Man’s Grave: A Visit to Sierra Leone in 1834*, highlighting the high mortality rate of the period.<sup>59</sup> Of the seventy Europeans sent to Sierra Leone by the Christian Missionary Society between 1804 and 1824, thirty-eight died and seven returned ill. Due to the high European mortality rate, the government stepped in to pay clergymen and school teachers in each parish of the colony from 1824 to 1827.

One West African scholar has commented, “it was an appalling casualty rate, and in situational terms it was not necessary. Africans could be trained to take over the jobs white missionaries had done in teaching and other areas, and do them sometimes more effectively than they had been done before.”<sup>60</sup> The importance of training Africans who could assist in the administration of the colonies without succumbing to illness did not go unrecognized by British authorities or Sierra Leoneans interested in self-governance and better employment opportunities.

From 1816 to 1826, the CMS fully supported the education, including room and board, of all of the liberated African children who did not reside with their parents. In 1826, a new Governor Sir Neil Campbell abolished this system and had these children assigned to live with old settlers of the colony, who received an allowance for food and clothing. These children were also required to work as well as to attend school. For children above the age of fifteen the school hours were shortened to just three hours per day. This policy was primarily responsible for the effective closing of the Christian Institution in 1826.<sup>61</sup> However, the College did not remain closed for long. At the very same time that local missionaries voted to dismiss the two remaining students at the Christian Institution at the end of 1826, the CMS Parent Committee in England was hiring a new Principal to revive the institution.

## Language Learning and The Dissemination of Christianity

The Reverend Charles L.F.Haensel arrived in Regent in February, 1827. As noted in a late nineteenth century account,

The Rev. C.L.F.Haensel arrived in the colony with directions from the Committee to spare no labour in resuscitating the College. This he found in a thoroughly decayed state. Estimates for repairs of the buildings at Regent reached as high as 2000 pounds, and the last student had been dismissed the previous year. The climate had now proved so inhospitable that Europeans would scarcely venture to the colony: and it was on this account eminently desirable that the staff of native teachers should be increased.<sup>62</sup>

As noted by the first Sierra Leonean historian of the College, Haensel was

to revive the Christian Institution...as a nursery for the College (then being erected at Islington)...the curriculum was to embrace a sound English course, next in order was placed Arabic, and next the study of the local languages, grammar, dictionaries, and Bible translations in all the dialects of the neighborhood were to emanate from the institution. There was no mention of Latin and Greek.<sup>63</sup>

Language learning was the necessary prerequisite for communication and interaction.

Haensel began teaching in Freetown and did not move the Seminary to the late Governor Turner's estate at Fourah Bay until 1828. The entire estate, nine acres including all buildings, was sold to the College for 335 pounds.<sup>64</sup> Before 1807, "the site had been occupied by a slave factory, and the building that became the College had been the slaver's homestead."<sup>65</sup> In all of his reports, Haensel referred to the College as the Christian Institution at Fourah Bay. Most historians have considered 1827 as the founding date of Fourah Bay College.<sup>66</sup>

In Haensel's first report to the CMS, he named Samuel Crowther as the first student admitted. He also stated that of the four students admitted in 1827, only Crowther "answers the description of those who shall become students." The other three students were admitted "on probation only." He described Crowther as "a very clever lad" and states that "it is mere pleasure to instruct him." However, he later described Crowther as

labouring under the effects of his short visit to England.... He has seen and partaken of our European comforts, and he would like to partake of them in Africa. He has acquired a command of the language and has lost simplicity. These are things which we need not wonder at, and I am not

discouraged by them; though I feel very painfully the effects of his living among my other boys, with his fine clothes and English notions.<sup>67</sup>

Haensel gave the students “a piece of ground to cultivate” and remarked that “their farms look much better than mine.” The principal and students ate the same foods but they did not sit down together at the same table. Foods eaten included local crops such as rice and yams. Haensel commented that there was “little time for idling,” and “no play time in the institution.” With the exception of Samuel Ajayi Crowther, who was approximately 20 years old, the students then attending the College ranged in age from nine to fifteen years.<sup>68</sup> A recurring theme in the educational philosophy of the CMS was “that agriculture would be far more beneficial to the freed slaves than a literary education.”<sup>69</sup> However, Europeans knew practically nothing about tropical agriculture. Western academic attempts, such as this one, to teach agriculture in Africa have failed more often than not.

Samuel Crowther had been a student of Mr. Davey in the village school of Bathurst before becoming a student of J.H. Weeks at the Christian Institution in 1825. He was baptized on December 11, 1825 by Mr. Raban (FBC Principal 1832–33). Crowther was not only the first student at the College but its first African tutor. He was appointed tutor to William Tamba in the first half of 1828 and conducted the school in the second half of the year during periods when principal Haensel was ill.<sup>70</sup> He served intermittently as a tutor from 1828–1844, leaving primarily for trips to the interior. In 1837, 1844 and 1848, Crowther served as acting principal of the College. He was the first African to head the institution although another African returnee John Johnson had been acting principal of the Christian Institution in 1821 and 1823.<sup>71</sup>

In the first quarter of 1828, only Samuel Crowther was regularly able to attend to his studies. Of the remaining three students, two left the institution and one was ill. One student, William High, “was, on direct inquiry found—what he himself was not aware of—to be still bound as an apprentice to his former master in Freetown, and though I [Haensel] had no complaint against him, yet there appeared not so much positive good either in religious disposition or progress in learning as to justify me in proposing that the annulling of his indenture should be applied for.”<sup>72</sup> Indentured servitude thus continued to occur in “the Province of Freedom.”

The College served liberated Africans, colony-born descendants of the returned diasporan colonists, and indigenous male students. Haensel described the liberated Africans as more disciplined than the somewhat disobedient colony-born children. He stated that “the Liberated Africans know at once that I am Master; and when they know themselves observed, they are hardly guilty of disobedience.”<sup>73</sup> The curriculum emphasized religious knowledge. It used the Bible to teach reading, writing, and morality. In a report of 23 September

1829, Haensel remarked that all of the youth of the institution were acting as teachers for Sunday school. In 1832, he related a story concerning the dismissal of John Horton that illustrates the strict Christian morality of the Institution.

John Horton was admitted as an initiatory scholar in September of last year, just before I returned from England; and there seems to have been a misunderstanding, from the beginning, respecting his parentage, for his father and mother were not known to Brother Wilhelm or Brother Young [two CMS missionaries]. . . . The subsequent discovery of his real descent would not have affected his connection with us, if it had not been attended with another, and a very embarrassing circumstance. It appeared, that he has a sister, a light coloured girl, who has fallen into the disgraceful mode of living, so lamentably prevalent among the young persons of this class in the colony. She has a child by an European, with whom she lived in an unmarried state formerly, and lives now with another in the same sinful manner. From the girl's color, it is to be apprehended that the mother has been in the same course of life; and she seems to have no proper sense of the sinfulness of it, for she receives her daughter's visits, and the son does not seem to have imbibed right conceptions on the subject. When I consulted the Special Meeting in this case, it seemed to all, that, before the youth could give promise as a servant to the Society, it would be necessary for him to break off all intercourse with a sister who lives in such a disgraceful state. He seemed reluctant to speak on the subject, and gave no kind of promise that he would comply with such a requirement. After I had once spoken to him upon it in an affectionate manner, without representing it as a positive requirement, he accepted a little present from her, and made no denial when I told him that I considered that as a proof that he would not leave off intercourse with his sister. . . . I had to part with him at last. This has been a great trial to me, for the youth had conducted himself in an exemplary manner; he had talent and an affectionate disposition, and was remarkably attentive to his duties, so that I feel the absence of his assistance in some measure.<sup>74</sup>

Haensel told the story above in his next to last report. In the last report, he also described in some detail a student who was suspended for writing two "amorous letters" and "boasting" about receiving a "favourable answer" from a girl.

Haensel had served approximately five years although he had been away in England almost all of 1831. Prior to Haensel's arrival, no principal had served longer than two years. Two had died in office. As Haensel completed his tenure as principal, he seemed to relate instances he found objectionable in a manner more frank than in previous reports. The one student previously dismissed by Haensel was simply described as having an "unsubdued stubborn mind." Three

more students were dismissed for “breeches of the seventh commandment” the following year by Principal Raban.<sup>75</sup>

Strict discipline accompanied Christian morality at the College and had specific long-term effects. According to one twentieth century Sierra Leonean scholar:

An important consequence of the religious orientation in Sierra Leone’s early education system is that learning was imbued with what has been described as a prudish other-worldliness. This was characterized by such tenets as “learning is better than silver and gold;” “obey first and complain later;” “selfless sacrifice in the world for spiritual reward and glory in the next world;” “accepting one’s place in the world and trusting in God’s purpose” etc. In these circumstances, pupils tended toward memorizing and reciting religious doctrine rather than developing a critical understanding and appreciation of them. The same became ipso facto of non-religious subject matter, and the resulting problem of rote learning has continued to plague the country’s educational system.<sup>76</sup>

Thirty-six students were admitted to the College during the five years that Haensel was principal. His reports noted that at least three of these students were liberated Africans, at least two were the children of native Sierra Leoneans, and one came from Liberia. The others were the children of the returned diasporan settlers.

Principal G.A.Kissling (1834–38) was the next European missionary sent out by the CMS. He followed the same curricular plan laid out by Haensel and used by Raban. Kissling’s students received instruction in singing, reading, arithmetic, grammar, spelling, and geography. While he rarely referred to students by name in his reports he did note that: “though the number of youths is not great, yet a variety of dispositions may be observed among them.” Kissling, like Haensel and Raban, often focused his reports on the character of the students and not on their academic progress. In his report for the quarter ending June 25, 1836, he wrote:

they are prompted by a corrupt heart to think more highly of themselves than they ought. And this high-mindedness, is often nourished by their ignorant relatives, who unduly esteem them on account of the advantages, which they think the youths have over them. I have, for this reason, very seldom allowed the youths to visit their homes, and have also spoken to their friends on the subject, when coming here to see them.<sup>77</sup>

Mr. Kissling had charge of Kissy, Gibraltar, and Wellington parishes, the smaller towns of the peninsula surrounding Freetown, as well as the College. A

twentieth century account noted that this task was too great for any one human being and that the institution suffered and would have collapsed without Samuel Crowther.<sup>78</sup> Kissling, himself, wrote that the “person placed at the head of this institution should have no other duties enjoined on him than those immediately connected with it, so that he may devote his whole time to the prosecution of its objects.”<sup>79</sup>

In 1836 the CMS suspended activities for liberated Africans and ceased to offer free educational services. This was due in part because very few European missionaries were willing to work in Sierra Leone and so the CMS was redirecting its efforts to other places including Asia, and in part to induce parents to make a personal investment in their children’s education.<sup>80</sup> By 1840, “Governor [William] Fergusson argued that emigration and the exclusion from the CMS schools of liberated Africans above the age of 12 resulted in a marked reduction in the numbers of scholars, a number that was lower than at any time in the century.”<sup>81</sup>

Fergusson, born in the West Indies in 1795, had obtained the surgeon diploma from the Royal College of Surgeons at Edinburgh in December 1813 at the age of eighteen. He was certified by the Army Medical Board and arrived in Sierra Leone in 1815. Colonial administrators believed that Fergusson’s medical expertise, shared racial heritage, and degree of achievement would be of great service and inspiration to the many liberated Africans landed in Sierra Leone. He was on the medical staff of the Liberated African Department and helped assess the health status of the liberated slaves. In 1841, Fergusson became lieutenant governor of Sierra Leone and on May 17, 1845, he became the governor of the colony.<sup>82</sup> He served as Governor for one year before being replaced by Governor MacDonald in 1846. John Carr, a lawyer of African descent from Trinidad, preceded Fergusson as acting governor from 1840 to 1841.

Besides immigration to Sierra Leone of diaspora returnees from the Caribbean and the Americas, there was extensive emigration from Sierra Leone to other areas of West Africa.<sup>83</sup> In 1838, liberated Africans living in Freetown had petitioned the colonial government to allow them to return to Badagry, Nigeria to establish a colony there. Their argument included both the Christian goal of saving souls and the humanitarian goal of helping to end the slave trade. Beginning in 1840, a few of Freetown’s liberated Africans had accumulated enough money to purchase, and had the skills to captain, condemned slave ships. Sierra Leoneans used these ships to conduct trade and to take liberated Africans in Sierra Leone back to their homelands in Ghana and Nigeria. Some of the liberated Africans reunited with their families, the most famous of these being Samuel Crowther who had risen “from slavery to eminence.”<sup>84</sup> Crowther, along with three German missionaries with whom he worked, James Frederick Schon, Sigismund Wilhelm Koelle (Basel Seminary), and C.L.Reichardt (University of Tubingen), were the leading linguistic

researchers of African languages in the nineteenth century. Both Schon and Crowther published journal accounts of the 1841 Niger expedition. According to one twentieth century Nigerian scholar, “the emphasis on the need to educate Africans, whether advocated for the negative reason that Europeans could not survive in West Africa or positively because of inherent belief in the ability of Africans, was the most important outcome of the 1841 expedition.”<sup>85</sup> By emphasizing the need for African agency, these accounts helped stimulate the rapid development of education in Sierra Leone. Schon and Crowther produced works on West African languages in each decade from the 1840’s to the 1880’s.<sup>86</sup> Crowther “supervised the production of about fifty books and booklets in and on Nigerian languages.”<sup>87</sup> The team of African researchers he led was trained at Fourah Bay College (FBC). Unfortunately, most of their work consisted of translating the Bible into local languages rather than recording African oral history or literature. Many liberated Africans in exile in Freetown looked to return home to the land of their ancestors. They certainly preferred emigration to Nigeria on African owned ships to emigration to the West Indies under prevalent colonial schemes of indentured servitude. Those diasporan returnees who had first hand knowledge of slavery in the Americas were wary of white sponsored programs.<sup>88</sup>

Breaking the vicious cycle of violence that had developed through the Atlantic slave trade was no easy undertaking. It took a concerted effort that involved both diasporan and liberated Africans. The liberated Africans, particularly those who were educated in Freetown and who then returned home to Nigeria, played an extremely important role in ending slavery. The several thousand immigrants from Sierra Leone to Yoruba country in Nigeria became known as “Saros.” The Saros retained ties to Sierra Leone and would send their children back for schooling. The Saro of Port Harcourt, Nigeria have been described as demonstrating remarkable ability for inter-ethnic cooperation.<sup>89</sup> Liberated Africans, such as Crowther, played an important role in both the abolition of the slave trade and the colonization of Nigeria.

To summarize, in the early 1800’s, diasporan blacks returning to West Africa had obtained a measure of freedom and authority. In Sierra Leone by the 1840’s blacks held such positions as Principal of the College and Governor of the Colony. Africans educated in Sierra Leone became missionaries, teachers, and clerks employed throughout English speaking West Africa. European missionaries from the Church Missionary Society of England as well as other denominations had backed the effort, sometimes with their lives. African-American and AfroCaribbean missionaries who had returned to Africa were a force resisting as well as aiding European expansionism. Diasporan Africans, who had first-hand knowledge of the Americas, were often critical of European attempts to “help” Africans. While the emigration of free blacks from England and the United States to Sierra Leone and Liberia had been encouraged, white missionaries increasingly tried to prevent African-American and Afro-



Caribbean missionaries from going to Africa. Europeans also increasingly regarded the Krio as pretentious and ungrateful. Africans often viewed the Krio and their foreign notions as a threat. The ambiguous and conflicting roles of returned diasporan and liberated Africans (the Krio) did not help to build trust with Europeans or Africans. Increasingly, African Christianity took on its own forms and meanings, and alumni of Fourah Bay College became voices of liberation against colonial oppression. However, the European-controlled Christian Institution of Fourah Bay College increasingly operated in tandem with colonial rule.



## CHAPTER TWO

# An African-American Principal: The Returned Diasporan Influence, 1840–1864

*It was a bold vision conceived within a partnership in which Europe would provide the material support in which it was rich, with Africans supplying the people with the motivation to sustain the Church. The slave trade would thus be effectively undermined and the heavy burden of guilt on Europe's conscience would be lifted. The fact, of course, remains that despite such lofty ideals, missionary Christianity shared many of the interests of colonial rule, and when the time came for Africans to demand the withdrawal of missionary control, it was seen as incompatible with genuine Christianity. All the elegant phrases about African self-reliance and indigenous leadership appeared to have been forgotten, and the object of missionary prayers for a strong, indigenous Church in Africa came to be seen as a threat and a betrayal.<sup>1</sup>*

Just as returned diasporan Africans played a significant role in ending the slave trade, they were also instrumental in the dissemination of a Western-oriented Christian educational system. They occupied a very political space imbued with the moral authority of valuing human rights. They violently opposed taxation without representation. Their activities began a long history in Sierra Leone of political participation, organization, and active public debate.<sup>2</sup>

As noted in the previous chapter, the first principals of Fourah Bay College were German missionaries who with invaluable assistance from their African colleagues conducted important linguistic research throughout this period. Leopold Butscher, John Raban, Frederick Schon, Sigismund Koelle, and Charles Reichardt all published important linguistic studies. Extensive collaboration existed among the German and African scholars at FBC. However, it was an African-American and a liberated African, Edward Jones and Samuel Ajai Crowther, who probably contributed most to the early development of the College. Many of their students became acknowledged scholars, professionals, and community leaders. Returned diasporan and

European missionaries had worked together to develop the College; however, during this period they came into increasing conflict over their roles within the college and their goals for the future development of the College. By the end of this period, the European staff primarily advocated incremental change and growth within a strictly Christian institution while the African staff increasingly called for a more rapid expansion of the educational system and a wider curriculum. By the end of the period and due to this growing conflict, the College had again closed.

In 1840, another German missionary, Isaac Smith, assumed the position of principal and proceeded to dismiss three Liberated Africans “because they had not made satisfactory progress in their eighteen months of residence.” There were 19 students in the institution—five of whom were Liberated Africans. The other students were children of the diasporan community who had returned from the Americas or children of combined European and African descent such as Thomas and John Gomez. The Gomezes were sons of the Chief of the Gallinas District, where in 1840 the H.M.S. *Wanderer* had destroyed several notorious slave Barracoons. The Gomezes were among the first group of students transferred from FBC to the newly established Sierra Leone Grammar School.<sup>3</sup> Principal Smith noted that: “Students are required to do some manual labor on the Society’s premises for one hour both before and after school.... The first class does practice teaching twice a week at the infant school under the principal’s supervision.”<sup>4</sup> The German linguist, Reverend Schon arrived in 1840 and the quality of instruction under Smith and Schon improved. The curriculum that included a text on “The History of the Jewish Nation” lent itself to the strengths and interests of Reverend Schon who was a Jewish convert to Christianity.

Reverend Edward Jones (1808–1864) was the next principal of Fourah Bay College. He served from December of 1840 to 1858, longer than any other FBC principal. He was the first person of African descent appointed to this post on a fulltime basis. As principal, he focused on improving the academic scope and rigor of the institution. Jones held his students to the highest expectations and developed a rigorous course of study that emphasized Latin, Greek, Arabic, trigonometry, and theology. Many of his students became influential activists and community leaders, including James Africanus Horton and James “Holy” Johnson.

Edward Jones was born around 1808 the son of Jehu Jones, “a prominent black businessman who owned and operated one of Charleston’s (South Carolina) best hotels.” Jehu Jones also owned a hotel in New York. Edward Jones enrolled at Amherst in the fall of 1822 and became the first African-American to graduate from Amherst in 1826.<sup>5</sup> After Jones graduated from Amherst, he attempted to return to South Carolina to visit his parents but was “prevented from doing so by a law that forbade Negroes who had left South Carolina to return.”<sup>6</sup> Jones also attended the Episcopal Theological Seminary at

Hartford, Connecticut. He was ordained an Episcopal priest and left the United States from Baltimore for Liberia in 1830. However, perhaps due to navigational error, he landed in Sierra Leone instead. According to one twentieth century scholar, “In 1831, he came to Freetown as a schoolmaster. He went to Kent village on the south-western tip of the Freetown peninsula, and from there to the Banana Islands further south.”<sup>7</sup> He married the daughter of Reverend Gustavus Reinhold Nylander, the pioneer German CMS missionary. Nylander was one of the first missionaries to conduct extensive research on the indigenous languages of Sierra Leone.

Controversy always seemed to follow Jones. According to Sierra Leonean scholar Alpha Bah, Jones “fell out with the British Governor, H.D.Campbell, and was transferred to Freetown in 1837, but later returned to his original district.”<sup>8</sup> According to another Sierra Leonean scholar,

the case of Rev. E.Jones came up in January 1838. He had been appointed by Government as colonial schoolmaster in charge of the Western District, but was subsequently dismissed because of negligence; later he was transferred to Freetown, to work under the supervision of the colonial chaplain. Since he had been in the Colonial Service from 1831, the government reviewed his case and he was subsequently returned to his former district in his former capacity at a salary of 200 pounds per annum.<sup>9</sup>

Jones left government service in 1840 at the invitation of the London-based “Native Agency Committee” to become the principal of FBC.<sup>10</sup> Jones also served as acting colonial secretary in the late 1850s and between 1861 and 1864 was involved in another conflict, this time, with another of the British Governors, Stephen Hill. Jones was dismissed from his position as editor of a local newspaper for several articles he wrote opposing Hill’s Koya War. Because of the conflict and poor health he left Sierra Leone in 1864 for England and died in England the same year.<sup>11</sup>

Principal Jones’ reports contrasted considerably with those of the previous principals. His detailed description of the curriculum and students’ progress differed markedly from the reports of Haensel or Kissling who mostly focused on the perceived moral character of the students. Jones was aware of problems in education arising from low expectations and negative stereotypes:

It has long been my opinion, an opinion which I have had the concurrence of the [good] chaplain and others friendly to the cause that the instruction heretofore imparted to the students has been of a too contracted nature. The impression has been very general that such & such things can be of no use for an African to know—they will become vain &

proud and despise their more ignorant countrymen, arguments of which I never could see the force.<sup>12</sup>

Jones called on “Native Agency” for the regeneration of Africa. Due to the high mortality rate of Europeans, it was increasingly acknowledged that if Christianity was to spread in West Africa, it would have to be spread by trained Africans.

The transference of Western Christianity under the auspices of “education” was a main feature of FBC. In April of 1841, a special envoy to the British Secretary of State, Dr. Madden, submitted a report on Sierra Leone stating that there were “28 young men maintained and educated at the seminary.” Dr. Madden also referred to the college as the “Fourah Bay Normal School” in his report that contained five student compositions. The compositions were variously titled: *The Usefulness of Knowledge*, *Evidence of Christianity*, *Proving Christianity to be True*, and *Substance of a Morning Sermon*.<sup>13</sup> FBC deserved the title of “Normal School” as it trained many school teachers. Graduates of FBC taught from the Bible and helped spread Christianity throughout West Africa. By 1850, 56 of the 61 teachers in the Colony of Sierra Leone (ie..the Freetown Peninsula) were of African descent.<sup>14</sup> Most of the teachers were FBC graduates.

In December of 1843, Crowther returned from a missionary trip to become a tutor at FBC. He also became acting principal while Mr. Jones traveled to the interior. Travel to the interior was an integral part of the research and service of the faculty during these early years. Another tutor was Sierra Leonean, George Crowley Nicol, who served at FBC from 1843 to 1858 with Principal Jones throughout his tenure. He taught mathematics including geometry and trigonometry. Nicol briefly became acting principal in 1859. He married Bishop Crowther’s daughter.<sup>15</sup> Crowther, Jones, and Nicol provided the College with a stable core of very capable African and returned diasporan faculty.<sup>16</sup>

On February 6, 1845, Lieutenant-Governor Fergusson laid the foundation stone of a new building for Fourah Bay College. As noted in the last chapter, Governor Fergusson, another returnee from the diaspora, was also a medical doctor. He was reported to have broken down in tears “when he referred to the fact that on the very spot where they were preparing to erect a building whence it is hoped that spiritual freedom would be imparted to many Africans, there stood, forty years ago, a slave factory.”<sup>17</sup> Students and faculty lived in the four story stone building which was opened in 1848. Students were fed and clothed by the CMS.<sup>18</sup> According to Sierra Leonean scholar T.J.Thompson, with the formal completion of the new building whose rafters were formed for the most part from the masts of condemned slave ships, the Institution was first officially called a College.<sup>19</sup> It cost 7000 pounds to build and was dedicated and occupied on All Saints’ Day.<sup>20</sup> Steeped in Christian traditions, the role of returned

diasporan scholars at FBC was noteworthy, according to a historian of the College: “The race of the two chief participants had particular significance. Both the Governor, Dr. Fergusson, and the Principal of the College, the Reverend Edward Jones, were Negroes, although most of the administrators of the Colony and Tutors under them respectively were Europeans.”<sup>21</sup> My research shows that throughout Jones’ tenure as Principal at FBC, there were as many or more African tutors as European.

Principal Jones and Governor Fergusson argued for extensive humanitarian and educational aid on behalf of the liberated Africans. However, the Europeans viewed themselves as benefactors more than partners and more often than not controlled FBC from abroad with an authoritarian paternalism. In 1846, Reverend Jones was involved in a dispute with a previous FBC tutor, Reverend Warburton, who accused the Afristant (a term used for an African teacher/tutor in local schools) John Attara of dishonesty. Jones questioned the motives of Reverend Warburton and voiced concern over the problem of unequal salaries for African and European catechists.<sup>22</sup> African teachers were not paid on a scale equal to their European colleagues. In addition, European scholars received much of the credit for research carried out jointly with the help of African scholars. Jones failed to win his case.

Rev. S.W.Koelle, perhaps the most important linguistic researcher of African languages of his day, arrived at FBC in 1847. At this time, there were just six students, the principal (Jones) and three tutors (Crowther, Nicol, and Koelle). The curriculum was ambitious and included English, Greek, theology, mathematics, Hebrew, and Arabic.<sup>23</sup> Koelle began teaching Arabic in 1851. Arabic was taught regularly at FBC from around 1850 to the 1880s and appropriately so as many West Africans spoke Arabic.<sup>24</sup> Koelle’s linguistic accomplishments were substantial, as described by twentieth century British historian Paul Hair:

In 1854 Koelle produced his *Polyglotta Africana*, a collection of vocabularies of some 100 African languages spoken in Freetown, a work of monumental proportions and lasting historico-linguistic importance. Languages whose vocabulary was listed in this work extended in location from Sahara to Mozambique.... Koelle also found time, during his three years at Fourah Bay College, to publish studies of the Vai language of the Liberian coast and the Kanuri language of the Lake Chad region.<sup>25</sup>

The study of African languages at FBC, under Koelle and others, had a very specific purpose, according to T.J.Thompson:

What more natural than to suppose that if only the Gospel were straight-way translated into all these tongues, and representatives of each tongue were trained for the purpose, the new fire might be rapidly carried here,

there, and everywhere, until all West Africa were ablaze. So Fourah Bay became in thought, and to some extent in fact, the missionary centre, the literary and linguistic workshop of West Africa.<sup>26</sup>

The emphasis was on codifying African languages for Bible translations.

According to Hair, the period between 1800 and 1875 saw the first generation of “literate” West Africans make significant contributions to the study of their own languages. At the forefront of these early efforts were faculty and students of FBC. Samuel Crowther, John Raban, James Schon, Sigismund Koelle, Emeric Essex Vidal, and Charles Reichardt (all FBC staff and all Europeans except for Crowther) produced works on many of the indigenous languages of West Africa. Written works by the early African linguists provided insights into aspects of African culture. Paul Hair conducted extensive research into the early linguistic work of FBC faculty and students:

The achievement of Fourah Bay College was, therefore, not that it provided adequate linguistic training for its students, but that it provided an atmosphere in which linguistic research was so taken for granted that students, untrained in linguistics and often not very highly educated by any standard, were given the self-confidence to tackle unknown and highly complex African languages.<sup>27</sup>

However, it was not necessary for someone to be “given confidence” to study “complex African languages.” The students were speaking indigenous languages in their own homes and community. Hair was aware of this: “Between 1840 and 1890, persons born in Freetown and district or completely educated there, and working in Yorubaland, on the Niger or in Sierra Leone, were responsible for the production of at least sixty books in and on eight African languages. More than half of these books were written by ex-students of Fourah Bay.”<sup>28</sup>

In 1852, Bishop Vidal, the first Bishop to Sierra Leone, arrived at FBC and lived at the college. He was an accomplished linguist and remained there for three years until his death. He was buried on the grounds of the College.<sup>29</sup> He documented “not less than one hundred and fifty-one distinct languages, besides several dialects, spoken in [the colony of] Sierra Leone.”<sup>30</sup> As previously noted, the large number of languages spoken in Freetown was due to the massive influx of liberated slaves into the Colony. Another linguist, Reverend C.A.Reichardt also began teaching at FBC at the end of 1852. He taught at FBC for thirty years and briefly served as acting principal from 1882 until his death in Sierra Leone in January of 1883.

In 1853, Mr. Reichardt was the Senior European Tutor and Mr. Nicol, the Afristant, provided instruction in mathematics. In April of the same year, Principal Jones reported that four students completed their course of study. He



noted that “the entire New Testament in Greek has been read by them, and the two most important Epistles, Romans and Hebrews have been perused these several times.” At the graduation ceremony, Bishop Vidal “added a few words of parting advice to those who were now to be regarded as candidates for Holy Orders.”<sup>31</sup> Later in the year, Principal Jones traveled with three Igbo students to the Niger river. After Reverend Peyton, the first and only British missionary principal of the Sierra Leone Grammar School, died on June 15, 1853, Jones temporarily took over the duties leaving most of the work at FBC to Reichardt and Nicol. James Quaker, an FBC alumnus, assisted Jones at the Grammar School and, in 1860, Quaker became the first Sierra Leonean principal of the Grammar School.<sup>32</sup>

Students at FBC excelled in their studies. In 1854, Jones credited two students as being

young men of especial promise and [who] have made greater progress in their studies than any whom I have yet had under my care.... During the half year they have studied the first three centuries of Mosheini’s Church history, Plato’s Apology of Socrates in the original, half the first book of the Eneid, and Cornelius Nepos from the life of Thrasybulus to the end of the work. In Hebrew as will appear from Mr. Reichardt’s report they have read the book of Canticles and nine Chapters of Ecclesiastics. Under the same teacher they have been enabled to give a little attention to Arabic.<sup>33</sup>

He also noted that the 2nd class under Mr. Nicol was studying trigonometry. In Reichardt’s report of October 1855 he noted that:

Arabic has begun with the first class since July last, three times a week and therefore little only could be done; but as the students have been desirous a long time to begin it, they have by their studious efforts nevertheless passed through all the preliminary rules of reading and writing, the noun and the pronoun as far as the regular or seldom plural is concerned and also through the active and passive voices of the quadriliteral and the three classes of the derivations of the regular triliteral verbs including 113 conjugations.<sup>34</sup>

Nicol’s report noted that: “the mathematical class comprises 6 students—5 of whom have read during the last term the 6th Book of Euclid’s Elements and Hind’s simple and quadratic equations together with ratios and Proportions.... Our weekly lectures have been regularly delivered to the whole of the students; the subjects were Hydrostatics, Optics, and Mechanics.”<sup>35</sup>

FBC’s curriculum over these early years became increasingly academic. Under principal Jones every student read the Greek Testament right through and parsed every verb.<sup>36</sup> In 1858, Jones noted that the students “have all read

the whole of the Greek testament twice over, with frequent repetitions of the Epistles to the Romans and Hebrews, five books of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, with the whole of Horne's *Compendium & Nichols Bible help*. They have also read in English history to the end of the reign of Queen Anne."<sup>37</sup> This classical Western education was valuable in a cross-cultural aspect. It helped African students to better understand the rationale and values of Western society. Latin and Greek also opened windows of research into an ancient world that recognized the role of Africa as the cradle of civilization as opposed to the more contemporary and increasingly popular view among Europeans of this period that Africa had no history.

Jones worked hard. In 1858, he was Principal of both FBC and the Sierra Leone Grammar School as well as Secretary for the Colony. He wrote: "I rejoice that now at length, after a period of more than three years, I am enabled to set down to my report with the happy consciousness, that a heavy burden has been taken off my shoulder by the appointment of another person to the duties of the Secretaryship."<sup>38</sup> Jones' students distinguished themselves. For example, James Horton and James Johnson, who both attended FBC in 1854–55, became two of the most outspoken proponents of African self-determination and the need to establish a West African university.

James Africanus Beale Horton (1835–1883) was born in Gloucester, Sierra Leone. His father was a recaptive or liberated African of Igbo descent.<sup>39</sup> He entered FBC in January 1853 at the age of seventeen.<sup>40</sup> Horton, William Davies, and Samuel Campbell all graduated from FBC in 1855, and were selected to be trained as medical officers at the University of London's King's College under the auspices of the British War Office. Campbell died shortly after his arrival in England in the fall of 1855. In October 1858, William Davies received his MD from St. Andrews. Horton spent three years studying in London working towards Membership in the Royal College of Surgeons. However, he was transferred to Edinburgh so that he could complete his degree in just four years as the War Office urgently needed African medical officers who could better withstand the environment of West Africa. While in Edinburgh, Horton adopted the name "Africanus." Edinburgh University conferred the MD, which was at that time the first degree, upon Horton in August 1859. Both Davies and Horton were posted to the Gold Coast (Ghana).<sup>41</sup> While stationed in the Gold Coast, Horton obtained mining and railway concessions and founded several companies.<sup>42</sup> He also invested on the London stock market. In his will, he made bequests to FBC, the Sierra Leone Grammar School and Horton's Collegiate High School to teach science and technology.<sup>43</sup>

Horton became an Assistant Surgeon in the British Navy and rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel. He was turned down, largely based on his race, for a couple of prestigious posts for which he applied, including that of administrator of the Gold Coast. Yet, he also served in several important positions including

the superintendency of the medical department in Lagos. According to American researcher, Adell Patton, "Horton's military superiors rotated him from one worn-down station to another in efforts to humiliate him. For the most part Horton kept a low profile for fear that the government would not send other Africans to England to be educated, and went about his work quietly."<sup>44</sup> African medical doctors employed in the British Colonial service did not receive compensation equal to that granted to non-Africans.

Horton was one of the first West African intellectuals to lead debates concerning the purpose, and relevance of West African higher education. As early as 1861, he had proposed a medical school for West Africans, and in 1865, he proposed the establishment of a university in West Africa.<sup>45</sup> While Horton did not specifically include in his written recommendation for the university, the study of African languages, history, or culture, he wrote extensively about these topics.<sup>46</sup> Today, he is best known as one of the earliest spokespersons defending African agency and ability.<sup>47</sup>

Horton advocated African self-governance, but on a selectively chosen Western-model. He made numerous recommendations for the general improvement of Sierra Leone and the other British West African colonies and settlements. He outlined these recommendations in his book *West African Countries and Peoples*. George Shepperson in the introduction to the 1969 reprint of this work wrote: "as its subtitle 'A Vindication of the African Race' indicates, Horton's book is a spirited reply to the conceptualization of white supremacy and to racist theories of society."<sup>48</sup> In the chapter titled "Self-Government of Sierra Leone," Horton observed that

the inhabitants of the Colony have been gradually blending into one race, and a national spirit is being developed. The language of the self-government when formed must of necessity be English, and all official and private business must be done in it. It comes readily to all those born in the Colony. There will be no spirit of a native language counteracting, modifying, and balancing it, because it is now the universal language of the Colony...as it is proposed to teach the people self-government, to the ultimate withdrawal of British influence or power, and to leave the natives to govern themselves, there must be chosen either a monarchical or a republican form of government.<sup>49</sup>

Horton added that "the Government of Sierra Leone is de facto a self-supporting Government, and the amount of improvement exhibited by the inhabitants entitles them to have a voice in their administrative establishment."<sup>50</sup> Horton believed that higher education was necessary for African self-government, but as one recent author has noted, sovereign African states such as Ashanti, Dahomey, Benin, and Yoruba already existed in West Africa.<sup>51</sup>

Horton criticized the British government for its lack of support toward higher education in West Africa.

We want a University for Western Africa, and the Church Missionary Society has long ago taken the initiative and built an expensive college, which should now be made the focus of learning for all western Africa. The yearly expenses of that Society for education are now 4,700 pounds, which falls short of their former expenditure, whilst the total sum expended by the Local Government for this purpose is not far above 400 pounds. The result is that the educational department of the Colony is greatly on the decline every year, and more support is consequently required; but the local authorities refuse to give this, although they liberally spend 14,000 pounds yearly merely for police.... Fourah Bay College should henceforth be made the University of Western Africa, and endowed by the Local Government, which should guarantee its privileges, and cherish the interests of literature and science in the Colony.<sup>52</sup>

Horton knew that the Colony financially could and should support the College. He was not hostile toward Europeans, but he tried to rationally show the efficacy of local control, self rule, and free association. A recent interpretation has noted that

Horton seemed to have been strangely ignorant of the very basis and nature of British enterprise in Africa. From the beginning, educational efforts in British territories had been the work of missionary, and not government agencies—British or African. The British Government had thereby been relieved of any financial responsibilities for education.<sup>53</sup>

Official British parsimony restricted public expenditure to the minimum necessary to administer the colonies. Investing in higher education was largely considered an unnecessary expenditure in the eyes of the colonial rulers. Horton's 1865 work, entitled *Political Economy of British West Africa*, indicated a high degree of awareness of colonial fiscal policies.<sup>54</sup> Horton's interest in education never waned. He outlined a specific research orientation for his proposed University:

A systematic course of instruction should be given to the students, and regius professors appointed; for it is high time to abolish that system of Lancastrian schoolboy teaching, and a professor should be appointed to one or two subjects, and should give lectures on the results of extensive reading and research. The subjects will be better mastered by the teachers themselves, and the students would reap largely the benefit. Lectures

should be given in the theory and practice of education, classics, mathematics, natural philosophy, mensuration, and bookkeeping; English language and literature, French, German, Hebrew, history in general, mineralogy, physiology, zoology, botany, chemistry, moral and political philosophy, civil and commercial law, drawing and music, besides the various subjects which might be included under the term theology. But the study of the physical sciences, which are closely connected with our daily wants and conveniences, should form an essential part of the curriculum, as they cultivate the reasoning facilities. Algebra, arithmetic, differential calculus, trigonometry, and geometry, besides being useful in every day life, remedy and cure many defects in the wit and intellectual faculties.<sup>55</sup>

The emphasis Horton placed on research may be related to the influence of the Germans who had helped staff FBC for the previous 40 years. The dominance of research in the mid-nineteenth century German university is well-documented.

As there were many “recaptured” or “repatriated” slaves (in essence refugees) living in Freetown, Horton emphasized the need for a strong medical school staffed by Africans:

The consequence is that the death rate is still constantly high, and the authorities take no means for effectually diminishing it. On this account a medical school attached to the University of Western Africa will be fraught with the best advantage, and then the Government would have at their disposal able dispensers, who would understand, to some degree, medicine and surgery, and great relief would be given the poor, who are dying away uncared for and unattended.<sup>56</sup>

He also recommended that “the Master be an African, since, as we have endeavored to prove, he will take far greater interest in performing what will tend to elevate his country.”<sup>57</sup> Despite Horton’s advocacy, FBC did not establish a medical school until the 1980s. A great many Sierra Leoneans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, obtained medical degrees overseas and returned to serve West Africa.

Thus, Horton believed strongly in the benefits of Western educational, economic and political institutions. He was an advocate of African participation and leadership in these systems. He deplored the lack of scientific development in West Africa as compared to other areas of the British Empire.<sup>58</sup>

Another early outspoken proponent for African-led initiatives was James “Holy” Johnson. Johnson was born in Benguema, Sierra Leone. He entered FBC in June of 1854 and graduated in December of 1858.<sup>59</sup> According to a Nigerian biographer, Johnson believed that FBC should have aimed

to educate Africans in all fields of human endeavor to the highest standard, to convert them to genuine Christianity, to raise Africa to the material and social standards of contemporary England, to put the educated elite in the highest positions of trust and responsibility, even over Europeans of less ability than Africans, to fight for the political emancipation of the continent and to prove to the disparagers of the Negro Race that, given equal opportunities, the latter were the normal equals of other races of mankind.<sup>60</sup>

However, the CMS, as owners of the College, viewed change as evolutionary rather than revolutionary. The argument often advanced by missionaries and the colonial government that they were to help prepare Africans for self-government turned out to be a convenient excuse for continued postponement of change. While the African Church in Sierra Leone would, in the late 1860s, be the first to demand independence from the Anglican Church, such demands did not become reality until James Johnson established the Native Pastorate in Lagos, Nigeria in 1882.<sup>61</sup>

Johnson, like other Krio leaders, was concerned with a broad range of issues. For example, in 1891, he joined the international outcry over the cruel and barbaric treatment of Africans in the Congo.<sup>62</sup> A Nigerian scholar and FBC graduate, Ayendele asserted that African nationalism first emerged through the agency of the Church and therefore was in existence for a generation before the era of the Scramble for Africa, in which competing colonial powers maneuvered for more land and power.<sup>63</sup> The Scramble for Africa was at least partially a European response to the growing sense of African nationalism. Further discussion of this topic will occur in subsequent chapters.

#### The Closing of Fourah Bay College, 1859–1864

A 1930 account of the college characterized its life through the 1850s as “precarious” yet “persistent.”<sup>64</sup> However, as just described, the period under Principal Jones’ leadership may also be viewed as one of the most successful eras in the College’s history. The college did not survive long after his departure. A number of different reports exist regarding the closing and re-opening of FBC. One notes:

In May of 1858, Reichardt left for furlough, and a month later Principal Jones also left for England, to tender explanations on matters of a personal character. The College was left to the care of Reverend George Nicol, who was called back from his parish at Regent to meet the emergency. The official story of what followed kindly omits all reference to the personal issue, and records that “the Committee having interviews

with the Principals of Fourah Bay and the Grammar School have come to the conclusion that there is not scope for two such institutions in such a small community.”<sup>65</sup>

Another interpretation reported that “in the year 1858 we hear that it [FBC] is suspended for a time. It was thought better to concentrate the teaching, by removing the staff of tutors to the Grammar School, which lay in the heart of Freetown.”<sup>66</sup> Yet another scholar emphasized that the closure of FBC was due to “difficulties of staffing” both FBC and the Sierra Leone Grammar School.<sup>67</sup>

As early as 1855, Principal Jones had discussed a “plan to open the Institution to a larger class of pupils” but he was skeptical about the ability to attract students who would be “prepared at their own expense, to pursue their education further than they can do at the former institution [i.e. at the Grammar School].”<sup>68</sup> Jones believed that “in the present condition of the colony, the Grammar School answers all its wants as far as the public is concerned, and that the distance [of the college] from town will be in the way of any large accession of students.”<sup>69</sup> According to the Nigerian historian, Ayandele, only ten students were educated at FBC throughout the whole decade and so, in 1859, “it was decided to close it down as a ‘Collegiate Establishment until the demand for education in the colony renders its opening expedient.’”<sup>70</sup> In fact, many more students attended FBC through the decade including some of its most illustrious graduates. Harry Sawyerr (FBC Principal 1969–74) noted that “ten would-be clergymen had attended the college throughout the decade.”<sup>71</sup> Only a few African students were willing to attend College to become Christian clergymen. The lack of enrollment for theology coursework continued to be an area of contention for the missionary supported institution into the next century. Clearly, in these years, FBC was not meant to be a secular College.

In a letter dated February 19, 1859, George Nicol wrote to Henry Venn, Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, that there were six students attending the Institution when he “took over last May.” In addition, he wrote:

What is really needed in this Colony to give impetus to sound education are openings for young men of talent. I mean lucrative situations and employment. In England offerings abound everywhere in which young men of talent can rise to distinction. Generally, I believe before a young man goes to College, he knows what he would do, and he directs his studies accordingly. His parents or guardian will not grudge to pay 100 or 150 pounds a year for his education because there is hope of his getting a good situation or entering into lucrative business—he can go to the Bar or the Ministry, or medical profession, or a large accounting house or some manufactories.... The shutting up of this College happening at the same time, has occasioned many doubts and fears in the minds of the community.<sup>72</sup>

Nicol briefly served as acting principal of the College in 1859 before a British missionary, Mr. Milward, was made both principal of the College and of the Grammar School. Nicol attributed the idea of amalgamating the two institutions to Mr. Milward and concluded that this led directly to “the premature closing of Fourah Bay.”<sup>73</sup> The closure of FBC for one of its historians “was a startling decision, to say the least, coming as it did barely a decade after the CMS had committed itself to the construction of a permanent edifice as a home for the College.”<sup>74</sup> FBC did not re-open until 1864.

The period from 1859 to 1864, when FBC had been shut down, was one of hostility directed towards educated Africans from Britain. A number of widely distributed and popular books were published in the period, all of which aimed at denigrating African people and culture, particularly those African communities that had adopted Western education as a means of development.<sup>75</sup> Such works included J.F.Napier Hewitt’s *European Settlements on the West Coast Of Africa* published in 1862, Richard Burton’s *Wanderings in West Africa* published in 1863, and Winwoode Reade’s *Savage Africa* published in 1864. They all belittled the significant contributions of African diasporan communities in West Africa, and particularly the Krio of Freetown. They also cast Europeans as villains and Africans as defenseless victims, an indirect way of teaching the inferiority of Africans.<sup>76</sup> Racist cultural imperialism grew rapidly during the middle decades of the nineteenth century, and reached an explosive point in the 1860s, at the same time as the Civil War was occurring in the United States.<sup>77</sup>

The success of the Krio had spawned resentment and fear among Europeans eager to profit from what soon became coveted colonies. As noted by Africanus Horton:

the Creoles of Sierra Leone occupy lucrative subordinate positions of trust in both the military and civil service of the [British] Government in the four colonies— viz., Sierra Leone, the Gambia, the Gold Coast, and Lagos.... Besides this, they are to be found in every part of the coast sighthing after gold in the capacity of merchants, traders, and clerks—in the French colony of Senegal; in the Rivers Gambia, Casamanza, Nunez, Pongas, Sherbroe and Galinas; in the Liberian Republic; on the Gold Coast; in the Kingdom of Dahomey; in Lagos and Abeokuta; in the Niger; at Bonny, Old and New Calabar, the Cameroons, Fernando Po, the Gaboons, and the Islands of St. Helena and Ascension.<sup>78</sup>

Greed fired European expansionism, and the Krio aimed to compete.

Throughout the period that the College was closed, George Nicol remained an outspoken advocate for the College. In a letter dated February 20, 1860, Nicol wrote to Henry Venn that:



All these sad afflictions tell plainly the importance of placing the native ministry on a firm broad foundation. The Committee must continue to give the natives a sound Christian education.... Therefore, earnestly beg the Committee to revive as soon as possible the operations of the Fourah Bay Institution. It appears a blank in our work. Our machinery is defective without it. And you have abundant materials here to extend the work.... You can have now native Professors of all the necessary branches of education at Fourah Bay and the Grammar School, under pious, able men from your Universities. With a little additional training in England, you can turn out into the field first rate Arabic, classical or mathematical men, who with renewed heart will, under God, effect much good in this benighted continent whose climate is so inimical to the European constitution. Mohammedanism is making fearful inroads among us, drawing and enticing, by every profitable way, new arrivals from the slave ships, especially of the Yoruba and Hausa tribe. May we make a bold stand against these followers of the false prophet.... At present our Arabic pupils are getting rusty in their stations.<sup>79</sup>

This statement embodied two perspectives, one European and one African. The European perspective was the fear of Islam and the African perspective was the call for African agency in the future of the College. The need for greater African agency was a persuasive argument in the period when Europeans found West Africa dangerous to their health. In addition, Africans could play upon European fears of a growing Islamic influence. Likewise, Europeans needed African allies and so Islamic culture was further vilified. However, despite these arguments, the College was closed.

It was during the period when FBC was closed that the call for establishing a West African University gained momentum. According to one Sierra Leonean scholar of educational history, “the closing of the college in 1858 started a campaign by the old students, backed by a very strong public opinion, for the reopening of the college on a more secure basis, academically and financially.”<sup>80</sup> As previously noted, one of Nicol’s former pupils, James Africanus Horton, would take these arguments a step further. Horton’s efforts, like Nicol’s, had been fired, in part, by the closing of the College. Horton wrote:

ever since 1862, I have, in my printed works advocated the establishment of a University for Western Africa, and I have corresponded from 1861–1864 with the first Ministers of Her Majesty’s Government, relative to the establishment of advanced educational seminary at Sierra Leone. At first my proposals were very favorably received by the Secretary of State, but was afterwards squashed by oppositions from the Coast.<sup>81</sup>

African pressure from Horton and others led to the reopening of the College.

Horton was one of the first people to express what became key Pan-African concepts such as a great African past, a grand African future, and a united West Africa.<sup>82</sup> The Krio diapsora throughout West Africa became a major force advocating a Pan-African response to colonial racism in the pursuing periods.

Based on available records, it is difficult to determine the exact circumstances of the re-opening of the college. According to one report, “since 1863 the College was practically closed, the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society for the time being acting as Principal to the students there [who] were reading Theology mainly.”<sup>83</sup> Another scholar noted that “when it was reopened in 1864 as ‘Fourah Bay College,’ it admitted a few students (fee-paying) for secular education.”<sup>84</sup> Yet another scholar reported that “the College was, however, reopened in 1866 when it was decided to admit not only potential pastors but also secular students who could pay for their education.”<sup>85</sup> James Hamilton, the CMS Secretary in Freetown, wrote to Henry Venn, the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, on February 19, 1864 concerning repairs to the building and library books that had been destroyed and on new pupils he had admitted to the College. He also warned Venn about a Mr. Chapman who he understood had applied for the position of principal. He believed that appointing Mr. Chapman would be equivalent to “reinstating Mr. Jones in the College” due to Mr. Chapman’s close friendship with the Reverend Edward Jones. He accused Mr. Chapman of lying about not knowing about Mr. Jones palaver and then warned: “I fear lest the Committee should be betrayed into accepting a man for this post whose subsequent conduct might prove as injurious as that of the former Principal [ie.. Mr. Jones].”<sup>86</sup> Hamilton obviously held an opinion of former principal Jones that differed from Jones’s former students and colleagues such as the Reverend George Nicol. Jones had fostered a kind of activism among his students to fight oppression that threatened missionary expatriates such as Hamilton. The college formally re-opened in March of 1864, the same year that Jones passed away, with James Hamilton as acting principal.

In a paper read at the re-opening of FBC, Nicol expounded on the College’s financial position.

If then the Committee wish to have a Missionary Institution, if they value native agency as I know they do, then let them spare no pains, grudge no expense to maintain a proper staff of qualified tutors for Fourah Bay.... But it appears they do not exactly wish to do this.... As the native Church is now becoming independent, the Committee of the C.M.S. do not feel themselves quite at liberty to employ the funds.... In other words, they would like to make this Institution self-supporting.... My view of the question is this—To throw open this building to the public and thus securing a great public benefit not only to Sierra Leone, but also to the

whole West Coast of Africa, from the Gambia to Fernando Po. This Institution must either be largely endowed (which under present circumstances is out of the question) or the Society must seek the cooperation of the local Government until by and by as time passes away, and our people's eyes are open to see the great public benefit of such an institution some rich native merchants or European residents may imitate our friends in Europe in bequeathing a portion of their property for such a laudable object.... The Committee must approach the Government and the Sierra Leone public plainly, and say we have brought the colony thus far in education, and in the civilizing influences of Christianity at a great sacrifice of means and human life. Our funds are sacred. We are pledged to send the Gospel to the heathen world, not to teach the Classics or the Mathematics or promote the higher degree of education in any country where we have laboured. That work, important as it is, must be left with the people. We desire to be relieved at least in part of the subject of education. We offer the Colony the use of this noble building. Let us then meet each other with a grant sufficient to pay the salaries of three masters two or three scholarships attached. Let a council be appointed with the Governor as President *ex-officio* and some native and European merchants and few missionaries to manage this fund. Let there be a department of English Literature, for Mathematics, Classics, Astronomy, History, Law, Drawing, and Music.<sup>87</sup>

Nicol argued for separation of church and state as well as for a wider curriculum.<sup>88</sup>

In 1864, the CMS provided all the funding for FBC at an expense of about 700 pounds per year. At the same time the colonial Government of Sierra Leone spent a total of 666 pounds per year on basic education while spending 14,000 pounds for policing.<sup>89</sup> Nonetheless, there were approximately 7,830 students enrolled in the Sierra Leone colony out of a population of approximately 50,000, about one in six, an education rate that compared favorably with that of Europe. All of the approximately 95 schools in the colony were supported by school fees and staffed by FBC graduates.<sup>90</sup>

The British Parliament Report of the Select Committee of 1865 expressed a desire to form a partnership based on "African self-governance and Western civilization [where] they found the formula for such combinations in greater British commitment—political, commercial and missionary commitment—while cadres of West Africans were being recruited and trained to complete the process of modernisation." West Africans believed that the 1865 Report signaled a transfer of administration from the British to them. However, as one British scholar has noted: "Although this was a plausible interpretation, they quickly found that any request to render it definitive policy dislodged layers of controversy packed beneath the consensus prose of the committee's final

recommendations.”<sup>91</sup> The earlier closing of FBC had been a better gauge of the lack of colonial commitment to developing local leadership.

After FBC re-opened in 1864, Henry Jones Alcock followed Hamilton as principal, serving until 1870. Alcock’s curriculum followed the basic outline set by Principal Jones. One of Alcock’s former students noted that the principal “took his students through the Greek Testament twice over, twenty verses at a time.”<sup>92</sup> The emphasis on learning about Christianity by reading the Bible (in Greek) remained firmly entrenched at FBC. In 1868, upon reopening Africanus Horton accurately described FBC as “a large Theological College, where the higher branches are taught, under the Church Missionary Society, and which the King could do no better than convert into a university.”<sup>93</sup>

## CHAPTER THREE

### Contesting Visions of a West African University, 1864–1876

The controversy over the need for a West African university had its first impetus during the period of the College's closure in the early 1860s. It achieved greater momentum with support from returned diasporan educators. According to one African scholar, "the ideas which in the twentieth century led to the creation of the African universities were articulated, in their essentials, by Africans between 1865 and 1874."<sup>1</sup> As noted in the previous chapter, two of the most influential and outspoken advocates of the development of a full-fledged West African university were former students of Edward Jones. Following in the footsteps of Africanus Horton and James Johnson, Dr. E.W. Blyden (1832–1912) took up the call for a university of Western Africa. He had widespread community support. Metcalfe Sunter, the British Principal of FBC who later became the Director of Education for all of British West Africa, along with Bishop Henry Cheetham, faced the Africans' demands for the development of a secular institution of higher learning. In the end, a compromise was reached whereby Fourah Bay College gained university status through affiliation with Durham University, England. The colonial government thus did not support the immediate development of an autonomous West African university. The FBC curriculum maintained its predominantly European and Christian nature, while the CMS agreed to admit to FBC, without denominational test, any student of good character who had fulfilled entry requirements.<sup>2</sup>

Edward Blyden, of Igbo descent, was born in August 1832 on the West Indian Island of St. Thomas. He traveled to the United States with the hope of attending college but was denied admission. He emigrated to the Republic of Liberia from the United States in January 1851 with the aid of the New York Colonization Society. He taught Arabic and the Classics at the secular Liberia College (1862–71), was President of Liberia College (1880–84), and became Director of Muslim Education in Sierra Leone (1901–06). In 1869, he traveled to Egypt and Syria to study Arabic. In 1884, he was elected Vice-President of the American Colonization Society. While in Sierra Leone, he went on two diplomatic missions to the chiefs of the interior and reported on the proceedings of one of these expeditions to the Royal Geographic Society of

England.<sup>3</sup> Blyden is said to have mastered Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Spanish, Dutch, French, Italian, and German.<sup>4</sup> His two best-known works were *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, and *African Life and Customs*. The dominant themes in his work were: African agency in Africa's development; the return of greater numbers of African-Americans to Africa; the dismantling of divisiveness between the Christian and Islamic religions in Africa; and the promotion of education built on the principles of freedom, justice, and respect. The development of education related to freedom, social justice, and democracy had substantial roots in the experience linking Africa and the diaspora.

Blyden was the most outspoken proponent of establishing a secular West African university in this period. His views on the value of Islam to Africa became a main target of both the CMS and the colonial government who opposed the development of such a university. Opposition seemed to be based primarily on religious intolerance but also had much broader implications. The failure to understand cultural differences and the subsequent tendency to judge "those different others" as inferior contributed to a process of de-humanization and exploitation. In a history of Durham University written in 1932, C.E. Whiting demonstrated a continued disdain and contempt for Edward Blyden by refusing to mention him by name. Whiting wrote: "Some writers undoubtedly advocated the scheme in the hope that a non-sectarian university would be a means of advancing Mohammedanism at the expense of Christianity."<sup>5</sup> Blyden's incessant call for a secular West African university, along with his open criticism of Christian missions and his interest in learning about Islam, forced the CMS to support the affiliation of FBC with the Durham University in 1876.<sup>6</sup>

Blyden and James "Holy" Johnson both wrote for and served as editors for *The Negro* newspaper (founded in 1872 by T.J.Sawyers).<sup>7</sup> Together, they drew up a plan for a West African university and in 1872 sent it to the governor of Sierra Leone, John Pope-Hennessy, for consideration.<sup>8</sup> Pope-Hennessy understood and supported the cause. The recently-arrived Anglican Bishop to Sierra Leone, Henry Cheetham, called local enthusiasm for the plan the "Hennessy-Johnson-Blyden fever."<sup>9</sup> A twentieth century Sierra Leonean historian characterized the heated atmosphere of the time:

They advocated the admission of Mohammedans and pagans to the proposed "University of West Africa," and further that the training given there should be almost wholly secular. In those days when religious bigotry was at its prime, so to speak; when Mohammedanism connoted slavery; when Abolitionist guardianship of Sierra Leone was still vigorous; such leanings were regarded as heresy, and therefore an almost unpardonable crime. It was construed that the cry for higher education

was being used as a decoy to assert the claims of Mohammedanism and Islamic learning over those of Christianity on the West Coast of Africa.<sup>10</sup>

Johnson and Blyden, however, were most interested in understanding African culture. Blyden, like other diasporan Africans, he wanted to re-unite with his heritage.

Blyden's views, though similar to Johnson's, differed on one key issue. While Johnson saw the Christian Church as playing the most important role in the development of West Africa, Blyden advocated a greater role for secular government. This difference also separated the two on the issue of the establishment of a West African university. Blyden wanted the university funded by the government and taken away from the CMS; Johnson could not imagine a completely secular university.<sup>11</sup> Such battles over the separation of church and state were occurring elsewhere, but unlike in Europe or the United States, colonial West Africa retained a conservative approach.

Johnson was often overshadowed by the more celebrated Blyden. However, as noted by British scholar Christopher Fyfe, "Johnson was an original thinker and had in fact already formulated most of his ideas before he even met Blyden."<sup>12</sup> Johnson's impact on the educational environment of Nigeria was significant and it was Johnson who finally traveled to England in the summer of 1874 to meet with the CMS, to negotiate terms for establishing the university.

While it may have been, as described by one African scholar, "a dream for the agitators to hope for a university, or that this expensive experiment would be financed by British taxpayers," the colony generated substantial revenue for the government. While it may have also been true that "the vast population in the interior was neither consulted, nor did it want to be consulted," Blyden planned for people from the interior to teach at the proposed West African university.<sup>13</sup> He recommended "an Institution with able African teachers brought, if necessary, from different parts of the world—even a Negro Arabic Professor from Egypt, Timbuctoo or Futah—would have great influence in exposing and correcting the fallacies upon which our foreign teachers have proceeded in their utter misapprehension and, perhaps, contempt of African character."<sup>14</sup> It was not unrealistic for Blyden to believe that parents from all over West Africa would want to send their children to a West African university, a university that would focus on understanding its own local culture and environment, a university that would serve as link between Africans and the diaspora. They were already sending them there for a classical Western education. Unfortunately, what was finally instituted was a financially deprived replica of what was available in England. Because of this, West Africans often chose the more expensive route of sending their children to study in England over study at FBC.

West Africans first voiced their dissatisfaction regarding the lack of local access to quality higher education in what was a very active African-owned press.

Blyden often employed the technique of a conversation, a dialectic, publishing his correspondence on the topic with other men of letters. In an article that first appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* of October 1876, Blyden cited a letter of December 1872 from Johnson to Governor Pope Hennessy:

In the work of elevating Africans, foreign teachers have always proceeded with their work on the assumption that the Negro or the African is in every one of his normal susceptibilities an inferior race, and that it is needful in everything to give him a foreign model to copy; no account has been made of our peculiarities—our languages, enriched with the traditions of centuries; our parables, many of them the quintessence of family and national histories; our modes of thought, influenced more or less by local circumstances; our poetry and manufactures, which, though rude, had their own tales to tell; our social habits and even the necessities of our climate. It has been forgotten that European ideas, tastes, languages and social habits, like those of other nations, have been influenced more or less by geographic positions and climate and peculiarities; that what is esteemed by one country polite, may be justly esteemed by another rude and barbarous.<sup>15</sup>

As with Johnson, race pride was an integral part of Blyden's teaching. He combatted European racism by promoting African culture. One of his most often cited cross-cultural lessons concerned the history of the Christian Church in Africa:

The two most wonderful and productive of all the primitive Christian Churches were both located in Africa, namely, the Greek-speaking Church in Northeastern Africa, and the Latin-speaking Church in North-western Africa. The Latin-speaking Church produced those three great Latin-Africans—Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine. Through them the north-western African Church has permanently affected all Western Christendom.<sup>16</sup>

Blyden used his knowledge of Latin and Arabic to further his understanding of Africa and to demonstrate how Africa had given shape to Western civilization.

While critical of Europe's relationship with Africa, Blyden noted that "the Church Missionary Society has wisely devoted a great deal of time and money to the task of reducing to writing some of the leading languages of West and Central Africa."<sup>17</sup> He also clearly recognized that diasporan Africans returning to West Africa needed to learn the local languages. In providing advice to returning diasporan Africans who aimed to teach in the African interior, he thought they should first be taught to forget the negative stereotypes they carried of Africans. Blyden made eight trips to the United States, visiting



several historically black colleges and advocating that diasporan Africans return to Africa. He believed that African-Americans could learn a lot from Africans. He also knew that freedom in America for people of African descent was limited. He argued: “The instruments for the regeneration of this continent are the millions of Africans in the Western hemisphere, where, after nigh three hundred years of residence, they are still considered as strangers.”<sup>18</sup> Nonetheless, he also helped recruit Sierra Leonean students to study in the United States, such as Mayfield Boyle, who studied medicine at Howard University in the 1890s.<sup>19</sup>

Blyden often criticized missionary education for destroying African culture and stifling the development of African civilization. These were criticisms that Bishop Cheetham of Sierra Leone found “highly censurable” and “most derogatory.” Cheetham found the university proposed by Blyden “to be in our estimation a Godless University.”<sup>20</sup> As the argument with Blyden heated up, the Bishop expressed his anger:

National feeling & so forth is not finding expression in the Negro but the Negro is spreading it on thick before the people are ready...patriotism & national feeling etc are plants that grow with a nation’s growth & here is not a nation yet, only a collection of different tribes who heartily hate & distrust one another: & in the present condition of Society to write about race sentiment is understood to mean by the common folk—be good haters—hate well everybody else but yourself....<sup>21</sup>

The Western stereotype of widespread ethnic tension and hatred in Africa thus can be traced back to this period. Such criticisms seldom recognized the deleterious effect of the Atlantic slave trade on inter-ethnic relations. Blyden viewed British responsibility to fund the proposed university as partial reparation for the atrocities of the slave trade. Unlike Bishop Cheetham, Governor Hennessey seemed sympathetic to Blyden’s proposals. However, at least one late twentieth century scholar was skeptical: “Hennessey was aware that Africans would not agree to bear the cost of Blyden’s scheme.... Thus by leaving the initiative to Africans it appears that Hennessey was either appealing to traditions in Britain where universities had been privately promoted or was tactfully putting off the scheme.”<sup>22</sup> Hennessey, as a Catholic, was not highly respected in Protestant England, and his support of the West African university drew extreme criticism.

Both Islam and Christianity served as foreign ideologies exerting a certain influence in Africa. Both played a part in the slave trade. However, Blyden praised the Islamic approach of extending its influence “without purse or scrip” as worthy of emulation among Christians. In describing the African convert to Islam, Blyden wrote: “And among the first lessons he learned was, that a man of his own race, a Negro, assisted at the birth of the religion he was invited to

accept.”<sup>23</sup> While recognizing the African Muslim’s occasional use of force and participation in the slave trade, Blyden demonstrated a belief in the wisdom of extending cross-cultural influence by peaceful means through education rather than by force. A late twentieth century Canadian scholar of Islam in Africa noted that “force, however, was seldom an instrument of Muslim expansion in Sierra Leone. The normal pattern was one of trade and alliance which led to the acquisition of land, intermarriage, and the conferring of titles.”<sup>24</sup> Legitimate trade fostered by the Islamic Fula and Manding people of West Africa played an important role in eventually ending the slave trade in the region.<sup>25</sup>

Working and living as he did between cultures, Blyden recognized the confusing and ambiguous nature of cross-cultural learning: “Things which have been of great advantage to Europe may work to ruin us; and there is often a striking resemblance, or such a close connection between the hurtful and the beneficial, that we are not always able to discriminate.”<sup>26</sup> He described the actions of the European Missionary in Africa: “He preaches a crusade against the harmless customs and prejudices of the people—superseding many customs and habits necessary and useful in the climate and for the people by practices which, however useful they might be in Europe, become, when introduced indiscriminately into Africa, artificial, ineffective and absurd.”<sup>27</sup> Blyden also noted: “In their efforts to assist us to become sharers in the advantages of their civilization, they have aimed at establishing institutions a priori for our development. That is, they have, by a course of reasoning natural to them, concluded that certain methods and agencies which have been successful among themselves must be successful among Africans.”<sup>28</sup> Thus Blyden was among the first to voice such an apt critique of “development” policies.

Blyden argued, according to one Sierra Leonean scholar, that “Africa could not be developed by Western Christian evangelization and education, since it alienated its converts from their cultural roots.”<sup>29</sup> For example, Blyden wrote: “In Sierra Leone, the Mohammedans, without any aid from Government Imperial or local—or any contributions from Mecca or Constantinople, erect their mosques, keep up their religious services, conduct their schools, and contribute to the support of missionaries from Arabia, Morocco, or Futih when they visit them. The same compliment cannot be paid to the Negro Christians of that settlement.”<sup>30</sup> At this time, Christianity was not nearly as well established as Islam. Conversion to Christianity was bought through missionary philanthropy in the provision of free schooling. Blyden pointed out the hypocrisy in the coexistence of such philanthropic zeal with racial prejudice and economic exploitation.<sup>31</sup>

Blyden characterized Muslim/African relations as a “healthy amalgamation” where

the absence of [Arab] political pressures has permitted native peculiarities to manifest themselves and to take an effective part in the

work of assimilating the new elements. Christianity, on the other hand, came to the Negro as a slave, or at least as a subject race in a foreign land. Along with the Christian teaching, he and his children received lessons of their utter and permanent inferiority and subordination to their instructors, to whom they stood in the relation of chattels.<sup>32</sup>

According to Blyden, in the African and diasporan experience with Christianity, “ideas and aspirations could be expressed only in conformity with the views and tastes of those who held rule over them.”<sup>33</sup> He attributed any African or diasporan “aping, puppeting, imitating, or mimicking” of Europeans to the oppressive and subordinate power relations developed through slavery and colonialism. But just as Blyden had understood Islam in Africa to be an indigenized factor, Lamin Sanneh looking back, today, understands Christianity to also be an indigenous force.<sup>34</sup> Indeed, Blyden, too, foresaw such a process: “Just as Africa has been, and is being conquered for Islam, not by Arabs, but by Negro converts to the system, so will she be conquered for Christianity by the Negro converts to the religion. No others can do it.”<sup>35</sup> Africans laid claim to both religions incorporating both within the larger framework of traditional culture.

Islamic education had a firm footing in Sierra Leone, as indicated by one twentieth century scholar:

The spread of Islam throughout Sierra Leone was the result of the activities of thousands of teachers who migrated along the extensive caravan routes from Guinea and beyond during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.... Trade and political delegations from the small states of the GuineaSierra Leone system and beyond were common occurrences in Freetown.... By the 1870s the British colonial government of Sierra Leone had adopted Arabic as an official language of correspondence with indigenous rulers and had added several Muslim scribes and messengers to the colonial staff.<sup>36</sup>

Many Islamic scholars in Sierra Leone had mastered at least two languages and could translate Arabic texts into African languages as well as write African languages in Arabic script. Edward Blyden had visited Gbile, a city in northern Sierra Leone, in January 1872 and described a Muslim university under the direction of Fode Tarawali and his sons that had about 500 students studying various Islamic sciences.<sup>37</sup> In January, 1873, Blyden accompanied by Governor Hennessy visited the “Mohammedan Literary Institution at Billeh, on the Great Scarcies River, about sixty miles N.E. of Freetown.”<sup>38</sup> He interviewed Fode Tarawali, the head of the institution, and examined his library. There were hundreds of Arabic volumes on literary criticism, law, medicine, mathematics, grammar, rhetoric, history, and poetry written by local Mandingo and Foulah

authors. Blyden also noted that “there are young men born in Freetown, children of recaptives, who can not only read and write, and with ease and propriety converse, in the language of Arabia, but can translate readily from Arabic into Aku and English, and from English into Arabic and Aku.”<sup>39</sup>

Blyden wrote to promote the values of African culture. Describing “the facts in this African life,” Blyden considered first, “the family as the basic unit of society;” second property, “the land and the water are accessible to all;” third cooperation, “all work for each, and each works for all;” and fourth the law, “the whole people of the village or town are jointly and severally guardians and preservers of the peace.” He defended the African social system of polygamy as one that lightened the burdens of women, provided women greater solidarity and freedom, and better health.<sup>40</sup> Ever a student of culture, he looked to proverbs for evidence of cultural values. For example: “What is mine goes; what is ours abides.” And “We, and not I, is the law of African life... the main business of a tribe—all the families co-operating—is to provide sufficient food, clothing, comfortable life for all—even the slaves—who are really domestic servants, children of the household.”<sup>41</sup>

As practiced traditionally, slavery in Africa was a means of doling out justice and enforcing the rule of law in a manner that may have been as productive and more socially integrated than any penitentiary system. Africans did not hide criminals away behind walls and bars. They were paraded publicly under the light of day. Traditional African slavery was part of a communal system that provided the basic necessities of human life including social support and integration. However, while the system of slavery provided for basic human needs, it did not grant political rights. One scholar of the topic wrote:

Scarcely ever is there, among the several overlapping African social categories of dependency, one that corresponds exactly to the Western category of “slave”.... The term slavery points our attention to the fact that in traditional African societies people were captured or bought and thereby came under the complete control of the captor or buyer...this fact predicts very little about the uses to which the acquired persons are put, the social identities to which they are assigned, or the social networks into which they are inserted.... The quintessential slave in Africa is a kinless person...hence the metaphorical use of the term slave for someone who, in a quarrel, withdraws from one’s kin group or community.<sup>42</sup>

African slavery, another scholar noted, “existed within a context where the alternatives to enslavement were kinship alternatives.”<sup>43</sup>

As with his views on slavery, Blyden looked for the connected fabric of cultural systems as he demonstrated the inter-relatedness and socialist nature of African culture.

From the family organisation and the property laws which naturally follow, the whole social system is regularly developed... The property laws of Africa in intention and in practice make the widest distribution of wealth or well being and work steadily against concentrating the wealth of a community, either of land or production in the hands of a comparatively small number of individuals.<sup>44</sup>

By comparison, Blyden further noted: “the production of wealth in Europe is communistic in the highest degree; but the distribution is individualistic in its most intense form.”<sup>45</sup> The more he learned about traditional African Socialism, the more political his teachings became.<sup>46</sup> He viewed the African social system as cooperative and equitable in comparison to the excessive individualism and unscrupulous competitiveness of Europeans.<sup>47</sup> Blyden questioned “whether in social, economic, or industrial life, Europe has anything better to offer to the African than the system he has constructed for himself?”

Blyden understood the close relationship between education and politics: “the question of all others upon the solution of which will depend the character of the political future of the colony, is the educational one. We sometimes wonder why the efforts for the higher education of our people on this coast seem to meet with so many drawbacks.”<sup>48</sup> This focus on education also characterized Krio culture. In addition, education as the primary means to personal advancement and national development would become the philosophy of the 20<sup>th</sup> century throughout the world.

Closely related to the concept of cultural and educational imperialism, a concept that Blyden was only too well aware of, was the issue of the language of discourse and instruction. Interestingly, the blending of cultures through the adaptation of language found expression in the development of the Krio language, which at this time began to gain recognition. However, Krio was not valued as a language by the British. It was considered substandard English. According to Eric Ashby, Blyden “gave prominence to the study of languages... a sphere specially suited to the talent of the African.”<sup>49</sup> Blyden noted linguistic adaptation among the residents of Freetown: “English is, undoubtedly, the most suitable of the European languages for bridging the numerous gulfs between the tribes caused by the great diversity of languages or dialects among them. It is a composite language, not the product of any one people.”<sup>50</sup> Krio is also a composite language but rarely received serious attention. Blyden continued: “the result is, that the population becoming more and more homogeneous, with one language as the medium of communication, and represented at the bar and in the Legislative Council, in the schools and in the church, by their natural organs, two conditions of social and political confidence have been reached which must obliterate all tribal distinctions and organizations, if any still exist.”<sup>51</sup> This observation was not made without concern for local culture and customs but aimed to demonstrate on European grounds the African suitability

for self-government. This was the ideology that became the basis of Krio society and a *raison d'être* of FBC.

### The Affiliation with Durham University

One of Blyden's chief adversaries in the debate over the establishment of a West African university, Reverend Metcalfe Sunter (FBC Principal 1870–1883), “‘had no lofty views or ideas,’ as he acknowledged about what was to be taught in the classroom...[and] he brushed aside his misgivings about the value of teaching English history with the reflection that the Africans had ‘no history of their own.’”<sup>52</sup> In the same vein as T.B.McCauley's famous “Minute on Education,” Sunter did not question the appropriateness of an English education for the good of the world.<sup>53</sup> In 1882, he became Government Inspector of Schools for the West African settlements. He served in this role for almost another ten years and helped bring all of British West Africa under one educational system. However, Eric Ashby suggests that “he owed his appointment less to his ability than to his long residence on the Coast and his physical acclimatisation.”<sup>54</sup>

Sunter along with Bishop Cheetham began developing their plan for FBC in 1871. “Sunter and the Bishop [allegedly] conceived the idea of throwing open the college to fee-paying students and giving it more of the university aspect” including “sufficient preparation for the majority of the professions on the coast.”<sup>55</sup> Sunter proposed a combined institution that would accept both secular and Christian students, but had to maintain its Christian focus. In addition, while Sunter acknowledged the need for African tutors, he did not see any immediate need for African professors.<sup>56</sup> Sunter's proposal amounted to maintaining the status quo. “The curriculum was left as it was, and lay students had never been rigidly excluded from the college.”<sup>57</sup> The fight against separation of church and state was carried to West Africa, where the church was strong.

Rather than developing a secular university, Bishop Cheetham advised the CMS to maintain control of higher education in West Africa:

I would so open Fourah Bay & announce it open [to all students], as to cut to the ground the plea of necessity for another College: I would for a long time to come keep in my own hands, if I were you, the higher Education of the Coast using Governors names & all the rest of it for ornament & patronage: but you being at the base.<sup>58</sup>

The CMS replied to Bishop Cheetham:

We are disposed to recommend that the Fourah Bay Institution should be made as you suggested, more of a University, i.e. that a higher and wider

education should be given in it, & its doors thrown open to any well recommended Xtian (sic) Africans who may wish to enter it & are willing to pay.... We consulted with Mr. Oldham & Mr. Hamilton & they both agreed with us in the opinion that no step would be better calculated to remove the evil impressions & wrong biases that he [James Johnson] has received from his association with Mr. Blyden.<sup>59</sup>

Eric Ashby, an authoritative voice on the development of British colonial universities, penned the following description of this era of protest and resistance.

When the bishop arrived back from leave early in 1873, he found the colony ablaze with the educational issue and race feeling running high.... He and Sunter were scathing in their criticism of the projected university [as proposed by Blyden et al]. In fact, they could scarcely bring themselves to regard it as a practical possibility. For how could a fully fledged university be started by negroes alone? Was it reasonable to suppose that the African baby could at once go off at the gallop.<sup>60</sup>

The CMS denigrated Blyden and Hennessy but they were not the only persons in the Colony interested in the development of a more secular African-oriented university for West Africa. FBC historian and professor as well as one-time Mayor of Freetown, T.J.Thompson, noted in his 1930 *Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College* that “1873 was the year of the greatest activity regarding the controversy over higher education in West Africa” and that “*The Negro* had virtually organized a publicity propaganda.” Thompson credited Thomas John Sawyerr, the publisher, as well as regular contributors William Grant, G.F.Macauley, James Johnson, George Nicol, Edward Blyden, and James Horton as all having played an integral part in organizing the local community around the issue of the need to establish equal opportunity to higher education. Thompson reprinted a letter from Horton to Grant (also known as Independent Grant) in which Horton asked a pre-eminently important question, the answer to which may have foretold the rather devastating future for Africa: “To whom then must Africa look for the ultimate development of her vast resources, and in what school are the majority of those who would be called upon to act their part in regenerated Africa be taught?”<sup>61</sup>

In this same letter, Horton elaborated on what needed to be done to make the West African university a success:

First—It should have adequate support from the Government from the very beginning; Professional Chairs formed and the Professors well-paid and provided for by the Government, so that they can devote their whole time to the work. A leaf should be taken from the German State

Universities where the Professors are lodged in the Universities and so paid as to make them entirely independent, and devoted to the work in which they are engaged. Second—The Governments of the Gambia, Lagos, and Gold Coast, should contribute a yearly fixed sum for the support of the University; consequently the administrators should have the privilege of nominating certain number of scholars, not less than eight from each of the colonies to be educated and maintained in the University without any cost whatsoever to themselves and family. This will at once give to each Settlement the means of opening high Government Schools in each of the Colonies which may hereafter become affiliated to the University. Third —The position of the University is to be as central as possible, if it is to be successful, neither Fourah Bay, nor King Tom’s Point, will at all be suited for a University of western Africa; these places are out of the way and therefore would only do when an educational establishment is intended for boarders only.... A central position for the University would encourage far more pupils from far and wide, would give an opportunity to the business man to attend one or two lectures.<sup>62</sup>

Horton’s recommendation that the university be moved to the heart of the city never materialized. After World War II, FBC was moved to Mount Aureol, a location high above the city.

Obviously, then, Blyden was not the first or only person arguing for a West African university. He may have inherited the mantle of leadership from other equally influential African and diasporan scholars active in Sierra Leone such as Samuel Ajai Crowther, James Africanus Horton, and James Holy Johnson but all of these men played an active role. As we shall shortly see, Johnson played a crucial role in the actual affiliation of FBC with Durham University.

Thompson described the “knock-out blow” to plans for a secular West African university as stemming from the “observations and comments” of the CMS in 1873, popularly supported by the *London Times*. The primary arguments provided in articles re-printed from the *Times* and the *Intelligencer* addressed issues of expense and counter-claims as to the possible benefits of a university in West Africa. The CMS even questioned what had long been their own *raison d’être*: to prove native ability.

Yet we question how far, for many years to come, the sons of native chiefs outside Sierra Leone, with here and there a most rare exception, would be prepared to derive real benefit even from the humbler alternative. They would require much preliminary training that they have not yet had. For them, as contra-distinguished from those who have been trained in Sierra Leone [Freetown], substantial elementary schools would preferably be needed for some time to come.<sup>63</sup>



The CMS maintained financial control over FBC and was able to thwart the effort to create a much more broadly-based secular West African university. Both the colonial government and the CMS argued that they did not have the funds to support a university.

By June of 1874, the CMS had approved only a general college with a theological class. However, due to the general consensus of organized African opinion on the issue of university education, Sunter now saw the need for immediate affiliation of FBC to a British university. Previously, he had advised that “the time has not yet arrived for the establishment of a College in affiliation with an European university.”<sup>64</sup> The CMS Parent committee also saw the need to move fast. It invited James Johnson to visit London to advise on the university project and “diverted his attention away from a secular university towards a reform of Fourah Bay College.”<sup>65</sup> Johnson favored university status for FBC. He was not, however, unalterably opposed to the Church’s involvement. Johnson’s biographer characterized the situation as follows:

The Church Missionary Society believed that James Johnson’s invitation had achieved its purpose, “has brought him more entirely into harmony with the wishes and feelings of the Committee with regard to African matters.” On the question of relations with the European missionaries James Johnson believed that the Society had sided with the Africans, that the latter should “forbear” the bad behavior of missionaries and that should any dispute arise between the races Africans should take their grievances to Salisbury Square (CMS headquarters) directly and accept arbitration. Indeed so much did the Society become convinced that James Johnson was in its pocket that it was decided to give him a position of responsibility.<sup>66</sup>

Johnson was transferred out of Freetown to Lagos. In Nigeria, Johnson organized the African mission and became an outspoken opponent of European missionary work. He helped establish a large number of secondary schools in Nigeria and helped recruit students to attend FBC.<sup>67</sup>

Sunter advocated affiliation with Durham University because of Durham’s strong theological background.<sup>68</sup> Founded in 1832, Durham University was “obsessively Anglican” and “there was talk of closing it down in 1857. By 1861 its student numbers had fallen to forty-one, and a commission was appointed by parliament to look into its affairs.”<sup>69</sup> The affiliation of FBC to Durham was not made with the hope of receiving assistance with any progressive reforms. The move maintained Christian traditions while offering a semblance of prestige associated with the affiliation to a British university.

The unsuccessful call for a secular rather than a Christian university was a precursor to demands for African Nationalism. The demand for a secular university coincided with a demand for political representation in the colony of

Sierra Leone. The CMS *Intelligencer* referred to these demands as coming from “idle loafers” and “professional agitators” despite the fact that they were made by African missionaries, businessmen, lawyers and doctors. There can be no doubt that the scope of the curriculum at FBC would not have changed without the incessant demand from West Africans. The failure to achieve a secular university may be seen as an early setback to nationalist aspirations. A certain portion of Sierra Leonean and African leaders viewed the maintenance of religious control over Fourah Bay College as a denial of civil liberties.

British policy changed about the time of the affiliation of FBC with Durham University and “whatever assimilationist progress there had been was abandoned and replaced by a set of new and, in essence, racist ideas surrounding the concept of indirect rule and colonial occupation.”<sup>70</sup> The affiliation with Durham was a calculated compromise on the part of British authorities aimed at diverting African demands for a truly West African university.

Writing in 1966, Eric Ashby noted that

the curriculum at Fourah Bay was accordingly shaped to the requirements of Durham and modelled on its two basic courses: those leading to the B.A. pass degree and the license in theology.... The L.Th. did not prescribe the study of comparative religion; it offered no intellectual armory against the inroads of Islam. Sunter therefore arranged that the theological students should be carefully taught in Arabic and the muhammadan [sic] controversy in addition to the subjects specified by Durham.<sup>71</sup>

Ashby further noted that “some fifty years later, the picture at Fourah Bay was not essentially different.” He added that “hardly any attempt was made to broaden the range of studies, and the work of the college remained firmly centered in theology and the classics.” Ashby further asserted: “the African student greatly prized the connection with Durham for the British degree it put within his grasp; he also placed a high value on the classical education which he regarded as a source of the white man’s power. Any attempt to have given an African bias to the education or to have instituted a local qualification would almost certainly have invited opposition.”<sup>72</sup> While there may be some truth in these statements; they need to be qualified. It is most likely that the British degree was valued most by the British colonial government and so Africans possessing the qualification were viewed favorably. While it is true that scholars such as Horton, Johnson and Blyden valued the classics as rich historical primary resources, they also valued, celebrated, and researched African concepts of knowledge and understanding. African tutors were primarily responsible for the majority of the teaching at FBC. The motivation for teaching and learning certainly did not rest on any ideology of Western

superiority. Indeed, FBC alumni significantly contributed to building West African political and cultural resistance to colonial rule.

A scholar of African religion reports that “in 1875 the step was taken to open the College to any student of good character who passed the matriculation examination. [These] Students were to be charged 5 pounds per term for instruction and 8 pounds for board and lodging. The CMS provided two scholarships and paid for those who went on to study theology.”<sup>73</sup> As early as 1855, Principal Jones had skeptically remarked on the number of students “who are prepared at their own expense to pursue their education further.”<sup>74</sup> What change had occurred between 1855 and 1875 that West Africans were willing to pay for higher education? Might it have been because opportunities for West Africans were diminishing rather than increasing during this period? Or were West Africans more convinced of the value of Western education? Or had the Krio community simply accumulated enough disposable income to enable more people to afford a higher education? What was clear was that the CMS was no longer going to support the College alone.<sup>75</sup>

Still, stalwart Christians argued for maintaining missionary interests in the institution. They were particularly concerned about the influence of Islam in West Africa.

A strong movement centered at Fourah Bay College sprang up with the intention to evangelize Mohammedans through education. Arabic was [re-] introduced as one of the subjects at Fourah Bay College, in 1876, and Mr. Sunter, the principal of the college at that time engaged the services of Alfa Mohammed Sanusi, of Foulah Town, and Alfa Momodu Wakka as Arabic tutors, to teach colloquial Arabic at the college.<sup>76</sup>

Sanusi, as discussed in an article on Islamic education in Sierra Leone,

had an extensive Arabic and Islamic library which contained classic works on the Quran, law, traditions of the Prophet and so on. He was educated in Timbo and had a long career as an Arabic teacher and translator. He was an Arabic teacher at Fourah Bay College during the 1870s, an interpreter for Dr. Blyden in 1872–73, the principal Government Arabic translator of the colony from 1873 to 1901 and manager of the Foulah Town *Madrassa* (Arabic: school) from 1901 to 1907. One of his students, al-Hajj Harun ar-Rashid, received a law degree at the university in Fez and was the first Aku to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Harun ar-Rashid returned to Freetown in 1887 where he also taught law, theology and Arabic.<sup>77</sup>

Sanusi taught at FBC in 1891 and 1892.<sup>78</sup> In addition, the Reverend Henry Johnson went to Palestine in 1873 to study Arabic and taught at FBC in 1877–

78.<sup>79</sup> The Fourah Bay/Foulah Town community surrounding FBC had a large Muslim population.

The Christian-led colonial government supported Islamic schools to win points with leaders from the interior in order to maintain political and economic control. T.J.Thompson, in a chapter entitled “Fourah Bay College Propaganda Work among Mohammedans” noted that:

The *Affiliation Year* of the College was specially marked with vigorous and progressive propaganda work by the College Authorities and other agents of the Parent Society, among the Mohammedan subjects of Her Majesty the Queen in the Settlement, and also those of African Potentates and their Allies in the interior with whom the Queen’s representatives in the Colony had entered into treaty, chiefly for the promotion of trade and the suppression of inter-tribal wars...Mr. Sunter and his helpers were to spend the long vacations in making preaching excursions to the Mandingo towns in the interior; primary schools were to be established in Freetown and Lagos for Mohammedan children specially; Bishop Crowther was to occupy some important Hausa town and to look out for promising young Hausas who might be trained at Lagos for future mission work; and the complete translation of the Scriptures into the Foulah, Mandingo, and Hausa languages is, in conjunction with the Bible Society, to be furthered in every possible way.<sup>80</sup>

Sunter specifically referenced “the powerful Foulah and Mandingo nations, who are respectively the great warriors and great merchants of Western Africa, and also the Hausas, another race of superior qualities,” as targeted groups. Momodo Waka, a local Muslim associate of Blyden, commented on how appreciative Muslims in the interior were to receive Arabic Bibles. He reported his conversation with a group of Muslim leaders praising Dr. Blyden: “I told them that a Christian man, who loves the Muslims, gave them to me, that I might give them to you to read, that we might all be one.”<sup>81</sup> Blyden had lost the battle for government funding of a secular university but had gained a place in the colonial government working with the Muslim community. By this time, Blyden had largely succeeded in convincing both British missionaries and the colonial government of the importance of the Muslim community in West Africa.

The affiliation of FBC to Durham University ensured the Christian character of the College. FBC was affiliated by an “act of Convocation” on May 16, 1876 which decreed that “instruction will now be in exact conformity with that pursued at Durham.”<sup>82</sup> The faculty at the time included Principal Sunter, Rev. C.A.Reichardt, a German missionary (previously discussed in [Chapter two](#)), the Rev. J.B.Bowen, a Mende recaptive, and the Rev. Alexander Schapira, a converted Rabbi and Arabic scholar. Sunter also “appointed Robert Smith [in

1879] a West African Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh and a Colonial Surgeon to the Government as honorary lecturer in Anatomy and Physiology.”<sup>83</sup> None of the faculty came from or were chosen or even approved by Durham University, a situation that lasted until the late 1930s. Out of the first sixteen students to enroll in 1876 in the newly affiliated institution (three of them came from Lagos) nine read Arts subjects, five Theology, and two for a Medical Registration Examination.<sup>84</sup>

Rev. Alexander Shapira had first arrived in Sierra Leone in 1875. Thompson included an excerpt of a letter from Shapira to the CMS, where he informed the Society that he had presented an Arabic Bible to an Islamic headman as well as had sold many while visiting the interior. He also reported having “tried our best in persuading him to recall his prohibition, but we did not succeed.” The promotion of alcohol was another component of Western influences that routinely accompanied the spread of Christianity and Commerce as opposed to Islam which forbade the use of alcohol. Conversely, Shapira also reported on a visit to Port Lokkoh where the king was “very rich in slaves and is the owner of many towns. Alas! The evil of slavery is there still in existence; 3 pounds is the price of each slave whether male or female, and they exchange a man for a cow and three men for a pony.” In another letter Shapira reported that he continued to visit the King in Port Lokkoh and that the “King has entrusted me with his own children to be brought up by us in the Christian religion.”<sup>85</sup> These children entrusted to Rev. Schapira were not considered slaves! The African King followed accepted practice in the African society where children lived with the extended family or even outsiders for apprenticeship and learning. Sending children from the provinces to live with extended family in Freetown to attend the best schools and assist in household chores was a common practice. FBC students from Nigeria, and later those from the Sierra Leone protectorate, lived in Freetown under the extended family system. By this time, FBC was attracting a growing number of students from Nigeria and the other British colonies in West Africa.

According to D.L.Sumner, following FBC’s affiliation to Durham:

The college was re-organized upon a new and wider basis.... The curriculum embraced a wider range of subjects than previously provided for: Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, history and geography, comparative philosophy, some branches of natural science, and as extras, French and German. The teaching staff was strengthened, and a scale of fees was arranged. Free students were no longer admitted to the college; but scholarships were offered, and special arrangements made for theological students. Under the energetic leadership of Mr. Sunter, the college made rapid progress. He induced men of calibre to join the staff and engaged the services of the Rev. N.S.Davis to go down the coast of West Africa to lecture at Cape Coast, Accra, and Lagos, explaining in detail the

advantages of Fourah Bay College to West Africa. It was this mission that opened the eyes of the people on the coast of West Africa to look favourably on Fourah Bay College.<sup>86</sup>

However, Sumner overstated the importance of the affiliation. FBC was already well-known in West Africa as many of its alumni were accomplished professionals, entrepreneurs, educators, missionaries, and civil servants prior to Reverend Davis's recruitment tour. The College faculty had taught Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic until it closed in 1859. Writing in 1962, Paul Hair asserted that Hebrew had been taught at FBC since 1850 with few intervals.<sup>87</sup> Latin had been taught since at least 1840.

Classical Latin had long been the mark of distinction for the Western-educated man. A number of Africans, in the face of late nineteenth century racism, wanted to prove their worth by achieving the highest Western standards. But, as this work has repeatedly pointed out, it is also true that many other African educators emphasized the importance of learning about the beliefs, practices, languages and values of African culture.

West Africans had particularly strong motives for seeking [Western] learning and for showing that they could surmount difficulty. When the representatives of Western culture began to influence the behavior and thinking of Africans in fields other than trade and war, many outward-and forward-looking Africans wished to share the knowledge and acquire the skills and enjoy the advantages of the invaders. Respect for wisdom is part of the fabric of African societies, and here was a new wisdom which could be obtained in new ways.... West Africans who wanted to draw on the Western tradition could do so only by going through the same exercises as Westerners, which, as far as F.B.C. and the University of Durham were concerned, involved the study of Latin. And those who studied Latin joined the freemasonry of learning which went back through the Middle Ages to the sources of Western civilisation. Paradoxically the difficulty of Latin made it an ideal subject for West African students because it gave them a chance to demonstrate their intellectual competence. Apart from some remarkable exceptions the colonial invaders were not particularly appreciative of the virtues and values of the peoples they dominated; all too often they despised the achievements and underestimated the potential of those whom they administered, traded with, and taught. To such attitudes there was one obvious answer: to rival the colonists on their own terms.<sup>88</sup>

Blyden, himself, recommended the study of the classics over modern Western literature as he felt the former were free of "race poison."<sup>89</sup>

The affiliation of FBC to Durham University elicited mixed reactions. On the one hand, it provided FBC with the prestige of conferring a British degree. On the other hand, it fell far short of being a West African university staffed with African faculty capable of addressing and embracing West African language, tradition and culture. International education in this case was not a concept that embraced Africa or was directed at the development of African culture or personality at this time.

Given his open criticism of Christian missions and his interest in learning about African Islam, Edward Blyden was perhaps not the best person to carry forward the need for a secular university. While Blyden may have missed salient features of African influences on Western culture, he thoroughly understood that the students at Fourah Bay College had not adequately focused their studies on African life and culture. He wanted the university to teach about Islamic and African traditions as much as Christianity or Western traditions.

West Africans wanted a secular university, but British missionaries wanted to spread Christianity. The affiliation of FBC to Durham University, a thoroughly Anglican institution, assured against the possibility that FBC would become a “godless” institution.<sup>90</sup> Amidst strong demand for a truly West African university, the affiliation was a compromise. The FBC degree became equivalent to the Durham University degree. It gave FBC university status and maintained its essentially Western curriculum. The pact between religious organizations and the colonial government to maintain control over students and the curriculum in West Africa ignored, for the moment, the more contentious relations between church and state in Europe and the United States. Up to this point, the most controversial academic battles at FBC were primarily concerned with religious issues. They would increasingly turn, however, to issues of colonial racism and the development of the sciences.





## PART TWO

### Colonial Education, 1876–1937

The affiliation of FBC with Durham University in 1876 marked the transition from missionary education to colonial education. Colonial education created an urban elite alienated from the rural population.<sup>1</sup> Back in 1865, the British Parliament Report of the Select Committee had recommended training natives of West Africa so that it would be possible to transfer to them the administration of all government. This was in part an answer to the high mortality rates among Europeans in Africa due to malaria and yellow fever along the West Coast.<sup>2</sup> From 1865 to 1873, European governors of Sierra Leone such as Sir Arthur E. Kennedy and John Pope-Hennessy appointed blacks to several positions of importance. Of course, it had not been long since returned diasporan blacks such as John Carr and William Fergusson had successfully governed the colony. At the time of the affiliation of FBC with Durham University in 1876, England had begun to assert its control over the Sierra Leone protectorate and opportunities for Western-educated Africans had all but disappeared. The colonial period between FBC's affiliation with Durham University in 1876 and the beginning of World War II reflected two important phenomena: the spread of colonial imperialism and rising nationalism. [Part Two](#) analyzes the African response to colonial rule as manifested through FBC.

In 1876, there were only a few small European administrative enclaves in Africa, such as that in Freetown, under limited European rule. France and England had been active in West Africa for a long time and until the 1880s "Scramble for Africa" had respected each other's general spheres of influence. By 1900, practically the whole of Africa (with the notable exceptions of Ethiopia and Liberia) was under European colonial rule. Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, and Portugal were the primary countries involved in this imperialist expansion. Although the "Scramble for Africa" came after the abolition of slavery, the slave trade had greatly reduced West African ability to resist European dominance.

With the end of the American Civil War in 1865 and the end of the Franco-Prussian War in 1871, Western nationalism and imperialism made rapid advances. By the mid-1870s, it was clear that European powers sought

dominion over Africa if not the entire world. Cheap labor and vast natural resources in Africa heralded seemingly unlimited growth and profits for the West. The Berlin Conference, conducted from November 1884 to February 1885, apportioned Africa among the European powers. Great Britain and France claimed the rights to four million square miles each of African territory.<sup>3</sup> Between 1884 and 1900, many West Africans engaged in open but limited military resistance to colonialism. European and African armies fought across the African continent. In 1890 and 1891, the British frantically signed many “standard treaties” with local chiefs to curb French encroachment into British territory. They did not base these treaties on mutual agreement or understanding. They aimed, rather, to deceive local people and leaders.<sup>4</sup> In Sierra Leone, the 1890 Foreign Jurisdiction Act gave legal power for establishing laws in the protectorate (the interior region outside the Freetown peninsula) to the British. As European imperialism strengthened its hold throughout Africa by military means as well as by imposing unfair tax and labor laws, educated Africans throughout the continent and the diaspora organized and protested. By the turn of the century, Krio political and professional representation within the colonial government had drastically declined in Sierra Leone. However, a new “PanAfrican” opposition to Western colonialism and racism began to take shape.

The British felt that they had the right to dispossess the African, to civilize the heathens, and to reclaim and redeem the “moral wastes” of Africa. Africans needed, in the words of one British colonialist, “to be taught to work; for, as a rule, the barbarous natives have no higher ambition than to lie at the side of their huts and cattle-folds basking in the sun and enjoying the savage luxury of utter laziness.... Lazy races die or decay. Races that work prosper on the earth.... The British race, in all its great branches, is noted for its restless activity.”<sup>5</sup> Colonial education, teaching the inferiority of Africans and African culture, was the ideological rationale accompanying the subjugation of Africa. It did not cultivate the African student’s self-esteem and pride nor recognize the different knowledge or value systems of African societies.<sup>6</sup>

Pan-Africanism was a direct response to colonial imposition. Peter Olanwuche Esedebe, who taught at FBC from 1969–1975, listed the major ideas of Pan-Africanism:

Africa as the homeland of Africans and persons of African origin, solidarity among men of African descent, belief in a distinct African personality, rehabilitation of Africa’s past, pride in African culture, Africa for Africans in church and state, the hope for a united and glorious future Africa.... Pan-Africanism is a political and cultural phenomenon which regards Africa, Africans and African descendants abroad as a unit. It seeks to regenerate and unify Africa and promote a feeling of oneness

among the people of the African world. It glorifies the African past and inculcates pride in African values.<sup>7</sup>

Pan-Africanism was also a direct response to Western imperialism and its racist ideology. As previously noted, the mid-1800s saw men such as Robert Knox, Sir Richard Burton, Winwoode Reade, and Arthur de Gobineau expound racist theories. They assumed that racial characteristics were fixed and unalterable and that the white race was superior to the black race. They opposed the extension of Western education to Africans.<sup>8</sup> African scholars such as Africanus Horton, Holy Johnson, and E.W.Blyden were aware of these ideas and attitudes and each in his way refuted them. Horton believed that people of different “races” could learn from each other, and he advocated greater interaction between and among “races.” The views of Johnson and Blyden, who lived much longer than Horton and saw Africa overrun by racist imperialism, changed considerably through their lives. They believed that each race had its own unique attributes, good and bad, but that no race could claim superiority.<sup>9</sup> As described in the previous chapter, Blyden was a spokesperson of the African diaspora, an intermediary, an intercultural negotiator. He concerned himself primarily with issues of race relations, diasporan relations, religious relations, and education. His lifelong pursuit was to combat European racism and its manifestations throughout the diaspora by endeavoring to learn first hand about African culture without prejudice. He believed in Africa’s right and ability to self-government. An early voice of Pan-Africanism, he was an important influence on future Pan-African leaders such as Marcus Garvey and W.E.B.Du Bois and “probably the greatest exponent of Pan-African concepts.”<sup>10</sup>

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, racist ideology strengthened at the same time that the study of humanity split into numerous separate disciplines.<sup>11</sup> In the late 1800s, Herbert Spencer’s work on Social Darwinism paved the way for theories of racial hierarchy to develop in a new direction. Western liberal thought first separated God from man and nature, empiricism then placed nature under the control of man, and Social Darwinism sanctioned a racial hierarchical structuring of society and natural history. A basic assumption of Western philosophy was that “the world was made for man, and man was made to rule it.”<sup>12</sup> Social scientists considered African society primitive, less developed, and intellectually inferior. Blacks were taught that their cultures were of a lower order and that, overall, they should learn how to prepare themselves for a realistic place in white dominated society.<sup>13</sup> Biological explanations were advanced to demonstrate the European’s supposed natural intellectual superiority. Phrenologists through the use of cranioscopy asserted a lack of African brain development.<sup>14</sup>

The educational objectives of liberal philosophy focused on individual achievement and self-interest, qualities more relevant to the West than to the

African milieu.<sup>15</sup> By the turn of the century, economic liberalism had gained popularity in Europe and America as a democratizing force and individual economic gains dramatically increased through the exploits of global capitalism supported and sanctioned by nation states. A primary assumption of laissez-faire capitalists was that the unhampered pursuit of self-interest resulted in the common good. A primary assumption of modern nationalism called for the state to protect the interests of its citizens. Colonialist policies aimed to build institutions that complemented capitalist and nationalist hierarchical organization. They promoted an economic system that channeled profit to relatively few people in Europe and America.<sup>16</sup>

The main concern of colonial educators (often pastors and missionaries) was to teach basic literacy in European languages to the indigenous population for the purpose of preaching Christianity and the “virtues of work.”<sup>17</sup> Within this context, the “virtues of work” was a culturally loaded phrase insinuating that non-Christians were lazy. Externally imposed, most European educational institutions in the colonies separated students from their cultural background by conditioning them to adopt an alien way of life, and by overriding and denigrating local practices and knowledge.<sup>18</sup> Limited in access, colonial education bestowed elite status, although Africans rarely advanced beyond mid-level management positions. English and French were the languages of instruction and the languages of economic value. As noted by a late twentieth century African scholar, “throughout the colonial period the economic value of mastering English or French was greater than the economic value of mastering several African languages.”<sup>19</sup> In contrast, one of the most consistent and often repeated recommendations found throughout the history of FBC was the need for study and instruction in African languages. African educators have recommended its inclusion in the curriculum of FBC in every decade since the mid-1800’s.

British scholars and teachers, abolitionists and missionaries, took advantage of every opportunity to reinforce and propagate the idea that the British had liberated Africans from an enslavement that had originated at the hands of their own African brothers and sisters. However, returned diasporan Africans and liberated Africans, who formed the basis of Krio culture, played an important role in helping indigenous African communities understand the abusive, condescending, and degrading treatment of slaves in the New World. The Krio negotiated two worlds. They relied on strategies as different as pursuing Western higher education and marriage into prominent local Sierra Leonean families for survival. Throughout the colonial period, the British went to great lengths to separate and divide the liberated diasporan African communities based in Freetown from the indigenous rural African communities in the Sierra Leone protectorate. In conformity with this division, the lack of Colonial support for governmental provision of rural schools limited the scope of education expansion in West Africa.

Colonial rule established a formal administrative hierarchy and bureaucracy that was highly centralized. The administrative structure stretched from the British Secretary of State in London through the Colonial Governor in Freetown down to the local Sierra Leonean village Head or Chief. Lines of command and communication could not be broken. As one Sierra Leonean student of colonial education has noted, “traditional rulers had to assimilate the bureaucratic norms established by the central government.”<sup>20</sup> The colonial government, not agricultural activities, became the primary source of income for chiefs, police, court clerks, and other participants in the Native Administration. British imperialism, while lucratively promoting the growth of business and industry at home, was an expensive enterprise for colonial governments. An African scholar has argued that “because of the Treasury’s reluctance to spend in the colonies, British colonial officials focused on how to maintain minimal government at the least cost. A system of indirect rule that maintained limited control with traditional rulers was designed fundamentally to cater to this financial parsimony.”<sup>21</sup>

Another scholar argued that indirect rule “deeply changed the nature of local [socio-economic and political] structures and the conditions of their existence, even where indigenous forms appeared to be retained.”<sup>22</sup> It also “created a basic antagonism between the traditionalists and the emergent educated minority.”<sup>23</sup> Policies of indirect rule provided few opportunities for Western-educated Africans as they aimed to coopt and corrupt the role of traditional rulers. Educated Africans, according to a twentieth century African scholar, “were not required under the system which relied upon traditional authorities and a few European officials.”<sup>24</sup> Access to higher education in West Africa was severely limited. A twentieth century scholar noted:

British opposition to a university in Africa, however, had little to do with concern about second-rate standards. After all, it was mostly British academics who would constitute the bulk of the teaching staff.... African colonial governments resisted the university idea...in order to keep at a minimum the number of Africans who would clamour for lucrative jobs [and competing with Europeans] in the colonial service, to preserve the Native Administration system from the onslaught of the educated class of Africans who would seek prominent roles in the colonial dispensation, and to maintain stability, low costs, and minimal government.<sup>25</sup>

The ethnicity of FBC faculty were generally evenly divided among Africans and Europeans with Europeans occupying the senior positions.

Up until the 1930s, FBC was the only university institution in West Africa. The further development of universities in West Africa had to await the disintegration of indirect rule as a guiding instrument of British colonialism. This did not occur until the eve of the Second World War.<sup>26</sup> Immediately

following World War II, European representation on the FBC faculty increased dramatically. Education, in the form of indigenous political socialization, only existed underground in voluntary associations and in the press. Between 1880 and 1920, Krio-owned newspapers and periodicals published numerous essays on African history and culture. Educational ideas such as university autonomy and academic freedom were incompatible with colonial conditions.<sup>27</sup>

Cooperation between religious organizations and the colonial government to maintain control over students and the curriculum in West Africa prevailed. The transformation of higher education from its religious traditions towards emphasizing a more scientific, educational, vocational and professional focus was apparent in the opinions of both Western and African scholars of the era. While the same intellectual transformation occurred in both Europe and the United States as well as in Africa, in many ways, Africa became a refuge for conservative Europeans trying to preserve fading educational traditions.<sup>28</sup>

In the early 1900s, the debate over liberal education versus vocational education for African-Americans crossed the Atlantic to Africa largely through the auspices of the 1921 Phelps-Stokes Commission.<sup>29</sup> The Phelps-Stokes Commission was one of the first United States' attempts to effect a change in British policy towards Africa. It advocated vocational education. In Africa, vocational education, as interpreted through the Protestant work ethic of missionaries and applied by colonial governments, translated into a system of minimal training on the barest of budgets. Thus the emphasis on vocational education did not represent a change as far as access to education was concerned.

During the nineteenth century, the British government's financial assistance in Sierra Leone and throughout Africa was smaller than missionary contributions.<sup>30</sup> According to one African scholar of colonial education, "many years of persistent African demands for government participation in mission-dominated education...yielded no positive British response. This was largely predicated on the British Government's insistence that colonial governments must be self-supporting."<sup>31</sup> Michael Crowder, Director of African Studies at FBC in the mid-1960s, described the colonial education system:

It is not surprising, also, that governments spent minute percentages of their annual budgets on the education of those whose occupation they had earlier undertaken on the declared grounds that they were going to bring them the fruits of Western civilisation.... It was left to African leaders themselves in the era of decolonisation to insist on the primacy of education as a means to the social and economic transformation of African society into one that could compete with the West on its own terms.<sup>32</sup>

We will see how in the era following the colonial period, African leaders continued both to succumb to external pressures and priorities and to take advantage of a system that rewarded elites, particularly those possessing political power.

Throughout the colonial period, FBC struggled to survive financially. However, the on-going financial crisis provided an opportunity for West Africans to play a greater role in determining the College's future. World War I diverted Britain's attention away from the daily activities of the College and the colony; and it demonstrated new weaknesses in Europe's domination of the continent. Throughout the period, the faculty at FBC were almost entirely Sierra Leonean; and the College trained many, if not most, of the African teachers and administrators who founded schools throughout West Africa. The College served all of Anglophone West Africa, training many of its future leaders including those closely involved in the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA), an emerging political organization of African intellectuals.

While the total number of students attending FBC each year remained rather low, a large proportion of the students came from other areas of West Africa outside Sierra Leone. As one American scholar has noted: "From its inception in 1827 to 1950, over 70% of all graduates at Fourah Bay, 50% of whom were Nigerians, were West Africans other than Sierra Leoneans."<sup>33</sup> Nigerians, Gambians and other West Africans were not viewed as foreigners or outsiders at FBC. They came and stayed in Freetown homes as part of the extended family system. The Nigerians, in particular, stayed in homes of the Aku, Krio descendents of the "recaptured" or "liberated" Yoruba slaves. A Nigerian scholar has noted the influence of FBC graduates in Nigeria:

The products of Fourah Bay played a notable role in seeking to establish more secondary schools in Nigeria, usually by acting as Founding Principals, persuading a congregation as a patriotic duty to put up buildings and initial capital, and requesting the CMS to adopt the school, secure government recognition, and assist with recruitment of staff.... In that way, secondary schools were established between 1900 and 1920 in the 6 most prominent Yoruba towns.<sup>34</sup>

In the 1920s, the CMS made a proposal to transfer the work of FBC to Nigeria since at that time many of its students were coming from that more populous country. The proposal met with a stormy protest from the Freetown community and was dropped.<sup>35</sup> While problems such as low enrollment, insufficient funds, and poor quality repeatedly threatened FBC's future existence, the Krio remained staunch defenders of the beleaguered College. They placed the blame for these problems on the narrow curriculum, lack of government funding, and the absence of African leadership and control over the affairs of the College.

The College's Motto *Non Sibi sed Aliis*, "Not for Self but for Others," was adopted near the end of the colonial period as was the Alma Mater which stressed both the Christian influence of the past and the Pan-African hopes of the future:

Men of Fourah Bay, arise  
 Men of Africa;  
 Light of knowledge in your eyes  
 Men of Africa;

Africa shall see the light,  
 Africa shall grow in might,  
 In her strength may she be wise to choose the right.  
 Men of Fourah Bay  
 Work for that new day,  
 The day of glory that shall be for Africa.<sup>36</sup>

Let Africa know that you are men,  
 Men of Africa;  
 Pledged to give to her again,  
 Give to Africa:  
 Greater Knowledge, greater skill  
 Consecrated mind and will,  
 Give your youthful years and then serve her still.<sup>37</sup>



## CHAPTER FOUR

# Krio Resistance and Pan-Africanism: The Roots of African Studies, 1877–1908

As noted in [part one](#), in the early 1800s, diasporan people of African descent returning to West Africa obtained a measure of freedom and authority. They held positions of responsibility such as principal of Fourah Bay College and governor of the colony. By the late 1800s, due to rising racism, greed, and perhaps to the improved survival rates for Europeans, Europeans had begun to replace prominent black administrators in Sierra Leone and throughout West Africa. By the end of the century, such political opportunities for Africans had all but disappeared. British colonial leaders, novelists, and the popular press openly criticized Africans who had begun to succeed in business endeavors. On the one hand, as one Sierra Leonean scholar has noted from a late twentieth century perspective, the Krio were “badgered by constant reminders of their [alleged] racial inferiority, [and] rejected by those whose culture they sought to promote, Creoles fell into a paroxysm of self-deprecation.”<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, another Sierra Leonean scholar has concluded that “the ascendance of the Creoles, and their increasing tendency to challenge their former benefactors and question various aspects of colonial rule, were already making it disturbingly clear that education was very much a double-edged sword. Its spread therefore needed to be controlled and calculated, to ensure that it served the best interest of the colonial power.”<sup>2</sup> Fourah Bay College was a battleground for political control and cultural influence, particularly between Krio and British forces. The fact that FBC was the only Western-styled institution of higher education in sub-Saharan Africa, with the possible exceptions of the Lovedale Institution in South Africa and Liberia College in Monrovia, underscored its tentative, fragile existence.<sup>3</sup>

According to the British researcher, Christopher Fyfe, “the Krios helped them [the traditional indigenous communities] to face the disruptive culture of Europe and soften its impact by mediating it to them through familiar channels.”<sup>4</sup> However, the Krio have also been viewed as the purveyors of European culture helping to undermine traditional society. They were the Africans colonizing Africa. They were judged guilty by their association with British rule and an entirely too slow pace of change for indigenous groups anxious to regain local control and autonomy. Throughout the colonial period,

there were always at least two Krio voices present concerning the fate of FBC. One called for Africans to direct the College's own affairs, confident that they would do so more effectively and with greater sensitivity than Europeans. The other voice was committed to a partnership of learning cognizant that new and significant ideas were available through cross-cultural dialogue and that a significant portion of the College's funding came from European benefactors. More recently, Sierra Leonean scholar Samuel Hinton maintained that African students attended missionary schools like FBC "not to grasp his [the European's] religion but to learn and understand his ways in order to be able to fight back."<sup>5</sup> During this period, direct opposition to European influences increasingly became a part of the Pan-African movement which sought to unite people of African descent wherever they lived. This chapter examines FBC's regional and international role in increasingly active diasporan communities throughout West Africa and the Americas. Many of the future nationalist leaders of West Africa were graduates of FBC who became constantly engaged in political negotiation with the European colonizers.

Maintaining missionary control over FBC was in the interest of the colonial government. CMS funding for Fourah Bay College was unstable and usually quite low, but it relieved the colonial government of financial responsibility. Durham University's role was also very specific and limited, providing the rules and regulations of academic standards in the Western tradition. The Durham University Calendar outlined the conditions for delivering, administering, and evaluating FBC student examinations. The procedures called for FBC to return student examinations to Durham University unread by the FBC College faculty or staff.<sup>6</sup> Durham teachers "set the papers and marked the scripts" (ie, prepared and graded all exams).<sup>7</sup>

At first, Durham University showed some interest in the affairs of FBC, publishing occasional reports from the College. For example, in 1878, an FBC student reported in the *Durham University Journal* that the College had had a visit from Bishop Crowther, who was seeking students to join his mission on the Niger. As previously noted, a large number of FBC graduates did just that. The same report also contained a plea for someone to come from Durham University to FBC to teach in the Physical Sciences. "This branch of learning we consider to be of the utmost importance to the good of our country."<sup>8</sup> FBC took pride in its missionary education work in Nigeria, but the teaching of science or lack thereof at the College became a particular concern throughout this period. Where language and theology had been the disciplines of primary concern in the 19th century at FBC, science and education sought a place in the twentieth century. One of the first moves toward the teaching of science at FBC was advertised in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* of August 20, 1892. The advertisement announced that FBC would offer "three courses of lectures in October viz: Chemistry, Physics, and Agriculture." FBC was determined to offer the same types of courses available in England. Interestingly, Durham

University did not offer science courses at this time. Instead, they were offered at the recently added Newcastle division of Durham University under the leadership of S. Farmer. Farmer set and marked the exams of FBC students studying science under the tutelage of Sierra Leonean medical doctors.<sup>9</sup>

FBC tried to capitalize on its relationship with Durham University. Harry Sawyerr, FBC principal from 1968 to 1974, described the relationship as follows:

in 1879, the first set of students graduated in the [now-affiliated] University to the warm commendation of the Dean of the Faculty of Theology [Durham], Dr. A.D. Farrar. FBC took encouragement from the affiliation and promoted itself throughout British West Africa. A recruitment mission of one of the new graduates to Nigeria brought in a number of students.... By 1890, fourteen Nigerians had been trained at Fourah Bay College.<sup>10</sup>

By the 1930s, students from Nigeria had become the majority of degree seeking students at FBC.

African languages continued to be taught at FBC in the late 1800s. For example, Yoruba, probably due to rising enrollment of students from Nigeria, was taught at FBC throughout the 1888 academic year.<sup>11</sup> For a brief period beginning in 1879, Sierra Leonean students studying to enter the ministry were given instruction in the Temne language.<sup>12</sup> Edward Blyden assisted a local Muslim, Harun al-Rashid, to gain employment as a teacher of Arabic at Fourah Bay College in 1891.<sup>13</sup> Still, with the exception of the early period of research done at FBC in linguistics, the teaching of African languages at FBC was limited and sporadic. Blyden, who later became director of Muslim Education in Sierra Leone, viewed the study of Arabic as an important prerequisite for establishing broader appeal and better communication with rural African peoples. FBC Principal Metcalfe Sunter viewed the study of Arabic languages as a means for furthering goals of Christian evangelization among Muslims.<sup>14</sup> Sunter, Blyden, and FBC students and staff regularly distributed Arabic Bibles in the hinterlands. FBC's strong church affiliation thus outweighed other influences on the curriculum.

After Sunter's resignation as principal of FBC in December of 1882, C.L. Reichardt became principal. However, Reichardt died less than a month later in January of 1883.<sup>15</sup> The CMS was unable to find a European principal to appoint until 1885. However, from 1883 to 1885, the College remained fully operational in contrast to the earlier crisis in 1859 when the college was closed.<sup>16</sup>

Reverend Frank Nevill became principal in January, 1885. He found in residence one student and two tutors.<sup>17</sup> The two tutors were Sierra Leoneans, John Bernard Bowen and Nathaniel S. Davis (both tutors since 1872). Daniel G. Williams, a Sierra Leonean tutor at the College since 1864, became Acting

Secretary of the CMS in Sierra Leone in 1883. Previously, the person appointed as CMS secretary also served as principal of FBC. However, it appears that the CMS did not recognize or appoint Williams to the position of principal. Dr. Robert Smith (a Sierra Leonean) and Dr. W.Hume Hart both lectured in anatomy and physiology at FBC from 1879–1884 and 1881–1884, respectively. Future Sierra Leonean medical doctors John Farrell Easmon, William A. Renner and John Randle all studied under Smith.<sup>18</sup>

Despite a growing and well-qualified teaching staff, the student population languished. A correspondent in *The West African Reporter* attempted in 1884 to explain the reason that the number of students was so few:

Within eight years from the affiliation, the College doors are virtually closed, the present number within those walls being one. We do not close our eyes to the fact that some good has been done within that period. Setting aside those who have received Licenses in Theology, nine young men have graduated in Arts some of whom are usefully employed; a few also have taken their first medical examination there. With so many advantages then, why has the secularization proved a failure? We answer that the scheme after all, was not wide enough. The College might have profitably embraced within its walls, besides a department for prosecuting Academical Studies, and another for Theology, one also for an Advanced English Course, the aim of which should be preparation for mercantile life.... We believe that if the College at Fourah Bay in its developed form had opened a Mercantile School in addition to its other Departments, the result would have been other than it is at present.<sup>19</sup>

The *Durham University Calendar*, however, reported fourteen students in attendance the previous year and eight students in 1884.<sup>20</sup> The fact that FBC had gone without a principal for over a year and that the CMS had failed to appoint a Sierra Leonean principal of the College hurt enrollment. Certainly, the majority of Sierra Leoneans wanted a secular university with a broader curriculum. However, FBC only admitted a few students who were not devout Christians and insisted that all students study Christian theology, including those who enrolled in the Arts degree program.

Nevill, who became principal in 1885 and served until 1889, in his “opening address” to the College on February 2, 1885 (he considered FBC as having closed following the death of Reichardt) stressed the original intention of the founders: “This college is first of all to be a training-place for missionaries.”<sup>21</sup> The CMS provided scholarships for two FBC students provided that they pledged themselves to undertake missionary work upon completion of their studies. All the other students paid fees. They overwhelmingly chose courses for the Arts degree over Theology courses. They also began to demand courses in the sciences. Neville noted the tension between missionary education and

university education at FBC: “On the one side we have the original intention of the founders of the College; on the other side we have the existence of the affiliation scheme, which has lately been found not to have been acting in the same direction.” Nevill was also certain that the British government was unwilling to fund the College: “it can hardly be expected that England, which is daily groaning under the burden of a compulsory Education Act, will subscribe for the foundation of scholarships for higher education in a colony as prosperous as Sierra Leone.”<sup>22</sup> At the same time, the British Secretary of State to the colonies had complained that the colony could not afford the expenditure of supporting FBC. British authorities evidently believed that the Krio could afford to support the College without funds from Britain or the Colonial Government in Sierra Leone. However, Sierra Leoneans did not own or control the College. The CMS was unwilling to relinquish control to the colonial government or to appoint a Sierra Leonean as principal of the College.

In 1886, a debate arose between the editor of *Sawyers's Trade Circular* John C. Sawyerr and FBC alumni and future tutors Daniel Joseph Coker and Elizaphan Theophilus Cole in the popular press. Sawyerr published in his newspaper excerpts of a private letter he had received advocating the necessity for an African principal at FBC. Coker and Cole agreed that a Sierra Leonean principal was desirable but argued “at present, we venture to take a different view of the matter, and would say in all sincerity that the time is yet far distant when a Native should be head of that establishment.”<sup>23</sup> They accused Sawyerr of attempting to stir up controversy in order to sell papers. Sawyerr accused Coker and Cole of being more conservative than the CMS itself. Sawyerr’s argument also provided evidence in support of African leadership for the College:

Had the Church Missionary Society’s authorities held the same views as these gentlemen [Coker and Cole], the Grammar School would never had on the death of the Rev. Mr. Millward [English], [employed] the able services of the late Rev. James Quaker [an FBC alumnus], during whose principalship that seminary not only rose high in public estimation, but maintained its reputation for the intelligent youths it sent out year by year to fill positions in various departments of life here. That Seminary under its present head the Rev. O. Moore [FBC alumnus and former tutor] still flourishes.... There is also the Wesleyan High School which since its foundation and formation has been and still is under the guiding hand of the Rev. J.C. May [later Mayor of Freetown] the Principal through whose efforts the school now numbers as I understand, more than one hundred pupils.... All these are results due to the efforts of Native Principals.<sup>24</sup>

As this exchange exemplifies, beginning in the 1870s but particularly following the debate over the need for a West African university and the affiliation of

FBC to Durham, independent intellectual activity was most vibrant outside the institution in more public forums. Scholars have documented the intellectual vitality of Krio culture in Freetown during the last three decades of the nineteenth century which centered around an active press and voluntary associations.<sup>25</sup> Voluntary associations conducted public lectures and published these lectures in weekly, bi-monthly, and monthly press journals. Fourah Bay College was only marginally involved in this community-oriented, adult education effort, although many of its alumni were active participants. Principal Nevill, however, publicly criticized the use of the Krio language in schools. Leo Spitzer, an American scholar of Krio culture, noted that Nevill

did get involved in the debate over Krio [language] waged in a local journal during the years 1885–1886. Fearing that support of Krio in that periodical would arouse public sentiment in its favor to the detriment of “good” English, he attacked the Sierra Leone patois. He urged Creoles to “break off the slovenly and degrading customs which bind men to the imperfections of past generations” and to concentrate on the English language and literature whose authors “have striven in purity of diction to express the highest and noblest feelings of mankind.”<sup>26</sup>

In sharp contrast, a Sierra Leonean advocated in the same journal an education that reflected local conditions and that used Krio to promote national development. The author noted that the “Sierra Leonean vernacular was a composite language made up of words, phrases and idioms from numerous African and European languages. In this regard, it resembled English as it derived from the contributions of the Celts, Danes, Normans, Saxons, Greeks and Romans.” The author further noted Principal Nevill’s self-interest in defeating the development of the vernacular as it would “render unnecessary the elevated position he now occupies in the Educational Department.”<sup>27</sup> Former FBC tutor and principal George Nicol also entered the debate, siding with Nevill that the Sierra Leonean patois was unsuited for literary expression. While Nicol had attempted to define present, past, and future tenses as well as singular and plural verb forms within the Krio language, and had also attempted to translate portions of the new testament into Krio, he felt the task virtually impossible and eventually “had to give up.” However, Nicol did recognize the multiple influences on the language, particularly German influences through the numerous German missionaries who had taught the liberated Africans. He failed, however, to recognize the use of African grammatical syntax within the Krio language.<sup>28</sup>

The period between 1870 and 1900, according to a late twentieth century account, “witnessed the greatest number of newspapers ever produced in the colony. But by the end of the century most had ceased publication.”<sup>29</sup> These newspapers or journals published numerous articles on practical subjects not

addressed through the classical Western educational system. For example, there were detailed articles on agriculture, crafts, printing, masonry, construction, mechanics, electricity, medicine, nutrition, food preservation, commercial trade, politics, and literary criticism. There were also a number of serialized essays on history, religion, education, and culture. Many of these essays had first been delivered as speeches at community association meetings that also flourished in the period. The newspapers and associations played a role that FBC seemed unwilling to provide. Edward Turay, a Sierra Leonean scholar, cited the following report from the *Sierra Leone Times* of May 19, 1894:

A useful role in such post-school education could have been played by the University of Durham's Fourah Bay College in the settlement.... A correspondent in the *Sierra Leone Times* of 19 May, 1894, felt bound to ask for the benefits that had flowed from the "improved education and advanced training received by those who had advantages of entering Fourah Bay College and more so of taking degrees." He complained: "We enjoy no lectures from them, even though we are quite willing and always ready to repay them the trouble of preparing their pages. With all their admitted attainments in and knowledge of science and other arts we have not enjoyed their expressed opinions on the change of time, men and things." He probably had an eye on public lectures when he urged "We say over and over again, call us together in the Wilberforce Hall and do us good...."<sup>30</sup>

An FBC alumnus, Turay stressed in his late twentieth century work the educational importance of social and commercial organizations operating outside the university.

In contrast to Principal Nevill's opposition to the Krio language and the apparent inability of FBC to reach out to the Freetown community, Sierra Leonean historian C.P. Foray (FBC—Principal 1983–1993) credited Nevill with reviving the life of the College "by throwing its doors open to students other than those pursuing university courses as well as to females, recruited mainly from the Annie Walsh Memorial School and who for the most part read for the Durham Certificate of Proficiency" in English.<sup>31</sup> FBC alumnus and tutor, Daniel Coker, writing years later, noted that "Mr. Nevill was very economical and abhorred waste. Before his death he was able to make a saving of about 300 pounds, with the interest of which he founded a scholarship."<sup>32</sup> Another former student of Principal Nevill wrote: "I may note also the gradual increase in the number of scholarships during his charge, which eventually went up to eight or more, thus affording a wider opportunity to young men desirous of entering the College."<sup>33</sup> Nevill was a graduate of Cambridge. He died of malaria in 1889 after serving four years. It appears that, like many of FBC's principals, he did as much as he could with a resource-deprived institution.



FBC could have enlarged its scope of operation by hiring more African faculty and tutors but neither the missionary societies nor the colonial government saw the advantage in such action.

A number of Sierra Leonean medical doctors and lawyers occasionally taught or delivered lectures at FBC. Dr. Ross, Chief Medical Officer to the Colony, provided a series of lectures in Physiology at the Colonial Hospital for FBC students in 1889.<sup>34</sup> He is listed as an FBC lecturer in the Durham University Calendar from 1889 to 1894. As previously noted, Drs. W.Hume Hart and Robert Smith had also taught physiology and science at FBC in the 1880s. Because of these efforts, many Sierra Leoneans went abroad to study medicine.<sup>35</sup>

In 1887, students were required to spend two days a week in a carpentry workshop with a master carpenter.<sup>36</sup> Nevill had introduced carpentry and masonry into the curriculum of FBC, “but he met with such a storm of opposition, that he immediately discontinued the practice.”<sup>37</sup> The idea was re-introduced in the 1890s. One student, M.D.Showers, reported having completed his apprenticeship as a carpenter during this period through FBC.<sup>38</sup> Showers emigrated to Nigeria and helped to found a number of schools there.

From medicine to carpentry, from law to science, from Yoruba and Temne to Arabic and Hebrew, the FBC curriculum changed frequently. However, these courses amounted to brief experiments and were not sustained. The core of the curriculum maintained its classical Christian focus.

As previously noted, African studies, African-pride, and Pan-Africanism emerged as extremely important concepts in the late 1800s among the Krio and other diasporan communities as a response to increased colonial domination and racial prejudice. For example, in the mid 1880s, a number of Krios began to adopt African-style dress and African names.<sup>39</sup> In 1887, William J.Davis, then Senior master of the Wesleyan Boys High School in Freetown and the first Sierra Leonean to receive a B.A. from London University, changed his name to Orishatukeh Faduma. Faduma had been a student of Joseph Claudius May, the first principal and founder of the Wesleyan Boys High School. May was principal for 28 years and counted a number of prominent West African Nationalists and Pan-Africanists among his students including J.E.Casely Hayford, T.Hutton Mills, and William Euba.<sup>40</sup> In an 1887 article in *The Sierra Leone Weekly News*, Kufileh Tubohku explained the purpose and reasoning behind Davis’s name change:

For, in Church, in State, and in social life, we feel ourselves to be forced out of the groove which is free and natural to us, vainly striving after what is most unlike ourselves and foreign to our tastes. We have received an education and a civilization that have instilled into us an element of doubt as to our own capacity and destiny, that have implanted in us falsehoods about ourselves, which instead of producing in us self-respect, efficiency, and self-reliance, with a sense of our own individuality—the outcome of



a correct education—have rendered us self-detractors, self-depreciators, distrustful of our own possibilities, striving to escape from our own individuality if possible, contemptuous and doubtful of every native element, and indifferent to everything of our own originality.... In the names of Orishatukeh Faduma I picture an intense religiousness and devotion in the parents or ancestors of the bearer of the name.... The ancestors of Faduma in their devout groping in the dark to seek Olorun (God), embraced and worshipped the Orisha and Ifa, whom only it was in their knowledge to embrace, and by whom they hoped to know and find Olorun. But their son under more favourable circumstances has been rightly taught to know and embrace Olorun Olodumare (God Almighty) to be the only object worthy of worship; yet he has nevertheless assumed the name Orishatukeh Faduma though connected with heathen divinities, not with a view to return to their worship, but to preserve his parental historical connection, to recall the mind to its home and to develop his own individuality and manhood.<sup>41</sup>

Tubohku had also changed his name from Albert Emerich Metzger and was later known as Tuboku-Metzger.<sup>42</sup> For a largely Christian audience, Tubohku-Metzger emphasized “God Almighty” over lesser gods (lesser ancestors/saints) who are the intermediaries and as with chiefs are needed because direct communication with God would be disrespectful. His description demonstrates an awareness of West African traditional religion where “God” is understood as both creator and ancestor.<sup>43</sup>

Almost a century later, Harry Sawyerr (FBC Principal 1969–1974), published *God: Ancestor or Creator?* in part as an attempt to interpret traditional African religion to a largely Christian audience. Lamin Sanneh, a scholar of African religions, noted that Africans have interpreted Christian concepts in ways consistent with their own beliefs.

African religions played an important role in moulding the two missionary religions. One effect of this has been the transformation of the ancient rivalry between Christianity and Islam by confronting them with the decisive issue of indigenization. Across the path of self-confident missionary faith Africa has erected the solid barrier of traditional religions, which neither Christianity nor Islam was able to ignore.<sup>44</sup>

FBC continuously grappled with the impact of Christianity on West Africa.

The need to understand the relationship between Western and African cultures was a primary focus for the eventual development of African studies at FBC. There was, too, a sense of a need to recover what had been lost. Edward Blyden and Orishatukeh Faduma made a significant impact on the intellectual

environment of the period and provided the groundwork for the future development of African studies.

Like Blyden, Faduma traveled between the United States and West Africa on several occasions.<sup>45</sup> At the United Native African Church's Congress on Africa in 1895 in Atlanta, Georgia, Faduma "maintained that there was no absolute connection between spiritual salvation and European usages."<sup>46</sup> Faduma preached: "What Africans need, and what all races need, is not what will denationalize or deindividualize them, not what will stamp them out of existence, but what will show that God has a purpose in creating race varieties."<sup>47</sup> He believed in separation of church and state and called for the Colonial Government in Sierra Leone to fulfil its duty and educate its citizens whatever their religious beliefs.<sup>48</sup> Faduma received his M.A. from Yale University and was principal of the Peabody Academy in Troy, North Carolina.<sup>49</sup> He returned for a lecture tour of Sierra Leone in 1908 and again in 1918. He was an outspoken proponent of higher education for women. Faduma's conviction of the need for women's full participation in education influenced the prominent female Sierra Leonean educator, Adelaide Casely Hayford (the wife of political activist and lawyer, J.E.Casely Hayford).<sup>50</sup> Faduma, like Edward Blyden, promoted the exchange of ideas between the diasporan communities of the United States and West Africa.

West African political views emphasized human rights and dignity. Education was seen as a right. Following the affiliation to Durham University, Blyden's voice of protest grew stronger. Understanding the political nature of education, Blyden also noted the political oppression inherent in certain Christian beliefs prevalent in West Africa.

Christ was to be held up to the suffering African not only as a propitiation for sin, and as a mediator between God and man, but as a blessed illustration of the glorious fact that persecution and suffering and contempt are no proof that God is not the loving Father of a people—but may be rather an evidence of nearness to God, seeing that they have been chosen to tread in the footsteps of the first-born of the creation, suffering for the welfare of others.<sup>51</sup>

Moral and ethical contradictions in Christian words and deeds increasingly drew criticism. National politics became the new religion. As previously noted, Blyden's call for culturally relevant material devoid of negative racial stereotypes was a direct response to the increasing racial prejudice of the late 1800s:

In all English-speaking countries the mind of the intelligent Negro child revolts against the descriptions given in elementary books—geographies, travels, histories—of the Negro; but though he experiences an instinctive

revulsion from these caricatures and misrepresentations, he is obliged to continue, as he grows in years to study such pernicious teachings. After leaving school he finds the same things in newspapers, in reviews, in novels, in quasi scientific works; and after a while *sape calendo*—they begin to seem to him the proper things to say and to feel about his race, and he accepts what, at first, his fresh and unbiased feelings naturally and indignantly repelled. Such is the effect of repetition.<sup>52</sup>

Blyden believed that a European-style education simply prepared the African child to live in a white-ruled society.<sup>53</sup> He consciously desired to counter “what the dominant white man had said in his own way and for his own purposes” about Africans.<sup>54</sup> He was always careful to point out that such a tendency had arisen only through the destructive forces of the slave trade. He noted that while “much has been written about Africa and Africans...very little has been written by the African himself of his country and people.” Perhaps that is why Blyden believed that a college in West Africa “must be at first generative.”<sup>55</sup> He implored: “we must study our brethren in the interior.”<sup>56</sup> He wanted diasporan Africans to learn about Africa from Africans. He repeatedly called for the specific study of African languages and culture.

It was not necessarily a contradiction for Blyden to believe in both the invaluable role that returned diasporan blacks might play in the regeneration of Africa and simultaneously to assert that these were the very same people tainted by European contact. “While we are anxious for immigration from America and desirous that the immigrants shall push as fast as possible into the interior, we look with anxiety and concern at the difficulties and troubles which must arise from their misconceptions of the work to be done.”<sup>57</sup> Blyden did not want African-Americans to make the same mistakes as their European predecessors. He visited the United States at least seven times in the late 1800s, travelling to Tuskegee Institute, Howard University, Lincoln University and the Hampton Institute. He met with African-American leaders such as Frederick Douglass, Henry Turner, and Booker T. Washington.<sup>58</sup>

A number of authors noted that Blyden shared contemporary prejudices against African-Americans and other diasporan African communities.<sup>59</sup> According to one of these authors, “Blyden echoed the racist sentiments of people like Sir Richard Burton and Winwoode Reade, and argued, like them, that missionary education was having deleterious effects on African authenticity for which, again like them, his cure was an unmitigated dose of Islam in a heady mixture with African traditions.”<sup>60</sup> Another scholar stated that “Blyden was not depicting the Krios as they were—a people who were busy creating and diffusing a dynamic culture of their own. He was instead depicting them as mere imitators.”<sup>61</sup> And according to a third scholar:

Many of the 19<sup>th</sup> century anthropologists argued that the African belonged to a separate and distinct race; Blyden concurred. Most argued against miscegenation; Blyden most enthusiastically agreed. Most claimed separate destinies for the races.... Since he accepted racial distinctions, any biological amalgamations were an abomination—actually a kind of race homicide. Mulattoes were such an abomination.... Blyden was very much a product of his own time, seeing cultural differences explained in terms of biological causation.<sup>62</sup>

Miscegenation is a racist term. It confounds notions of cultural difference with a notion of separate races. There is only one human race. One of the most destructive fallacies of our time is the idea of separate races. Blyden did not, however, rank the races hierarchically as most white anthropologists did; rather he saw them “progressing along parallel lines, never converging, and hence never comparable.”<sup>63</sup> This was, in effect, a type of cultural relativism where cultures are understood as different but not better than one another. Blyden also, however, emphasized a “black is beautiful” philosophy, a welcome philosophy among West Africans in an era of extreme racism.<sup>64</sup> Still, his extensive knowledge of the West and admitted interest in the classics demonstrated a belief that different cultures could learn from each other. In addition, his writings clearly demonstrated a recognition of the importance of intermarriage in West Africa’s relationship with Arab people. It was his knowledge of how European contact had wrought untold destruction on Africa that caused Blyden to wish an end to any such contact. Blyden viewed the affiliation of FBC to Durham as a failure. He left Sierra Leone in 1881 to become President of Liberia College. He had been an instructor of the classics at Liberia College when it was founded in 1862.<sup>65</sup> Sovereign Liberia was somewhat isolated from colonial West Africa and as such provided a degree of refuge from European contact. It also offered more hope of attracting African Americans to return to Africa. In his 1881 inaugural address as President of Liberia College, Blyden outlined a very specific curriculum. He wanted to base the curriculum chiefly on mathematics and the Greek and Latin in the original texts that he believed were devoid of the “race-poison” that arose out of contemporary Western literature. Once again, he emphasized the study of languages: “It will be our aim to introduce into our curriculum also the Arabic, and some of the principal native languages—by means of which we may have intelligent intercourse with the millions accessible to us in the interior, and learn more of our own country.”<sup>66</sup>

Blyden wanted the College to seek out the positive in African culture: “We will study to cultivate whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report. If there be any virtue and if there be any praise, we will endeavor to think on these things.”<sup>67</sup> Still, he could be quite critical of the West. Addressing an audience of predominantly African-

American immigrants, he did not want Liberia College to accept a wholly Western worldview: “They [Europeans] sang of their history, which was the history of our degradation. They recited their triumphs, which contained the record of our humiliation. To our great misfortune, we learned their prejudices and their passions, and thought we had their aspirations and their power.”<sup>68</sup> Blyden absolutely rejected the cultural superiority advocated by anthropologists of the period.

The written works of Blyden and other nineteenth century African scholars such as Ajai Crowther, Africanus Horton, Orishatukeh Faduma, and A.B.C. Sidthorpe provided core material for what much later became the field of African Studies. Unfortunately, FBC did not recognize or incorporate this work into its curriculum at the time the work was produced. For example, Sidthorpe’s histories with their attention to social and economic detail would have made excellent school text-books and were, in fact, briefly used as such.<sup>69</sup> Sidthorpe, a village school teacher, historian, pharmacologist, and geographer, produced a number of works about the people and cultures of West Africa including *A History of Sierra Leone* (1868), *The Geography of Sierra Leone*, (1868), and *The Geography of the Surrounding Territories of Sierra Leone* (1892). His works, like Blyden’s, were serialized in local papers in the late eighteen hundreds. In 1893, he published a number of essays in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* including: “Sidthorpe’s History of the Dahomeans or Popos,” “The Aku or Yoruba,” “Ashantee and Fantee,” “Congo,” “Gambia and Senegal,” and “Liberia.” Christopher Fyfe has noted that Sidthorpe worked

in an uncharted field with no predecessor to guide him. What must immediately strike the informed reader today is the range of the sources he used.... Sidthorpe was not merely concerned with political history. He was writing the history of his community and sought to depict its social and economic life. He interspersed sections on customs and manners, ingeniously drawing on his authorities to describe styles of dress and dancing. He also listed the prices of commodities at successive periods.... At this date many historians in Britain, particularly those writing school textbooks, were still writing narrowly political history.... Sidthorpe writing popular social and economic history, was in the forefront of contemporary historiography.... He was a pioneer among modern African historians in collecting oral records as historical sources for written work.<sup>70</sup>

Although Sidthorpe’s, Faduma’s, and Blyden’s direct connections with FBC were minimal, all of these men were products of and contributors to a vibrant intellectual community. FBC students certainly read these men’s works and attended their public lectures. The intellectual vitality of the Krio community in Freetown offered every opportunity to the young student eager to learn.

FBC faculty and students were often much more familiar with British history and culture than with the history and culture of indigenous ethnic groups in the Sierra Leone protectorate. The College focused on the outside world to a degree that practically excluded local concerns and knowledge. FBC students tried to keep Durham University informed as to their activities, particularly as several now had had the opportunity to farther their studies for a period at Durham. A telegraph connection to England from Sierra Leone established in 1886 made it easier to send and receive news reports. Nathaniel H. Boston and Daniel G. Williams went to Durham to study the field of education in 1885. Boston delivered an address to the Durham University students that resulted in the founding of the Durham Scholarship (20 pounds annually) for students studying at FBC.<sup>71</sup>

In 1890, William J. Humphrey followed Nevill as principal of FBC. Humphrey was a strict disciplinarian. Humphrey suggested “that the educational training of Anglican clergy at the College should restrict itself to the Licentiate in Theology and that only those being trained for Grammar School or university teaching should be allowed to pursue degree courses.”<sup>72</sup> On August 18, 1892, Humphrey dismissed fifteen of the seventeen students currently enrolled. The episode was described in a weekly newspaper as follows:

It appears that in consequence of certain grievances that the students had, they deputed two of their number to state these grievances to the Principal. These two made notes of what they intended to say as aid to their memory. These notes were afterwards demanded by the Principal but as the students expressed an unwillingness to comply with the demand they were suspended. The others who deputed them refused to attend Lectures in consequence and they also have shared the same fate.<sup>73</sup>

The students’ grievances appear to have centered on the issue of whether or not they could pursue the Arts course prior to Theology. The students argued that the rules of Durham University should apply and that as fee paying customers they had the right to choose their courses accordingly. Quoting the “Student’s Guide to the University of Durham,” a correspondent to the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* noted: “It is usually safe to recommend the Arts Course even to candidates for the Holy Orders where they come from a school with a sound previous training in Classics or Mathematics. The Arts Course gives the wider and more liberal education, and it also supplies a more efficient instrument for the acquisition of future knowledge.”<sup>74</sup> Another commentator described in amazement the incident:

Some of the students have grievances; they wait on their Principal by arrangement and tell him their grievances; some of them make notes as

aids to their memory. The Principal after hearing their grievances later on demands the notes read; the students decline to give them up on the ground that they were prepared for their own private use; the Principal considers them guilty of disobedience and threatens to expel those who would not comply with his wishes—the differences become acute; the majority of the students are suspended and told to depart with all of their belongings; they depart; the College is partially closed; the Principal goes to consult the owners; the owners say that they own the College and endorse all the acts of the Principal; they entrust him with unlimited power to decide the matter; some students acknowledged the unlimited power; others take no notice of it.... Why was this little matter at Fourah Bay College allowed to assume such serious proportions, when a little tact might have settled the whole thing?<sup>75</sup>

In July of 1893, Humphrey suspended three more students for smoking in the College, although some of the students were over 30 years of age. In August of 1893, Sierra Leonean barrister, Samuel Lewis, petitioned the Governor of Sierra Leone to offer the entrance examinations for London University in Sierra Leone as a "large number of students, ... now find themselves thus disqualified for pursuing, at Fourah Bay College, the Durham University Course."<sup>76</sup> The number of university students pursuing the Arts degree dramatically declined under Humphrey's leadership. He sought to replace them with missionary students.

In 1895, according to one twentieth century Sierra Leonean scholar, Humphrey "went round the villages and the districts of the colony appealing to young men to come forward and be trained as missionaries. This was the start of the Forward Movement Plan, and the students selected were known as the Short Course Men... they went through an intensive course of study for one year, and were then sent to the [Sierra Leone] mission field."<sup>77</sup> Humphrey was killed on March 25, 1898, when he sought to carry aid during a tax war to the short course men out in the mission field.<sup>78</sup> Bai Bureh, a celebrated leader of the Loko/Temne and a nationalist whose supporters were accused of the murder, sent apologies to Freetown and had all of Humphrey's personal effects returned.<sup>79</sup> In an article in the *Sierra Leone Times* of April 2, 1898, it was suggested that Humphrey had placed himself in harm's way by attempting to "make peace between the Government and the natives." The Anglican Bishop, Taylor Smith, briefly took over the duties of principal in 1898, following Humphrey's death. Students complained that Smith required them to do manual labor and was unconcerned with their academic progress.<sup>80</sup>

The Bai Bureh rebellion or "Hut Tax War" of 1898 was a direct response to taxes imposed on the protectorate by colonial rulers. Taxation was introduced in the protectorate in January 1898 and the Hut Tax War started in February 1898.<sup>81</sup> In May of 1898, Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the colonies

“told the House of Commons that he no longer believed that the wars were due to the hut tax but that they were ‘a general rising against white rule.’”<sup>82</sup> Such inflammatory rhetoric did not take into account the fact that the funds raised through taxation were to “meet the expenses of colonial governance and reduce the burden on the British taxpayer” but not necessarily to assist local development. According to Sierra Leonean historians Conteh-Morgan and Dixon-Fyle, to the people of the protectorate, the flat-rate homestead tax “was an affront, akin to being asked to pay for the use of one’s home and land.”<sup>83</sup> In addition, there was a long history of resistance to taxation among the Krio. It took the British ten months to suppress the rebellion. They then divided the large interior kingdoms of the protectorate into many small chiefdoms, deposing any chiefs who had openly opposed British rule.

A long-perpetuated and misleading interpretation of the war asserted that “creole businessmen, missionaries, and officials were massacred in Mendeland [the Southern region] during the Hut Tax War of 1898, and the Creoles have since developed a traumatic fear of the interior.”<sup>84</sup> Rural African tactics in the Northern region were mostly defensive and aimed at frightening the enemy away. They conducted extended negotiations with the British to no avail. After surrendering, Bai Bureh was exiled to Elmina Castle in the Gold Coast. A more recent interpretation of the Hut Tax War by a pair of Sierra Leonean scholars explained:

Krio traders in Temne country [the Northern region] who were loyal to the British but sympathetic to the resistance were never attacked.... [The Mende] attacked pro-British chiefs and killed the mulatto anglophile Thomas Caulker. Some Krio traders, European missionaries, and members of the frontier police, living extensions of colonial repression to many, were intimidated and attacked in several towns.<sup>85</sup>

This more recent interpretation challenged the idea of widespread massacres, noting that the Krio/Protectorate relationship was not entirely antagonistic. By the end of the 19th century, according to one American scholar, “the British sought consistently to reduce Creole power in the administration, and to prevent the Creoles from establishing political dominance over the provincials. Many Creoles believe that, as part of this change in policy, the British intentionally encouraged Lebanese, Indian, and European businessmen to replace the Creoles in trade.”<sup>86</sup>

The British were afraid of the Krio who were more effective at developing ties with the indigenous people of the interior, particularly through marriage. Krio representation in government declined. As noted by a British scholar, “in 1887 Africans held nearly half the senior posts in the Sierra Leone government service.



Within another thirty years, though, the service had greatly expanded, they held only one in ten."<sup>87</sup> By the early 1900s, the economic success of the Krio had begun to diminish. The particulars of this loss of Krio influence were well described by a Sierra Leonean scholar of the late twentieth century.

In 1892, Creoles held eighteen of some forty senior (civil service) positions while in 1912 they only held fifteen of ninety-two such senior level posts, five of which were abolished when the incumbents retired. The loss of senior posts in the public service was compounded by Creole eclipse in trade by both the European firms and by newcomers from the Middle East, called Syrians in Sierra Leone, but mostly Lebanese in actuality. The former, with large capital, seized the opportunity afforded by the railway to establish agencies in the Protectorate, where they monopolised trade with the inhabitants while the latter, who began as street traders, soon grew prosperous enough to set up shops in Freetown and dominate the export trade in Kola, cutting out the Creole middlemen. Other developments in the first decade of the twentieth century proved inimical to the progress of the small community. In 1902 a West African Medical Service was instituted, which offered European doctors higher salaries and benefits, while African doctors were consigned to lower rates of pay and could not supersede any doctor of European parentage in the service. This development struck a blow at Creole aspirations, for Medicine and Law had been the prize professions.... Equally detrimental to Creole self-esteem was the government's plan to remove European officials from dwellings rented in Freetown to quarters at Hill Station, established ostensibly to protect them from the malaria-carrying anopheles mosquito whose ravages had earned Sierra Leone the unenviable title of "White Man's Grave." Such a move was nevertheless detrimental to racial harmony which the less restricted atmosphere of the late nineteenth century had attempted to promote.<sup>88</sup>

Despite these serious difficulties, FBC carried on, attracting students from throughout West Africa. In particular, the many Saro merchants, missionaries and teachers who had followed Bishop Crowther, Bishop Johnson and others to Nigeria from Sierra Leone were sending their children and students back to Freetown to study at FBC.

Perhaps the most important work of FBC was the training of teachers. As previously noted, this included sending a few African tutors from FBC to Durham University to study pedagogy. Despite set-backs such as the British Government's 1877 rejection of Principal Sunter's proposal for developing a teacher training program and a lack of sustained government support for teacher training scholarships, teacher training became a main emphasis of the college.<sup>89</sup> FBC opened a teacher practice school in 1894. In 1900, it established

a Normal department supported by a 580 pound annual government grant that was used to maintain twelve students.<sup>90</sup> The number of students at FBC increased that year to the extent that it became necessary for the College to rent a house in Cline Town as a College Hostel.<sup>91</sup>

The students' passion for learning gained them some recognition. In 1904, three FBC students traveled to Edinburgh to attend a Students' Conference. Following the conference, Thomas Edgar Alvarez, former Vice-Principal of FBC, delivered a speech at Oxford and commented on the diligent study habits of the students. Alvarez noted a new regulation of the College that prohibited students from studying "by lamplight before four o'clock in the morning; and though that might seem somewhat unnecessary, yet he could assure them that it was perfectly needed."<sup>92</sup> More students were admitted for the shorter course in teacher training than for degree courses. Against the wishes of the colonial government, many of these students subsequently chose to continue coursework for the full degree. The same problem had previously occurred among students admitted to pursue a License of Theology.

Church and state did not agree on a shared formula for supporting teacher training, or higher education, in Sierra Leone. Two scholars of teacher education in Sierra Leone have summarized the situation:

Early in the century, the economic viability of continuing Fourah Bay College as an institution primarily for the training of the ministry was questioned by the C.M.S. [Principal] Rowan...proposed the incorporation of the College as a nondenominational university with a separate school of theology and courses leading to locally valid diplomas in medicine, law, and engineering. Governor Leslie Probyn entered the discussion and suggested to C.M.S. authorities in London that the College be transferred to a corporate body, perhaps with equal representation among the various denominations in Sierra Leone. In May of 1905 the Anglican Bishop of Sierra Leone, after some discussion with Governor Probyn on the issue, reported his fears that the Governor would not agree to any guarantee that Fourah Bay, if so reconstituted, would be continued as a specifically Christian institution. The Bishop indicated his disapproval of any plan to turn the administration of the College over to a secular body.<sup>93</sup>

In West Africa, the battle between church and state for control of higher education continued to be won by the church.

Still, Governor Probyn was eager to educate future chiefs who could effectively participate in British administrative policies at the local (chiefdom) level.<sup>94</sup> In 1905, the colonial Government invited Reverend W.T. Balmer and Thomas Rowan, FBC principal from 1902 to 1905, to outline a curriculum for a new Bo School developed for the sons and nominees of Chiefs in the area. The Reverend James Proudfoot, a missionary, was appointed headmaster and

English was assigned a prominent place in the curriculum of the school.<sup>95</sup> The Bo School, following an accepted practice of missionary schools in the interior, paid students to attend. Families wanted to be compensated for loss of farm labor. According to European observers, African families disliked Western education as its main product was impudent children who learned contempt for farm labour. While the Bo school attempted to incorporate respect for African culture and tradition into its curriculum and daily life, the attempts were mostly superficial. Students wore African dress and ate African food but they did not study African history or philosophy.<sup>96</sup> Many graduates of the Bo School went on to attend FBC.

Rowan resigned as FBC principal in 1906 due to “internal dissension which put the management of the college on very unstable footing.”<sup>97</sup> Vice-Principal Hewitt did not want to assume the position of Principal due to differences with the CMS.<sup>98</sup> It is highly likely that these problems were connected to Principal Rowan’s failure to gain CMS support for the development of FBC along more secular lines. Hewitt, who had come with Rowan from Trinity College, Dublin, remained at the college another year and a half.

Between 1903 and 1906, the number of students at the College had dwindled from 40 to 15.<sup>99</sup> Durham University historian C.E. Whiting differs dramatically in his estimate from Sierra Leonean historian, C.P. Foray. According to Whiting, “in 1906 the number of students, including these [12] normal [students], had risen to forty, coming mainly from Sierra Leone and the sister colonies of West Africa, with now and then one or two from the West Indies.... [T]he great majority of the men were pursuing one of the university courses...and there were actually more scholars than commoners.”<sup>100</sup> However, Whiting likely misinterpreted the use of the terms “scholars” and “commoners.” Scholars referred to those students studying theology and commoners referred to students paying their own fees, most of whom pursued the Arts degree. According to Foray, “the year 1906 also saw the closure of the Normal Department at the College not this time for lack of funds but incredible to relate, for lack of students.”<sup>101</sup> The precise number of students attending FBC is difficult to determine. The actual number was probably dependent on how students were classified, as ministerial students, teacher training students or degree seeking. All the students desired a higher education.

In 1906, there were three Europeans on staff: Thomas Rowan, the principal, William Hewitt, vice-principal, and James Denton, the normal master. There were also four African tutors: Samuel Spain, Charles Lewis, Samuel Taylor, and William Macfof.<sup>102</sup> Throughout this period, African faculty outnumbered the European faculty at FBC.

In 1908, the CMS announced that it would close the college due to a lack of funds. As analyzed by one scholar:

The funds of the society [CMS] were so low that it had to discontinue its activities in the hinterland as well as the ministerial scholarships at Fourah Bay College. The very difficult question the C.M.S. had to face was, whether with such depleted funds they should maintain either the programme of higher education or the evangelistic work. Naturally, the decision was in favour of the latter step, especially as it was advanced that Africans in Sierra Leone had reached such a standard of culture and progress that they could well afford to give their children the best education available.<sup>103</sup>

In other words, Africans could be sent to Great Britain for their education. Globally, the unequal distribution of wealth and resources did not support the development of higher education in Africa. Indeed, the colonial powers did not even view Sierra Leone as a nation, rather seeing it as part of the British empire. James Johnson had been instrumental in establishing the link between FBC and Durham University in the 1870s. Once again, he found himself advocating the College's survival. As discussed by C.P.Foray,

The CMS decided after the departure of Mr. Hewitt [in 1908] not to appoint a new Principal and to close the College.... The College was saved largely through representations made by the Rt. Rev. James Johnson, an alumnus, Assistant Bishop, Delta Native Pastorate, and the Venerable Archdeacon Matthew Wilson, fourth Sierra Leonean archdeacon, also an alumnus. Bishop Johnson and Archdeacon Wilson, attending the Pan-Anglican Conference in England in 1908 were able to persuade the CMS Parent committee to reconsider their decision.<sup>104</sup>

The CMS decided to maintain support of FBC for three years and to close it at the end of that period if the college proved incapable of financially supporting itself.<sup>105</sup>

Johnson was outspoken on the role FBC should play towards advancing an education that was not simply Western oriented in thought and practice:

I refer to what is generally described as "Sierra Leone English" which is the English language Africanized.... This language instead of dying away or manifesting any moribund tendency has been spreading itself everywhere along the whole coast.... Another corrective to the weakness in Education complained of would be the use in schools of books having much of a local character in them.... If the more rational method of beginning young people's education with what is known to them and may be easily seen by them and with the use of African objects and subjects, teaching and learning would hardly fail to be perfectly intelligible. And become a source of pleasure and delight to both teacher and scholar, and

be found really effective.... More use might be made in the Schools in Sierra Leone of Sibthorpe's Catechetical Geography and his History of Sierra Leone.<sup>106</sup>

Developing a curriculum relevant to the African environment and situation remained the focus of the African critique concerning FBC.

Around 1908, another Pan-African patriot and FBC alumnus, Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford, argued for educational reform and a West African university:

I would found in such a University a chair for History; and the kind of history that I would teach would be universal history, with particular reference to the part Ethiopia has played in the affairs of the world. I would lay stress upon the fact that while Rameses II was dedicating temples to 'the God of gods, and secondly to his own glory,' the God of the Hebrews had not yet appeared unto Moses in the burning bush; that Africa was the cradle of the world's systems and philosophies, and the nursing mother of its religions. In short, that Africa has nothing to be ashamed of in its place among the nations of the earth. I would make it possible for this seat of learning to be the means of revising erroneous current ideas regarding the African; of raising him in self-respect; and of making him an efficient co-worker in the uplifting of man to nobler effort. Then I should like to see professorships for the study of the Fanti, Hausa, and Yoruba languages... Character, for instance, is the result of inheritance and environment; and there is no more subtly influential environment than the language we speak.<sup>107</sup>

Language is a chief means for expressing culture. Hayford, like Edward Blyden, understood the importance of language learning for improving West African understanding and cooperation. The use of English and French as the language of instruction in the colonies was an important part of colonial divide and rule policies. It also highlights the inherent inequalities of the colonial educational system.<sup>108</sup> Casely Hayford, future leader of the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA), turned Blyden's critique of Western Christianity into an argument for African nationalism:

The crux of the educational question, as it affects the African, is that western methods denationalise him. He becomes a slave to foreign ways of life and thought. He will desire to be a slave no longer. So far is this true that the moment the unspoilt African shows initiative and asserts an individuality, his foreign mentor is irritated by the phenomenon.<sup>109</sup>

The influence of Edward Jones, Africanus Horton, A.B.C.Sidthorpe, James Johnson, Edward Blyden, Orishatukeh Faduma, and Casely Hayford on the future development of African studies and Pan-African leaders cannot be underestimated.<sup>110</sup>

Pan-Africanism assumed international dimensions. The 1893 Chicago Congress on Africa and the 1895 Atlanta Congress on Africa were the formal origins of an organized Pan-African movement. James Johnson and Orishatuke Faduma both attended the Atlanta Congress.<sup>111</sup> Sierra Leonean T.J.Thompson along with H. Sylvester Williams of Trinidad established the African Association in London.<sup>112</sup> The African Association held its first meetings in 1897 in England. Most historians have considered the 1900 conference, also held in England, as the first Pan-African conference. Thirty-two delegates from across the African world attended the 1900 conference, including ten from Africa, three of whom were graduates of FBC. The next conference was held in 1919 in Paris.<sup>113</sup> The period immediately following World War I saw an even more dramatic rise of Pan-African organization. PanAfricanism and African nationalism emerged together to combat Western hegemony. Following World War I, Pan-Africanism with its cultural affinity for collective action increasingly became associated with Communism. Some of its most outspoken proponents were African-Americans. African-American perspectives became an integral part of a growing Pan-African movement.

FBC closely followed all these developments. In the next chapter, we will see a rise in United States' influences on the College's development. However, United States' perspectives on higher education for people of African descent at this time were predominantly segregationist, hotly debated at least in some sectors, and in a formative stage.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### An Era of Rising Nationalism, 1908–1937

FBC faced on-going financial difficulties throughout this period but managed to provide for itself primarily through African initiative. Members of the Westerneducated African elite, many of whom attended FBC, began to organize political opposition to colonial rule across the region. As noted in the previous chapter, in 1908 the future of FBC was again in peril. It survived primarily through the efforts of West Africans. In 1908, the Church Missionary Society withdrew its yearly contributions of approximately 1000 pounds and issued a warning that it could give no guarantee for the continuance of Fourah Bay College after 1911.<sup>1</sup> In addition, the CMS did not appoint a European principal for the College. Instead, a Sierra Leonean, Charles Nicholas Lewis, who had been a tutor at FBC since 1899, became acting principal in 1908 and served in this capacity until 1911. Lewis remained a tutor at the college until 1924.<sup>2</sup> The number of degree-seeking students enrolled at FBC during the first two years of principal Lewis's tenure rose from seven to twenty.<sup>3</sup> Sierra Leonean tutor, W.W.Macfoy assisted Lewis in running the College. Although the CMS withdrew its financial support to FBC, this only intensified the Pan-African call to nationalism.

Following the CMS announcement to discontinue its support for the College in 1908, James Johnson and Matthew Wilson, both of whom were graduates of FBC, made a special appeal on behalf of the College at the Pan Anglican Congress. In response

a large Thank-Offering was received. The Committee responsible for distributing that money have allotted a certain sum to West Africa and have said that it will be spent on Education. The Church Missionary Society have suggested that the money should be used for the endowment of a Clergy Training College, and that it should be associated in the first instance with the Divinity side of Fourah Bay College, but that it should be left open to the Bishops of West Africa to move the Endowment to some other College, if circumstances in the future should make that desirable.<sup>4</sup>

While a total of 5000 pounds was raised, it soon appeared that FBC would not receive any benefit from the Pan-Anglican Congress. Despite funds raised through the Congress, “in 1909, the Church Missionary Society, on account of financial stress, announced that either its support must be withdrawn and the College closed, or the latter must be restricted to the training of ministers and missionaries.”<sup>5</sup>

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of June 1909, Mayor T.J.Thompson summoned a public meeting of the citizens of Freetown at Wilberforce Memorial Hall to emphasize that the survival of FBC was an issue of “national” concern:

The question now before us is, are we going to narrow and trim down the College’s work because the Church Missionary Society which had been doing this work, and through whose instrumentality so much knowledge has been diffused on the West Coast of Africa had unmistakably expressed its inability to continue its original plan of work? I have said that this is not a denominational but a national question.<sup>6</sup>

James Denton, then Secretary of the CMS in Sierra Leone and later Principal of FBC, stressed at the Wilberforce Hall meeting the position of the CMS:

The position is this. The Church Missionary Society have all along recognized some measure of responsibility for helping for sometime in the task of training men for the Anglican ministry and mission field. What they have not said, and what indeed they have carefully refrained from saying is, that the work of training must inevitably and for all times be done at Fourah Bay College.<sup>7</sup>

The CMS had decided it could only fund ministerial students at the College and because the number of students training for the ministry was so low, the College could not be assured that these funds would be enough to continue the operations of the College. While the CMS had been unwilling to accept both principal Rowan and Governor Probyn’s 1905 proposal to hand over control of the College to the colonial government, less than three years later, the CMS was ready to close the College down. It did not want to fund a College where students were more interested in learning about Arts and Science than about Christianity. While the Sierra Leone Government Report of 1908 had recommended that FBC form “the nucleus of the great West African University which will train up the sons of Africa upon the soil of Africa so as to fit them to become the rulers and governors of the West African nations and of the Commonwealth of West Africa which is to be within the British Empire embracing all the British West African possessions,” it was also not willing to fund the College.<sup>8</sup>



Beginning in January of 1908, the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* published monthly articles under the heading of “the Future of Fourah Bay College.” The news that the College might be forced to close was a wake up call. W.T.G. Lawson, a Sierra Leonean lawyer, wrote a letter that was published in the weekly paper:

It sounds like a dream to think and hear and read in black and white that the Church Missionary Society has determined to close Fourah Bay College.... But the times are changed and men change in them. All these circumstances are fingers pointing us to the great fact that in matters social, educational and religious, as in mercantile, we must eventually *nolens voleus* be self-supporting and independent. I thank you for the manly and patriotic attitude you have taken in this all important national subject.<sup>9</sup>

Lawson addressed the letter to L.J.Leopold, principal of the Educational Institute, a commercial and industrial training school. Leopold had emphasized in an earlier fundraising plea the importance of FBC to national development by way of an international comparison:

You educate them thoroughly, you educate them well, they will then be more than armed to find a living. Will England be deemed the wiser, or America either, or even Japan if instead of the present economy they begin or even aspire to suspend or even contract each its educational code to await some visible opening to attract the educated in their country? Echo answer, No. Educate them and they will find a living.... But this we are tacitly advised to do as a wise expedient even by our own Christian and well-intentioned benefactors and guides, viz., to pull down this College as being too ornate for us today and too elaborate for our present wants, and wait for an open door before we restart.<sup>10</sup>

In 1909, a committee of predominantly Sierra Leonean churchmen that included Obadiah Moore, Claude R. Wright, Thomas J. Thompson, L.J. Leopold, E.T. Cole, and the Englishman James Denton proposed to endow the College by making an appeal to the whole of the West Coast of Africa irrespective of Colony or denomination to maintain the University-side of Fourah Bay College’s work. The committee estimated that 5000 pounds was needed in order to continue the work of the College. They proposed selling shares of 10 pounds payable in increments of at least 2 pounds 10 shillings over the course of four years. As a reassurance to donors, the Mayor noted that “we will not give our money unless we will have some voice in the management of the College’s work.”<sup>11</sup>

Other suggestions were put forward. An anonymous contributor to the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* noted:

It is noteworthy that Afric's (sic) sons are never thought of in the dispositions of fortunes amassed by strangers in Africa through the labour and assistance of the sons of the soil. How many scholarships, how many industrial or elementary schools or institutions have been endowed or established for the improvement and development of the Natives of South Africa under the testamentary dispositions of that millionaire and modern Imperialist CECIL RHODES or through the benevolence of any other South African Diamond Magnate?<sup>12</sup>

In 1910, G.Rome Hall, a British academic, proposed that funds bequested to support education by the late Liverpool shipping magnate of the Elder Dempster line, Sir Alfred Jones, be used for the founding of a Preliminary College for West Africa, of which FBC would form the nucleus.<sup>13</sup> A commentator following up on Hall's proposal noted that the proposed institution

would in reality be a university where students from various places on the Coast would associate for their mutual benefit...and through a far wider curriculum of studies for all the productive and constructive occupations which are the foundations of a country's material wealth: and one result of this training would be that we also would take a respectable part in "officering" the engineering, mining, railway, and agricultural forms of labour upon which the uprising of Africa in the future must depend.<sup>14</sup>

FBC itself pursued a number of different avenues to raise needed funds. Substantial help came through the efforts of James Denton, Normal Master, at that time, responsible for teacher training. While often serving as the CMS spokesperson in Sierra Leone due to his position as CMS Secretary, Denton actively promoted the fundraising campaign aimed at maintaining the University-side of the College's work. "This question of the University Side is one which concerns not only Anglicans, but also Wesleyans and Free Churchmen, and not only Christians generally but our Mohammedan friends as well. For Mohammedans have been to Fourah Bay in the past and I expect to see Mohammedans at Fourah Bay in the future."<sup>15</sup> Denton also hoped that "by the influx of educated Temnes and Mendis [the two largest ethnic groups in the Sierra Leone protectorate], the Fourah Bay College of thirty years hence, may be crowded to overflowing, and all financial crisis may be outgrown and forgotten."<sup>16</sup> Denton and most Western-educated Sierra Leoneans emphasized a wider, more relevant, university curriculum, in part, to attract more students willing to pay for their education.

The predominantly African call for a wider and more relevant curriculum was a constant theme of the colonial period. Lewis (FBC Principal 1908–1911) outlined the curriculum in 1913 as embracing the following subjects: “Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Greek Testament, Logic, Mathematics, Ecclesiastical History, English History, Prayer Book, The Three Creeds, Thirty-nine Articles, Greek History, Roman History, Latin Composition, Fisher’s Theistic Beliefs, etc.” He further noted: “The need for a more extensive course and larger and greater variety in the several faculties is apparent. The need for a course in Science, Engineering, Music, and Agriculture, as well as Literature, and Law and Medicine is admitted by all.”<sup>17</sup> With a few notable exceptions, the call for a wider curriculum still did not necessarily include a call for specific coursework on African history or culture. Former FBC student and tutor as well as past principal of the Grammar School, Obadiah Moore, addressed the college at the 1910 Commencement and provided advice to students about how to approach their studies:

You are African students in Africa. Your country expects and justly expects much from you.... Study therefore from the African’s point of view and not from the European’s point of view. You have to change, clarify and carry forward our people’s way and method of looking at things generally.... And when you have clearly understood the thoughts of your author, do not even then accept them as of necessity. Bring your own reasoning to bear upon the thoughts, compare them with what you might have read elsewhere. Try to find out whether the points advanced as truths are facts and, if facts, whether they are applicable and pertinent to the case at issue.<sup>18</sup>

Commencement at FBC was an important event attended by many alumni, and Krio and British elite. Local newspapers often reprinted commencement speeches. At the 1911 Commencement exercises, in-coming principal Denton remarked on a shift in the type of student attending FBC and the problems this caused for the College’s main benefactor, the CMS. According to Denton, the majority of students were no longer studying theology. This so-called shift was actually consistent with the make up of the student body under most of the preceding British clericprincipals.

Whilst on the one hand it testified to local appreciation of the education which the college was seeking to give, on the other, it made increasingly difficult the task of the C.M.S. in face of annual deficits in the College’s revenue. Although the liquidation of deficits from the C.M.S. funds might be justified so long as the main output of the College was in the direction of men trained for spiritual work, the matter assumed a quite

different aspect when, as now, two-thirds of the deficit was incurred in educating men for admittedly secular callings.<sup>19</sup>

Other funds had to be found. The Durham University scholarship which was awarded to one student each year was maintained throughout this troubled period, but no further economic assistance came through that affiliation. In response to the situation, at the 1911 Commencement, Mr. Honter, Director of Education for the colony, announced that he was willing to recommend to the government the bestowal of six residential scholarships tenable at Fourah Bay.<sup>20</sup> Of course, the government as recently as 1900 had provided as many as 12 scholarships to students of the Normal department.<sup>21</sup> Thus, though there was precedent for government support, it was both limited and sporadic.

Government schools fared little better than FBC. There were few schools outside of Freetown. As previously noted, the Bo School was founded in 1905 for the sons of chiefs in the protectorate. James Proudfoot, a missionary from the West Indies, became the school's first principal. Edward Blyden and Muslim chiefs objected to the appointment of a missionary principal.<sup>22</sup>

Bo was an important trading center. By 1910, the railroad in Sierra Leone extended from Freetown through Bo on a direct line to the diamond mining areas, although formal mining operations allegedly did not begin until the 1930s. Western education spread in this southeasterly direction with the northern interior of the country being more or less ignored.<sup>23</sup> This was, in part, perhaps due to a stronger Islamic presence in the North.

The colonial government did not make any strong commitment to funding schools or the College. The inconsistency of colonial policy and the short memory of a bureaucracy manned by foreigners whose term of office tended to last no more than a few years characterized colonial rule. One notable exception to this tendency was Denton who had first arrived at FBC in 1898 as Bursar and Accountant for the College. Denton "devised a way by which the work of the College could be carried out with no other financial burden on the C.M.S. than that required for maintaining the College building and for his own salary as C.M.S. Secretary for which, even if the College were closed, the C.M.S. would still have been responsible in order to carry on its other work in the Colony."<sup>24</sup> In 1911, both Denton and Sierra Leonean faculty member T.S. Johnson contributed part of their own salaries to help keep the College open.<sup>25</sup> Denton was also the first FBC principal to travel to the United States as an official representative of the College when he attended the International Conference on the Negro held at Tuskegee Institute in April of 1912.<sup>26</sup>

Despite such sacrifices and the extensive efforts of the College and Freetown community, the appeal fund proved effective but insufficient. C.P. Foray (FBC-Principal 1985–1993) viewed the appeal as having been ineffective: "Like many such schemes in Sierra Leone, the project was abandoned almost as quickly and as completely as it had been enthusiastically taken up. Only a few

people are said to have contributed anything and after a long embarrassing interval, in the absence of further positive response, their subscription was quietly refunded to them.”<sup>27</sup> Thompson attributed the failure of the appeal to timing in that “the age was not sufficiently ripe for the accomplishment of a scheme of endowments by means of share-holding for participation in the management of a public institution.” In addition, he noted that Bishop Johnson was also conducting a fund raising appeal for a West African Bishopric at the same time and “left no stone unturned for the achievement of his pet scheme.”<sup>28</sup> Still, these fundraising efforts eventually produced some positive results as several alumni later bequeathed funds to support the college.<sup>29</sup>

The dream of a fully funded, broadly based, African-led university lived on. In 1911, Casely Hayford, the FBC and Cambridge graduate, again took up the call for establishing a West African University in his fictional work, *Ethiopia Unbound Studies in Race Emancipation*.<sup>30</sup> The book was about a young Fanti intellectual’s education in England and subsequent return to the Gold Coast to a career of political protest. “The essential viewpoint of the book was drawn from the ideas and teaching of Edward Wilmot Blyden, who in fact had been Casely Hayford’s teacher in Sierra Leone at Fourah Bay College.”<sup>31</sup> Like Blyden, Hayford stressed the prejudicial and hypocritical treatment of Africans by Europeans:

Were there such a thing as political ethics, or a pretence or semblance thereof among Christian nations, as there is a semblance of some sort of Christianity in so-called Christian countries, it might be permissible to inquire how far the conduct of Christian nations in relation to aboriginal races, sometimes charitably called subject races, conformed to the Christian standard of morality.<sup>32</sup>

Casely Hayford, himself a lawyer from the Gold Coast, was one link in the long line of FBC-associated intellectuals and Pan-African patriots from Samuel Crowther to Edward Jones to Africanus Horton to Holy Johnson to Edward Blyden. Their influence extended beyond FBC to people such as Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. Du Bois, I.T.A. Wallace-Johnson, and Kwame Nkrumah. Casely Hayford attended the 1911 International Conference on the Negro convened by Booker T. Washington.<sup>33</sup> Like Blyden, Casely Hayford’s recommendations for Africanizing the university called for professorial chairs in the local African languages. Casely Hayford also repudiated Western dress at his proposed University. He did not want African universities to resemble Western universities.<sup>34</sup> He once sent a petition to King George V asking that a British West African university be established to preserve in the students a sense of African nationality.<sup>35</sup> Casely Hayford, and Dr. R.A. Savage, a Nigerian medical doctor, advocated a united West Africa. They helped establish the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) through discussions held

as early as 1914 at the outset of World War I.<sup>36</sup> The NCBWA was officially founded in 1918 not long after a similar organization, the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA—Sierra Leone had its own branch), which was founded in 1917.

While the economic disruption of World War I ended any hopes of raising the needed funds, the College managed to survive. As Thompson later noted, “The Great European War, which had disorganized and paralysed many a scheme and enterprise, broke out within four years of the promulgation of the [FBC] endowment scheme and its distressing effect on Missionary and other Benevolent Societies can better be imagined than described.”<sup>37</sup> By September of 1914, the whole campus was transformed into an internment camp for German prisoners of war. Students and faculty did not return to Fourah Bay until April of 1915 when the approximately 250 prisoners of war were transferred to Britain.<sup>38</sup> Sierra Leonean Erasmus W.B. Cole noted near the end of the war that FBC and the Government Model School, both displaced through the war, “met each other at the Battenberg Memorial school...attending lectures on the top story of an unfinished building.”<sup>39</sup> The College held its first convocation since 1914 in May of 1916. At the convocation, principal Denton noted that “since June, 1913, the College had met all its expenses (including all salaries) without having occasion to draw on the General Fund of the C.M.S.” Degrees conferred at the 1916 convocation included one Licentiate of Theology; eleven Bachelor of Arts; two Bachelors of Medicine; two Bachelors of Surgery; one Bachelors of Civil Law; and four Masters of Arts.<sup>40</sup> World War I largely had the effect of proving to members of the Western-educated urban elite of West Africa that they could run FBC without the help of Europeans.

The tragedy of the War helped to bring different British Christian denominations closer together. In 1917, the CMS and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) were able to agree on terms of conditions for cooperation and amalgamation to support FBC. The plan of cooperation took effect on January 1, 1918 and lasted on an experimental basis for a period of three years. As early as December 26, 1907, Pythias J. Williams, a Sierra Leonean, had proposed that the CMS and WMMS pool their resources to support FBC.<sup>41</sup> In 1908 Principal Hewitt (FBC 1907–1908) had discussed with Principal Balmer of Richmond College the very same idea. However, the WMMS rejected the plan as they were already training their own clergymen and were afraid of being absorbed by the larger Anglican institution. The 1918 agreement called for the Principal of the College to be a European appointed by the CMS, and the Vice-Principal a European appointed by the WMMS. A College Council formed with seven representatives of the CMS and seven from the WMMS. Of these fourteen, nine were Sierra Leoneans.<sup>42</sup> In 1918, Denton represented the Anglican Church as Principal and Reverend W. Turnbull Balmer of the Wesleyan Church became Vice-Principal.<sup>43</sup>

The official Anglican-Methodist agreement described the College's mission and scope:

The primary purpose of the work of the College is to train African ministers, teachers, and other workers for their respective Missions in West Africa, and also to promote generally higher education. The present basis is the Arts course of the Durham University. And for each student the academic fee will be at the rate of 20 pounds per annum and residence 30 pounds per annum.<sup>44</sup>

Sierra Leonean scholar of education D.L.Sumner believed that "after World War I the entire stock of ideas about economic, social and spiritual standards changed considerably, especially the attitude towards labour. This affected educational policy considerably, and the practical aspect of teaching was duly stressed henceforth."<sup>45</sup>

According to Harry Sawyerr, FBC principal from 1969 to 1974, the ferocity of World War I changed the focus of university teaching and afterwards Durham University underwent a thorough review and revision of its curriculum. This in turn effected some similar changes in the curriculum of FBC.<sup>46</sup> Ironically, the sponsor-client relationship between the two institutions was reversed when Durham followed FBC by a few months in opening its divinity courses to students of all Christian denominations. It was noted at the time:

Just as our new regime begins, Durham announces a series of changes that are of some interest and importance to us at Fourah Bay. First comes the fact that the B.D. Degree is now thrown open to candidates of all Christian denominations, and that as a stepping stone to that Degree a new Diploma in Theology has been instituted. So that Anglican and Wesleyan students can now read side by side not only their Arts courses but also the more general portion of their Theological Course [sic].... An even more important change is foreshadowed. Following all the older Universities, Durham intends to make its Arts Course into a THREE years course.... In the curriculum for the new B.A., a certain amount of science is to be compulsory.... Greek is no longer to be compulsory, certain modern languages being allowed to be offered as alternatives.<sup>47</sup>

The changes at Durham were long overdue. Durham's influence on FBC was decidedly conservative, grounded in Western tradition.

The net effect of all this change was not large, however, according to Christopher Fyfe: "under the dead hand of the University of Durham, the narrow curriculum [of FBC] was retained and research was ignored."<sup>48</sup> Another scholar concluded that FBC "was unfortunately limited by lack of

funds, by its religious origins and the archaism and lack of interest of the British university to which it was affiliated.”<sup>49</sup>

Following World War I, the colonial government in Sierra Leone attempted to produce an academic journal for use by British students preparing themselves for the colonial service. The founding of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in 1916 as part of the University of London also reflected the colonial government’s desire to develop expertise in Britain among students destined to become administrators in the colonies.<sup>50</sup> The new journal, *Sierra Leone Studies*, was first published by the colonial Government in 1918. It was edited by the Director of Education and the Assistant Colonial Secretary and included a “Foreword” by the Governor. FBC alumnus Hotobah During criticized the purpose of the journal and questioned the integrity of the articles:

If the originators and editors of this publication wish to interest the public with their writings on any subject, there are local periodicals by which they could do so. Why ignore them and publish a journal under the Government auspices at 6d a copy? Will the sale or expected proceeds justify the labour, time, and cost of printing? Under what heading in the Estimate is this new venture? The Notes by Alimami Omar Jambouria and by Alimami Bokhari could not have been made or written by themselves but summoned up from what the Editors no doubt understood them to mean. And one doubts whether they are authorities on the subjects their notes refer to? Their biographies are incomplete and misleading to intelligent readers.<sup>51</sup>

During also criticized the Governor’s recommendation in the “Foreword” that civil servants demonstrate competence in one of the Sierra Leone indigenous languages such as Mende or Temne. During noted that language competency alone did not qualify one for service and that some highly qualified candidates who were not able to speak one of these languages would be excluded. Krios such as During had become increasingly concerned about their future role within the larger territory of Sierra Leone where they were a privileged minority.

However, Krio interests also tended to be much broader, concerned with political issues throughout West Africa and among other diasporan communities including those in America. A Krio barrister and FBC lecturer, Samuel J.S. Bartlatt, voiced such broad concerns. He spoke openly at the 1918 FBC convocation about the wider interests of FBC graduates and the Freetown intellectual community. The main topic of his presentation was the newly released Criminal Code of Nigeria:



We are convinced that the Code bears on the front of it its own utter condemnation from the fact that it abounds in loopholes for vexatious treatments of natives of West Africa by white people who are called administrators of justice. The Criminal Code is a slave Code; and under it there is no African, however respectable his station or well-behaved in conduct, who may not be sent to prison at the pleasure of a Governor or his myrmidon. It is a Code which appears to be intended to suppress thought, suppress expressions of thought, and suppress manhood in the African. Where in all that Code of one hundred and fifty-two pages does there appear any satisfactory guarantee that innocent people arrested upon rogue charges by white people who are hostile shall not be wrongfully imprisoned and disgraced for life? <sup>52</sup>

Krio interests, economic and family ties, had sprawled across West Africa. By 1920, there were nearly as many Nigerian as Sierra Leonean students studying at FBC, many of whom were of Saro (Nigerian Krios) descent. Krios continued to be successful abroad. For example, former FBC tutor Samuel Jnason (sic) Taylor also taught at Cuttington College, Barbados and at Liberia College where he also briefly served as President. <sup>53</sup>

Krio economic power had begun to decline in Sierra Leone as other immigrants began to replace Krio influence up-country. For example, the Lebanese (also known as Syrians), who communicated in Arabic, developed a broad range of economic relationships with the people of the protectorate. Increasingly, as noted by British historian Paul Hair,

the Sierra Leone Church was finding that the generosity of its congregations was being affected by a decline in the economic standing of the creole community. As reported in 1913, “things are far from being at their best in the line of trade for our Sierra Leone Christians. The regular inpouring of Syrians is draining the towns of some of our members.”... From about 1860, Creole traders had controlled large sections of the hinterland commerce, but by the 1920s Creole businesses were everywhere on the decline. <sup>54</sup>

Lebanese businesses, like European businesses, did not invest in or contribute directly to Sierra Leone’s educational system in any significant way.

In Sierra Leone capitalist accumulation did not lead to innovation or transformation from the pre-capitalist to the capitalist mode of production and social formation. Chiefs and chiefdom officials did not become agrarian capitalists. Colonial commerce did not invest in the subsistence agricultural economy and the land tenure system remained unchanged. Expatriate capital did not enter agricultural production; British profits returned to Great Britain. Throughout the colonial period, there was no program of industrialization. The

working class consisted of urban workers in the service sector and an impermanent labor force confined to the rural mining compounds.

Throughout colonial rule, the economic class structure in Sierra Leone was divided into three levels, all of which were manipulated, to maintain the status quo. At the bottom were farmers; in the middle were indigenous traders and lower level civil servants including chieftdom administrators; at the top were the expatriate colonial administrators and European trading firms. Beginning in the early 1900's, Lebanese traders increasingly occupied the middle level. Colonial administrators favored the Lebanese over the "impertinent" Krios. The Krio struggled with a new immigrant class, Lebanese traders, to gain privileged positions in collaboration with the colonial power.<sup>55</sup> Rural class formation in Sierra Leone was not a result of economic differentiation, but a political process that granted access to colonial capital.<sup>56</sup> By incorporating the chiefs into the colonial administrative system, the British were able to immobilize rural farmers politically and perpetuate an authoritarian, fragmented and patrimonial system of native administration.

The most important group stimulating demand for Western-styled education in Sierra Leone throughout colonial rule were the Krio. The Krio went to school to learn English so that they could better understand and deal more effectively with Europeans. While the Krio continuously called for educational reform and an end to colonial rule, many of the indigenous people mistrusted the more successful Krio community whom they sometimes viewed as partners helping to maintain British rule. The British increasingly turned to the traditional chiefs for assistance in maintaining colonial rule rather than give well-educated Krios the opportunity to establish leadership through Western-recognized political means. Maintaining limited power with the chieftaincy through a system of indirect rule also fostered corruption as chiefs were paid to follow and implement colonial policies.<sup>57</sup> This, in turn, according to African-American scholar Martin Kilson, had consequences: "Peasant outbursts against the abuse by chiefs of the modern authority which they derived from colonial rule started in the early 1920s in Sierra Leone."<sup>58</sup>

In 1919, following a railway worker's strike, there was a destructive riot against Lebanese merchants in Freetown, causing substantial property damage. However, Krio political leaders were unable to harness or connect with these disgruntled masses. As Kilson has also noted, "nowhere in West Africa did the emergent elites in the interwar years reach out politically to embrace the insurgent popular forces.... The politics of emergent African nationalism was a politics of compromise and accommodation."<sup>59</sup> The National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA), led predominantly by a Western-educated African elite, failed to garner widespread popular support in Sierra Leone.

FBC alumni and lecturers were involved in the NCBWA attempts to build a political base among the educated elite of West Africa in ways that extended beyond artificial colonial boundaries. In 1920, the NCBWA sent a delegation to

meet with the League of Nations. Casely Hayford, a leader of the delegation, stressed West African unity: “We are suggesting, Sirs, that among ourselves, West Africans are West Africans. Today, anyone who has knowledge of affairs in West Africa speaks of West Africa as one...[and] the desire is that in future all West Africans should be considered as one.”<sup>60</sup> F.W.Dove, a Sierra Leonean lawyer who had also represented Sierra Leone at the 1919 Pan-African Congress in Paris, also addressed the League of Nations desiring: “firstly to effect a Union between the four [British West African] colonies.”<sup>61</sup>

At the second session of the NCBWA, FBC Professor Orishatukeh Faduma read a paper on education advocating the use of Krio language for agricultural and industrial training and the establishment of a West African University. According to *the Church Missionary Record* of 1923, “He recommended a system of colleges at different centres; for instance a college of theology, arts and sciences in one colony, two of medicine and law respectively—in another, and two—of industrial and applied sciences—in another, the teaching staff being drawn largely from Europe but gradually being replaced by Africans.”<sup>62</sup> By the early 1920s, it was a well-established belief that a single West African university could not serve all of West Africa. In a meeting with the CMS Secretary, the WMMS Secretary, and FBC principal F.B.Heiser, it was noted that “Freetown would never become the one and only university centre in West Africa, nor is it likely that any other single centre would monopolise university education; but it is more probable that if there is ever to be a West African University it would consist of a series of University Colleges in Freetown, the Gold Coast, Lagos, etc.”<sup>63</sup>

Despite the NCBWA efforts to unify the four colonies, political nationalism was firmly planted in West Africa following World War I. As one scholar has noted, “the colonial governments throughout British West Africa, possessing the power to shape the limits of political change, made it clear...that whatever advances were to be made toward greater African participation in government would be made only within each individual territory.”<sup>64</sup> Such policy excluded any efforts to establish a unified system of higher education in West Africa. Nationalism was a decidedly Western ideology, but, like education, it became an important tool against Western domination. In response to growing nationalism, a number of more internationally oriented political organization such as the League of Nations and educational organizations such as School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) developed either during or immediately following World War I. However, arguments advocating the need to learn about other people and cultures mostly aimed at defending Western interests rather than developing a sense of mutual interrelatedness. One exception was Harold J.Laski of the London School of Economics who following World War I argued emphatically for more inclusive international organizations and delineated what he saw as the inherent problems of nationalism serving to obstruct international cooperation.<sup>65</sup> International organizations were not

characteristic of those advocated by Laski, representative that is of the many different cultures and communities of the world. Rather they privileged the military and the economic power and authority that rested with the West.

Great Britain established bureaucratic institutions to oversee global educational development, a development that reinforced colonialism. The Colonial Education Department of the London Institute of Education was founded in 1927 with the object “to remove the necessity for British students to resort to foreign countries for the study of the problems of colonial and imperial education.”<sup>66</sup> Many of these students became political officers in the British colonial service.

The policy of indirect rule required that colonial administrators have at least some knowledge of indigenous African political and social systems. Sierra Leonean scholar Arthur Porter noted the weaknesses of this approach:

Notwithstanding the foundation of the African Society (now the Royal African Society) in 1907 and of the International African Institute, with its London headquarters, in 1925, interest in Africa in British universities until about the 1940s was largely confined to a study of problems of administration (how to govern the colonies!) and those parts of social anthropology necessary for this purpose.... In Oxford, Cambridge and London, special courses were mounted on colonial administration to help civil servants, missionaries and others going out from the metropolis to work in Africa. There was also an interest in African languages, almost wholly confined to the School of Oriental and African Studies of London, again for missionaries and administrators to assist them in their respective civilizing missions in Africa. But no attempt was made at any kind of organized teaching and research concerning African societies as ongoing integrated social structures.<sup>67</sup>

In 1934 the British Institute of Education created a Department for Colonial Studies which prepared students to work in education in the dependencies.<sup>68</sup> It functioned not differently from its predecessors.

In the United States, the founding of the Institute of International Education (IIE) in 1919 was also a response to a general failure to understand international relations. As the Institute itself noted four decades later: “the outbreak of World War I made plain the fact that intelligent Americans were comparatively unfamiliar with international affairs.”<sup>69</sup> The international content of United States higher education was largely in the history curriculum, the centerpiece of which was “Western Civilization.” Understanding international relations for Americans thus meant understanding European interests and conflicts.

One notable early exception to this was the work of Arthur Schomburg. Following the recommendations of people like Edward Blyden, noted AfricanAmerican historian Carter Woodson, and William E. Burghardt Du

Bois, Schomburg advocated for “the establishment of a Chair of Negro History in our schools and colleges” as early as 1913.<sup>70</sup> Perhaps the most influential work of the 1920s by an American researcher concerning Africa was *The Native Problem in Africa*, a basically imperialistic analysis written by Raymond Leslie Buell of Harvard University. Buell’s work was described later as “a comprehensive comparative examination of colonial rule where power and decision-making were in the hands of alien political elites and the legitimacy of their regimes was hardly questioned.”<sup>71</sup> Buell managed to note, although not in an entirely complementary manner, the role of FBC in training Africans to participate in the colonial structure. “The college [FBC] has been the only institution in West Africa where an African could obtain an education which pretended to correspond to the education received in an English University. Many of the leading Africans of the Gold Coast and Nigeria, as well as of Sierra Leone, have graduated from this institution.”<sup>72</sup>

The International Institute of African Languages and Cultures was founded in 1926 with funding from the Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations. Sir Frederick Lugard, former Governor of British Nigeria, was head of its Executive Council.<sup>73</sup> Cooperation between the United States and Great Britain towards developing educational policy for West Africa thus began in the post-World War I period.

#### The Phelps-Stokes Commission and Growing American Influence

The Phelps-Stokes Commission marked the first attempts of the United States to directly influence educational policy in Africa. By 1920, elitist and parsimonious British educational policy in West Africa was clearly limiting access to higher education. Simultaneously, United States educational policy for southern blacks also tended to limit black educational opportunity to vocational areas. However, the decidedly Western controversy as presented by the Phelps-Stokes Commission over “practical” vocational education as opposed to “academic” scientific and literary education in some ways missed the point. Both sides of the controversy ultimately saw relevance through a Western worldview. Both approaches had the effect of limiting economic and educational opportunity in West Africa. For example, the British-controlled approach at FBC provided a very academic experience but only to a limited few and then in a very narrow classical context. Alternative education policies that stressed nonacademic training or otherwise limited access to and control of higher education helped perpetuate economic dependency.<sup>74</sup> Western leaders did not realize that withholding educational opportunity could be counterproductive. Withholding, neglecting, and limiting education was a tool of oppression. For the subject peoples of the black South, the Caribbean, and

colonial Africa the politics of control, containment, and accommodation defined education throughout the first half of the 20th century.<sup>75</sup>

The Phelps-Stokes Commission's report on *Education in Africa* was an example of how Great Britain and the United States collaborated to develop race-based education policy in Africa. Thomas Jesse Jones, principal investigator of the Commission, and C.T.Loram, a member of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, author of *The Education of the South African Native*, (London, 1917), and Native Affairs Commissioner of South Africa in 1930, understood that a certain degree of basic and vocational education for Africans and African-Americans benefitted Western society.<sup>76</sup> Ajayi, an African scholar, credits Loram's work as having "laid the basis of the apartheid philosophy of separate development in education."<sup>77</sup> According to Edward Berman,

from its incorporation in 1911 until 1945 the Phelps-Stokes Fund based its actions on several premises: 1) that the experience of the Negro South was directly relevant to black Africa; 2) that neither the African nor the American Negro would be self-governing, or even have a large say in his welfare, in the foreseeable future; and 3) that a narrowly defined vocational education could be used to train American Negroes and Africans to become productive, docile, and permanent underclasses.<sup>78</sup>

Science education, in particular, tended to be limited to vocational training. The educational system was to provide a skilled workforce socialized to accept the role of laborer.

The 1921 Phelps-Stokes Report was the first significant study of African education led by an American. It was also a product of one of the first international commissions on higher education. Besides the American Jones and the British South African Loram, there was an African member of the Commission, J.E.K. Aggrey, who was from the Gold Coast and was teaching at Livingstone College in North Carolina when the Commission was formed.<sup>79</sup> The report essentially recommended exchanging British colonial policy for American colonial policy. The Commission advocated policies developed in the mission fields of Hawaii and further developed in the practical capitalist-oriented African-American training institutes of the American South.<sup>80</sup>

The specific recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commission regarding FBC were brief, but noteworthy:

This institution should modify the present course, almost exclusively classical and literary and intended to prepare for an English college, to a course which would provide adequately for physical sciences, including chemistry, physics, biology, physiology and hygiene, and agriculture; social studies, including modern history, economics, and sociology; modern languages; the languages of the aborigines; ethics, psychology,

and the art of teaching. Students should be shown how to minister to the community needs of the people by neighborhood activities under the direction of the college. The sympathetic attitude of the African people towards these changes is indicated by appropriations by Africans to found a department of science.<sup>81</sup>

Despite the largely negative tone of the Report, the Commission's recommendations regarding the need to study the sciences and local languages, were very similar to those that had been made by Sierra Leoneans for fifty years. The limited scope of the FBC curriculum was clearly evident to the Commission's observers.<sup>82</sup> However, not much came of the Phelps-Stokes Committee recommendations for FBC largely due to a lack of financial support and a lack of African control.

West Africans wanted an education that was academically-oriented. They wanted the opportunity to study science at the most advanced levels, not merely at the vocational level.<sup>83</sup> It was not until 1928 that a Science Department was established at FBC featuring regular courses leading to the pre-medical examination of Durham University.<sup>84</sup> Separate science buildings opened one year later in 1929.

In the United States, the conventional wisdom regarding the educational debate between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois emphasized either vocational or liberal education to the virtual exclusion of the other. This oversimplification of these men's complex views has served to obscure a process in United States higher education that at the undergraduate level tended toward blending the two approaches. Black institutions of higher education in the United States during this period offered a more diverse curriculum than has previously been supposed.<sup>85</sup> Not unlike their American counterparts, African students and faculty at FBC constantly called for a broadening of the curriculum at the College.

The British Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies was established in 1923 largely to ensure that adequate attention was paid to the views of the Phelps-Stokes Commission. According to one late twentieth century African scholar.

The report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission marked a turning point in British Education in Africa.... Britain disliked any criticism suggesting official neglect of the welfare of the colonial peoples and, shortly before and after the publication of the report of the Commission in 1922, began somewhat feverish moves in search of a consistent educational policy for its African subjects.<sup>86</sup>

However, according to another African scholar of the late twentieth century, by the early 1930s, “the Committee seemed to have begun to distance itself from orthodox Phelps-Stokes ideas and to move towards accepting the necessity for an African educated elite.”<sup>87</sup> Perhaps the most important aspect of the the Phelps-Stokes debate was that it occurred almost entirely outside of Fourah Bay; it was largely a dialog between competing camps of Western experts.

#### The Jubilee and Centenary Celebration

In 1921, Rev. F.B.Heiser (M.A. Oxford) succeeded Principal Denton. Due to illness, however, Heiser left just two years later. T.S.Johnson, a Sierra Leonean, succeeded Heiser and was acting principal in 1924. In 1925, Denton returned to head the College for a year while Johnson, then Senior Tutor at FBC, traveled to Durham University where he completed the course for a post-graduate Diploma in Teaching. The Reverend Peter Hycy Willson, also a tutor at FBC, completed the same course a few years later.<sup>88</sup> Principal Denton had served the College in various capacities for twenty-eight years by 1927 and was granted an Honorary Doctorate in Civil Law by Canon Dawson-Walker, Dean of Theology at Durham University, who traveled to Freetown for the ceremony. Dawson-Walker wondered about the future of the relationship between the two institutions:

If Durham will bend some of her efforts to strengthening Fourah Bay College as a training ground not only for clergy but for teachers; if Durham will enable Fourah Bay so to adapt its educational work as to turn out the capable teacher, ready and well-equipped for the educating of the African child, she will indeed establish her position as a great formative agency in the coming educational system of West Africa. The call that is sounding is both clear and loud. Will Durham turn to it a deaf or an attentive ear?<sup>89</sup>

A couple of years after returning to England, Heiser wrote a long article to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of FBC’s affiliation to Durham University. His article appeared before the actual celebration which was postponed. In particular he highlighted the valuable contributions of FBC alumni in West Africa, especially in Nigeria. He also attempted to describe from an African perspective the difficulties facing reformers who wanted to develop a West African University:

That a change, or widening in the direction of science, and away from the tradition of book-learning should be made at the top of the educational ladder, would do much towards removing the deep-rooted suspicion from the mind of the Sierra Leonean. Any suggestion [however] that Greek and



Latin should be dethroned from pre-eminence in the school curricula is met with strenuous opposition. While the College proffers only an Arts course this is understandable; but the root of the antagonism lies deeper. These studies are regarded as basal to culture, the culture of the white man, and any suggestion of their being abandoned is suspected of being the first step in closing the avenues of culture to the black man, with the ultimate intent of giving him only such a type of education as shall fit him to be the hewer of wood and drawer of water to his overlord.... Is not the ultimate goal a system of educational institutions which shall be wholly African, the broad basis being schools with curricula devised to meet African requirements and the apex a West African University?.... If we have a university of our own, says the African, it will inevitably hold lower rank in the eyes of the white man than an English university, and consequently its graduates will stand a poor chance of appointment to higher posts compared with men who can show an English degree.<sup>90</sup>

Such a perspective may have represented British prejudice rather than a genuine affinity to African interests. Western either-or logic led to some unfounded conclusions. Why did the British assume that a West African university would turn its back on the accumulated knowledge of Western Europe? Developing a curriculum relevant to Africa that would include learning about African society and culture did not, and does not, necessarily involve the rejection of Western society and culture. The African students and faculty of FBC had already proved themselves excellent students of Western thought. The critical issue was whether African control over the university and its curriculum might devolve into greater indigenous political control of the country. The relationship between politics and higher education was a major problem for African universities.

In the mid-1920s, the College's development included an expansion of the curriculum to include science and a teacher training certificate program. On April 6, 1925, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales laid the foundation stone for a new science building. It was also during this period in 1926 that preferential salaries for FBC graduates entering Government service were discontinued and the Freetown City Council was dissolved and reconstituted with drastically reduced African representation.<sup>91</sup> The British thus joined FBC in celebrating the development of its science curriculum but were no longer willing to allow FBC graduates direct entry into government service. FBC's curriculum expanded by becoming more practical and technical as Krio political power waned. Therefore, the British appeared to acquiesce to African demands for a broader curriculum while in reality reducing opportunities for FBC graduates to serve in, and influence the colonial regime.

The College celebrated both the Jubilee anniversary of FBC's affiliation to Durham University and the Centenary of the founding of FBC from November

21 29, 1927. The Jubilee Celebration originally planned for March of 1926 had to be postponed until November of 1927 due to a railway strike in 1926.<sup>92</sup> As part of the celebrations, the College held a conference on “University Education in West Africa” that focused on the historical development of FBC. T.J.Thompson’s Centenary history, produced to commemorate the occasion, has proved to be an essential source for the study of FBC’s history. It included numerous essays written by FBC alumni.

In one of the speeches given before guests from England at the Jubilee and Centenary Celebration, and included in Thompson’s volume, A.E.Tuboku-Metzger praised missionary contributions to education in Sierra Leone as self-sacrificing. He also noted how the CMS “not only continued to send out European teachers to help us, but had continued to provide a relay of African teachers taken to England from the very beginning up to the present time, to study from time to time the improvement in the methods of education taking place in the homeland [England].”<sup>93</sup> Such a speech was perhaps aimed at securing future assistance as much as at recognizing past contributions.

Political and cultural elements, as well as economic and scientific changes, were also addressed during the celebrations. For example, the Venerable Archdeacon E.T.Cole was quoted:

We in Sierra Leone are Englishmen but only painted black. English Christian philanthropists adopted our forbears as their children, they gave us their education and we are assimilating their culture, their outlook and their habit. We are looking upon all Englishmen as our brothers, and we are claiming therefore their privileges, their advantages, and their rights.<sup>94</sup>

Such statements exemplify the Krio elite’s political stance. Krios demanded the same rights and privileges afforded the British colonialists without fully appreciating the degree to which the rights and privileges of the indigenous people had been usurped.

The list of speakers and presenters at the Jubilee and Centenary Celebration reads like a Who’s Who of the Krio elite. In the Jubilee and Centenary Volume, Thompson lists sixty-seven FBC graduates who became principals, vice-principals, senior tutors, or inspector of schools in Sierra Leone, Nigeria, and the Gold Coast. He also listed thirty-seven lawyers, eighteen medical doctors, fifteen government officials, four bishops, five archdeacons, seven colonial Chaplains, fourteen canons, and three hundred clergymen, ministers or catechists among FBC alumni in West Africa.<sup>95</sup> Following these celebrations, the past students of FBC initiated a Past Students Fund to assist in the completion of the FBC Science Laboratory. Approximately 1000 pounds was raised through this effort.<sup>96</sup> The Jubilee and Centenary Celebration provided an

opportunity to take stock of the past accomplishments of the College and to plot a more prosperous future.

The fits and starts in FBC's curriculum development make it difficult to follow its progress. This was particularly true of the Education Department. In 1926, for example, FBC introduced a post-graduate diploma in the theory and practice of teaching (D.Th.P.T.) with just one student, A.T.Thomas, enrolled. The staff for the diploma course comprised the recently returned T.S.Johnson and two expatriate part-time lecturers, Miss Hamblett (Principal of the Annie Walsh Memorial School) and Mrs. R.E.Newton (wife of the Principal at Methodist Boys High School). In addition, according to two mid-twentieth century American researchers, "in 1926 the government provided thirty scholarships with subsistence grants for teacher training, but only four candidates were available."<sup>97</sup> Both government and missionaries agreed that the inability to attract students into the teaching profession was caused by low salaries. The Education Department was small and would remain so until after World War II. In 1927, another Sierra Leonean and honours graduate in history, Mr. F.A.J.Utting, who had just completed the Diploma course in education at Durham University, also joined the full-time staff. However, the College suspended the diploma program in teaching in 1928 ostensibly because of staff difficulties, although both of the full-time African lecturers were at the College, more than enough to meet the small demand among student applicants and not nearly enough to meet the educational needs of the country. The course resumed in 1933.<sup>98</sup>

In 1928, the colonial government approved funding for a Male Teachers Training Department at FBC, as proposed by the British Director of Education, H.S. Keigwin. Keigwin had come to Sierra Leone in 1926 having previously been the Director of Education in Southern Rhodesia. The Teachers Training Department offered a two-year non-degree program for teaching at the primary school level. The government funded the salaries for two normal masters as well as the expenses of the resident students in training, an equipment grant, and an annual grant of 200 pounds. This program marked the beginning of more sustained government support to FBC.<sup>99</sup> It also represented a lowering of standards for teacher education in that students who wanted to become teachers no longer were required to first complete a full-degree course at FBC.

In addition to needing more schools and better teachers, lowering the cost of higher education in Sierra Leone was important if enrollment was to increase. While FBC was woefully under-funded, it was terribly expensive for the average West African student. The Rev. James Claudius Omatayo During, a tutor at FBC, wrote in 1926 that one result of the "1908 episode [threatened removal of CMS funding] is that the College with the exception of the stipends of the European Missionaries has been made to pay its own way."<sup>100</sup> Although FBC struggled continuously to survive, from 1908 to 1928 the College supported itself and the College's endowment grew considerably until it

exceeded 20,000 pounds. Writing in 1930, T. S. Johnson noted, "Today we have Government, two Missionary Societies, the bequests of three Africans, all contributing towards the up-keep of the College."<sup>101</sup> Unfortunately, the Methodist and Anglican Societies failed to maintain their cooperation for the staffing and administration of the College. In 1928, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society did not appoint a Vice-Principal as set forth in the amalgamation agreement between the two societies for the maintenance of FBC in 1918.<sup>102</sup> In the mid-1930s the College again experienced financial difficulty because the Methodist grant for staff salaries was withheld and consequently led to a reduction in the African staff.<sup>103</sup>

While FBC's funding problems hindered the College's development, it might also be said that the College's poor record of curriculum development hindered its ability to attract fee-paying students. As the curriculum changed at Durham University, Durham's new branch at Newcastle took an interest in assisting in the development of the science curriculum at FBC. However, in 1929, Rev. James Lawrence Cecil Horstead, FBC principal from 1927 to 1937, announced a modernization scheme for the College that would abolish the Arts Course and further restrict the facilities provided by FBC. This caused an outrage among the Freetown community. In a letter to the *Sierra Leone Guardian* a former student recorded his protest: "against certain proposals of Mr. Horstead which aim at lowering the status of the Institution and reducing it to the position of a training centre for clergymen and schoolmasters."<sup>104</sup> Though the letter written did not state this point, this narrow objective had always been the goal behind CMS support, to "civilize" and "Christianize" the Africans, to indoctrinate rather than educate.

One of Principal Horstead's perceived problems was inadequate staff, a perennial problem at FBC due, in part, to a refusal to employ more African faculty. On February 15, 1929, a group of alumni called on the Principal to register their protest against Horstead's proposal to abolish the Arts course, a prospect that they considered to be "a retrograde step."<sup>105</sup> The CMS Secretary in London, Reverend H.D. Hooper, traveled to Sierra Leone to investigate the situation. The alumni submitted another deputation to the Secretary on March 29, 1929, advancing their argument that "the Principal had created difficulty by stressing for European experts for different subjects, instead of endeavoring to get such Africans as he could."<sup>106</sup> Once again, a European principal called for limiting the FBC curriculum due to the high cost of hiring European staff without considering the possibility that qualified Africans were available. The alumni deputation did not necessarily intend that Africans should be paid less, rather they understood that the CMS could realize substantial savings if they did not have to pay the high costs of relocating Europeans. CMS official Hooper sided with the alumni when he advised that African teachers be trained, as necessary, to teach the required courses. However, the science courses throughout the 1930s were taught exclusively by faculty from Britain: Noel

Wallace Eades (1928–1930), John Coulter Beggs (1930–1933), Hubert Brandwood (1933–1937), Ernest Henry Longbottom (1937–1939), and Eric Downing (1939–1943). Increased provision of European faculty to the FBC staff followed the end of World War II. Prior to this point, the staff at FBC had been primarily African.

As previously noted, not all of the external influences on FBC were British. By the 1930's a number of West African and Sierra Leonean students had begun to seek higher education in the United States, but not without some difficulty. In particular, they faced discrimination when trying to find employment upon returning home. For example, Ross Lohr, a Sierra Leonean who graduated from Otterbein College, Ohio in 1927, taught at Tuskegee for a year and completed a Master's degree from Columbia University. He had been groomed by Thomas Jesse Jones to return to Sierra Leone to work in the field of education, but was unable to secure a job in his chosen field.<sup>107</sup> The cause of such situations was addressed by an African who also studied in the United States:

In early twentieth-century Africa, particularly in Sierra Leone, serious attempts were made to discourage students from going to the United States to further their education. There was, then, a widely held belief that America was a “hotbed of sedition.” So great was the fear of enlightenment that students who had been to the United States were considered a dangerous threat to colonial rule. In Sierra Leone, those who had returned from study in the United States were denied employment in the Colonial Services on the pretext that they were not qualified.<sup>108</sup>

British colonial administrators also worried that the American higher education system taught students “a little bit about something, but not very much about anything.”<sup>109</sup> In other words university curriculum in the United States was seen as too broad ranging and without real depth. This attitude persisted well into the 1960s.<sup>110</sup>

Lincoln University, in Pennsylvania, an institution with a similar history to FBC, was host to a number of future African leaders including Francis Kwame Nkrumah, (first president of the republic of Ghana) and Benjamin Nnamdi Azikwe (first president of the Republic of Nigeria).<sup>111</sup> A fellow student at Lincoln with Nkrumah and Azikiwe, Sierra Leone-born Tiwo Oluwah Dosumu-Johnson later served as the Liberian delegate to the United Nations under two presidents. Lincoln University alumni returning to West Africa were particularly active in the political independence movements of the region. Writing in 1980, Dosumu-Johnson asserted: “In fact, one can claim both literally and figuratively that the new Africa the Africa of change and emancipation—was born some forty-odd years ago on the campus of Lincoln University.”<sup>112</sup> Lincoln University also played a significant role in the development of the Pan-African movement.

Pan-Africanism in West Africa emerged as a socialist ideology, following World War II. British and American policy increasingly came together against African socialism, which was equated with communism. Within West Africa, the next great Pan-African leader following Casely Hayford was Sierra Leonean Isaac Theophilus Akunna Wallace-Johnson. Wallace-Johnson had lived for 15 years as a child in England, and had studied for eighteen months at the People's University in Moscow during which period he shared a room with Jomo Kenyatta. Kenyatta led the independence movement in Kenya and became its first elected president. Prior to World War II, Wallace-Johnson founded numerous political organizations in Nigeria, Ghana, and Sierra Leone. He was imprisoned in and ejected from all three countries at different times through his long career. Nkrumah met with Wallace-Johnson in Sierra Leone on Nkrumah's return trip to the Gold Coast from the United States.<sup>113</sup> According to one Ghanaian scholar, Wallace-Johnson, not Kwame Nkrumah, was the first West African to advocate socialist policies.<sup>114</sup>

Wallace-Johnson's connections to FBC were remote; however, it is difficult to separate the College from the intellectually oriented Freetown community with its numerous Pan-African ties. Wallace-Johnson seized every opportunity to get young people involved in social activism and civil responsibility. However, he was not well-liked by the majority of the conservative Krio elite who felt threatened by the idea of empowering the rural indigenous population.<sup>115</sup> Wallace-Johnson was one of the most politically active members of the West African Students' Union.<sup>116</sup> During the 1930's, he served as the General Secretary of the African Workers Union of Nigeria. He also founded the Gold Coast Worker's Protection Association, the Gold Coast Motor Car Union, the West African Youth League, and the West African Civil Liberties and National Defense League. He worked to establish greater unity between the Colony and the protectorate, between the urban Krio of Freetown and the rural population of Sierra Leone. In 1939, colonial officials in Sierra Leone imprisoned him as a security threat and did not release him until 1944.<sup>117</sup>

Wallace-Johnson criticized colonial education:

I indict the Government for being disinterested in the development of the educational status of the people. I indict the Educational Department especially for negligence and incompatibility [sic] to shoulder its responsibilities. I indict the Director of Education for not thinking out some appreciable thoughts for the development of African Education in the country and for attempting to apply a brake to its progress.<sup>118</sup>

In a manner reminiscent of Blyden and Casely Hayford, Wallace-Johnson wrote in an article entitled, "European Christianity," that "The white man...has proved that western civilization and European Christian ethics are nothing but a

farce and that after all, the sum total of the Christian faith and doctrine is Blessed are the strong, for they shall weaken the weak.”<sup>119</sup> Here again, we have an example of an African challenge to Western hegemony.

A member of the Pan-African Federation founded after World War I, Wallace Johnson noted its objectives: “(1) to demand self-determination for the African Countries; (2) to secure equality of civil rights; and (3) to promote the well-being and unity of the Africans and people of African descent and other nations with similar aspirations.”<sup>120</sup> These views were widely disseminated and they were well-understood by the faculty and students of FBC. In an article entitled “African Thought on African Education” that appeared in the *Sierra Leone Daily Guardian* of September 5, 1936, Victor King, then vice-principal of FBC, wrote: “Africans were everywhere economically dependent on foreigners. The first requisite of an African educational system was that it should enable Africa to achieve economic independence. Political independence would be useless unless economic independence were first achieved.”<sup>121</sup>

King and Harry Sawyerr, FBC principal from 1968 to 1974, were both students and tutors at FBC in the 1930s. One of the most influential students at FBC with King and Sawyerr was Robert Kweku Atta Gardiner, who entered the College in 1937. After graduating from the London School of Economics, he returned to FBC in 1943 to begin teaching the first courses in Economics there.<sup>122</sup> He later left the University to serve in the United Nations. Other influential FBC students of the period included Edward Blyden III, who after returning from Lincoln and Harvard Universities founded a political movement aimed at uniting Krio and protectorate interests, and John Karefa-Smart, a Columbia graduate who also entered national politics upon his return to Sierra Leone.<sup>123</sup> These FBC alumni played prominent roles in the development of the College and the political development of Sierra Leone and West Africa. Politics and economics would dominate the next period of FBC’s history.

FBC’s ability to survive colonial oppression and exploitation may be attributed to its commitment to promoting excellence and developing cross-cultural understanding and collaboration. However, FBC’s inability to thrive may also be attributed to its over-reliance on foreign ideologies and structural patterns in its development. Both the College’s supporters and detractors made their arguments with great skill. In fact, FBC did thrive for a brief period during and immediately following World War I. It was a period of relative isolation from foreign intrusion into the affairs of West Africa and the College. But the discovery of large deposits of diamonds and other minerals in Sierra Leone and West Africa in the 1930s quickly changed all that. African natural resources encouraged European expansionism.

Beginning with the 1938 Cambridge-Pickard Commission, the colonial government began to take responsibility for funding higher education in West Africa. In the 1940s, several British-lead Commissions made important

recommendations directing the development of higher education in West Africa for the next twenty years or more. These commissions will be discussed in [Chapter Six](#). The 1950s and early 1960s saw numerous Europeans and Americans traveling to Sierra Leone to teach and conduct research while many Sierra Leoneans traveled out to pursue their studies. However, it was also a period in which Western and African leaders simply continued to abuse a highly exploitable and elitist international system. FBC and other African universities became pawns and scapegoats in a corrupt and highly competitive global system. The Cold War wreaked havoc with the idea of developing collaboration or mutual understanding. The next section attempts to chart the changing ideological contexts for “development education.”



## PART THREE

### Development Education, 1938–2001

What is development education? The concept of development education connotes a state of “undeveloped” or “underdeveloped” that manifested itself in the pejorative nomenclature of colonial racism. Western theorists often equated traditional society with primitivism.<sup>1</sup> Europeans came to Africa to “conduct commerce,” “civilize the heathens,” and “spread Christianity.” They largely failed to value or appreciate African culture, institutions, languages, history, literature, art, music, philosophy, religion, economics, social exchange, or rites of passage. The concept of underdevelopment through the imposition of colonial educational systems has received much attention.<sup>2</sup> However, at least one author has noted that critiques of colonial education reached a point where: “colonizers are blamed both for not having provided enough schools and for having the temerity to provide schools at all.”<sup>3</sup> Development education was part of a process of modernization. Modernization implied enlarging popular participation in economic development through the creation of bureaucratic organizations that would marshal resources in a more rational and efficient manner than had been the case in traditional nonWestern societies. This section analyzes the role and contributions of FBC to national and international development, paying attention both to the critiques of development education as neocolonialism and the limits of these critiques.

In 1938, the first of numerous educational commissions convened to set development plans for higher education in British West Africa. The era of the foreign “expert” was born. This section evaluates the concepts of Westernization and modernization in relation to mid and late twentieth century university development in Sierra Leone and West Africa. It examines how Western economic systems and political structures vied for acceptance in the African milieu. It emphasizes British and United States policies towards Africa during the Cold War. It also demonstrates how some African and Western leaders through neocolonialism and the Cold War maintained the exploitative practices of the colonial past for specific political gains.

## Neocolonialism

African nationalism gained momentum throughout the 1920s and 1930s. World War II first interrupted and then gave impetus to a burgeoning independence movement in Africa. The demands of the War exhausted European resources and it became clear that both African soldiers and resources were important to the Allies' (Britain, USA, France, Soviet Union) success. Colonial governments frantically sought to improve their relationships with Africa by promising the political franchise to Africans as well as supporting African development. At the end of World War II, it was obvious that "Africa was vital to the survival of the Western productive system."<sup>4</sup>

Sierra Leone was the source of an extremely important commodity, industrial diamonds. Since the early 1930s when formal mining of iron ore and diamonds began, there had been a significant economic shift in the activities of the country. Between 1930 and 1955, there was little to no increase in the agricultural exports of Sierra Leone. In contrast, the share of minerals in total export revenues increased rapidly from twenty-one percent in 1933 to seventy-three percent in 1938. In 1955, mineral exports stood at fifty percent of the country's total export revenue. From 1930 until at least 1955, a British Company, Sierra Leone Selection Trust Limited (SLSTL), had a monopoly over the entire diamond mining industry.<sup>5</sup> In that latter year, as noted by Ghanaian leader Kwame Nkrumah:

Following protestations from the people, especially in the rich diamond region of Konor, the extent of its [SLSTL] concession area was reduced to some 209 square miles, then the extent of the company's existing working [sic]. The curtailment of rights, however, was more apparent than real. The concessionary rights are for thirty years, but restricted rights were granted over a further 250 square miles, of which a hundred have since been taken up. The company is also allowed to prospect for deep deposits of diamonds anywhere in Sierra Leone, for a period of not less than ten years; and to mine them. That the agreement was a sham is proved by the undertaking given by the then Colonial Government not to grant before 1975 to any applicants other than Sierra Leonians, or companies in which the beneficial interest or greater part of it is held by Sierra Leonians, any diamond prospecting licenses or leases without first offering such licenses or leases to Sierra Leone Selection Trust. Though this virtually gives a free hand to the company, the Government nevertheless made it a payment of 1,500,000 pounds to compensate for supposedly lost opportunities.<sup>6</sup>

Nkrumah also exposed the close relationship between supposedly rival companies, Sierra Leone Selection Trust (SLST) and the Diamond

Corporation. SLST was a subsidiary of the British-owned Diamond Corporation. Nkrumah described the exploitative economic relationships linking Africa to the colonial powers as “neocolonialism.”<sup>7</sup>

Throughout the colonial period, there was little or no program of industrialization in Africa. The working class consisted of a small number of urban workers in the service sector and an impermanent labor force confined to the rural mining compounds. Taxes on legal mining provided a valuable source of revenue to the colonial government. British authorities stringently policed “illegal” mining operations that denied the government revenue. However, as Europeans and Sierra Leoneans discovered even greater deposits of alluvial diamonds (easily excavated by hand), there was a dramatic increase of informal mining operations and illegal trafficking. Policing this activity proved difficult.

Ian Fleming, an Intelligence Officer with the British Navy in World War II who later became famous for his James Bond novels, wrote a brief expose on the illegal diamond trade noting that Sierra Leone was home to the “biggest smuggling operation in the world.”<sup>8</sup> Post-independence governments spent increasing amounts of money on policing efforts to little or no avail. Another British author, Graham Greene, in his famous novel, *The Heart of the Matter*, also examined British corruption and the illegal diamond trade during World War II.<sup>9</sup> Under the colonial system political power translated into personal wealth. As evidenced by the narratives of Sierra Leonean authors such as Abioseh (Davidson) Nicol, Raymond Sarif Easmon, Lemuel Johnson, Syl Cheney-Coker, and Yulisa Amadu Maddy, corruption remained a theme in the political and economic life of the country following independence in 1961.<sup>10</sup> Critical observers were concerned that the new leaders of independent Africa replaced colonial administrators without replacing exploitative structures and corrupt practices. Indeed, systemic problems were more troublesome than individual cases of larceny or embezzlement.

Throughout the post-World War period, there was very little anti-imperialist political ideology in Sierra Leone committed to severing ties with Europe. Instead, the Krio attempted to maintain privileged positions in collaboration with the colonial power.<sup>11</sup> As a result, the transition from colonial rule to independence in Sierra Leone was relatively peaceful.<sup>12</sup> Krio dominance of the more privileged positions in the state and the professions likely followed from the educational imbalance between the Krio and the rest of the country.<sup>13</sup> No doubt, the Krio benefited from their long experience with Western education. African independence was a movement which relied on its substantial moral authority, but it was also a consequence of economic and political conditions as colonial governments could no longer politically afford to fully finance foreign development schemes. For the colonial powers, there was great advantage in granting political independence while maintaining favorable trade relations. Consequently, circumstances conspired to move African leaders from the moral high ground to political maneuvering in order to survive amidst Western

power struggles. At the same time, nationalism became the new religion of the post-colonial era, exemplified by Kwame Nkrumah's famous statement: "Seek ye first the political kingdom [and] all else will follow," and so independence acted as an intoxicating opiate hiding deeper more complex problems and relationships.<sup>14</sup>

The rise of the field of development economics, the movement that animated neo-colonialism in Africa, has been attributed to the success of the Marshall Plan in Europe following World War II. Development economics had its roots in theories of import substitution that asserted a need for investment in industrialization to transform rural underemployment. On the one hand, models of import substitution were protectionist and isolationist. On the other hand, investment and technical know-how was to come from wealthier countries supposedly to benefit both themselves and so-called developing nations.<sup>15</sup> Economic development policy became a technical task of improving efficiency. Schools became the principal purveyors of training for the modern labor force. Whereas previously missionaries supported schools, now states supported schools. Greater educational opportunity was the way to reduce social inequality. The demand for Western education and material goods seemed insatiable.

Modern notions of African development derived from Western policies and practices. Western governments and philanthropic organizations financed many high profile projects. Ostensibly, at the end of World War II, Great Britain wanted to prove its gratitude for African assistance in the War and to compensate for the reluctantly acknowledged neglect that had occurred throughout the colonial period. Between the end of World War II and the achievement of African independence, the British government supported African leaders willing to continue British policies and structural arrangements. Independent Africa's adoption of inherited Western institutions and political infrastructure resulted in the continuation of foreign ideologies and development policies. State-led modernization in Africa characterized domestic development policy while Western capitalism dominated international policy. A pervasive and controlling role for government was characteristic of the era. Africa's reliance on government stemmed in large part from the colonialist legacy of heavy-handed government. In addition, traditional political systems had been corrupted and stripped of much of their legitimacy during colonial rule. Traditional leaders did not regain authority or power with independence, and most African governments set out plans for modernization under the influence of a decidedly foreign ideology.

The period following World War II leading up to independence (1948–1962) was less one of de-colonization than of neocolonialism.<sup>16</sup> During this period, "it took far more human resources and money to de-colonize than [it had] to colonize, and far more governance than in the old days of minimal government and indirect rule."<sup>17</sup> Dependency theory asserted a model of center and

periphery status in which developing countries served the needs of developed countries.<sup>18</sup> Critics conceded the descriptive power of dependency theory but also noted that it offered few, if any, solutions to problems. From World War II on, an ethos of scientific progress contributed to an ideology of international development, where “development, Westernization, and modernization were synonymous.”<sup>19</sup> While there was a sense of urgency concerning the menaces of an H-bomb war, overpopulation, and the widening gap between rich and poor, science was seen as the ultimate solution for such problems.<sup>20</sup> As one scholar has concluded:

This Western, particularly North American, faith in the idea of progress derived partially at least from the belief that 20<sup>th</sup> century scientific discoveries and their technological applications finally made available the means to control the natural world for the betterment of humanity. But it was widely agreed, that predictable laws of scientific behavior were not matched by comparable laws of social behavior. A science of society was needed.<sup>21</sup>

Human capital theory arose to fill this need, according to one scholar: “The investment in man concept provided an umbrella that could cover both the conservative elements of given societies, who were interested primarily in economic growth, and their more radical cohorts, who saw in educational expansion equalization of opportunity, income, and, ultimately, power as well.”<sup>22</sup> Through research and technology, Western universities assumed responsibility for transforming developing countries and their universities, to fit into a global society.<sup>23</sup>

As Marxist ideology, which saw workers as the basic unit of production, emerged as an important counterpoint to the Western worldview, education in West Africa aimed at teaching literacy to supply the anticipated growth in an industrial workforce. The question of how “to guide the colonial territories to responsible government” took on greater urgency and importance as Cold War tensions increased. Roger Fieldhouse has argued that Great Britain exercised a careful censorship over the politics of education in West Africa. Western governments and colonial administrators wanted to develop a sense of belonging to an international community. They did not want an African citizenry questioning the market system, international pricing, rates of pay, taxation, or other terms of trade. They did not want Oxford tutors or African students questioning colonial policy. Great Britain, therefore, obstructed the teaching of communist and socialist ideas in West Africa.<sup>24</sup>

The newly independent government of Sierra Leone proved to be in step with Britain. John Hatch, a former Commonwealth Officer of the British Labour Party who was hired as Director of Extra-Mural Studies at FBC in 1961, was expelled from Sierra Leone for socialist views published in the *New*

*Statesman* in 1962.<sup>25</sup> Another British Professor, John Rex, was refused a visa because of his communist views.<sup>26</sup>

### The Cold War

The development era coincided with the Cold War. Politics and economics eclipsed and determined social and cultural policy. However, political independence in Africa did not result in economic independence.<sup>27</sup> The Cold War came to Africa in spite of African attempts to remain nonaligned.<sup>28</sup> The United States and the Soviet Union attempted to supplant the old colonial powers and to carve out their own spheres of influence even though Great Britain and the other colonial powers were not ready to relinquish power. Tension between the United States and Great Britain was often greater than that between the United States and the Soviet Union.<sup>29</sup> The United States pressured Great Britain to cede colonial control to African governments so that the United States could gain greater access to African markets and resources. In Africa, the Cold War encouraged political clientage.

From the British and United States perspective, communism was an undifferentiated monolith. In contrast, African governments attempted to develop their own approach to the political, social, and cultural concerns of newly independent Africa. Under the leadership of people such as Kwame Nkrumah, Leopold Senghor, and Joseph Nyerere concepts such as Pan-Africanism and African socialism became prominent. African socialism advocated government-led development while permitting access to and investment by private capital.<sup>30</sup> According to African specialists,

the word “African” is not introduced to describe a continent to which a foreign ideology is to be transplanted. It is meant to convey the African roots of a system that is itself African in its characteristics. African socialism is a term describing an African political and economic system that is positively African not being imported from any country or being blueprint [sic] of any foreign ideology.<sup>31</sup>

While African socialism bore little resemblance to Russian or Chinese communism, it still threatened Western capitalism, particularly in terms of its more traditional aspects emphasizing shared land use and communal labor.

Perhaps most threatening of all, the newly independent states of Africa were determined to break colonial monopolies even if it meant replacing the colonial power’s monopoly with an African monopoly. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs during President Kennedy’s administration, understood that African socialism was very different from Marxist socialism. Furthermore, he believed that African non-alignment was a manifestation of African independence. It honored the sovereignty of nations

and would, if allowed, contribute to peaceful progress.<sup>32</sup> However, while African non-alignment was practical; it was also opportunistic and therefore exploitable. The United States' intense fear of communism was also exploitable. George Shepherd, a political analyst of the Kennedy-Johnson era, argued for United States assistance to Africa in light of the communist threat.<sup>33</sup> The Peace Corps was created during the Kennedy administration to counter communism and Africa and the world were flooded with young Americans to promote the capitalist, democratic image. Meanwhile, communist support for African liberation and self-government in white minority ruled Southern Africa highlighted contradictions in the policies of Western democracies.<sup>34</sup>

In response to Cold War animosity, the Sierra Leone government developed an opportunistic approach to foreign policy.<sup>35</sup> Foreign aid, however, threatened African sovereignty. United States funding for development projects in Africa amounted to gifts, to influence peddling, and to policies practically void of local initiative or ownership. The United States and the Soviet Union began an education, media propaganda, and funding war over the developing world. United States policy concentrated on thwarting the threat of communism and promoting the values of capitalism. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations began to support international education efforts in Africa and around the world. James Coleman estimated that during the 1950s and 1960s, USAID spent more than one billion dollars and the Ford Foundation over two-hundred million dollars on university development in the Third World.<sup>36</sup> Edward Berman estimated the combined expenditures for international education of the Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie Foundations in 1955 at 32.5 million dollars, in 1960 at 87.5 million dollars and in 1965 at 138.5 million dollars.<sup>37</sup> According to Mennen Williams, the United States Agency for International Development (AID) contributed \$177 million in 1966 and \$203 million in 1967 to Africa, or approximately seven percent of United States aid globally.<sup>38</sup>

Foundations such as Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller wanted to help other countries mold their social, political, and economic institutions in ways congruent with American patterns.<sup>39</sup> Demonstrating to foreign countries the benefits of capitalism and democracy was not so much a conspiracy as it was the result of shared values and beliefs among powerful, wealthy, and highly educated Americans. Good intentions, however, also had unintended negative results. The men who held positions of leadership within the foundations also held influential leadership positions with the World Bank, the United States federal government, and in private enterprise. They could only conceive of development through the vehicles of their own success: technology and capitalism. The foundations supported universities in developing countries to shape the character of leadership, to increase stability, and to advocate orderly economic growth and peaceful evolutionary change.<sup>40</sup> Such action, while often

aiding the maintenance of the status quo dominance of a small African elite, was also disruptive to traditional African society.

International education programs funded by the United States Federal Operations Administration in the 1950s and by the Agency for International Development in the 1960s involved mostly prestigious United States research universities. These universities took on international assistance (development) projects based on Western knowledge and cultural norms that often were inappropriate and unsustainable.<sup>41</sup> In addition, the Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations along with the United States federal government

provided vast sums of money to assist many [United States] universities to set up centres for teaching and research in “non-Western” cultures and languages. The main reason for the sudden emphasis was a belated recognition that the U.S. was abysmally ignorant of many foreign lands, and that this should be remedied rapidly because of America’s new international position since the end of World War II.<sup>42</sup>

Area Studies centers brought together multidisciplinary teams and emphasized interdisciplinary approaches to the study of culture.

#### African Studies and Curriculum Politics

The modern concept of African Studies developed outside of Africa. According to one contemporary African scholar, “there is no African history except this hodgepodge that you Americans have put together...to get a discipline out of it, so that your brothers and your cousins can get jobs, outside the conventional areas of Plato and Aristotle.”<sup>43</sup> Critics also wondered how foreign scholars working in Africa could learn about African cultures when they did not speak any of the local languages. An even greater concern entailed foreign governments’ use of visiting scholars to try to identify and label African leaders as ideological friends or foes. A British scholar noted that “a number of scholars who were making studies of various sorts unfortunately...tended to be turned aside into political scientists studying the elections and the government.”<sup>44</sup> The African-American Institute was heavily funded by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) during the 1950s and the Ford Foundation was concerned about CIA agents attempting to extract information from Foreign Area Fellows.<sup>45</sup> In the 1960s and early 1970s at FBC, “lecturers led antigovernment demonstrations openly, expatriates as officials of the Senior Staff Association organized them.”<sup>46</sup> Outside Africa, African studies focused on the modern politics of Africa. Within Africa, only a few cursory studies examined traditional African political systems.<sup>47</sup>

In the early 1960’s, John Wilson, Senior Lecturer in the Department of Education in the Tropics at the University of London, lectured to students at the



Columbia University Teacher's College about the importance of education in West Africa for resolving the contradictions between traditional and modern ways of life. He viewed education as directing economic development. Wilson believed that the transition economies of Africa were largely "unable to apply the fruits of modern science to the regular manipulation of environment to economic advantage." He believed that Africa had "no immediate alternative but to import teachers from other parts of the world."<sup>48</sup> Western social scientists and educators such as Wilson assumed that the spread of capitalist culture—a market economy and individual competition—increased everyone's well-being.<sup>49</sup> Market growth for Western consumer goods depended upon the spread of Western values. The universities of the new nations of the post-colonial Cold War era supplied the necessary manpower and markets for growth-oriented Western capitalism.<sup>50</sup> According to Wilson: "resolving such problems means persuading, by education—formal and informal, societies that are still largely traditional, that their whole way of life including their religious attitudes and beliefs, has to be changed."<sup>51</sup> More recently, another scholar reacted critically to views like Wilson's: "That education can be seen as the major institution alleviating fundamental conflicts between ethnic minorities, social classes, regional and linguistic groups at the same time that it is called upon to redistribute power status between them is a tribute to the almost mystical efficacy we attribute to this institution."<sup>52</sup>

African traditional culture, education, and political systems were not recognized as viable institutions by the West. Education in Sierra Leone may have attempted to develop a shared sense of national identity, but it did not emphasize learning the language, customs, or culture of different ethnic groups. Rather than teaching how European powers exploited ethnic differences to supply the slave trade and maintain colonial rule, nationalist history as taught at FBC and in schools throughout the country emphasized the abolitionist role in ending the slave trade.<sup>53</sup>

Following independence and attempting to break away from the neocolonialist policies of the post World War II era, curricular and political issues dominated life at FBC. The chapters that follow attempt to evaluate the relationship between internal and external actors on the development of FBC. [Chapter Six](#) focuses on the transition from British rule. [Chapter Seven](#) emphasizes curriculum developments particularly in relation to African Studies and educational relevance. [Chapter Eight](#) assesses the impact on and the involvement of FBC in the political and economic developments of Sierra Leone.

The politics of curriculum development at FBC reflected difficult issues facing the country as a whole. The historical influence of British colonial rule at FBC manifested itself through a traditional emphasis on Christianity, the English language, and British history. It was not a coincidence that theology, English, and history were the first three disciplines at FBC to develop

coursework focused on Africa.<sup>54</sup> These were the strongest academic departments. The first three principals at FBC following independence came up through these departments: Harry Sawyerr (theology), Eldred Jones (English), and Cyril Foray (history).<sup>55</sup> Still, interest and expertise in British history and literature at FBC far outweighed that in Sierra Leonean history and linguistic studies. Science and economics were next in importance at FBC as they spoke to Sierra Leonean demand for a modern education. The natural sciences, however, applied Western theoretical models to local conditions and were not conceived as relating to African conditions. Policies advanced by an urban educated elite tied to the productive systems of the West rarely spoke for rural agriculturalists or pastoralists. The social sciences, too, emphasized Western theoretical constructs. The field of economics, especially, tended to denigrate local knowledge.<sup>56</sup> Political science, which might have lent itself more to an African perspective, was taught through the department of economics and extra-mural studies. Political science did not develop as a separate department at FBC until 1965 and was then staffed primarily by visiting scholars.<sup>57</sup>

### Economic and Political Realities

Christopher Allen observed that “Sierra Leone’s recurrent economic crises are the result of its incapacity to control key elements of its economy, together with three factors arising from the political system: the necessity for politically-inspired public spending, the growth of corruption, and diamond smuggling.”<sup>58</sup> He asserted that the government pursued expensive and dubious projects rather than explore cheaper alternatives and that it distributed patronage to chiefs for their support in elections. This led to the creation of an elite upper-class characterized by the accumulation of capital through political power usually in the form of bribes and kickbacks. It represented the continuation of a system that had originated under colonialism.

Despite declarations of the 1960’s and 1970’s as the “development decades,” many African countries, including Sierra Leone, faced persistent and accentuated economic, social, and political problems in those years. The failure of Western prescriptions for development in Africa as advanced through foreign aid projects led to increasing distrust among Sierra Leonean academics. By the mid-1970s, a serious cynicism had replaced the optimism of the post-war period. Increased provision of schools had not significantly altered the socio-economic and political systems oppressing the poor. The benefits of education were neither immediate enough nor sufficient for those anxious for change. When employment opportunities for college graduates stagnated, higher education became more threatening than empowering to an increasingly corrupt and authoritarian government. Under such conditions, young African students posed a political risk rather than an economic or social advantage.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, as the political process in Sierra Leone was corrupted through the increasingly predatory and self-interested regime of Sierra Leone President Siaka Stevens (1967–1985), student protests at FBC grew ever more frequent and desperate. As FBC suffered budget cuts due to the everworsening economic situation, more and more faculty resigned and left the country. Economic decline accompanied political oppression. The promise of freedom and justice following the African independence movements of the early 1960s had, by the mid-1980s, changed to a chorus of desperate pleas for peace and unity.

While higher education in West Africa had often bought into the myths of Western development, by the 1980s, FBC was much more critical of the value judgements behind such concepts of development and sought to redefine the meaning of development.<sup>59</sup> African scholars recognized that there was little choice when Western governments defined the goals and methods for development. Sierra Leonean scholar, Arthur Abraham, openly challenged the relevance of culturally loaded assumptions concerning the utilitarian benefits of modern technology:

The developing countries of today have all been victims of colonialism in the recent past. Colonialism itself was imposed because of the technological superiority of the colonizers. This has therefore led to a serious misconception equating technological superiority with superiority of culture—in other words, the idea that technology is the same as culture. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Yet many people believe in the superiority of the way of life of the technologically advanced countries.<sup>60</sup>

In 1987, Magbaily Fyle, Arthur Abraham's predecessor as head of the African Studies Institute at FBC, also emphasized the neocolonialist patterns that directed university-driven attempts at development.

The response of higher education to this conception was to concentrate on the development of science and technology research emphasizing a “high tech” approach. The crying need was felt to be for Africa to train its own personnel for manning its own modern industries, most of which turned out to be prestigious industries, hardly addressing the use of local resources and environment. This sense of direction, supported by the developed world which benefited from it, usually operated to the neglect of non-science disciplines in higher education, most of the latter of which tended to follow patterns inherited from colonial rule.<sup>61</sup>

Both Abraham and Fyle understood that African universities had been slow to develop effective research methodologies or to change the curriculum to promote

learning about African culture or, for example, traditional agricultural science. Rural indigenous African communities possessed extremely rich cultures with a tremendous amount of useful, practical, creative, and imaginative knowledge and practice. The networks of social interaction were complex, close-knit and elastic. Rural Sierra Leoneans did not necessarily consider themselves undeveloped or underdeveloped.

Sierra Leone received a lot of foreign aid in relation to the total revenue of the country. According to one scholar: “between 1961 and 1971 about 155 million U.S. dollars, representing 34% of the total cumulative revenue of the country [Sierra Leone] came from foreign assistance.”<sup>62</sup> A significant portion of this aid came from the United States and went to support education. For example, USAID contributed \$4,500,000 to the University of Illinois/Njala University College (which became part of the University of Sierra Leone in 1966) project between 1963 and 1973.<sup>63</sup> However, a major shift occurred in United States aid policy during the 1970s and into the 1980s. From 1979 to 1986, United States military aid to foreign countries increased dramatically (from approximately 10 billion to nearly 30 billion dollars). Most of this aid went to just a handful of countries. In 1982, United States military aid to foreign countries was at least four times greater than economic aid. Economic aid also went primarily to the same few countries receiving military aid. The extensive focus on foreign economic and military aid to geopolitically strategic countries was extremely detrimental to smaller countries like Sierra Leone.<sup>64</sup> Projects such as the development of Njala University College were predicated on the continuation of promised foreign aid. As one African scholar observed: “After all Israel, India, and Pakistan were receiving massive aid from abroad, so we expected the same.”<sup>65</sup> United States aid to Africa was minimal compared with that to other regions of the world. From 1950 to 1980, United States aid to Africa amounted to less than one-percent of all United States foreign aid.<sup>66</sup> Nonetheless, acceptance of external aid compromised local autonomy.

Another troubling aspect of philanthropic and government aid projects was a lack of coordination and cooperation among different donor agencies resulting in wasteful duplication of efforts.<sup>67</sup> One scholar noted that in

Sierra Leone, funding...came from a variety of sources: the World Bank, AID, Catholic Relief Services, UNDP, the African Development Bank, among others. One problem followed on and compounded another. Sloppy scheduling meant that visiting consultants and local nationals with whom they were to work missed one another; technology imported to enhance student learning was inappropriate for the local environment and fell into disrepair; a major donor agency changed its priorities once the project was underway, with the result that several years of local effort in redirecting secondary education was scrapped in favor of greater attention to primary schooling.<sup>68</sup>

Donors also placed restrictions and conditions on aid funds and activities that made coordination among donors practically impossible. In the 1980s, Western societies drastically cut funding back for educational assistance projects as problems of development seemed intractable. As simple solutions were not readily available, donor support was withdrawn and financially poor communities with little or no government support were forced to survive on their own.

Ironically, a few models of success had begun to emerge just as the Western political will for development assistance waned. Daniel Chaytor (Vice-Chancellor, University of Sierra Leone 1994–98) noted: “Our choice of development alternatives must be based on careful environmental impact assessment of every specific environment to be developed. This leads to the need for Africans to realize the folly of continued adoption of life styles that are possible only when nations can live off other nations.”<sup>69</sup> In the late 1980s in the midst of serious economic decline, Sierra Leonean researchers began in-depth research into local technologies, interviewing local specialists, compiling and comparing local practices.<sup>70</sup> Chaytor further noted:

This alternative path of development from the rural to the urban and from the bottom to the top [still] requires close cooperation with the northern industrial countries. It requires that they suspend offering and selling us arms, which in many cases are used only for internal repression and civil wars, and instead offer us improved seeds, equipment, knowledge, and skills for agricultural improvement that would not necessarily entail using expensive machines.<sup>71</sup>

His plea went largely unheeded.

The historical pattern of foreign aid to Sierra Leone started with attempts to direct a process of change that tended to undermine local authority. This was followed by a drastic reduction in development aid in favor of military aid to larger more geo-politically strategic countries. Such military aid led to the overproduction of arms that flooded a world market and eventually found their way into Sierra Leone and resulted in the destruction of civil society there. Development programs have begun to learn from their mistakes. However, powerful Western governments and multinational businesses continue to assert their own agenda in direct opposition to evidence that clearly indicates a need to address critical areas of mutual global concern including growing poverty, a rapidly deteriorating environment, continued weapons proliferation, and failing educational systems.<sup>72</sup>



## CHAPTER SIX

# The Scramble Out of Africa: Colonial Development, 1938–1960

Between 1938 and 1960, British colonial policy towards higher education in West Africa tried to direct social change in patterns that were politically and economically congruent with Great Britain.<sup>1</sup> The period saw substantial investments by the colonial government to establish new universities in West Africa. Eric Ashby credited the many education reports of the period for the “Evolution of a Policy” that emphasized certain standards of quality and the training of “carefully chosen young Africans for public service and positions of leadership.”<sup>2</sup> The “Colonial Colleges” were major beneficiaries but delays in establishing FBC as a Colonial College slowed its development. The Pickard-Cambridge Commission (1938) marked the first substantial effort by the colonial government to take responsibility for the development of higher education in British West Africa. The Pickard-Cambridge Commission, the Asquith Commission (1944), and the Elliot Commission (1945) established policies that culminated in the financing and development of the Colonial University Colleges. The Advisory Committee on Welfare of Colonial People was established in 1943 and immediately recommended big investments in education for Sierra Leone and the other West African colonies.<sup>3</sup> In all, ten Education Commissions visited FBC between 1938 and 1960.<sup>4</sup>

Because British-oriented colonial governments regarded educated Africans as a challenge to their authority, they had consciously withheld the provision of higher education in the colonies. They also limited African advancement in the Civil Service. However, beginning around 1938, the pattern of decline in the number of Sierra Leoneans holding government jobs, which had begun in the late 1800s, reversed. In 1937, there were thirty-six Sierra Leoneans in senior government positions but by 1955, there were 206. In 1937 the colonial government employed 340 Sierra Leoneans in clerical positions compared with 800 in 1955. Government growth in this period also provided many more senior level jobs for Europeans. There were 166 expatriate civil servants in Sierra Leone in 1937 compared with 475 in 1955.<sup>5</sup> There also was a dramatic rise in the number of British lecturers at FBC following World War II. In 1939, there were three Sierra Leoneans and three Europeans, including the principal, on the teaching staff at FBC. In 1959, there were ten Sierra Leoneans and thirty-

nine British lecturers at FBC. Being a lecturer at the College was one of the most prestigious and well-paid occupations available in Sierra Leone. The rewards of the colonial occupational structure thus helped narrow African aspirations.<sup>6</sup>

This chapter focuses on the transition period from colonial rule toward independence in which FBC underwent many changes. In this period, British educational policy attempted to direct and control the development of higher education in its West African colonies. This policy emphasized gradual change in a manner congruent with, if not subservient to, the British system. There were no graduate programs in West Africa during this period. Graduate programs developed only after independence.

### The 1938 Pickard-Cambridge Commission

By the late 1930s as British attention turned to the larger, more densely populated colonies of the Gold Coast and Nigeria, the role of FBC in West Africa was challenged. According to one scholar:

The history of Fourah Bay College is a history of ups and downs: but at no time was the situation as serious as in 1939. Financial troubles had been the cause of the chief difficulties in the operation of the College up to 1938; but never at any time had its prestige been assailed in West Africa. But with the swing of the educational pendulum in West Africa from the classical tradition to a utilitarian standard and the subsequent establishment of Achimota in the Gold Coast (Ghana) and Yaba in Nigeria...Fourah Bay faced a competition in basic ideas, academic status and political and national backing.<sup>7</sup>

In 1938, the British Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies (ACEC) commissioned reports for FBC, Yaba Higher College in Lagos, Nigeria (established in 1932), and Achimota College in the Gold Coast (established in 1928).<sup>8</sup> The purpose of the reports was to develop greater coordination among the three West African institutions to avoid any wasteful duplication and to reduce costs. The four person Commission was headed by A.W.Pickard-Cambridge and included E.G. Pace of Durham University. There were no African representatives on the Commission and the CMS declined to appoint a representative. According to a student of British colonial policy:

There was an attempt by Africans to get an African representative on the [1938] Commission. A deputation went to see the Governor on behalf of Fourah Bay College Old Students to consider the appointment of an African. They argued that this representative, himself a graduate from the College, would be useful to assist the Commission in its work, for he would be able to represent the views of the citizens of Freetown, and to



explain to them the reasons of the Commissions' conclusions and recommendations. His appointment would, in their opinion, avoid any suspicion that the Commission was appointed with the "deliberative object of lowering the status of Fourah Bay College." Both the Governor and the Chairman of the Commission were disturbed by the African attitude, and rejected the appointment on the grounds that such a member would be of no assistance given his lack of knowledge about college finances and his inability to compare the status of Fourah Bay College with similar educational institutions. Furthermore, the Governor felt that such appointment could be regarded as a political gesture which might or might not be of advantage from the Governor's point of view.<sup>9</sup>

The Pickard-Cambridge Commission represented the first substantial effort by the colonial government to assume greater responsibility for higher education in Sierra Leone and the other British colonies of West Africa, but the report largely portrayed FBC unfavorably.

The Pickard-Cambridge Commission "saw no problem with the duplication of courses up to the intermediate Arts and Science stages, [but] duplication of higher or degree work should be avoided at all cost."<sup>10</sup> In providing higher education for British West Africa, the colonial administration generally adhered to financial parsimony and therefore did not offer degree courses in the same fields at any of the three institutions. The report on FBC noted that any future scheme of cooperation with the Colleges of Achimota and Yaba, leading at some distant date to the formation of a United West Africa university, was a remote possibility.<sup>11</sup> A unified West African university, possibly leading to a unified West Africa, was not in the interest of the colonial power. Further undermining any move toward unification, the colleges of West Africa were closely linked with different British institutions.

Yaba and Achimota followed the pattern of FBC and Durham, affiliating with British universities such as the University of London to grant their students British degrees. The new universities of British West Africa strove to meet British standards for a number of reasons. According to one African scholar:

After almost a century of indoctrination that Africans were inferior either intellectually, creatively or in abstract thinking, it was essential that the curricula of proposed colonial universities should approximate that offered in the United Kingdom. It was necessary, not only to build self-worth in African students but also to establish in the colonial administrations the principle of equality, for salary and other purposes.<sup>12</sup>

While scholars have observed that Africans insisted on qualifications equal to those of Europeans for reasons such as those just quoted, British university

administrators were just as insistent.<sup>13</sup> In other words, it is problematic to place responsibility for the structure of the curriculum at the Colonial University Colleges on the premise of African demand. The curriculum at FBC followed precisely the requirements of Durham. FBC courses followed the Durham syllabus. A generation earlier, the colonial government successfully thwarted African demands for the establishment of a West African university. Nonetheless, an African without a degree from a recognized British university encountered great difficulty when seeking employment in the colonial administration. British scholar Michael Crowder, noting the ambiguity of perspectives that existed, wrote: “Europeans criticised the excessive attention paid to the literary as distinct from the vocational side of education in the system. Africans on the other hand feared that the substitution of agricultural and vocational education would be a means of subjecting them.”<sup>14</sup> Also problematic was the either/or alternative in which such arguments were often constructed. In the attempt to maintain academic standards, the traditional Western canon was preferred over more innovative, creative, practical and critical courses. The most glaring example was that African languages were no longer taught at FBC.

The Pickard-Cambridge Commission report cited the aim of FBC as: “the preparation of students for degrees and diplomas of the University of Durham in Arts, theology, law, and education, as well as pre-medical examinations.” The Commission complained that all of the teaching appointments at FBC were made by the Church Missionary Society or the principal and that Durham University, whose courses the teachers were appointed to teach, was not consulted. The report further noted that “instead of the teachers being recruited each for certain specific work, the subjects taught appear to have been determined by the capacities of the staff of the moment.”<sup>15</sup> The report strongly criticized the quality of teaching in Latin and English while it praised FBC’s teaching in philosophy, psychology, mathematics, science, and theology. Poor teaching of English remained the main reason cited for the high FBC attrition rate which had been approximately fifty percent from 1923 to 1938. The Report further noted the inadequacy of the library and that there were no courses offered in geography, history, or French at the time due to a lack of qualified instructors. At the time of the report, the College had five faculty members, two of whom were African. Finally, compounding FBC’s chronic financial difficulties, the report found the College’s books “a very perplexing complication of accounts” and “somewhat incomprehensible.”<sup>16</sup> Poor oversight by the CMS contributed to financial mismanagement. Before the Commission’s review, there had never been any external audit.

The Pickard-Cambridge Commission report on FBC resulted in Durham University taking on new responsibilities related to the College’s development. A resolution taken in 1940 by the Senate of Durham University aimed at establishing closer links with FBC. Durham offered to advise FBC on the

recruitment of staff from England, to have members of its staff visit FBC, and to extend invitations to the principal and academic staff of FBC to visit Durham.<sup>17</sup> After sixty-four years of affiliation, such outreach and assistance were long overdue.

The 1940 *Fourah Bay College Annual Report* addressed each and every criticism of the 1938 Pickard-Cambridge report including staff shortages, the acquisition of several hundred new volumes to the library, equipping three small laboratories, and obtaining a positive balance of funds. The Report also communicated an important colonial education policy: “another way of influencing the masses is through Africans who have themselves had the advantage of a good education, and who have thereby earned for themselves positions of prestige and responsibility. These educated Africans can exert a great deal of influence upon the people of their own race.”<sup>18</sup> However, there would be in subsequent years a noticeable degree of separate interest and tension between the [Western] educated Africans and the so-called “uneducated” Africans in Sierra Leone.<sup>19</sup>

The formation of the Pickard-Cambridge Commission and Durham’s new interest in assisting FBC corresponded with the beginning of World War II. With the advent of the War, Great Britain took greater interest in the development of higher education in the colonies, promising greater support to its African allies. World War II also brought hardship to FBC. On April 17th 1941, Edmund Arthur Haslam Roberts, FBC principal from 1937 to 1946, wrote to the Secretary of the Examinations Board at Durham University as follows:

Military necessities have compelled us to surrender the College just before the opening of the Summer Term, which in consequence must start at least one week late, and the examinations begin in June. I am writing to ask for permission to take the papers one week later than the time scheduled, so that the students may have time to settle down in their new quarters before taking the examination.<sup>20</sup>

Roberts made this request because earlier in 1941, the College buildings had been requisitioned by the British military as a prisoner of war camp and the College had moved first to a nearby place in Cline Town and then, in 1942, from Cline Town to Mabang Agricultural College, located in an isolated rural site far from Freetown.<sup>21</sup>

Women students were not admitted at Mabang and there were no facilities for laboratory science.<sup>22</sup> The training of female teachers at the Women’s Teacher Training College, located at Wilberforce, increased dramatically with the onset of World War II. However, no increase was noted in the male training department at FBC which was experiencing some difficulties. According to one scholar: “three students who were in training at Fourah Bay College were

rusticated in 1943 for irregularities with an examination. This unfortunate episode, together with staff difficulties which arose in connection with wartime problems, caused the work of the department to fall into abeyance."<sup>23</sup> The Normal department at FBC re-opened in 1945 when it was combined with the Wilberforce Women's Teacher Training College. In October of 1945, both male and female students took up residence at the College when it moved from Mabang back to Freetown, atop Mount Aureol into what had been army barracks.

Women had long struggled to gain a place and voice at FBC. There were two women students who attended FBC prior to World War II, including Miss Lati Hyde who in 1938 became the first woman to obtain a university degree from FBC and the first woman graduate in West Africa.<sup>24</sup> The Pickard-Cambridge Commission had not recommended that FBC expand teacher training to include female students: "the suggestion that the women teachers at present training elsewhere should be sent to Fourah Bay, while it has much to recommend it, implies the erection of a hostel for them and the engagement of a woman as Warden, so that the profit would be small."<sup>25</sup>

The Commission was impressed with the quality of education at the Wilberforce Women's Teacher Training College but much less so with that at FBC: "the appraisal of the work at Fourah Bay was much less optimistic...the curriculum had become unrelated to the needs of the schools in which teachers would be instructing and in fact the teacher training department had tended to become an indifferent junior section of the Durham University arts course."<sup>26</sup> Teacher training lost its professional status as shorter non-degree programs developed and as more women entered the field. While the Pickard-Cambridge Commission did not recommend expanding FBC to accommodate more female students, subsequent commissions did emphasize the need to provide increased opportunities for women to gain access to higher education.

### The Elliot Commission

The Elliot Commission focused on higher education in West Africa and was contemporary and complimentary in aim with the Asquith Commission.<sup>27</sup> Members of the Elliot Commission visited FBC in 1944 during World War II while the College was still in temporary quarters at Mabang and published their report in June of 1945. Prior to its publication, "the people of Sierra Leone" submitted a memorandum to the Elliot Commission urging the continued improvement of FBC and requesting that the colonial government shoulder responsibility for capital and recurrent expenditure.<sup>28</sup> Sierra Leoneans were well aware of the importance of the Commission in formulating future plans for the College.

J.F.Duff, Vice-Chancellor of Durham University, served on both the Asquith and the Elliot Commissions. A three-month visit to West Africa with the Elliot

Commission was Duff's first. He remarked that a special gathering of FBC alumni met with him while he was in Nigeria and performed a praise song to Durham University. Duff was particularly impressed with the students and alumni of FBC, but his outlook for the future of the institution was not optimistic; perhaps it was even fatalistic, although not based on an appraisal of the quality of its academic programs:

The Creoles of the Colony...have not multiplied nor on the whole prospered since their repatriation, but they were the first West Africans to become literate, and this gave them the run of posts.... The leaders seem to feel that relatively speaking the Colony is going back rather than forward, and are gravely troubled by the prospect. The position of Fourah Bay reflects this. It was the only College in West Africa taking a course of University standard, and therefore drew students from Gold Coast and Nigeria. As these colonies develop their own colleges, Fourah Bay is losing these students. The Creoles are too few to produce adequate numbers of University students for the College to flourish, and the Protectorate peoples...have not reached that educational level.<sup>29</sup>

Duff's view maintained out-dated racist stereotypes of the Krios proffered since the mid-19 century. The Krio population had not necessarily diminished; its influence had spread throughout West Africa and the Krio community absorbed many individuals arriving in Freetown from the up-country.<sup>30</sup> In addition, his view revealed negative assumptions about the intellectual abilities of protectorate Sierra Leoneans despite the fact that several had studied at FBC with great success. The reasons for so few students attending FBC were more complex than those noted by Duff and, not least of all, affected by the move from Freetown.

Duff noted that during the Elliot Commission visit there were "seventeen students and a staff of five, the Principal and four tutors, one European and three Africans. If that is too large a staff for the number of students, it is too small a staff for the number of subjects, namely the Ordinary B.A. degree course, plus courses in Theology and Education."<sup>31</sup> In his private papers, Duff recalled an evening spent with the students at Mabang:

I spoke for 20 minutes on Universities in general and Durham in particular, and then said I would discuss anything they liked except the outcome of the Commission. A most animated discussion followed, and would I think have gone on all night but for my closing it down about midnight. Mostly we talked about Universities, (courses, staff, research, general life of an English University in particular), but the range was wide. I thought them, as a group, responsible, clear headed and attractive. I enjoyed that evening more than any other part of the African tour, and it

left me with the feeling that for all the poverty, the makeshift quarters and the tiny numbers of Fourah Bay, here was something far more like a real College in spirit than I could find at Achimota excellent though that is as a school or at Yaba.<sup>32</sup>

Obviously, Duff's private views, where he noted a very collegial spirit, differed from his more cautious public views. Durham University and its Vice Chancellor thus remained a shadowy influence on FBC instead of leading the call for improved conditions at the College.

All of the tutors at FBC during Duff's visit became future university leaders, Harry Alphonso Sawyerr became Principal of FBC from 1968 to 1974, Robert Kweku Atta Gardiner became United Nations Secretariat of the Economic Commission for Africa, and Victor King became principal of Milton Margai Teachers College, Sierra Leone. It is interesting to note that the Elliot Commission did not recommend that either law or economics be taught in any of the West African universities, although Ghanaian lecturer Robert Gardiner had already begun to teach economics at FBC in 1943.<sup>33</sup> Edward Blyden III (FBC lecturer 1953–56, 67–71, Sierra Leone Independence Movement Party leader, and Sierra Leone Ambassador to the Soviet Union 1971–74), and Kenneth Onwuka Dike (the first African Principal and later Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ibadan and first Andrew Mellon Professor of African History at Harvard) were two of the seventeen students.<sup>34</sup> Dike wrote of his experience during the Commission's visit:

We were very excited about the Commission's visit, and it looked like a dream come true. West Africa was, at last, going to have a university of its own. My generation entertained romantic views of universities, and to meet and talk with professors from Britain was an experience never to be forgotten. We decided to present a memorandum of our own to the Commission and to ask for one university for all of West Africa.<sup>35</sup>

There were three West Africans in the fourteen member Elliot Commission. All were graduates of FBC.<sup>36</sup> There was one Sierra Leonean on the commission, E.H. Taylor-Cummings, Senior Medical Officer and future mayor of Freetown. The majority consensus, which all the African representatives agreed with, argued against a single West African university, although this had long been the de-facto role of FBC.

The majority report of the Elliot Commission recommended the establishment of university colleges in Nigeria (Ibadan), Gold Coast (Achimota), and Sierra Leone with degree courses at each institution. Ibadan was to specialize in the fields of medicine, dentistry, agriculture, forestry and animal health, Achimota in engineering and education, and Fourah Bay College in theology and the liberal arts for West Africa.<sup>37</sup> The Majority were greatly

influenced by the geographical and ethnic differences between the four colonies where local educational traditions and expectations had taken firm root.<sup>38</sup>

The long awaited West African university thus no longer fit with the more nationalist aspirations of many West Africans nor was a single university institution sufficient to meet the demands of such a large region. The Commission's approach was more geo-politically conscious, recognizing the desire for national systems of university education.<sup>39</sup> Apollos Nwauwa commented that "those who signed the Elliot Majority Report were more far-sighted.... The Majority fully understood the strength of local sentiments, and the influence of emerging colonial territorial nationalism."<sup>40</sup> None of the colonies wished to be without its own institution of higher education.

A Minority Report of the Elliot Commission proposed an end to university courses at Fourah Bay College and blocked the establishment of university courses at Achimota College in Ghana. It recommended the establishment of a single university college at Ibadan to serve the whole of British West Africa and that the university section of Fourah Bay College be discontinued and its work transferred to Ibadan.<sup>41</sup> The Minority argued that a regional university allowed for a greater concentration of resources, thereby enabling a full range of courses to be offered. They were most concerned with preserving standards of quality equivalent to those in British universities and the production of an educated elite.<sup>42</sup> Their recommendation was politically unacceptable to the people of the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone. The notion that Fourah Bay College should become a preparatory school for Ibadan was unacceptable to the educated elite in Sierra Leone and to friends of Fourah Bay College throughout West Africa.<sup>43</sup>

Before acting on the Commission's report, the Secretary of State's Despatch of October 1, 1945 asked for public opinion on the proposal of the minority report. The Governor of Sierra Leone, Hubert Stevenson, wrote to the Secretary that the "publication of your despatch led to a hardening of public opinion, already clear, in Sierra Leone, in favour of the Majority Report."<sup>44</sup> Critics of the plan to accept the minority report observed that the timing of the Elliot Commission visit to FBC, near the end of World War II and while the College was still in temporary quarters, had not allowed for an accurate appraisal of the needs and conditions of the College or the colony.

In December of 1945, the Sierra Leone Board of Education voted ten to three in favor of the Majority Report. In January of 1946, the entire tutorial staff of FBC in a letter to the Governor of Sierra Leone stated their willingness to reach a compromise between the minority and majority reports of the Elliot Commission as long as the Arts Degree was maintained at FBC. In other words, they were not willing to have any scaling back in the scope of the FBC curriculum. The tutors also expressed a desire to move rapidly ahead with expansion in the science and education curriculum.<sup>45</sup> City Councillor V.E.King

was one of just three members of the Sierra Leone Board of Education that was in favor of accepting the minority report. He stated that the re-curing crises of the College “had been due to an attempt to achieve rather too much.”<sup>46</sup> FBC, however, had achieved a great deal with minimal support.

Against the recommendations of the Elliot Commission and in blatant disregard of prevailing African sentiment, the British Colonial Secretary of State in his July 1946 “Dispatch on Higher Education in West Africa” accepted the minority recommendation to establish a single, central West African University in Nigeria.<sup>47</sup> The Secretary of State, Mr. Arthur Creech-Jones, had been one of the signatories to the minority report and thus, as noted by one scholar: “He could not but seek to implement officially the views to which he had subscribed.”<sup>48</sup> Perhaps in anticipation of this action, the Fourah Bay College Council, on June 7, 1946, had passed a resolution to investigate

the provision of a suitable permanent site for the College, the constitution of anew College Council fully representative of the Sierra Leone community and having administrative powers, the steps which ought to be taken to obtain the fullest measure of co-operation and support from the Sierra Leone Government in the maintenance and development of Fourah Bay College.<sup>49</sup>

The educated elite of Freetown were prepared for a fight. One Ghanaian scholar noted: “Although the Gold Coast resistance to the...decision in favor of the Elliot Minority proposal was much more ferocious, the opposition of the [Sierra Leonean] Creoles, albeit more subtle, was more protracted.”<sup>50</sup>

Although it is rarely noted, the negative response to the Secretary of State’s action in Sierra Leone also went beyond Krio intellectuals. An attempt was made to raise the funds necessary to support the development of FBC regardless of the limits set by the colonial government. One scholar described the situation:

The Paramount Chiefs of the Protectorate Assembly recommended imposing a special education tax on the people; the Freetown Municipality voted \$ 1000 for the [Fourah Bay College] fund, and the missionary societies expressed their willingness to provide half of the finances required.... [However] according to the fund committee, [there] was a stronger reason to encourage local effort, if the government had not enough funds, which, in their opinion, were diverted and absorbed by expatriate officers and robbed by foreign investors.<sup>51</sup>

The FBC Fund Committee was well aware that the colonial government had the funds to support higher education. The Fund Committee condemned colonial economic exploitation:



The refusal of Sierra Leone Government to consider nationalisation of the Protectorate mines particularly iron and diamonds, as was unanimously recommended by the Paramount Chiefs in August 1946, is robbing the country of millions of pounds annually, and in the light of socialist rather than fascist doctrines, these vast sums should be more properly spent in developing Sierra Leone social services than in enriching foreign investors.... [E]ven moderate Sierra Leoneans view their government as an outmoded and repressive paternalism thorough only in its policy of sacrificing indigenous interest to foreigners and foreign capital out of touch at all points with African life and thought yet arrogating to itself the right to decide and execute plans for the welfare of the people.<sup>52</sup>

Knowing full well the source of the educational investment dilemma under colonial rule, the Fourah Bay College Fund Committee and the Friends of Fourah Bay undertook a fundraising campaign to support the College. The movement known as the "Friends of Fourah Bay," consisted of old students of the College and other interested people. It performed valuable service in the United Kingdom to garner support for the continuation of FBC as a University College.<sup>53</sup> One member of the Friends of Fourah Bay, Kenneth Little, was particularly outspoken. Because of postwar political conditions and official anti-communist sentiments, people such as Little who opposed the declared policy of higher education in Sierra Leone were often branded as communists.<sup>54</sup> On September 26, 1946, Dr. R.S.Easmon, a retired Sierra Leone Medical Officer, and Mrs. H.Benka-Coker, founder of the Freetown Secondary School for Girls, summoned a public meeting of the citizens of Freetown where a resolution was passed aimed at creating a 100,000 pound Fourah Bay College Fund. Eight hundred pounds was collected at the meeting.<sup>55</sup> But like previous fundraising efforts for the College, they fell well short of their goal and soon gave up the effort.

The Secretary of State's next missive of August 1947, while succumbing to pressure to raise the standard of higher education to university status in Ghana, upheld the decision of the minority report to essentially downgrade the status of FBC. The Secretary wrote:

I do not believe that Sierra Leone in its present state of development can undertake the necessary recurrent financial commitment to maintain a University College of the required quality and it is certainly not possible to contemplate assistance from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund for three University Colleges in West Africa. Nor would it be possible for the university staff which would be required from this country [England] to be provided for three such institutions.<sup>56</sup>

The Secretary almost certainly did not consider the mining concessions of Sierra Leone in determining the colony's ability to finance the College. Neither did he consider the ample talent in Sierra Leone available to staff the College.<sup>57</sup>

In December of 1947, the Fourah Bay College Fund Committee sent a deputation to complain to the Acting Governor about "official interference in the operations of the Committee" and to protest the Secretary of State's decision to accept the minority report. The Acting Governor defended the Secretary of State's decision on the grounds that "expenditure on primary, secondary and technical education in Sierra Leone was going to be a heavy one, which would use up all the local allocation for education, combined with what assistance could be gotten from the Colonial Development & Welfare Fund (CD&W)."<sup>58</sup>

Writing in 1983 about the 1947–48 outcry in Freetown over the relegation of FBC to a territorial or regional college, a graduate student at the University of Aberdeen, Fewzi Borsali, reflected a new version of the old view: namely, that the Krio were a dying breed. However, he described the death of the Krio in terms of its political power rather than a racial group: "Creole opposition underlined a fear of losing long established interests or privileges, the defense of which crystallised in their opposition to Government over Fourah Bay College."<sup>59</sup> However, the Krio had a long history of defending Fourah Bay College and opposing misguided colonial policies. As indicated by Borsali, the FBC "College Council objected to the establishment of a Regional College, and deplored the Secretary of State's determination not to offer financial assistance for a third university College on the West African Coast."<sup>60</sup>

There was also a question of where to locate the College. "The College wanted to go back to Fourah Bay but was not allowed to, though the CMS could not find out by whom or under what powers the prohibition was made."<sup>61</sup> The old College site was commandeered by the government for commercial purposes connected with the development of a deep water quay. The College moved back to Freetown to a new site atop Mount Aureol where, from 1945 to 1949, it leased a collection of army huts in which to hold its classes.<sup>62</sup>

In 1946, a number of articles appeared in the *Sierra Leone Daily Mail* under the same title that had been used during the 1908–1911 crisis: "The Future of Fourah Bay College." In addition to concerns over the new site, the primary focus of these articles was to protest the downgrading of FBC from a degree granting university college to a preparatory school. The issue of financing the new College also loomed large. Sierra Leonean professor Otto-During deplored the low level of CD&W funding proposed for the development of the new College, particularly as the colonial government in Sierra Leone was forced to pay the British military authorities over 35,000 pounds for leasing the buildings and site at Mount Aureol, land that was property of the country.<sup>63</sup>

During the war more money was received from the colonies in West Africa than was paid out to them through Colonial Development & Welfare Funds

(CD&W). Borsali pointed out that “it would be extremely naive to believe in the myth of financial help” to the colonies. He estimated that CD&W assistance from Britain to the colonies between 1940–49 amounted to roughly 16.4 million pounds, while colonial assistance to Britain over the same period amounted to at least 123 million pounds.<sup>64</sup> After the War much of the CD&W funds were provided as loans with interest and yet loans provided to Britain by the colonies during the war were interest free. CD&W assistance was announced during the war for propaganda purposes, and again at the end of the war in order to counteract prevailing criticism of British colonialism and to preserve the loyalty of the colonial people.<sup>65</sup> CD&W funds were separate from Sierra Leone Government funds and were used to pay the salaries and pensions of British civil servants in Sierra Leone.<sup>66</sup> Hence, a larger portion of these funds returned to Great Britain.

The CMS, though vested in the traditions of FBC, remained a dutiful partner to government. According to one documented account:

The position of the C.M.S. is delicate and difficult, the C.M.S. is deeply concerned with the danger that the Fourah Bay issue might become a primarily political issue; the C.M.S. played for time hoping it would be able to avoid taking any definite line until they could see what chances the government proposals had becoming acceptable to the people of Sierra Leone.<sup>67</sup>

Students were less equivocal. In a 1948 edition of *The Fourah Bay*, the student editor expressed the sentiment that prevailed among the College community: “The threat against the life of this College seems to have led to a burst of new vigour in all the cells which make it up, a determination to live in defiance of death itself.” In this same spirited student journal, there was an article by S.A. Onyinah titled “The African and Communism” which concluded: “I am not passing judgement for or against Capitalism or Communism, I have only shewn that neither is acceptable to the African.” In another article titled “Educating towards a United West Africa,” Eldred Durosimi Jones, FBC principal from 1974 to 1985 who was then a tutor, called for developing a curriculum relevant to West Africa.<sup>68</sup> FBC students and faculty wanted their own curriculum, not one completely dependent on the West for its content, and they wanted a non-aligned independent political system. Academic freedom and political independence were closely linked concepts among African students and scholars of the period.

In 1948, the Secretary of State offered a compromise on the question of Fourah Bay College. He allowed for an interim period where FBC would receive CD & W Funds until alternative facilities were available at the New University Colleges in Nigeria and the Gold Coast. During the interim period both Fourah Bay College as traditionally organized and the proposed regional

college which was to replace it would co-exist with the principal being appointed by the Governor. In four to five years time, a Commission of Inquiry would investigate and report on the educational system of Sierra Leone at all levels, including the question of continuing degree programs at FBC.<sup>69</sup> A compromise finally reached later in 1948 called for two levels of higher education in a combined institution, a vocational/technical college and a university college. The idea of a divided institution with two sides had been used before to save FBC.<sup>70</sup> CD&W funds specifically allocated to support the technical college would also be used to assist in the maintenance of the existing degree courses and to provide staff and facilities that would be shared by the university side of FBC.

In October 1948, the Joint Standing Committee on Regional Colleges recommended the appointment of F.R.Dain as principal, who eventually served from 1950 to 1954, of the newly configured College. Governor George BeresfordStooke decided to consult the College Council before making the appointment. In January 1949, the College Council expressed concern over the proposed appointment because they believed Mr. Dain lacked experience and qualifications. At the time, he was Assistant Director of Education in Bedfordshire and formerly on staff at Loughborough College, England. In April 1949, however, the College Council accepted the appointment of Dain with the understanding that the current principal, F.H.Hilliard, who had served since 1947, stay on as Vice-Principal and Head of the University Department.<sup>71</sup>

The College Council managed the institution with greater autonomy from government than that enjoyed by the regional colleges in Nigeria and the Gold Coast. Fourah Bay College, essentially, remained a college of university status affiliated to Durham University. However, the British Inter-University Council did not officially recognize FBC as one of the new University Colleges. A Staff Selection Board was established with members of the Colonial Advisory Committee on Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology, the CMS, and Durham University. The CMS continued to fund staffing for degree courses, while the colonial government funded the major building, equipment, and accommodation costs for non-degree students such as the Education Department which became the largest department at FBC in the 1950s. The British Inter-University Council did not want to fund university work at Fourah Bay College but they also did not want to inhibit the work of a private institution (CMS). Sierra Leoneans, however, wanted a national institution not a denominational institution of higher education. They believed that a private CMS controlled college would remain extremely limited in scope.

In 1949, CD&W funds, local government monies, and grants from missions jointly supported the University work at FBC. The CMS reached an agreement with the Colonial government that transferred most of the CMS's movable property, assigned free of charge its premises on Mount Aureol, and lent the name of Fourah Bay to the new College for a period of five years when a

commission of enquiry would decide whether the University Department would be separated from the rest of the College.<sup>72</sup> The Vice-Chancellor of Durham University was not confident in the ability of FBC to succeed in University work. He viewed the prospect as “educationally unsound and politically unavoidable.”<sup>73</sup> Durham’s connection to the political hot potato of FBC was a delicate issue for the colonial government. According to a confidential memo, “We should almost certainly be accused of having placed Fourah Bay into this arrangement and then persuaded Durham to withdraw affiliation with the purpose of killing Fourah Bay.”<sup>74</sup> The colonial government was very adept at political maneuvering. The British appeared sensitive to political change because they helped orchestrate it. Supporting the development of higher education in West Africa was politically astute amidst the broad demands of a crumbling empire.

In 1949, Milton Margai, who later became the first Prime Minister of Sierra Leone, expressed concern over the future control of the College. He called for a vote of no confidence in the Government’s Educational Policy for the Protectorate. He estimated that only 4 per cent of children, out of approximately 350,000 in the protectorate, attended primary school. Furthermore, he argued that experienced teachers were being turned away because they lacked formal training. He was critical of the young inexperienced teachers graduating from FBC. The teacher training program dealt with many students at a much lower level of qualification than those seeking degrees including those who had come from their teaching positions upcountry to get additional qualifications.<sup>75</sup> Dr. Margai was particularly concerned about protectorate representation on the College Council, as quoted by one historian:

A bill is soon to be introduced into the Legislative council dealing on Fourah Bay. That Bill will more or less be responsible for the control of the College. Now, at least three members must be appointed annually from the Assembly to represent the Protectorate on that committee. It is interesting to hear the qualifications on the qualifying conditions of the members of the Protectorate. The Bill says: “One member appointed annually by the Protectorate Assembly to represent each province in the Protectorate. Such persons having been resident therein for not less than twelve months immediately preceding the date of appointment, and having paid House Tax under the Protectorate Ordinance in respect of each period.” It is the aim of the Bill to exclude a certain class of persons from representing the interest of the Protectorate in such a body and that is the articulate class which will be capable of standing for the rights of the Protectorate in such a body. Even the assembly which is the most important body as far as the Protectorate is concerned just now does not require such conditions for membership. But perhaps Government attaches more importance to this body.<sup>76</sup>

In the end, protectorate representation on the College Council did not change and Christian representation remained strong. A 1950 Fourah Bay College Ordinance, effected by mutual consent of the CMS and the Government of Sierra Leone, officially provided for the transfer of the College to the government.<sup>77</sup> With full financial control transferred to the Colonial Government increased funding soon followed. Direct colonial control of FBC thus finally came in 1950.

As late as 1948, the Sierra Leone government's annual subvention to FBC had stood at just 200 pounds. According to Sierra Leonean Thomas Johnson, who was acting principal of FBC in 1924 and again in 1947, government aid to the College had never exceeded this amount.<sup>78</sup> In June of 1950, the Rev. J.C.L.Horstead, FBC principal from 1927 to 1937, reported: "I hear today of the amount allocated to the College, a grant amounting I think, to over 100,000 pounds. I find it hard to realize that it was only twenty years ago that we received the first [government] grant of 300 pounds for University work."<sup>79</sup> In September, 1950 the sum of 450,000 pounds was allocated to the College from the CD&W colonial funds by the Secretary of State.<sup>80</sup> In 1951, a meeting was held at Durham Castle to develop a plan for allocating these funds over a five-year period. There was little if any input from Sierra Leoneans. At the meeting, Principal Dain asserted that "the 400,000 pounds promised [out of CD&W funds] for 1951-56 was likely to be enough more or less for immediate needs, but it would be far less than what the College really needs; the amount might perhaps be put at 1,000,000." Dain was most concerned about the limit of 80,000 pounds per year for recurrent expenditures. He submitted two revised budgets for the period in an attempt to devise a way to reduce recurrent expenditures without jeopardizing the educational requirements of the college. "The only place where savings can be reasonably effected is by the exclusion of the proposed appointments for Readers and Research Fellows." He asked rhetorically: "Can any further cuts be made?" He further noted: "This is a very close budgeting and allows nothing for contingencies."<sup>81</sup> Funds for research were the first amounts to be dropped, in favor of spending on expensive building projects contracted out to expatriate firms or on British expatriate faculty salaries. Thus, funds invested in the colony quickly returned to England.

In August of 1953 a new Governor, Sir Robert de Zouche Hall, convened a Commission of Inquiry into the Financial Affairs of Fourah Bay College for the year 1952. Sierra Leonean Sir Henry Lightfoot Boston headed the Commission. The Boston Commission found that 33,500 pounds had been spent on unauthorized expenditures including 26,436 for non-recurrent items such as buildings, furniture and equipment.<sup>82</sup> Mr. Peel, the College's bursar, left for the United States and was unavailable for comment to the Commission. The Commission placed blame on the Principal and College Council.<sup>83</sup> The Acting Governor of Sierra Leone noted that Dain "had been publicly

discredited” and that the College Council demanded his resignation.<sup>84</sup> “Dain must go!” was the popular cry in Freetown.<sup>85</sup>

During an earlier visit to Durham University in September of 1950, Dain and Vice-Principal Hilliard had reviewed issues of admission and matriculation with the Registrar, W.S. Angus, who expressed concern over the qualifications of teachers supervising M.A. students. The minutes of the visit recorded: “the College was making appointments to a grade of Senior Lecturers, and it was intended that no one should be appointed to this grade without experience in England, usually of teaching in an English University.”<sup>86</sup> It was also noted that an increase in exchange activity provided opportunities for Junior Lecturers from FBC to gain teaching experience in England. FBC students were required to complete both a dissertation and a written examination for the bachelor’s degree. Many FBC students who transferred to Durham for an advanced degree later returned to teach at FBC.

In 1954, the Secretary of State for the colonies accepted the Fulton Commission’s recommendations and ended the 1948 Compromise Agreement that had obligated the College not to expand the work of the University Department, an obligation that had been ignored.<sup>87</sup> Sierra Leonean professor of Economics Noah Cox-George attributed the six-fold increase of students at FBC between 1944 and 1950 to the introduction of the Bachelor’s of Commerce or Economics degree. In 1950, he calculated that in addition to the 8 students enrolled in the Bachelor of Economics program, 49 of 109 Arts students were “Reading Economics.” Cox-George also charged that “inordinate emphasis was put on the training of teachers to the neglect of social science personnel and social engineers in an age of reconstruction.”<sup>88</sup>

During this period approximately half of the students admitted to FBC obtained a teaching degree and approximately half of those students or 25% of the total students enrolled were subsequently employed as school teachers. However, many teachers were leaving education to pursue further degrees in other more lucrative and prestigious professions, a trend that would grow. Of the approximately 50% of students who did not complete their studies at FBC, half, or again 25% of the total, were pursuing studies abroad. In fact, many more Sierra Leonean students pursued their education abroad than at FBC.

In addition, there were more Nigerian students than Sierra Leonean students enrolled in degree courses at FBC throughout the 1940s and 50s. Practically all of the Nigerian students at FBC were degree-seeking students. Between 1948 and 1958, there were 892 Nigerian students and 1650 degree-seeking students at FBC.<sup>89</sup> College officials noted: “There is nothing but advantage for the College in the presence of these students from other territories. Their numbers make possible a College of a size sufficient to support the development of an adequate range of University studies. Moreover, they bring to student life a variety of experience and tradition which a purely local college would not command.”<sup>90</sup> In a 1960 study, FBC students reported that “the most frequent



benefit mentioned was the cultural and social broadening which living in daily contact with fellow students of varied backgrounds had given.”<sup>91</sup> However, Sierra Leoneans who studied at British Universities were preferred for government jobs over FBC graduates. As one Ghanaian faculty member at FBC argued: “No doubt more students would have come to the College if the government were to accept Fourah Bay College courses as a qualification for responsible posts.”<sup>92</sup> The popular Krio expression giving voice to this unspoken colonial policy was “Og no go Ingran fo natin” (I didn’t go to England for nothing).<sup>93</sup>

The Fulton Commission cleared the way for the full development of Fourah Bay as one of the Colonial Universities. John Hargreaves, a British scholar who lectured at FBC from 1952–54, recognized that the Colonial University “paid greater attention to its standing in the eyes of foreigners than to the relevance of its activities to the needs of its own country.” Describing British policy in West Africa following World War II, Hargreaves wrote: “the specific role of universities would be to educate men who would build up some structures needed for a modern liberal state, more or less in the British image.” British assumptions about the shape of the university stressed the maintenance of academic standards through external examinations. Hargreaves explained: “I am not suggesting that the planners of the ...colleges intended to promote any sort of neo-colonialism; on the contrary, their concern to apply their own working assumptions overseas testifies to their sincere belief in interracial equality.”<sup>94</sup> Inherent in their perspective, however, was a belief in the superiority of their own Western institutions. Sierra Leonean scholars were remarkably patient. Two of them remarked that “Fourah Bay is already a University College, and this strange desire that it should become what in effect it already is [a university institution] can only be read as an over-sensitive preoccupation with academic respectability.”<sup>95</sup>

The 1957 annual report of the College described the period from 1951 to 1956 as one of uncertainty as to the future “Academic Shape” of the College and as to the availability of funds for capital and recurrent costs. The financial support for development relied on the assertion of British political objectives related to a gradual and controlled process of “de-colonization.” All of the African universities were expensive undertakings, the costs and inequities of which were only exacerbated by the extensive involvement of foreigners. According to Hargreaves:

It is undeniable that this elite, among whom African academics are prominent, do enjoy incomes, including ‘fringe benefits’ as subsidized housing, car allowances, leave entitlements, which place their living standards many times above those of the mass of their countrymen. This however is not necessarily due to greed; it is an inevitable consequence of the policy of building African universities on the ‘intellectual gold



standard.’ If conditions of service need to be attractive to recruit distinguished expatriates, how can local scholars be treated on a different basis?<sup>96</sup>

Wide divisions of class based largely on race also existed between Europeans and Africans. While many African intellectuals of the period lived elitist lifestyles, in part, to achieve equal footing with foreign faculty; others openly opposed the privileged role of Western academics.

The divisions between Africans and Westerners working there were not just economic. African scholars did not value detached “objective” studies when they were devoid of local knowledge and experience. Hargreaves, in contrast, defended the role of Western scholars in Africa:

British academics who have been involved in building up universities in former colonies set themselves the job of promoting excellence—defined as the production of work which will be so recognized by the international community of scholars. They were right to do so—and could not have been involved in this work on any other terms. Scholars from other countries—especially USA—have recognized their achievements and hurried to join in themselves.<sup>97</sup>

The “international community of scholars” was quick to recognize, reward, and elevate the work of Western academics on Africa. A very large number of such academics passed through the gates of FBC.

The Colonial University Colleges were avenues of opportunity for younger staff from Europe and the United States to spend time in Africa and become experts in African Studies, tropical medicine, or agriculture. Occasionally, such staff were granted a higher degree of authority than experience warranted. Africans often contended that such action only hurt the University Colleges’ ability to develop more culturally relevant curricula.<sup>98</sup> Between 1939 and 1959, there had been more than twice as many British as Sierra Leonean faculty at FBC. The average length of service to FBC by the British professors was slightly more than four years.

The British viewed themselves as agents of modernization. According to Paul Hair, who taught at FBC from 1955 to 1959 and from 1961 to 1963, the problem of African content was thorny:

We young British felt we were working with the times, helping Africa help itself.... In the humanities we had problems in moving away from what was taught in Britain. While it was recognised that African relevance needed to be inserted, the relevance was difficult in practice to achieve, because of local attitudes. If a few argued that syllabuses should be Africa-oriented, a much larger complaint was that any attempt to

differentiate them from what was taught in Europe was offering Africans second-rate courses, deliberately inferior, so as to disable them from competing.”<sup>99</sup>

Sierra Leonean faculty recognized the many outstanding contributions of the European faculty and the excellent relationships between European and African faculty at FBC in the 1950s. Sierra Leonean scholar Noah Cox-George noted: “One brilliant medal in the drab vestment of all those somber years was the singular devotion and dedication of the staff irrespective of colour, race or nationality.... Gone are those halcyonic days when the pioneer corps living on the plane of humanity laboured to establish the bases of the social sciences in this institution.”<sup>100</sup>

The *Sierra Leone Daily Mail* of January 19th, 1957, reported that J.J. Grant, FBC principal from 1954 to 1959, had condemned the state of education in Sierra Leone, since only two out of twelve Sierra Leonean students passed their first year B.A. examinations. Grant also felt that too few students were entering the teaching profession and the few who entered FBC for this purpose were ill-prepared. He implored government to invest in the country’s future by investing more in higher education. He felt it was useless to point to the large number of new schools that had been opened, if there were no suitable teachers to staff them. At the 1958 commencement ceremonies, Grant thanked the vice-chancellor and other visitors from Durham University for taking part in the “ceremonies of this rather far-flung outpost of the University,” and further commented that “many of you are thinking that Fourah Bay College’s job is to teach and all this talk of research is high-falutin nonsense.... If, on the other hand, it is your real desire, as it is ours, that Fourah Bay College should receive unquestioned recognition as a University College, then you must accept the implications of the inseparable nature of teaching and research.”<sup>101</sup> Did the University exist to serve the community through research or did it exist to serve the individual in his/her quest for personal enrichment? These were not necessarily separate or distinct goals. FBC’s failure to do the former, however, hurt its ability to achieve the latter.

There was a sizeable rift in understanding between university-educated students at FBC and their fellow citizens in the rural communities. Director of Intra-Mural Studies at FBC, Sierra Leonean Christian Cole noted:

One of the worst contributions made by Britain to Africa in the post-war period has been the universities. Short-sighted colonial educationalists have scattered around British Africa a series of “Oxbridges” which are not only irrelevant to African needs but positive barriers to development. In their imitation caps and gowns African undergraduates recite Latin graces, retire to luxurious hostel rooms, are waited on by “native”

servants, study European history and learn to become “gentlemen,” contemptuous of those who dirty their hands.<sup>102</sup>

Most FBC students directed their attention toward helping Sierra Leone achieve Western standards of development. The assumption was that rural communities must do nothing but change. Thus, there existed a serious lack of contact between the formally educated and “so-called” uneducated segments of the society.

Cole, at an International Workcamp Conference in 1959 concerning the university’s role in community development, described the need for a respectful process despite his use of derogatory Western euphemisms such as “illiterate,” “tribal,” and “backward.”

In the rural areas the majority of the inhabitants are illiterate and in their outlook, mainly tribal. They live a simple life and carry on minor public works by communal and voluntary effort. If the village is broken, they meet on a fixed day and get it repaired. If the cemetery requires care, that also is their responsibility. Discontent, mistrust, and antagonisms sometimes creep in when educated malcontents undertake to “educate” the tribal people. These pseudo-leaders have been known to tell the illiterate tribal men that because they are tax-payers, they should cease to do voluntary work for the community.... To my mind, our universities can do a great deal of good if they undertake to send leaders to backward villages to assist projects as well as to teach that democracy is not incompatible with voluntary action.<sup>103</sup>

The Extra-mural Department of FBC noted in 1958 that colonial rhetoric and action were often far apart: “like most colonial governments, that of Sierra Leone is committed to the spreading of literacy, in practice it employs only one full-time literacy instructor in the Social Development Department and the evidence is insufficient for anyone to be quite sure whether what is eventually intended is the encouragement of the tribal language or the teaching of English.”<sup>104</sup> Krio scholars at FBC often emphasized,

The student, more often than not, found himself assuming the role of interpreter a bridge between his own culture and that which he had become familiar with through his studies.... Interpreting one world to another in order to bring about positive changes was a serious and, in some ways, uncomfortable responsibility and it was therefore important that students come to know their own society and that of other countries as fully as possible.<sup>105</sup>

The African scholars on staff at FBC, most of whom were trained abroad, knew as much or more about Western countries and cultures as they did about African countries and cultures. FBC students knew more about the history and literature of Great Britain than that of Sierra Leone. They were trained to go out to teach rural communities to change, not to learn from them.

A 1959 Visitation Committee to FBC advised that “the development of a programme of African Studies should be reserved for a future triennium [review] and should be given further detailed consideration.”<sup>106</sup> In 1959 spending was held at the 1958 level due to budget uncertainties.<sup>107</sup> Despite budget concerns, the commitment to theology at FBC remained strong. In 1959, “an agreement was signed between the Sierra Leone Government and the Church Missionary Society according to which, there should always be on the staff of the [FBC] Department of Theology, a minimum of four persons together with a chaplain who would be responsible for the maintenance of Christian worship in the chapel.”<sup>108</sup>

However, the potential existed at FBC to conduct exciting and rewarding work on local culture. Arthur Porter, FBC Vice-Principal from 1960 to 1964, described the multicultural setting of Freetown as offering “ample opportunities for the sociologist and the psychologist.” However, the social sciences, except for some studies in economics, languished at FBC. Porter also emphasized the need for the College to help students understand the wider world in an international context. For example, he quoted the Presidential Address of Professor R.H.Tawney to the Workers Educational Association Annual Conference of 1943:

The best citizen—and indeed the best propagandist, negotiator, and politician—is the man who knows his opponent’s case better than his opponent and is not taken off his guard by objections or paralysed by difficulties, because both are old acquaintances against whom he has measured himself before he entered the battle.... It is not enough in the present social maelstrom that the African should be brought up exclusively in the ways and traditions of his forefathers.... The Renascent African needs to be adequately equipped for his contacts, co-operation and contests with other peoples.<sup>109</sup>

At FBC, in balancing the need to understand both the international context and local culture, the College usually erred on the side of emphasizing the international context. However, following independence, Porter was able to help found FBC’s Institute of African Studies.

### The Move Toward Independence

FBC was a Krio dominated institution. With roots firmly established in Freetown, many of its students also came from Krio diasporan communities in neighboring countries, such as the Saro of Nigeria. Increasingly, Sierra Leonean students from the provinces qualified for and demanded access to higher education. Admission to FBC, like access to government jobs, became a political issue. Understanding the complex political and social relationships among the Krio, protectorate people, and the British is key to understanding the dynamics at work at FBC in the independence era.

At the same time that FBC was battling to gain control over its future as a university, Sierra Leone was moving towards political independence from Great Britain. In 1947, the colonial government presented proposals for constitutional reform aimed at unifying the colony and the protectorate and signaling a move towards full political franchise for the entire adult population of Sierra Leone. This action threatened Krio status and control. Prominent and conservative Krio intellectuals, including FBC lecturer Noah Cox-George and the journalist, Thomas Decker, called for the vote to be extended only to those segments of the population that were literate. Christian Cole and his British counterpart in the department of Extra-Mural Studies, Leslie Proudfoot noted that: "Between 1947 and 1957 Dr. Bankole-Bright spoke bluntly about a gulf separating the Creoles from the provincials and advocated formal Creole independence in the former colony."<sup>110</sup> But many other Krios also worked to form a partnership with the different ethnic groups of the protectorate, such as Edward Jones who later changed his name to Lamina Sankoh.<sup>111</sup>

In 1958, further constitutional review created a Sierra Leonean premier and house of representatives with fifty-one elected and two appointed members. Proudfoot and Cole noted:

The most influential of the Sierra Leone newspapers, the *Sierra Leone Daily Mail*, carried from January 21st to 23rd inclusive a reasoned refutation of the case for rapid independence by R.Sarif Easmon, and this provoked only the weakest of replies, no public outcry and a great deal of assent even among that political vanguard, the degree students of Fourah Bay College.<sup>112</sup>

Dr. Easmon wrote: "we have so caught the fever of independence that we are ready and itching to chuck the British out and to do this even though it should be obvious to anyone but an idiot that we have put up no substantial scaffolding to carry the weight and responsibility that have rested on the British shoulder for a century and a half." He felt that "Sierra Leone is thus courting the disaster of having political freedom when there is no sound economic basis to support independence." He was also particularly critical of the system of education in

the country noting that “90 per cent of the people of the hinterland are still untouched by Western influences and cannot read and write.”<sup>113</sup> Like many others before, he failed to take into account Sierra Leoneans who could read and write African languages using Arabic script. Nor was he adequately aware of how different traditional African economics and social systems were from the European.<sup>114</sup>

The British appointed Sir Milton Margai as chief minister in 1954, as premier in 1957, and as prime minister in 1961 (elections were not held until 1962 after independence had been declared). A British-inspired myth asserted that he had been “the first person from the protectorate to obtain a bachelor’s degree from Fourah Bay College.”<sup>115</sup> He was touted as a shining example of achievement through education in a democratic society. The Sierra Leone People’s Party (SLPP) became the first ruling party under his leadership. The fight against Krio dominance by the Protectorate people in the socio-political system was a factor that contributed to the formation of the SLPP.<sup>116</sup> According to British scholar John Hatch who also briefly served as Director of Extra-Mural Studies at FBC: “It was to combat Creole political supremacy rather than to abolish British rule, that the SLPP was formed in 1951. This party looked on the British more as its allies against Creole power than as colonial oppressors.”<sup>117</sup> The SLPP consisted of chiefs, shopkeepers, traders, clerks, lawyers, journalists, teachers, and doctors, etc. It billed itself as a party of the people because of the prominence of protectorate representation but it was still an elite grouping. According to one Sierra Leonean scholar: “The case of Sierra Leone typifies a strong reciprocal link between education and political power, which was exploited by various groups during the colonial era and beyond.”<sup>118</sup> Protectorate politicians had close links with traditional chiefs, the SLPP linked “illiterate” chiefs and the educated social classes.<sup>119</sup>

According to some observers, political independence in Sierra Leone was not marked by any major conflicts. One has argued, “There was no country-wide campaign for independence. The transfer of power took place by agreement, through negotiation rather than as a result of agitation.”<sup>120</sup> The transition from colonial rule to independence in Sierra Leone was relatively smooth and peaceful compared with that of other African countries. British scholar Paul Hair observed that “decolonisation ... was directed from London, with only minimal demand or enthusiasm in Sierra Leone.”<sup>121</sup> Similarly, American scholar Adell Patton noted:

The coming of independence in Sierra Leone was not a rupture with colonialism, for independence was more like a graduation into an elite group—a circle held together by the English language, affection for English culture, and with a strong belief that London was the center of the world. This perspective was held by citizens of the former colony and protectorate alike.<sup>122</sup>

For Patton, change had eluded Sierra Leone as an exploitive economic system remained in the hands of elites.

In contrast to these rosy views of the independence process, David Dalby, a British linguist who launched his career at FBC, noted the foreboding that characterized local sentiment at a ceremony on the eve of independence in Magburka: “The words we heard which really astonished us were an indication of the fear which enclosed Sierra Leone at the time.... [A]nd as he pulled down the flag in Magburka at midnight for their independence the Sierra Leone governor said: ‘three cheers for British rule,’ and the whole crowd cheered.” Dalby believed that the British had abandoned Sierra Leone, and that “there was a scramble out of Africa.”<sup>123</sup>

The first professor of economics at FBC, Ghanaian Robert Kweku Gardiner, had expressed, somewhat earlier, a rather different interpretation of the movement for independence:

In a world dominated by power politics and injustice, the new nations have emerged without military power, liberated by faith in the justice of their cause.... Our Self-Government or independence will mean nothing to the world if it does not enable us to set some moral example to the rest of the world. We are the offspring of the abolitionist movement which appealed to the conscience of the world.<sup>124</sup>

Gardiner viewed the African independence movement as a process imbued with moral justice that had taken generations to succeed. He was proud that independence had largely occurred non-violently although African society had of course long suffered.

Others identified deep and complex internal divisions over the issue of independence, particularly between the Western-educated Krio elite of Freetown and the majority traditional peoples of the protectorate. Because there was hardly a government ministry, department, institution, or organization in Sierra Leone in which the administrative head, professional head, and top echelon were not all Creoles, there was a lot of animosity and jealousy directed towards the Krio.<sup>125</sup> Christopher Fyfe, a British authority on Sierra Leonean history, commented as follows:

The divisive colonial legacy had ruled out the possibility of transfer to a government of national unity.... The Sierra Leone People’s Party, the majority party, to which government was transferred at independence, represented the Protectorate. Though some Krios belonged to it, and a few were included in the first cabinet, their presence could not reconcile animosities so long cherished, nor mask the sense of triumph in the Protectorate at having at long last worsted an enemy.<sup>126</sup>

Numerous political parties vied for support from the often undifferentiated masses. Understanding the diverse political attitudes that existed among the eighteen ethno-linguistic groups of Sierra Leone including Krio, Mende, Temne, Fulani, Limbah, Mandingo, Koranko, Yalunka, Sherbro, Loko, SuSu, Baga, Kono, Kissi, Gola, Vai, Kru, and Krim was no easy matter. Two Sierra Leoneans wrote in 1999 that “the elections of 1957 underscored the regional and ethnic polarizations that would bedevil Sierra Leone’s politics for several years to come.... Voting patterns revealed that class considerations had been far less important than those of region and ethnic affiliation.”<sup>127</sup> The Krio tended to identify themselves separately, as exemplified in another popular Krio proverb: “Krio nohto tribe, na nashun” (The Krio are not a tribe, they are a nation).<sup>128</sup> All of these stances facilitated the traditional colonial divide and rule tactics separating people throughout West Africa. While the Krio of the nineteenth century had helped to link people of African descent across West Africa and the diaspora, the Krio of the twentieth century seemed more isolated and defensive.

The faculty at Fourah Bay College had offered little assistance in understanding the diverse political opinions and perspectives of the many different ethnic groups of the country. In a 1960 study of student attitudes at FBC, Dwaine Marvick noted: “Its staff was largely British, and perhaps understandably the faculty sought to create a facsimile of English faculty life; this erected a wall more of remoteness than of prejudice between themselves and the students. Thus the staff was removed from the extracurricular life of the college.”<sup>129</sup> In addition, the College’s curriculum did not offer courses with African content. Beginning in 1952, FBC offered a course on Europe’s historical role in Africa that slighted African perspectives:

When the History Department of Fourah Bay College approached the University of Durham with the idea of teaching African history, it felt the need for caution. Hitherto our syllabus had been identical to Durham’s. Students could write learnedly about the Star Chamber of the Tudors but had never been taught even the names of the peoples in their own country. After due consideration, permission was received to teach a course on Policies of the Great Powers in Africa. This was typical of the era: what passed for African history was still all too often the history of the white man in Africa.... It was not until after independence, first national, and then of the University, that syllabuses really could be satisfactorily reconstructed to reflect the needs of an African University.<sup>130</sup>

Arthur Porter, a Sierra Leonean, succeeded John Hargreaves as chair of History at FBC. He was assisted by Peter Kup and Henry Wilson from England. Henry Wilson dedicated *Origins of West African Nationalism* to “the founding



members of the Multiracial Club,” which had been founded in Freetown in 1959. He noted that the idea for the book came out of his experience of teaching African history to Africans on Mount Aureol.<sup>131</sup> The historical work of these scholars focused on the history of the colony and the Krio rather than the protectorate. According to John Hargreaves: “This was not only because the documentary sources [for these topics] were most easily accessible, but also because...the methodologies of modern Africanist historiography were still in their early stages.”<sup>132</sup> In spite of these forays into African history, British history remained the predominant focus of the department as prescribed by the Durham curriculum.

As previously noted, Sierra Leonean students had preferred to pursue their higher education in Britain rather than study at home. FBC was most often their second choice. The United States was rarely considered.<sup>133</sup> Only 47 Sierra Leoneans students were studying in the United States in 1958, while there were 1010 Sierra Leonean students studying in the United Kingdom and a total of 421 students at FBC.<sup>134</sup> Peter Kaim-Caudle, a visiting professor from Durham University, questioned Sierra Leone’s scholarship policy:

I also raised the thorny problem of the justification of a policy which financed at great expense university education for 160 Sierra Leonean students at home and simultaneously enabled 200 Sierra Leonean students to study on government scholarships overseas.... Recently many countries have offered scholarships to Sierra Leonian students with the result that fewer well-qualified students apply for admission to Fourah Bay College.... There is some danger that the generosity of overseas governments will handicap the development of the College.<sup>135</sup>

The demand for higher education continued to increase but either the provision of opportunities within Sierra Leone were insufficient or the attraction and lure of studying abroad was too great. Colonial government scholarships for Sierra Leonean students to study in Great Britain were an indirect but effective way to continue to ensure a return of funds from the peripheral colony to the metropole.<sup>136</sup> Scholarships aimed at attracting Sierra Leoneans into the teaching profession and to remain at home in Sierra Leone did not exist.

The development of Fourah Bay College was an expensive undertaking. Part of the focus of the 1959 Fourah Bay College Visitation was “to advise on the proposed removal of teacher training from Fourah Bay College.” A major consideration for the removal of teacher-training was the limited space at the College atop Mount Aureol. The choice of Mount Aureol had been made to reduce immediate building costs (army barracks were originally used to house the college following the war) but at the expense of increased future costs due to the very steep character of the site.<sup>137</sup> When the Sierra Leone government finally decided it needed to significantly expand its teacher-training program,

the costs of expansion at FBC were extremely high. In 1959, students of education were seen as “taking up places needed for students qualified to take degree courses.” The College, which in 1946 was considered unable to attract adequate numbers of students, was by 1959 short of space.

Demand for education far exceeded the supply. The Visitation Committee supported the government’s decision to develop a separate College of Education despite the belief in England that “every university should accept new responsibilities for the training and education of teachers as against the idea of many separate and self-contained training institutions.”<sup>138</sup> Teachers benefit from the full offering of a university institution. Teaching degrees should be professional degrees above and beyond the bachelors degree. Teachers need to be held to the same standards as other university students. Nonetheless, the teacher’s training program was removed from FBC. There was opposition to separating Teacher Training from FBC but “the powers that be were too strong to prevail upon.”<sup>139</sup> According to one student of teacher education in Sierra Leone, “University officials feared that non-degree training courses in the college curriculum would lower the college’s academic status. [So] They used the excuse of limited space and the teacher training department was moved.”<sup>140</sup> The new Teacher Training College was located in Freetown. In 1959, the new institution moved to Tower Hill and was referred to as the Freetown Teacher Training College, and subsequently named, the Milton Margai Teachers’ College, when it was moved to Goderich in September of 1963.<sup>141</sup> A small graduate program in education was maintained at FBC.

FBC became the University College of Sierra Leone in 1960 and Davidson Nicol became the first Sierra Leonean officially recognized as Principal of the College (there had been several Sierra Leoneans who had served as acting principals). He held the B.A., M.A., and M.B. degrees from Cambridge University, and an M.D. and Ph.D. from the University of London. He was the first African to become a don at Cambridge. He rose to the highest levels of Western achievement and had the complete backing of the Colonial Office.<sup>142</sup> In some respects, however, this was a limitation at home. One Sierra Leonean scholar reflected: “You could be sure before you saw a man being sent out to come to a colonial college like Fourah Bay or Ibadan that he had gone through the furnace of purification in terms of their ideas, their beliefs, their previous contacts.”<sup>143</sup> Well-respected, Nicol was able to advance the reputation of FBC abroad. He “was determined to make it [FBC] a university institution of distinction, worthy of a new independent nation. Under his dynamic principalship it blossomed with new teaching and research departments, high calibre staff appointments and impressive buildings.”<sup>144</sup>

Following a series of lectures given at the University of Legon, Nicol published a book dedicated “to those of all races and nationalities who have loved and laboured for Africa.” He was a product of the educated elite and was committed to international and interracial cooperation. An accomplished

academic, he was both skeptical of and enamored with a privileged modern lifestyle:

In the rush of our day-to-day work we are unable to stand back and ponder the problems and realities of our continent. We read newspapers and book reviews (not books); we attend innumerable but essential committees; we fly off to conferences to pass resolutions; we dictate letters, interview visitors, make some minor decisions and fewer major ones, and attend far too many official cocktail parties and dinners. We are conscious that our existence is restless and that we do not read or think enough about basic problems.<sup>145</sup>

In his lectures he addressed a wide range of topics including African politics and politicians, international relations, race relations, higher education, the civil service, and African literature. He was particularly concerned about the shape of African democracy:

If one regards these Heads of State not as Prime Ministers or Presidents but as kings, paramount chiefs and emperors who rule for the rest of their life-time, one comes nearer the truth as these leaders and some of their followers see it and the present situation becomes more understandable if not acceptable. It is probably even more acceptable to the African majority who are used to chiefs and kings remaining on their thrones and only being changed or deposed if they are excessively despotic.<sup>146</sup>

Nicol believed in the need for a strong civil service, system of education, and free press. These were the building blocks of civil society and a successful democracy. He was very concerned about corruption.<sup>147</sup> He wanted Africa to interact effectively with the international community.

Nicol understood Pan-Africanism through his Krio background as an amalgamation of cultural influences, including those of the European. He noted “that every educated African who has lived or studied outside his own country, or visited overseas countries, is more or less a Pan-Africanist at heart.”<sup>148</sup> Nicol believed that educated Africans would have to address the negative stereotypes of Africa in the West. However, few Europeans were equally willing to recognize the influence of African and African diasporan cultural influences on the West or accept African institutions of higher education as equal partners. Nonetheless, Nicol described international relationships with great sympathy. For example, in describing the environment of African University students he noted: “they gather from newspapers and speeches that most of their troubles are due to European oppression, past and present, yet the majority of their lecturers are European, and sometimes their kindest mentor may be European.”<sup>149</sup> During his tenure as principal Nicol strove to place qualified

Sierra Leonean scholars in leadership roles as deans and chairs of the faculties and departments. For example, in 1960, Arthur Porter was made Vice-Principal and Chair of History, Dr. Noah Cox-George became Dean of the Faculty of Economic Studies, and Rev. Harry Sawyerr became Dean of the Faculty of Theology. The other four Deans were from Great Britain: Mr. K.G. Dalton, Dean of the Faculty of Arts; Mr. S.L.Hockey, Dean of the Faculty of Education; Mr. E.G.Dunstun, Dean of the Faculty of Science; and Mr. E.M.R. Smith, Dean of the Faculty of Applied Science. A 1962 article in *West Africa*, after noting the appointments of several Sierra Leoneans to the staff at FBC, quoted Nicol as saying “that the only test to be applied when appointing staff was academic excellence.”<sup>150</sup>

Securing the necessary financial support to sustain the growth of the College was difficult. In 1960, the largest single cost under recurrent expenditures at 62,000 pounds was for “passage” for senior staff and their families. Senior staff included both Sierra Leoneans and Europeans who traveled to England for the summer. Close to 1 million Leones was used to build faculty housing.<sup>151</sup> The 1960 Triennial Advisory Committee Report in an attempt to help find ways for the College to cut or reduce costs expressed concern over the large subsidy provided students for room and board. The Report also suggested that due to the large number of Nigerian students attending FBC, Nigeria might be willing to provide some subsidy to the College. One of its primary recommendations was a reduction in the projected staff of the College from 96 to 82. For the 1961 to 1964 period, the Advisory Committee recommended cuts amounting to 300,000 pounds from the college’s proposed budget.<sup>152</sup>

FBC’s reliance on the newly independent Sierra Leonean government for its funding was detrimental to University development and autonomy. Therefore, it was important that FBC seek funding from other sources. Western philanthropies and governments were willing partners. Davidson Nicol was concerned about academic freedom and university service to nation-building. He believed in institutional responsibility noting that faculty “are not entitled to use their academic position or academic freedom to foment opposition to democratically-elected governments.”<sup>153</sup> Many years later, J.F.Ajayi, a Nigerian scholar of the African higher education experience, noted the importance of opposing authoritarian rule:

African politicians, and even some of the African academics trying to take control of the universities from expatriates, had to rediscover to what extent the autonomy and academic freedom claimed by the expatriates were part of the colonial legacy that should be swept away or essential aspects of universal traditions necessary for the African university to make its contribution to national development.... [The] failure of many African academics to fully appreciate the necessity to defend autonomy in

the long-term interest of the academy was one of the most enduring legacies of the colonial situation.<sup>154</sup>

Nicol confronted both infringements of academic freedom and university autonomy. In 1962, he faced off with the first Sierra Leonean Prime Minister over the deportation of a British lecturer. He was unsuccessful at getting the government to rescind its deportation order.<sup>155</sup> In 1967, the country experienced a military coup. Press restrictions followed a published letter from Nicol voicing his opposition to the military regime.<sup>156</sup>

African universities faced many challenges in the 1960s including the Africanization of faculty and curriculum, aiding national development, defending academic freedom and university autonomy, managing enrollment, financing university development, and developing international partnerships. Africanization alone, was not the antidote to the deleterious effects of colonialization. Decolonization needed to be a global process. Nicol convened the first International Seminar on Inter-University Co-operation in West Africa in Freetown in December of 1961 to address such issues. This seminar was followed by the UNESCO/IAU sponsored conference on Higher Education in Africa in Tanarive in September of 1962 which eventually led to the founding of the Association of African Universities in Morocco in November of 1967.<sup>157</sup> However, regional cooperation within Africa was a strategy never fully realized. The relationship of the former African colonies with the West superseded their relationships with their immediate neighbors.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### African Studies and Educational Relevance: Curriculum Development, 1961–2001

This chapter examines the development of the FBC curriculum in the last four decades of the twentieth century with particular emphasis on its relevance to local culture. It is during this period that FBC gained its independence from Durham University and became part of the University of Sierra Leone. FBC also established an Institute of African Studies at the beginning of the period. At the same time, the newly independent government of Sierra Leone as well as external donors played important roles in setting “development” priorities that affected higher education. The following analysis examines the impact of government funding and international assistance on higher education in Sierra Leone. Development education did not emphasize traditional culture or the liberal arts. Koso Thomas, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sierra Leone from 1985 to 1991, lamented this emphasis:

the fundamental role of education in any country must be the fulfillment of the spiritual and material requirements of society. In developing countries, however, the haste to produce much more of their own skilled manpower has resulted in a sad neglect in their educational programmes, of those aspects of culture and art, which form the essential ingredients for developing moral and spiritual values in an educated man.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Great Britain and the United States provided funding for staffing and creating academic departments abroad. In the 1950s, the academic staff at FBC was predominantly British. In the 1960s, scholars from the United States challenged the preeminence of British academics in Sierra Leone and throughout West Africa. American academics in the 1960s had greater access than the British to research funds. For example, British FBC professor Paul Hair noted that the 2<sup>nd</sup> West African Languages Conference held in Freetown in May of 1963 signified the “takeover of the almighty dollar of African linguistics.”<sup>2</sup> At this time, requests for American technical assistance in founding or helping to run African universities, institutes and departments were endless.<sup>3</sup> The Ford and Rockefeller foundations were frequently able to appoint United States scholars as heads of academic departments and administrative

units in selected foreign institutions. Local leaders and scholars found it very difficult to reject the influence of these foundations and foreign governments.<sup>4</sup> According to one of them, “it was a time when it seemed to me as if the [United States] State Department was practically

dictating curriculum for colleges and universities.”<sup>5</sup> Academics were aware of the goals and interests of funding agencies and proposed research geared to meet the interests and priorities of these agencies. Fourah Bay College was not immune to these powerful influences.

One of the first United States Agency for International Development (USAID) projects in Sierra Leone was with the predominantly African-American Hampton Institute to develop rural training institutes in fields such as home economics, agriculture, and building crafts. USAID provided \$249,000 to the Hampton Institute for a three year period from 1961 to 1964.<sup>6</sup> Two training institutes opened in Kenema and Batkanu, Sierra Leone, in 1962, with staff made up almost entirely of Americans. According to Sierra Leonean scholar and FBC graduate, George Roberts, between 1962 and 1969, “No one knew of [any] graduates who had gone back into their communities to do what they had been trained to do.” Roberts further asserted that the American staff in Sierra Leone did not meet the normal staff standards for employment at the Hampton Institute. He wrote:

For a project whose intent was to enhance living conditions in the rural communities, there is little evidence that much effort was made to bring this about. The technique of recruitment took hardly any consideration of the role that could be played by significant indigenous personnel.... A systematic program for involving the surrounding communities, especially to diffuse the ideas and practices of the institutes, was not effectively incorporated into the training program.<sup>7</sup>

Sierra Leoneans at first invested these institutes with a great deal of prestige and status, particularly those students who believed they would gain access to farther education in the United States through the institutes. USAID contributed 175,000 leones (or approximately \$250,000 dollars) in 1962 for a new economics building, a new building for the department of Education, five staff houses, and Science Laboratory Equipment to FBC, as well as 125,000 leones (\$175,000 dollars) to the Freetown Teachers Training College.<sup>8</sup>

According to an American scholar, Edward Berman, the United States attempted to insure that its own vested economic and strategic interests were not threatened by devising programs linking the educational systems of the new African nations to those of the United States.<sup>9</sup> The problem was not that partnerships linked universities, rather the problem rested with a process that tried to dictate the goals and activities of such linkages in accordance with Western ideologies. Support from Western governments and foundations aided



strategic political alliances rather than pursued practical problem solving or consensus building initiatives.

With independence, the Sierra Leone government wanted to train enough teachers to achieve universal primary education. The United States supported this goal by helping to build and establish two new teacher-training colleges in Sierra Leone. In contrast, Durham University Professor Peter Kaim-Caudle warned that the push to train and employ so many teachers would strain the economy. He advocated a politically unpopular view that focused on agricultural development. He did not believe that Sierra Leone could achieve its industrial or educational goals without a solid agricultural base or assistance from overseas.<sup>10</sup> The real problem was that thirty years of mining profits had been invested neither in agriculture nor education.

Very few Sierra Leoneans who received a higher education returned to the village, although at least up to the early 1970s and the emergence of open political intimidation, most students who went abroad for their education returned to Sierra Leone. Davidson Abioseh Nicol, who had successfully obtained large capital investments for the development of higher education in Sierra Leone after becoming FBC principal in 1960, was very concerned about graduates who avoided working or teaching in rural areas. According to Nicol:

University educated Africans like ourselves should cease to regard themselves as a privileged class entitled to a car, furnished quarters, refrigerators and servants as soon as they graduate.... We cannot as a nation, keep hoping that young American and British citizens as Peace Corps or VSOs [Volunteer Service Organization the British equivalent to Peace Corps] will continue to do the less glamorous work of our country's development while we stop work at three to go home for the evening's enjoyment.<sup>11</sup>

Nicol's statement intended to shame Sierra Leoneans for lacking a sense of national duty.

There were approximately 300 Peace Corps volunteers serving primarily rural areas of Sierra Leone in 1967; these volunteers and American missionaries constituted approximately a quarter of all the country's teachers.<sup>12</sup> Programs such as the Peace Corps emphasized the human element of shared problem solving but were hampered by the relatively short duration of the volunteer experience. Most Peace Corps volunteers spent approximately two years learning about local conditions and then left. The Peace Corps was more successful as a shared learning experience than as a foreign aid development project. The real lesson of the Peace Corps experience may have been that shared learning experiences were an essential prerequisite to mutual problem solving. The impact of returned Peace Corps volunteers on the educational culture of the United States has yet to be adequately studied.<sup>13</sup>

### Njala University College and the University of Sierra Leone

American influence on higher education in Sierra Leone was predominantly in the fields of agriculture and education through support of Njala University College (NUC) and Milton Margai Teacher's College (MMTC). These two colleges, along with FBC, eventually became the constituent institutions of the University of Sierra Leone (USL). In February-March of 1963, the University of Illinois, under contract with USAID, visited Sierra Leone to assess the needs of the country in agriculture and education. Based on the recommendations of the survey team, the Sierra Leonean Government decided to establish a land grant type institution at Njala, located in the middle of the country.<sup>14</sup> This action significantly expanded the scope of Njala University College (NUC) founded in 1919 as a teacher training institute for rural government schools.<sup>15</sup> Russell Odell, who led the University of Illinois USAID project, noted that: "Sierra Leone is primarily an agricultural country, but emphasis on improving agriculture has not been commensurate with its importance in the economy. Prior to independence in 1961, there were no agricultural degree programs in Sierra Leone."<sup>16</sup> In August of 1963, the University of Illinois contracted with USAID to provide technical and other assistance for the development of NUC. USAID contributed four and a half million dollars to the University of Illinois/Njala University project between 1963–1973. In 1966, NUC became a constituent college of the University of Sierra Leone.<sup>17</sup>

C.P. Foray noted the consequences for FBC of the establishment of Njala University College:

Firstly faced with Njala's determination to confer NUC degrees, Fourah Bay College decided to follow suit and so set in train the chain of events which led to the final severance of ties with Durham University. This was bound to happen but I am sure the Njala threat precipitated the move. Secondly Fourah Bay's financial resources were strained. The country almost in a fit of absentmindedness suddenly found itself saddled with two university colleges with a combined student population at the time of less than one thousand. The government had barely been able to support one.<sup>18</sup>

The focus of NUC was very different from that of FBC but their relationship as sister institutions within the USL structure was strained, even combative, because of scarce resources. Again, according to Foray,

The Americans created the impression that the USA would provide funds for capital outlay (for Njala Agricultural College). There was also an attempt by the Americans, in the circumstances feeble but nonetheless

mischievous and obnoxious, to identify FBC with Creoles and Creoledom and to portray NUC as a provincial or Mende College.<sup>19</sup>

In 1966, FBC principal Nicol expressed concern over Sierra Leone's ability to support two University Colleges.

The vote for recurrent expenditure of our college has not been increased for two years.... [T]he University [of Sierra Leone] at present will need at least 9 million leones or 13 million dollars in round figures over the next three years to maintain them [FBC & NUC] at their present level.... Thus the government must be prepared to find at least 4 million leones or about 6 million dollars over the next three years.<sup>20</sup>

A conference was held on September 16, 1968 that included the United States Ambassador Robert G. Miner, USAID representatives from Washington, contract representatives from the University of Illinois and NUC, as well as numerous high ranking ministers and permanent secretaries of the Sierra Leone government. The conference record acknowledged: "one fact is clearly recognized: the Government of Sierra Leone cannot afford to shoulder the entire burden of developing NUC in accordance with the plans herein projected.... If Njala University College is to develop into a viable institution... substantial external donor support will be required for the next several years."<sup>21</sup> Sierra Leone's debt burden grew ever larger.

Victor King, a former tutor at FBC and principal of MMTTC, questioned the wisdom of developing additional teacher training institutions given that many other important needs of the country were not being met. He believed that this strategy was "quite irrational when two or more institutions compete for (a) the relatively small number of qualified recruits and (b) the meager finances available." He asserted that the total enrollment of 448 education students at Fourah Bay College, Njala University College and Milton Margai Teachers College was "not large enough for a single viable institution."<sup>22</sup>

The development of Njala University College offered Sierra Leone an opportunity to increase access to higher education. However, within the economic constraints of Sierra Leone, Njala posed a threat to FBC. The absorption of FBC into the University of Sierra Leone hurt the College's ability to maintain its own unique identity. The forces that pushed FBC into becoming a part of the USL included American and British competition for control over educational policy. The establishment of the University of Sierra Leone led to the final separation of FBC from Durham University, and the inclusion of NUC gave the United States a major role in the future development of university education in the country.

A survey of higher education in Sierra Leone was conducted in 1968 by the Overseas Liaison Committee of the American Council on Education (ACE). The

ACE team was chaired by Arthur J. Lewis of Columbia University, and team members included Robert D. Loken of the Ford Foundation, and John McKelvey of the Rockefeller Foundation. The team believed that practical concerns were of first importance:

education in a developing country must serve a wider and deeper purpose than in the more developed world. This is because those indigenous supporting institutions which carry on the post-school educational process in a developing country have not had time to take root and proliferate. Once this process is underway the educational emphasis within the formal school system can afford to shift to the less practical, and more cultural, areas of personal development. This is not to say that during this interim period subjects dealing with the arts, the culture, and the society should be discontinued, but rather that heavier emphasis should be given on the more practical subject areas.<sup>23</sup>

The ACE team also predicted that Sierra Leone would soon face “a far more serious threat of a large number of educated, and therefore articulate, unemployed.” However, they believed that on the positive side, “this should have the effect of forcing large numbers of college graduates into the teaching profession.”<sup>24</sup> Over seventy-five percent of secondary school teachers were expatriates. The ACE committee hoped that more Sierra Leoneans would replace these teachers.

The ACE team added that diamonds had replaced agriculture as the primary export of the country, a phenomenon that boded ill. ACE emphasized the need for Sierra Leone to become self-sufficient in rice production and they noted that locally produced cotton was far more expensive than imported cotton manufactured goods. In comparing Sierra Leone’s economy with that of Europe, the team placed blame for the country’s problems on low worker productivity. They believed that “means must be found to foster and encourage personal initiative and innovation, both of which are discouraged in traditional society. The tropical climate and the relative ease of obtaining food and shelter provides the average man with little incentive to strive for benefits beyond those required for minimal existence.”<sup>25</sup> The ACE team ignored, however, the wisdom of sustainable farming practices that had nurtured the development of crop varieties perfected over the centuries to take advantage of local conditions, soils, pests, and rainfall.<sup>26</sup> As African farmers followed ACE advice and began to farm cash crops aimed at earning foreign currency for the national coffers people also began to experience severe food shortages.

The ACE report was largely a justification for maintaining United States support for NUC, in spite of the fact that the functions of the College, including agricultural research, had been previously performed at other institutions within Sierra Leone. The development of Njala College was an attempt to implant an American-style land grant extension university in Sierra Leone, despite the fact that the report itself noted there was a shortage of jobs available for college graduates, a shortage of qualified student applicants, and a diminishing national budget for education. The focus at Njala was technology transfer in agriculture, not on learning from the African farmer or documenting “best practices” of local farmers. Such a desirable shift in educational policy did not occur until the early 1980s.

#### Fourah Bay College and the University of Sierra Leone

Fourah Bay College formally ended its affiliation with Durham University when it and Njala combined to form the University of Sierra Leone in 1966. In that year, principal Nicol had a lot to be proud of:

the future of Fourah Bay is hopeful, as academic and physical improvements are evident. New courses, buildings, laboratories, workshops, experimental stations and lecture halls are established and built each year. The number of Sierra Leonean members of the academic staff continues to increase and the administration is manned entirely by Sierra Leoneans.<sup>27</sup>

The principal also remarked that plans were “afoot for the setting up of a Faculty of Medicine with a teaching hospital and a Nursing school...[and] also plans for the establishment of a Faculty of Law.”<sup>28</sup>

One American visiting professor spoke positively of the changes to the FBC campus between 1960 and 1967:

Since 1960, Dr. Davidson Nicol...has been responsible for a vast new building program which makes FBC hardly recognizable as the institution I left seven years ago. The massive office and classroom block known as the Kennedy Building with its eight stories has already become a new Freetown landmark.... The new, airconditioned library is built so as to facilitate easy expansion as its collection increases. Although nearly all of the new building has been carried out by generous grants from various foreign aid sources, the Arts Building stands symbolically as the contribution of the Sierra Leone Government to the university’s growth.<sup>29</sup>

However, the goodwill and prosperity of the late 1950s and early 1960s were about to change. Political and economic uncertainty in Sierra Leone and

throughout West Africa began to undermine confidence. The 1967/1968 academic year showed for the first time since 1950 a deficit in the College's annual budget.<sup>30</sup>

Harry Alphonso Egunolorun Sawyerr followed Nicol as principal of FBC in 1968. Sawyerr graduated from FBC with a B.A. degree in 1933 and received the

M.A. in 1936, an M.Ed. in 1940, and an Honorary Doctorate of Divinity in 1970. He taught at FBC from 1933 to 1974 and was principal from 1968 to 1974, served as Pro-Vice Chancellor of the USL from 1968 to 1970, and became Vice-Chancellor from 1970 to 1972. He also served as acting principal of Codrington College, Barbados, lecturing extensively in the University of the West Indies system in the late 1970s. Sawyerr was described by an American scholar as:

one of the most humane, energetic people I have known anywhere. Throughout the day, and well into the night, he could be seen feverishly driving up and down Mount Aureol, where he lived on the university campus. He would put on his academic gown to give a lecture early in the morning; wear his ecclesiastical gown to go down to the cathedral to officiate at a wedding service; rush back to his office to receive the acting governor, a minister, or an important foreign visitor; return to town to attend a feast for the dead; go from there to participate in a christening party; and then on to one or another state-level ceremony.<sup>31</sup>

Sawyerr, like Nicol, wanted the resources of the University "placed at the direct service of the community," more particularly, he sought to have "the services localized."<sup>32</sup> Sawyerr was concerned about the application of knowledge within rural village communities and warned of an alienation of the university from African culture.

The experience in Sierra Leone is that many undergraduates suffer from a lack of adjustment, principally psychological in nature. They have had to attend school and, therefore, got removed from the village and tribal life.... [M]any of the undergraduates of Fourah Bay College are first generation undergraduates, who are completely alienated from the mores of their villages and towns, and who have been introduced to life on a large scale. The moral sanctions of the village are no longer respected and observed by them.... As a result, they do not receive the agelong traditional training in good citizenship.... So they acquire considerable intellectual apparatus; they gain good degrees; many attain a post-graduate doctoral status; but they miss the ingredient called culture.<sup>33</sup>

Sawyerr was concerned that African college graduates seemed to be caught between "two worlds," and were "likely to develop a split personality" or be

left in a “moral vacuum.”<sup>34</sup> All these problems related, in part, to the lack of in-depth knowledge about traditional culture and society at FBC.

A related curricular concern was evident in the long running debate at FBC about the purpose, structure and function of “African Studies.” In 1966, Harry Sawyerr quoted Eric Ashby’s challenge that “there are no West African universities -yet” to help define the tasks and functions of the soon to be established University of Sierra Leone. He described them as international standards of scholarship, politically disengaged service to the task of nation-building, and a need to revise the curriculum to bring African Studies into the core of the humanities. Unlike the Cambridge University graduate Davidson Nicol and the Boston University graduate Arthur Porter, however, Sawyerr did not support the idea of creating a separate department of African Studies. He preferred that “every discipline—English, History, Theology—should so organise its programmes of teaching and study that material related to African life provides integral aspects of all the teaching done in University departments in Africa.”<sup>35</sup> The idea that special centers should be created for the study of Africa in universities where a major emphasis on African subjects might be expected in any case was challenged in Nigeria and Ghana as well as in Sierra Leone. Opponents argued that “special institutes absorbed much needed funds, established power bases that competed with academic departments, and contributed little to the classroom teaching that was the essential function of undergraduate programs.”<sup>36</sup>

In the United Kingdom and the United States, African Studies was a great growth subject. British academics were encouraged to teach and conduct research in Africa with attractive salaries and conditions of service. Many returned from teaching in Africa to hold professorial chairs in Britain.<sup>37</sup>

In June of 1966, FBC and the University of California Berkeley held a conference in Sierra Leone and published the papers presented under the title: *Africa in the Wider World: The Inter-relationship of Area and Comparative Studies*. Thirteen papers presented by five Americans, three Sierra Leoneans, two Ghanaians, two Nigerians, and one British scholar addressed the concept of “African Studies” from the perspective of different academic disciplines.<sup>38</sup> The Sierra Leonean scholars were skeptical of the past accomplishments of area studies work about Africa by Western scholars. Arthur Porter, Vice-Chancellor of the USL from 1972 to 1984 wrote: “So far European scholars with their own academic training, their own cultural experiences, have put forward the questions that have interested them about Africa and Africa’s past and have answered them in their own way. It is for us Africans to put forward our own questions now in the light of our inner experiences and our empathy.”<sup>39</sup> FBC economics professor David Carney was of the same mind:

In view of the emphasis of this seminar which, as I understand it, is to illustrate the value of area and comparative studies it may seem foolhardy

to raise questions regarding something I am supposed to take for granted—something that is, apparently, so obvious for all to see. Unfortunately, this is none too obvious to me and, I fear, to many other people. When one reads—I had almost added exaggerated—claims being made for area studies (for example that the detailed case studies which have been made of African societies in the last forty years have tremendously enriched general anthropological theory and furthered our understanding of social, political and religious institutions, as well as of social change) one is brought up sharply to look around at what has been done generally in the last forty years.<sup>40</sup>

Carney further noted:

The teaching of economics and other social disciplines in the developing countries of Africa suffers from the use of alien material and illustrations.... While the prevailing emphasis of African Studies Institutes abroad must inevitably continue to be studies *about* Africa in preference to studies of Africa, this limited emphasis could hardly be enough for African Studies Institutes located in Africa.<sup>41</sup>

Ownership, self-reliance, and relevance thus emerged, at least for Sierra Leoneans, as important curricular themes following African independence.

#### The Institute of African Studies at Fourah Bay College

While the USL remained controversial, this dissertation and the rest of this chapter focus on FBC. The issue of African Studies at FBC had been addressed before its incorporation into the USL in 1968. An African Studies Committee had been set up at FBC in 1960 when Davidson Nicol became Principal. The immediate concern was not attracting scholars to FBC to do research in the field but creating a Center with a library and other resources to enable the work. In a letter to the Calouste Gulbunkien Foundation in 1963, F.P.Dunnill of the Colonial Department of Technical Cooperation noted that “Sierra Leone...was given no special capital grant [from CD&W funds] for education on independence” and that the Colonial Department had been looking for some time for a way to give capital assistance to the project.<sup>42</sup> Nicol also wrote to the Gulbunkien Foundation in 1963 requesting capital building funds for the establishment of an Institute of African Studies at FBC. In a letter to the foundation, Nicol noted: “since my appointment to the Principalship, it has been my ambition (and I know this is shared by my senate) to put African Studies into one institute.” He further noted that for the past ten years “intensive research has been going on at this college into African history, anthropology and sociology.” After listing a number of distinguished FBC



alumni, he concluded “any grant towards Fourah Bay College therefore is an investment towards the production of a wise, humane and understanding leadership for the future of this continent.”<sup>43</sup>

The application was successful. The Gulbunkien Foundation presented a check for 40,000 Leones (\$60,000 dollars) to the Chairman of the Fourah Bay College Council, Samuel Bankole-Jones, for the establishment of the Institute of African Studies in October of 1964.<sup>44</sup> A new building, the Mary Kingsley Hall, was constructed in part with these funds and completed in 1969.

In 1964, Principal Nicol wrote: “the University has a duty to study, publish and propagate all possible aspects of local African history and art. It should not, as at present, leave this completely to visiting American and British foundation research fellows.”<sup>45</sup> The Institute of African Studies attracted large numbers of foreign researchers. Sierra Leonean scholars often assisted foreign scholars in conducting their research. Between 1965 and 1979, no less than 128 different scholars visited FBC to conduct research for periods ranging from three months to two years.<sup>46</sup> This does not include those who visited to attend conferences or provide a few lectures. Visiting Africanists to the Institute in 1965–66 came from a variety of countries and included: Curt Jurgens (Kiel University), John Hargreaves (Aberdeen University), Graham Irwin (Columbia University), Lalage Brown (University of Zambia), Paul Ozanne (University of Ghana), Vincent Monteil, Director of IFAN (Dakar), and J. F. Ade Ajayi (University of Ibadan).<sup>47</sup> Visiting researchers were required to present at least one lecture at FBC. The Institute held 27 lectures during its 1970/71 series with twenty-four different presenters including five lectures by FBC faculty recently returned from studying in the United States.<sup>48</sup> The United States Fulbright program awarded one Lecturer and Research Scholar grant per year to Sierra Leonean applicants in 1961 and 1962, “making it the most active foreign professor program in sub-Saharan Africa.”<sup>49</sup> Fulbright continued to provide one grant per year for the next thirty years with one or two exceptions.<sup>50</sup> Visiting professors often came to FBC to conduct research on African history and culture. Sierra Leoneans mostly taught the traditional Western disciplines.

The Institute of African Studies served primarily as a research unit and host to visiting scholars. However, by 1966, it had helped develop a two-term “Introductory Lecture Course in African Studies for all freshman students.” The first term course was titled “West African History and Culture” and the second term course was “Contemporary West Africa: Social and Economic Problems.”<sup>51</sup> These courses were introductory, advanced courses were yet to be developed. African history had to involve more than written English sources before it could flourish. According to Davidson Nicol: “It should be realized that most of our African literature and history is still unwritten, and is stored in the minds of our drummers, singers, traditional priests and old people who are mostly illiterate.”<sup>52</sup> Literacy privileged certain methods of discourse. The written word assumed power over oral communication. Changing traditional

Western concepts of acceptable research methodologies to embrace oral traditions posed a major challenge for African scholars.

### Competing Conceptions of African Studies

FBC alumnus, Kenneth Dike, is credited with establishing in the 1960s what came to be known as the Ibadan School of African history which aimed at creating an African-centered discourse. According to Nigerian scholar, Toyin Falola, the Ibadan School of African history promoted nationalist historiography and emphasized that “Africans could now do original research and write books and essays about their own people.”<sup>53</sup> American scholar Robert July saw the effort as a “search for a usable past” where it was essential “to banish the sense of inferiority that a century of colonial rule had engendered, to substitute an impressive past, equal to Europe’s own in accomplishment, in powerful empires, in great and influential rulers.”<sup>54</sup>

British scholars had long favored a certain telling of Sierra Leonean history, one that emphasized the abolitionists’ role in establishing the Freetown colony. As one non-British scholar has noted:

Creole history has indirectly come to punctuate and to give a basic structure to the history of Sierra Leone.... In a similar fashion, the present structure of the Sierra Leone political system is often explained in terms of the history of the Creoles.... People explain the present relations between ethnic and regional groupings in terms of the time span of the history of the Creoles. This is the case not just with ordinary people and committed ideologists, but also among academic historians, for a variety of technical reasons. Open any book on the history of Sierra Leone and you will find its starting point is the story—which by now has acquired legendary character—of the settlement of the emancipated slaves in the country towards the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>55</sup>

Christopher Fyfe’s monumental work, *A History of Sierra Leone*, published in 1962, was one of the first to include a sketch of the early history of the country in the introduction.<sup>56</sup> A contemporary review of the work, however, noted its primary focus on Krio contributions: “But one thing stands out: the Sierra Leone Creoles, so long ill-treated by superficial or prejudiced European observers, are at last restored and reconciled with their history. With loving care, Mr. Fyfe marshals biographical details of forgotten men to disprove legends of indolence, ineffectiveness, estrangement from their African heritage.”<sup>57</sup> Thus, while Fyfe’s treatment of the Krio was much more favorable than previous European accounts, it still gave primary emphasis to British/Krio relationships. It was left to Sierra Leoneans to write more ethnographic

histories. Fyfe reflected on his own work 31 years later in the Introduction to the Gregg Revivals edition of *A History of Sierra Leone*:

I deliberately chose to call it *A History*, and not *The History*, seeing myself not as the author of the final, definitive study but as a pioneer who hoped that other historians, particularly historians from Sierra Leone, would take it as a starting point for their own work.... Over the past years it has given me great pleasure to see young Sierra Leone historians contributing to their country's history in publications of scholarship and distinction. I note particularly Arthur Abraham... C.Magbaily Fyle... J.G.Akintola Wyse... Clifford N.Fyle and Eldred Jones.<sup>58</sup>

Throughout the colonial period, the Krio had been a progressive force arguing for change. However, after independence, Krios at FBC became the strongest advocates for the favored abolitionist and British history that took priority over protectorate history. American anthropologist Joe Opala has noted, "The Krio establishment went to any cost to maintain their control over higher education. The curriculum was manipulated for the benefit of the Krio establishment."<sup>59</sup> Theology, English and history were the sacred cows of the Krio's conservative hold over FBC.

The first three principals at FBC following independence came up through these departments and were outstanding scholars: Harry Sawyerr (theology), Eldred Jones (English), and Cyril Foray (history). These were also the three departments that published journals: *The Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion*, *The Sierra Leone Language Review*, and *Sierra Leone Studies*. Future director of the Institute of African Studies and editor of the *Africana Research Bulletin*, a publication which succeeded *Sierra Leone Studies*, Magbaily Fyle, noted that the focus of African Studies at FBC, "was not so much a matter of a preference for Krio studies, but one of less action being done to promote and enrich African studies rather than seeing it through European eyes."<sup>60</sup> In the 1960s, FBC developed a few African-focused courses but did not eliminate traditional Western courses from the curriculum as new courses were developed. The 1969–70 Fourah Bay College *Prospectus* described the following courses as part of the requirements for the General Degree of Bachelor of Arts: An Introduction to the Study of African History; Outlines of African History up to the late 18<sup>th</sup> Century; and The History of Africa from the late 18<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>61</sup> There were, however, no history courses focusing specifically on Sierra Leone or any of the regional ethnic groups.

Visiting scholars occupied a central role in the development of FBC's history department which was also closely associated with the Institute of African Studies. The History Chair was occupied by John Hargreaves, an Englishman, from 1952 to 1954; Arthur Porter, a Sierra Leonean, from 1955 to 1962; Peter Kup, an

Englishman, from 1963 to 1965; Michael Crowder, an Englishman, in 1966; Edward Blyden III, a Sierra Leonean, in 1967; and John Peterson, an American, from 1968 to 1975.

Peterson was one of a few American scholars to make long-term commitments to the study of Sierra Leone. He received his doctoral degree from Northwestern University in African History. The Center for African Studies at Northwestern was established through funding from the Carnegie Corporation and was the first such Center in the United States.<sup>62</sup> It was headed by Melville Herskovits, who along with Kenneth Dike of Nigeria and Potekhin of the Moscow Africa Institute, founded the International Congress of African Studies in 1962.<sup>63</sup> As a graduate student at Northwestern, Peterson, in 1958 received a two-year Ford Foundation Foreign Area Training Fellowship to conduct research in Freetown on the Muslim Krio of Sierra Leone combining both written and oral sources.

The 1960s was a period when the social sciences first developed the language and methods of cross-cultural data collection, observation, and analysis. Social scientists working in Africa played an important role in this process.<sup>64</sup> Places such as the Institute of African Studies at FBC helped develop interdisciplinary approaches to the study of culture although there was resistance to such Centers in Africa on the grounds that the whole university should be a Center of African Studies.<sup>65</sup> Peterson served as Head of the Department of Modern History and as acting Director of the Institute of African Studies at FBC. In 1971, the History Department faculty included two Americans, two Nigerians, one Rhodesian, one Czechoslovakian, and one Sierra Leonean.<sup>66</sup> Two of Peterson's students, Magbaily Fyle and Arthur Abraham, made significant contributions to the study of up-country Sierra Leonean history. Fyle from 1975 to 1991 and Abraham from 1991 to 1994 succeeded Peterson as head of the Institute of African Studies.

Peterson first joined the two-man history department at Kalamazoo College, Michigan in 1961 where he was encouraged to develop courses in African History and a study abroad program to FBC. Kalamazoo sent its first group of students in 1962 and would continue to send students for the next 32 years, making the Kalamazoo study abroad program with FBC the longest running program from the United States with any African university. Between 1962 and 1994, Kalamazoo College sent 308 U.S. students to Sierra Leone, most to FBC, for their junior year abroad. At one point, Kalamazoo conducted seven study abroad programs to Africa in the same year.<sup>67</sup> Along with Peterson, Bill Pruitt and Joe Fugate worked to develop Kalamazoo's study abroad programs in Africa. A Kalamazoo student report from the first year of the study abroad program at FBC touched on several major concerns of the era:

After the assassination of Togo's Sylvanus Olympio the student union decided to hold a memorial service for him.... There, after beginning the

service with Protestant, Catholic, and Islamic prayers, the leaders of the various African countries represented in the student body gave short speeches commemorating the life of Togo's leader. Each speaker stressed the danger of violence to the future of Africa. One said, "We are fighting imperialism and colonialism, but the imperialism we detest is black imperialism as well as white." In this group were students from Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ghana, Gambia, Kenya, Uganda, the Cameroons, and the Union of South Africa—from different tribes, with different traditions, with different first languages, yet all united in this tribute to one of Africa's sons and united in creating out of diversity one Africa.<sup>68</sup>

The Kalamazoo study abroad students learned about Africa but they also learned about the United States and themselves. As a College document about study abroad students noted: "Racial Problems in America was [sic] clearly high in the thoughts of ordinary African students. Segregation is the omnipresent ink blot. We arrived here right after the Mississippi incident and ever since this has constantly come up.... Americans have to know more about their own country to answer or explain effectively the many questions they were asked."<sup>69</sup> Student participants of the Kalamazoo Africa study programs experienced new and different challenges involving race relations.<sup>70</sup> There were African-American students participating each year in the Kalamazoo program although the majority of students were European-Americans.<sup>71</sup>

Courses related to Africa were practically non-existent at both FBC and at Kalamazoo when the study abroad program began. For example, Kalamazoo students enrolled in the following classes at FBC in 1962: "Greek and Roman Culture, Greek New Testament, Ethics, Metaphysics, English, Geography, Economics, Botany, and African History." In contrast, in 1987, Kalamazoo students enrolled in the following courses: "African Literature, West African History, History of Sierra Leone, Politics of Development, Sociology of Development, Krio, African Political Systems, Problems of Nation-building, Pidgeon & Creole Languages, Ethnography, and West African Indigenous Religions."<sup>72</sup> These latter courses often enrolled more foreign students than Sierra Leonean students. While many alumni of the Kalamazoo Africa programs went on to specialize in African studies, only a few Sierra Leoneans pursued graduate work in the field.<sup>73</sup> This discrepancy was problematic as few Africans conducted research of local relevance but instead pursued more lucrative opportunities in other specializations abroad.

### Theology and African Traditional Religion

Beginning in the mid- 1960s, all FBC students were required to take a course titled "West African Indigenous Religion." There was one course on Indigenous Religion, no courses focused on the study of Islam, and a full

curriculum devoted to the study of Christianity. Yet, there was some recognition of the importance of the study of Islam to West Africa. *The Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion* noted: “Africa could well be a place where the meeting of Christianity and Islam in the field of genuine theological exploration could be fruitful in the religious and cultural development of the world.”<sup>74</sup> In 1969, however, the Faculty of Theology at FBC had no Muslim theologian on staff. Edward Fashole-Luke, an FBC theology professor, noted in 1973:

The study of Islam in Africa seems to have passed Sierra Leone by. There is no history of Islam in Sierra Leone. Part of the reason for this is that the Department of Theology is small and has concentrated largely on christian theology because it has seen its function largely as that of training ministers of the church and school teachers, who teach bible knowledge. No conscious effort has therefore been made to recruit muslim scholars.<sup>75</sup>

Addressing the study of theology at FBC in 1976, former principal Sawyerr noted that “provision was also made for the study of Islam as and when staff facilities permitted.”<sup>76</sup> Sawyerr’s own work focused on reconciling differences between Christianity and traditional African religion.<sup>77</sup>

The omission of a strong program of Islamic Studies at FBC underscored its avowedly Christian character. The focus on traditional Christian doctrine in the Department of Theology contrasted with some of the views of the Department of Philosophy. Sierra Leonean philosopher Robert Cole noted, “Religion, instead of being the worship of an unknown God and a source of division, sectarian conflict and hatred, should be identified with the service of the cause of mankind—a religion of humanity.”<sup>78</sup> In 1952, a Sierra Leonean, Solomon B. Caulker, had become the first lecturer appointed specifically to teach philosophy at FBC. Before Caulker’s appointment, philosophy had always been taught by Christian theologians. It was not until the 1970s that FBC began offering a course in African philosophy. As late as 1976, no students had registered for the course although philosophy courses were generally well subscribed.<sup>79</sup>

Without a more serious revision of the curriculum, the occasional introductory course on Africa was rendered meaningless. It was disconnected from the rest of the curriculum. FBC was not turning out any African studies specialists. Nor were there many “self studies” of the local Sierra Leone environment.

### Literature and African Languages

Interest in African literature was in many ways strongest outside of Africa. One of the earliest anthologies of contemporary African literature was compiled by the African-American writer, Langston Hughes, and published in 1960. *An African Treasury* included works by 33 different African writers.<sup>80</sup> Paul Edwards, a British professor who taught at FBC from 1958 to 1963, produced an Anthology of West African literature for schools in 1963.<sup>81</sup> Among some African writers and academics there was a serious effort underway to promote and develop African literature. The West African Languages Survey conference was held at FBC in May of 1963 supported by a Ford Foundation Grant. Eldred Jones, Chair of the Department of English at FBC wrote:

In 1963 two important conferences were held on the place of African literature in the curriculum of African universities. One was held in Dakar and the other in this College.... Among the resolutions of the Fourah Bay conference was this one: that the literature of Africa should be included in the literature syllabuses of all universities in Africa and also in the work of schools; and that research into the whole field of literary activity and the recording and study of local material should be encouraged.<sup>82</sup>

Unfortunately, progress related to publishing African literature, changing school curriculum, or conducting research into the traditional oral literature and song of Sierra Leone was very slow. Another large conference on African literature was held in Freetown in April of 1967, although the conference recommendations seemed to have been lost on future education planners and administrators.<sup>83</sup>

Eldred Jones was regarded as "Africa's foremost authority on African literature as well as its leading literary critic."<sup>84</sup> He noted that "in the matter of library holdings of books and manuscripts necessary for the study of African Literature some universities in the United States and Britain have collections (because they have more money) which would make them more attractive centres for the study of African Literature than many African universities."<sup>85</sup> As late as 1990, according to another African scholar,

The ultimate recognition of intellectual work comes from abroad and as a result research and writing is externally directed. Western authorities continue to pass judgement and their publishing houses have a near monopoly on the African market. The direction of intellectual work is towards an audience other than that of African society. There are too many who accept this state of affairs wholeheartedly. Thus intellectuals

look forward to the next international conference and would rather talk to Western academics than enter a dialogue with their own people.<sup>86</sup>

In the 1960s and 1970s, practically the only publisher to publish the works of African authors and almost exclusively in English was the British house of Heineman.

The circulation of texts, which control access to discourse, is linked to economic resources. Academic discourse in the West occurs overwhelmingly in English. It is exclusive and secluded through disciplines and its rules of authorship.<sup>87</sup> Research on African oral literature was time consuming and expensive and not part of the dominant discourse. As noted by Jones, the funds necessary to support such research were never forthcoming.<sup>88</sup> Research into the rapidly disappearing texts of oral traditions was not a funding priority of either external donors or the Sierra Leonean government.

In the 1960s and 1970s, scholars such as Jones tried to standardize and legitimize the use of Krio. But Krio never achieved a status equal to English and was not taught in schools. As early as the 1930s, Thomas Decker had “crusaded for the acceptance of Krio as a language in its own right.”<sup>89</sup> A graduate of FBC, Decker constantly sought to persuade critics of the value of Krio. One Sierra Leonean scholar has evaluated Decker’s work as follows:

The debate over the usefulness of Krio as a vehicle of education can conveniently be regarded as part of the Creole dilemma regarding their response to European culture. They had a language rich in content but which many were ashamed to use. That Decker tried his utmost to agitate for its acceptance was indeed a welcome change.... By showing that the language was an independent entity, capable of expressing the most profound thoughts, he brought pride and honour to a people bereft of dignity under colonial rule.<sup>90</sup>

Ever since Decker began translating Shakespeare into Krio, it was also the language of a very active Sierra Leonean theatre. African theatre in Sierra Leone was more successful than written literature at reaching out to the public and communicating local sentiment in the local languages. Jones noted: “What we often ignore is that a person’s language is part of him which goes down to the depths of his being. The mother-tongue—the language we learn when we first begin to be conscious of our existence in the world—this language becomes associated with our deepest feelings, and in situations which deeply involve our emotions it is the language which we most naturally use.”<sup>91</sup>

Writing in 1960, Jones discussed at length issues related to language instruction while primarily defending the study of English: “I feel strongly that research into them [Sierra Leone languages] should be officially stimulated; that a literature should be developed in them. But I still do not see any of them



immediately replacing English in the functions that it now serves.”<sup>92</sup> English was promoted as a language that would build national unity. Conversely, the mandated use of local languages in South African schools under the Bantu Education Act was seen by many as having a discriminatory effect.<sup>93</sup> Discrimination, however, was more a function of the entire system rather than a consequence of language study. Why should school children in any country be limited to learning just one language?

Noted Kenyan scholar, Ali Mazrui has described the works of modern African writers such as Chinua Achebe as a literature of social involvement rather than a literature of personal intimacy.<sup>94</sup> FBC scholar, Jones considered the central clash of Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart* as “a clash between traditional Ibo society and the Christian imperialism of Britain.” In *Things Fall Apart*, the British District Commissioner as described by Jones is “as convinced that he is bringing ‘civilisation’ to Umuofia as the elders of Umuofia are convinced that he is destroying civilisation.”<sup>95</sup>

African literature, written primarily in the English language remained largely inaccessible to the majority of Africans. Sierra Leonean scholar Kingsley Banya wrote: “In 1962 attempts were made to introduce African literature to the school system as well as at the University. Ten years later no significant changes had taken place due mainly to the rigidity of the system. It was thought then that African literature had not achieved enough international recognition to be a serious discipline.”<sup>96</sup> The promotion of African literature focused on new works written primarily in English or French and marketed outside of Africa. Sierra Leonean professor of English, Clifford Fyle noted, “It has been said that modern Africa is the one region in the world where generally speaking education is given through someone else’s language.... [T]eachers are teaching in a language which is completely foreign to their learners and of which even they themselves have only an imperfect grasp.”<sup>97</sup>

### The First Generation of Post-Independence Scholars

A number of scholars stood out for their contributions to the study of Sierra Leone history and culture in the 1970s and 1980s. A.K.Turay’s struggle to teach indigenous languages characterized that of many Sierra Leonean students and scholars. Turay was one of the new breed of up-country scholars. He was a Temne and a graduate of Fourah Bay who after having completed a doctoral degree in linguistics in England returned to Sierra Leone but was denied the opportunity to teach indigenous Sierra Leonean languages at FBC. Therefore, he left FBC to teach Temne (a local Sierra Leonean language) in Nigeria at Ibadan for eight years. In the late 1970s, he returned to FBC where he founded in 1980 the Linguistics and

African Languages Department. He would never have been able to do this without the help of S.I.Koroma, a fellow Temne and Vice-President of Sierra Leone in the government of president Siaka Stevens.

Koroma's political actions were often controversial. He boasted that there were 100 ways to win an election and he had only utilized two or three. He allegedly once held a group of more than ten political candidates under house arrest at gunpoint for 15 days so that they could not register their candidacies. Koroma was, with some difficulty, able to intimidate Krio-controlled FBC to finally accept the teaching of indigenous languages.<sup>98</sup> This is an example of a corrupt politician forcing through a positive academic program on a conservative institution. A.K. Turay later became the Minister of State for Presidential Affairs under president Joseph Saidu Momoh.

Arthur Abraham, Director of the Institute of African Studies from 1991 to 1994, is well known for his critiques of colonialism and neocolonialism. For example, "Colonial domination has led to distortion and falsification of African history by creating myths and transforming them into reality. The myth is so oft proclaimed and repeated that it ends by assuming a reality of its own."<sup>99</sup> Abraham was a vocal critic of Western development strategies:

Planning, which is seen as the guide to development, has often been imposed from the top. This means that many measures are thrust upon the broad masses of the people without reference to their socio-cultural needs and aspirations, by an elite completely enmeshed in theories of Western development, many of which, if closely scrutinized against the history of post-colonial Africa, seem totally irrelevant. The assumptions behind most of these plans are wrong, for they are based on capitalistic experience and particularly on obsession with unlimited growth and consumption.<sup>100</sup>

While there was no shortage of anti-colonial criticism at FBC, there was a dearth of proposed alternatives.

Joe Opala, an American lecturer at FBC from 1985 to 1991, aggressively pursued methods to popularize history. He collaborated on a number of projects aimed at increasing public awareness of Sierra Leonean history. These included a project on the slaveship *Amistad* with Arthur Abraham, another on the Gullah of Georgia and South Carolina/Sierra Leone Connections with Joko Sengova and Cynthia Schmidt, and a third on *Sierra Leonean Heroes* with Magbaily Fyle. When in the mid-1980s Opala began teaching about the *Amistad* and about Sengbe Pieh, the leader of the captured Sierra Leoneans, students did not immediately accept the truth of what they were hearing. Why hadn't they heard this story before?

Opala was once invited to speak to what he thought would be a small gathering in Mary Kingsley Hall at FBC. Instead, five hundred people attended

including the Krio elders of the college. After he finished a lecture focused on Sengbe Pieh, one of the elder historians challenged the presentation, calling it faulty and irresponsible research because it took a trivial event and blew it out of all proportion. However, a student stood up and stated: "I am a Sierra Leonean from Mende country. I have lived my whole life here, gone through school and am about to graduate from College, but I have never heard anything about this important historical Mende figure."<sup>101</sup>

Opala's pursuit of the Sierra Leone/Gullah connection resulted in the production of two award winning documentary films, *Family Across the Sea* and *The Language You Cry In*. His work built upon research begun in the 1930s by African-American Lorenzo Turner and then Sierra Leonean student of the University of Chicago Solomon Caulker. These works helped reunite an AfricanAmerican family in coastal Georgia with a Sierra Leonean family through a Mende funeral song. It also led to a United States National Park Service feasibility study to rehabilitate Bunce Island, a slave trading fort in the Rokel river estuary near Freetown for inclusion in an international project documenting the slave trade and diasporan history.<sup>102</sup>

While Opala emphasized the need to popularize history as a means of community outreach and education, his colleague, Arthur Abraham emphasized the need to reinterpret distorted colonial history. According to Abraham, "Cultural and popular education based on a complete reinterpretation of our national history and culture, so as to create the correct atmosphere for development, remains an urgent priority."<sup>103</sup> Magbaily Fyle, Director of the Institute of African Studies from 1975 to 1991 took another approach. He noted the lack of depth and focus on African Studies as seen through traditional lenses.

The basic university education tends to be extremely compartmentalized into specific disciplines and the essentially African element is generally lost in an attempt to provide a grasp of theory, arguments and details in disciplines which are given a much broader application. The chances are that the African element is at best seen as small, sometimes not even a particularly significant component of these subjects.... Many of the products of African Universities today are still, in most African countries, nurtured by people trained abroad. Many of these people are imbued with the idea of an exalted nature of advanced scientific research in Developed Countries. Thus it to them seems mundane to start examining herbs, the work of blacksmiths, role of traditional leaders and matters of that nature, when in fact that might be the most useful research in the circumstances.<sup>104</sup>

Failure to recognize local expertise, a perennial problem at FBC, served to undermine the desirability of local research initiatives and the effort to fund such research. In the 1960s, FBC offered a few introductory courses on Africa, and in the 1970s, a number of more in-depth courses were developed, primarily for honors students. However, it was not until the 1980s that more comprehensive research into the local cultures of Sierra Leone emerged as serious study at FBC.

Curriculum reform at FBC to provide meaningful coursework related to local African needs and concerns has taken decades to accomplish with still mostly unsatisfactory results. As Fyle has argued: "It does not appear that the emergency of producing relevant text and reading material to emphasize our own perspectives and to replace images and values alien to African development and inimical to the creation of an attitude of self-reliance has been adequately grasped."<sup>105</sup> The failure of Western education in Sierra Leone to adequately address the needs of the society eventually led to a re-evaluation of the role and importance of traditional systems of education.

### Traditional Education

Traditional education and attitudes have been viewed negatively as inhibiting modernization. However, as projects and policies planned without due consideration for indigenous cultures overwhelmingly failed to produce results, educational planners reconsidered the role of traditional knowledge systems. Understanding traditional African values required an almost complete reversal of Western values that subjugate nature to human control. An important difference between traditional African cultural values and traditional Western cultural values centers around the relationship of people with nature. Western culture assumes that nature can be used and controlled by people.<sup>106</sup> Western society, however, has poisoned its land and water with chemicals trying to sanitize the natural environment. It has also assumed that the land and its resources can be privately owned. In most traditional West African cultures, in contrast, people belong to the land. Teaching about human relationships with nature rather than over nature requires both cognitive and behavioral shifts from the traditional Western perspective.

The natural sciences need to be combined in a more holistic manner with the social sciences in order to better understand the relationship between human activity and the environment. Traditional West African culture and education stress intimate knowledge and communication with the natural world. The land is sacred, it is imbued with the immortal. As one African scholar has noted: "The destiny of nature is the destiny of people, since people are adversely affected if the ecological balance around them is upset.... [However], it is this reverent attitude of Africans toward nature that foreign writers have ridiculed and stigmatized as 'nature worship,' 'animism,' 'paganism/and 'fetish.'"<sup>107</sup>

Traditional West African society was a school unto itself where learning was perpetual. Knowledge and understanding rested with the elders. Social and vocational training were inseparable. Everyone had a responsibility to share in life's work. Experience reinforced learning. Elders received the greatest respect and privileges. One scholar of Sierra Leonean education has noted: "For countless centuries African nonliterary, indigenous education has integrated the individual into society from birth to death. Comprehensive in scope, it instills moral values, gives vocational training, and inculcates codes of behavior. Education is a continuous exercise—all society is the teacher."<sup>108</sup> Notably, life-long learning has become a central tenant of modern education.

Some contemporary scholars have emphasized the intergenerational and holistic worldview of traditional African philosophy and education. Such a worldview does not choose so readily to separate and compartmentalize knowledge and experience, nor does it emphasize individual over community development.<sup>109</sup> Instead, as noted by one observer, it affirms that:

In traditional African societies, the upbringing of the young was traditionally shared by the entire social group. Good manners, conventions, customs, moral rules, and social laws were inculcated by close relatives, by more distant members of the extended family, or by neighbors and by traditional schools. The hallmarks of a successful traditional education in Africa were honesty, perseverance, and sincerity. In sum, traditional African education was designed to develop the moral, physical, spiritual, and intellectual capabilities of children in order to help them attain their full potential. This educational system stood at variance with the colonial school system that was geared to provide the African child with basic skills to assist the colonialists in the production of wealth for the metropolis under the guise of Christianity.<sup>110</sup>

A major difference between traditional African cultural values and traditional Western cultural values is one of cooperative effort versus individual effort. For traditional African cultures, "the meaning of becoming a person and the meaning of work are derived from community."<sup>111</sup> Individuality is not equated with personal independence.

Another problem with the Western view of African traditions is that it has often been presupposed, particularly in colonial literature, that traditional African societies did not provide meaningful opportunities for advanced education for women. However, according to Lynda Day, "Women's precolonial educational institutions were community-based and oriented to the real-life experiences of women."<sup>112</sup> They were also life long learning support systems. Traditional education for women in Sierra Leone was, and is, the responsibility of the Bundu society, a women's organization. Through Bundu, women are central actors in their communities commanding influence and

respect in all spheres of social, cultural and political life. This was quite the opposite of the paternalism of Western education that relegated women to subordinate, less prestigious, roles and occupations.

The Bundu society helped transform girls into women through instruction in a variety of subjects including: birth control, childbirth, nutrition, nursing, circumcision, the use of medicinal herbs, good citizenship, singing, feasting, giftgiving, fishing, cooking, weaving, spinning cotton, hairdressing, basket weaving, making musical instruments, pots and fishing nets. Bundu-trained birth attendants possess considerable medical expertise related to reproductive health. The Bundu help convey the history and values of society particularly through song and dance. Their vocabulary is shared by all Sierra Leonean language groups.<sup>113</sup> The influence of the Bundu society as passed on through the Bundu school is pervasive in Sierra Leone. The traditional educational systems of Africa, like the Bundu, could have aided the modern Western system in its attempts to deliver a more meaningful and relevant educational experience, if they had been recognized and appreciated. Except for Milton Margai's brief experiments in the 1950s, there was virtually no attempt to link Western and traditional education or knowledge systems in Sierra Leone.<sup>114</sup>

#### Defining Educational Relevance in Sierra Leone

The Report on the Development of Education in Sierra Leone (1948), Proposed Government White Paper on Education (1958), the Development Programme in Education for Sierra Leone (1964–1970), the White Paper on Educational Policy (1970), and the *Sierra Leone Educational Review* (1976) all addressed the need for research into the body of wisdom that constitutes traditional culture.<sup>115</sup> Little research was actually done, however, except by the occasional visiting scholar who more often than not did not possess a command of any local languages. Outside of the traditional “bush” schools, there was no comprehensive or relevant school curriculum based upon local culture or knowledge. By the mid-1970s, it was clear that externally driven educational development programs lacked local ownership and involvement and were mostly ill-suited and inappropriate means for enhancing Sierra Leonean students' knowledge and understanding of the world they lived in.

The primary concern of the above reports focused on providing increased educational opportunities. Increasing the provision of education in the provinces was a major goal of the government of Sierra Leone. Enrollment in the Sierra Leone primary schools doubled from 81,881 in 1960 to 166,107 in 1970 and enrollment in the secondary schools increased almost five fold from 7,098 to 33,318 over the same period.<sup>116</sup> The tremendous effort to expand education was extremely expensive. Donor agencies made significant contributions but such external funding was largely unsustainable. Although there was an increase in the number of children attending school, the overall proportion of those being

educated remained low. Numerous schools were built but there was a chronic shortage of qualified teachers. As previously noted, teachers were trained in theories and methods that tended to distance them from the culture of the rural communities they were to serve. Western notions of transforming society through schooling and geared toward achieving technological progress did not adequately take into account the important issues of local resources, inputs, and control.

There was a high percentage of both drop outs and repeaters in the Sierra Leone school system. William Conton followed a cohort from 1956 to 1968 and found that out of an initial enrollment of 14,905 in primary school only 2,006 persisted to complete secondary school twelve years later.<sup>117</sup> The situation deteriorated rapidly in the 1980s. Total real expenditure in education fell from “34 million Leones in 1974 to 10.2 million Leones in 1986” and slumped to just 6.0 million Leones by 1989.<sup>118</sup>

Conton’s interest in identifying persistence factors received less attention than the grandiose plans and pronouncements of government. The 1970 *White Paper on Educational Policy* in Sierra Leone began by quoting article 26 of the United Nation’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that “everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory.” The Ministry of Education set a target date of 1980 for achieving this goal. In 1970, it was estimated that 40 percent of Sierra Leone’s children attended primary school as compared to just 14 percent in 1957. One hundred percent by 1980 was an ambitious goal. However, the report only recommended doubling the number of teachers graduating from Milton Margai Teacher’s College from the approximately 70 teachers graduating per year at that time. The White Paper also recommended that FBC establish a department of Applied Linguistics in order to develop more teaching materials in indigenous Sierra Leonean languages. This did not occur until 1980.<sup>119</sup>

In 1976 at Sierra Leone’s First National Curriculum Conference, a report on the Bunumbu pilot schools project asserted that “the most important concern of the project is the development of positive attitude (sic) towards innovations and creativeness in teaching which subsequently makes learning more meaningful to the children to adapt themselves to their immediate environment where they derive their substance.”<sup>120</sup> Teachers needed to involve their students in research into local culture, agricultural practices and resource management. In a country like Sierra Leone where formal education had for nearly two centuries divorced education from its cultural roots, perhaps nothing could have been more important. Most disturbing is that this had been recognized over and over by Sierra Leonean scholars from at least the mid-nineteenth century but with little action following the recognition. According to T.J.Lemuel Forde, the Director of the Sierra Leone Institute of Education, teaching in Sierra Leone was “overwhelmingly of a literacy-academic type” where “the most common teaching



material is teacher talk, the most common learning behavior is listening, repeating and memorising.” He openly and pessimistically stated that the majority of teachers were either unqualified or under-qualified. Teaching lacked local applications and meaningful examples. He further noted that “years have elapsed since the publication of the White Paper and no efforts had been made to reform the existing curriculum at all three levels of the educational system.”<sup>121</sup> There were many good ideas and recommendations in that White Paper, but as before there was very little implementation.

The 1976 *Sierra Leone Education Review: All Our Future* identified six major themes for educational development in Sierra Leone: relevance, interdependency, balanced growth, self-reliance, accountability, and practicality. Listed under the theme of relevance was one of the major recurrent needs evident throughout the history of FBC: to study the languages and customs of the people of Sierra Leone and to develop a language policy to guide “plans for the introduction and use of local languages in education.” The *Review* also suggested “matching holiday periods of provincial schools with seasons of harvest in the light of evidence that farmer’s refrain from sending their children to school during harvest time,” another good recommendation not acted upon. The *Review* further recommended that “foreign aid for capital expenditures should not be considered without due cognisance being taken of the resulting recurrent costs,” as had not been the case with Njala University College. The 1976 *Review* recognized that the 1970 *White Paper’s* projection for universal primary education by 1980 “will not come anywhere near fulfillment.... [T]he most optimistic estimate predicts that, if the distribution and policies remain unchanged to the year 1990, not more than 50 per cent of children of primary school age will be at school.”<sup>122</sup>

The 1976 *Review* also called for the establishment of an Institute of Health Sciences as part of the University of Sierra Leone. The rationale included the idea that “it is more economic and effective to train large numbers in Sierra Leone than to send them elsewhere for training....” It recognized, however, that “there is also a tendency for the brightest school leavers to go for study abroad rather than in Sierra Leone.” In 1977, over 1,200 Sierra Leoneans were pursuing higher education overseas.<sup>123</sup> Such students removed important resources from the educational and economic system of Sierra Leone. The “Brain Drain” phenomenon was closely linked to issues of educational investment and prestige. The authors of the *Review* called for “an urgent reconsideration of overseas scholarship policy... with a view to making it mandatory for all students on Government scholarship to take their first degree at the University of Sierra Leone, except in cases where no course facilities are provided.”<sup>124</sup> Issues of prestige and recognition were perennial difficulties at FBC. The recognition and relative success of those who went abroad compared to those who stayed in Sierra Leone undermined the development of local institutions. The authors of the *Review* firmly asserted that the principal role of the University should be to



act as an instrument of national development. Faced, however, with political oppression and economic decline, FBC had an impossible task.<sup>125</sup>

Public financing of educational expansion in the midst of a declining economy and increasingly authoritarian government proved extremely difficult. In 1977, Suhas Ketkar, a visiting professor at FBC from Vanderbilt University, estimated the per student cost of education in Sierra Leone from both private and public revenue sources at 25 Leones for primary, 113 leones for secondary, and 1,924 Leones for higher education. He added that twenty-eight percent of the cost was borne by the student or family for higher education, the lowest percentage among the three levels. Ketkar saw

the cost-benefit calculations and the manpower requirements and supply projections [as having] identical policy implications: greater emphasis should be placed on the development of the lower-and middle-levels of the educational ladder.... [S]ince completed elementary education is a prerequisite for entering secondary school, and only thereafter is it possible to enroll in the University, a system which aims to bring equality of educational opportunity ought not to make education more accessible at higher than at lower levels.<sup>126</sup>

However, the shortage of teachers in Sierra Leone was acute. How could expansion occur without teachers? Ketkar recommended that funds be diverted from higher education to primary and secondary levels. He did not address, however, the problem of how to attract, develop, and retain quality teachers. The recommendation to expand the system also did not adequately consider the need to improve the quality of education available. The ambitious goals for expanding education were jeopardized by a struggling economy and severe teacher shortages.

Studies conducted in 1977 and 1979 showed that more than eighty percent of children age ten to fourteen living in rural communities were not attending school. Besides being needed as farm labor, their families could not generate the needed capital to pay school fees. As many as ninety-seven percent of the people in rural Sierra Leone engaged in subsistence agriculture. With little mechanized agriculture, families and whole communities pooled their labor resources. These same studies showed that approximately seventy-seven percent of rural families had not produced enough food to feed themselves. Every family surveyed reported experiencing food shortages at one time of the year. In addition, more than half the rural people surveyed did not have access to pipe-borne or well-water.<sup>127</sup>

The USL was aware of the problems facing the nation and its faculty were concerned with finding remedies. As noted in the 1976 *Review*, important to the development of Sierra Leone were

cheap and reliable sources of energy, the development of high yield crop varieties, the elimination of illiteracy and infectious diseases, the improvement of the quality of indigenous building materials and other manufactured products, the development of natural resources and the evolution of a sound system of economy which will ensure steady growth in all sectors.<sup>128</sup>

The problems of Sierra Leone and the West are interconnected, according to one FBC faculty member:

The organization of Western Society on an industrial basis may have brought an increase in the standard of living, but it has also produced many human and social problems. It has meant an increasingly rapid exploitation of the resources of the world, an interference with nature and a destruction of the environment to a degree that is no longer acceptable to many. The quality of life in such a society, with its competitiveness, its insecurity and its individualism has appeared as a negation of all that a satisfying life should be.<sup>129</sup>

Responsibility for such outcomes has often been placed on multinational corporations. However, Sierra Leonean Scholar, David Carney, placed responsibility for addressing these problems squarely on the national policies of the developing countries. He recommended that the national government take action “to establish a just economic order, a code of behavior for national enterprises and a more egalitarian society in terms of income distribution.”<sup>130</sup> Carney advocated the development of an Institute of Applied Social Science that would provide students with practical experience, allow them to collect important social data needed for government and business to make informed policy choices, and as a means for integrating ethical training into the political and economic life of the country.

A major dilemma in the work of FBC was developing communication and rapport with the people who needed help most. Writing in 1976, Ernest Wright explained:

Research projects within the Faculty [of science] are geared towards the conservation, utilization and exploitation of our natural resources.... These various research projects within the faculty have resulted in many publications, which have come out in the form of research papers in international as well as in local journals, books and monographs published abroad. This fact is often not known to a wider sector of the Sierra Leone public but three factors may readily be identified to account for this. First, the lack of sufficient publicity outside the university environment as to the work and results of such work in the University;

second, the fact that many of the publications appear in international journals perhaps because of the desire of authors to establish an international reputation; and third the apparent inability, failure or reluctance of many academics and scientists to talk the language of the people, that is to say to write about their research and potential uses of such research in a non-scientific and easily understood language which could then be given widespread local distribution. It is a thought too that some of these reports could be translated into our vernacular languages.<sup>131</sup>

The evidence overwhelmingly indicates that FBC/USL did more to separate than to unite rural and urban, traditional and modern, communities in Sierra Leone. Report after report, scholar after scholar noted the same problems, but little action followed. It was noted, for example, that “The Education and Development Sector Study...published by Government, represents the Western technocratic approach to educational planning in Sierra Leone. Backed by and prepared for international aid and donor agencies, it offers hardly anything related to indigenous culture and education in Sierra Leone.”<sup>132</sup>

In a study that included freshmen and senior students at FBC, as well as alumni, faculty, and administrators, the following appeared:

Based on the last three University prospectuses ranging from 1976 through 1984 (except for the Institute of African Studies...which only operates in cooperation with other departments, and the department of Linguistics which focuses on some Sierra Leonean languages) there are no other Sierra Leonean-related courses offered at the University with the aim of promoting the wealth of traditional and cultural values. In fact, there are comprehensive syllabi for English, French, Greek, Latin, Roman history, etc. but absolutely none for African studies besides the brief outline of its meager objectives. One might ask whether these classics are valuable or related in any way to the educational and occupational needs of students in Sierra Leone. Besides, in content, these and most other subjects are taught so perfunctorily that students have only to memorize their notes in order to pass examinations. It appears, from our discussions, that many of the participants who had already been exposed to this type of education developed no love for learning and are incapable, at times, of conceptualizing ideas presented. Consequently, many conceded that they avoided serious reading and the application of what they had been taught as soon as they left the university.<sup>133</sup>

This quote captured well the realities at FBC where students in the late 1980s were part of an educational system that was largely irrelevant to the needs and concerns of the majority of the people. A 1981 Sierra Leone Government

Report noted the continued irrelevancy of the country's educational system. "The education system is still modelled on the lines of the United Kingdom and does not bear much relevance to local needs. It is elitist and academic, and intended largely to produce manpower for the civil service and the small urban modern sector."<sup>134</sup> A dissertation on FBC noted: "most, if not all, secondary schools and colleges in Sierra Leone have consistently utilized texts written by British, American and other non-African, foreign authors whose views did not reflect realistically on Sierra Leonean educational development."<sup>135</sup> It added that there was a "lack of curriculum diversification in the university and an ability to effectively apply what is learned into the real world of work within Sierra Leone."<sup>136</sup>

Writing in 1986, Sierra Leonean Kingsley Banya noted that "the schools are divorced from the life and culture of the local [rural] people."<sup>137</sup> Sierra Leonean graduate student Michael Kallon noted that

the [primary school] curriculum was prepared by experts operating away from the actual situation.... The curriculum was alien to the child's experiences. It was predominantly formal, highly academic, examination oriented, and made little provision in content and philosophy to satisfy the needs of the society for which it is designed. Moreover, the official language of instruction, English, is alien to the pupils and made comprehension difficult.<sup>138</sup>

There was an urgent need to "Sierra Leonize" educational curricula, the examination system, and the textbooks. In 1987, Herbert Hinzen of the Institute of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies at FBC asked rhetorically: "Which educational materials are produced in Sierra Leone today?"<sup>139</sup> The same criticisms of the educational system of Sierra Leone had been made 100 years earlier.

In the 1980s a few serious attempts to improve the educational system were begun by a number of smaller organizations and institutions. The People's Educational Association (PEA) of Sierra Leone, for example, began by taking inventory of the country's numerous cooperative links.<sup>140</sup> Also Banya documented one of the more successful development projects in Sierra Leone: the Bunumbu project. The teacher training college at Bunumbu was established as a community development center that was to make use of local resources in the community and to enable local people to contribute to teaching and learning. FBC showed little interest in the project, however, Banya noted: "The project was well known within a two-mile radius of the college, but virtually unheard of further away."<sup>141</sup> Banya also lamented the lack of infrastructure such as good roads or electricity that hampered the work of the College. At the same time, he applauded Bunumbu's ability to impart a spirit of self-reliance. The College's work in the field of agriculture unlike its bigger brother, Njala

College of the University of Sierra Leone, was remarkable, growing its own food and assisting local farmers.

Other aspects of the traditional culture and economy also began to receive greater attention. A 1987/1988 *Report on Research Assignments of Adult Education* students at FBC focused on aspects of traditional culture such as: fishing, hunting, upland rice farming, net weaving, mat making, cotton spinning, blacksmithery, palm oil processing, palm-wine tapping, garri production, foo-foo making, snuff production, traditional medicine, traditional worship, Arabic teaching, Milo Jazz, training Shegureh players, horn blowing, and story-telling. This was groundbreaking research conducted locally into traditional ways of learning and teaching. The work was, according to an official report, “still on the level of collection and description. We have not yet really started analyzing, theorizing, conceptualizing or reflecting on the findings.”<sup>142</sup>

A 1991 report on *Training Opportunities in the Informal Sector of Freetown* continued to stress development of local small businesses and industry and included reports on Tailors and Seamstresses, Metal Working Industry, Cookery, Bakery and Confectionary Industries, Carpentry Trade, Construction, Shoe Repair and Shoemaking Industry, Social Services, Technical Services, Arts and Crafts, Traditional Birth Attendants and Healers, Mattress Making and Soap Making.<sup>143</sup> Another similar study conducted by students of the Institute of Adult Education and Extra-mural Studies of FBC looked at both traditional education and the informal sector. Students reported on the Use of Charcoal, Cure of Barren Women, Traditional Marabout Education, the Role of Traditional Minstrels, the Elekewoo form of Learning, Religious Element of Traditional Learning among the Mendes, and the Acquisition of Skills in Motor Driving.<sup>144</sup> Such analysis of local applied skills and knowledge had rarely occurred throughout the history of FBC.

As has been noted throughout this work, FBC tended to look beyond the borders of Sierra Leone rather than within. FBC had a tradition of accepting large numbers of foreign students. In the 1950s and early 1960s, foreign students, primarily Nigerians, often exceeded fifty percent of the total degree-seeking student population. From the mid- 1960s through the 1970s, foreign students made up twenty percent of the total enrollment at FBC. In the 1980s, the percentage decreased although the countries of origin remained diverse. By 1987, there were approximately 1,500 students at FBC. At this time, the University of Sierra Leone’s admission policy limited the number of foreign students to twenty percent. The actual number of foreign students, which reached approximately ten percent, included students from Chad, Egypt, Ethiopia, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Kenya, Korea, Liberia, Namibia, Nigeria, Sri Lanka, Uganda, United Kingdom, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America, and Zimbabwe.<sup>145</sup> FBC often noted that there were many students from all over Africa and the world attending the College, but

seldom, if ever, was there written discussion of the specific contributions of or methods used for involving foreign students in courses related to international relations. In 1989, Banya estimated that half the students at FBC were supported by external agencies such as the European Community, the Arab League, and the Nordic countries.<sup>146</sup> However, no follow-up studies were found that had attempted to ascertain the impact on these sponsored scholars or for their home communities.

Ernest Wright called for the strengthening of regional cooperation in order to reduce costs and increase local relevance of African higher education. He noted:

On the matter of exchange of teachers in the context of sub-regional cooperation, much has been talked and written about this, but there is very little to show in the way of actual accomplish/staff exchanges... exchanges of teachers, researchers, technicians and administrators of higher education, whether systematized or not, will always be ineffective unless clear modalities are worked out and agreed to and unless there is adequate financial provision to effect the exchanges.<sup>147</sup>

Regional cooperation rarely occurred. The 1993 UNESCO Report, *Education for Africa in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, called for African universities to be actively involved in knowledge production through research, to provide learning experiences that turn young people into job creators rather than job seekers, to manage and preserve natural resources, and to improve African cooperation and integration. The report noted also: "A Major problem that has bedeviled educational development in Africa is the lack of full recognition of the important role that culture plays in education.... The slow progress being made in Africa in the area of education, is due largely to the marginalisation of African culture and the imposition instead of Western forms of education and schooling."<sup>148</sup> The Report further noted that the inherited Western system of schooling was too cost-intensive.

African governments cannot afford the high costs of the western style education that they are trying to give, and communities are being encouraged to absorb some of these costs.... If local communities were responsible for their schools and teaching staff, then these schools could be more efficiently supervised, managed and even financed and staffed because the communities would see to it; the curriculum and teaching would be much more closely geared to the community needs... community involvement may provide a way of changing the whole delivery system itself.<sup>149</sup>

Traditional education was community-centered and highly flexible but it was too localized and insufficient to meet the demands of a modern, more global

society. The UNESCO Report advocated the development of a combined system in which the modern system of education explicitly recognized the role of, and partner with, the traditional educational system. The Report's main emphasis was on recognizing the importance of that which had been neglected: "If the continent is to make a significant contribution to world thought and action and even to its own development, it needs to take into account the ideas... that are offered by its own peoples, and to depend less and less on ideas from abroad, formulated without the intimate knowledge of African peculiarities which only an insider can have."<sup>150</sup> If the concept of international education, where students develop a shared sense of global citizenship and responsibility, is to be successful in the future, the international university community has to find ways to better support and recognize the unique challenges and contributions of African universities. Unfortunately, according to Alpha Bah, a Sierra Leonean and associate professor of African History at the College of Charleston, Fourah Bay had "little to offer Western nations" because "its curriculum has been more Western than some Western colleges." He added that the college had "not been a pioneer in teaching about African cultures."<sup>151</sup>





## CHAPTER EIGHT

# From Independence to State Collapse: Student Activism and the Political Context, 1961–2001

*The colonial intrusions and dispossessions became intensive around 1900 and continued for sixty years or more, and their cultural aftermath is still with us now. Their net impact was to undermine the political and constitutional arrangements of earlier times.... Colonial government—of course with the very best intentions!—shifted all ultimate control to London or the nominees of imperial power; and government necessarily became a dictatorship.<sup>1</sup>*

Democracy had no practical basis in the systems imposed through colonial rule. There was no democracy under colonial military rule. At best, popular democracy in the post-independence era translated into majority rule. The idea that democracy protects the rights of minority groups to dissent was not sufficiently recognized. This chapter illustrates both indigenous misrule and Western culpability in Sierra Leone's increasingly corrupt and authoritarian environment after independence. Fourah Bay College struggled to survive using some very adept political maneuvering both nationally and internationally. At times, it provided a safe haven for traditional scholarship. At other times, it launched open public protest. FBC occupied an ambiguous if not precarious space between African and European cultural forces.

The twenty-first century socio-economic problems of Africa reflect the long-term exploitation of the continent through the slave trade, colonial imposition, and global capitalism. As this book has noted, a small number of Africans collaborated in, and even benefited from, these events. There were African collaborators in the slave trade. European traders married into the families of local chiefs. Today, Africans and Europeans trade in diamonds and armaments, the weapons are used to terrorize, maim and kill the people, further destroying traditional African society. Learned corruption through the historical abuse of economic and political power has characterized the international relations of Sierra Leone. According to two Sierra Leonean scholars currently teaching in the United States, "In structural terms the authoritarian tendencies of Sierra Leone's post-colonial regimes are in a way a reflection of the colonial state,

which dominated society even though its rulers had no foundation in Sierra Leone society.”<sup>2</sup> Magbaily Fyle, director of the FBC Institute of African studies from 1975 to 1991, emphasized the grave mistrust and lack of understanding that has existed between Africans and the West.

The developed world has constantly blamed African countries for their failure, pointing to corruption, mismanagement and such internal factors as the culprits. African countries on the other hand have signalled the conspiracy of the industrial world, the desire to sell and make profit no matter the effect on the buyers, imbalances in world trade and the often misguided and mischievous nature of development aid determined by the donors.<sup>3</sup>

Seen from a cross-cultural perspective and given the historical violence and oppression that has characterized the relationship between Africans and the West, there should be little wonder that such problems existed. A Sierra Leonean student returning from graduate studies in the United States defined the colonial mentality in Sierra Leone as “the assumption that what is foreign is best,” and noted that such an attitude hurt local initiative and creativity.<sup>4</sup> How can higher education bridge seemingly conflicting local, national, and international interests? How can today’s global society accept shared responsibility for nurturing human development rather than blaming individual nations for somehow having failed to develop? Embarking on new paths and strategies for mutual development will require overcoming the destructive influence of the past.

In the 1960s, the United States, Great Britain, Russia, China, West Germany, Saudi Arabia and other countries began to sponsor Sierra Leonean students and future leaders to travel to their countries to study. Both Albert Margai and Siaka Stevens, in 1961 and 1964 respectively, traveled to the United States on Fulbright Leader Grants prior to each becoming Prime Minister.<sup>5</sup> Siaka Stevens, independent Sierra Leone’s first Minister of Lands, Mines, and Labor and a leader in the Elections Before Independence Movement that would later become the All People’s Congress, was imprisoned by Sierra Leone’s first Prime Minister Milton Margai for three months in May of 1961 “as a troublemaker during independence.”<sup>6</sup> Albert Margai, the half-brother and successor of Milton Margai had also held the post of Minister of Lands, Mines and Labor. John Karefa-Smart, another important political figure of the era who was one of just 28 African students that studied in the United States during World War II, also served as Minister of Lands, Mines and Labor.<sup>7</sup> It is not surprising that Albert Margai and Siaka Stevens both traveled to the United States as United States policy in Africa focused on mining interests. Robert McNamara, President of the World Bank, traveled to the diamond mines of Sierra Leone on several occasions.<sup>8</sup> In 1962, John Hatch wrote that “it seems to

be assumed that foreign aid will always provide the capital for development.... No one has yet faced the implications of the paradox that whilst 20 million leones of minerals are exported every year, only 1 million at most is returned to the services of the country.” As noted previously, Hatch, head of the Extra-Mural department at FBC, was deported from Sierra Leone for calling attention to the lack of public debate concerning a number of important issues facing the new country. He noted that “Sierra Leone lacks any sense of national ambition or indeed any ideological approach to its development.”<sup>9</sup>

FBC principal Davidson Nicol conveyed a resolution from the FBC senate expressing concern over the Hatch deportation directly to the Prime Minister, Milton Margai. The resolution stated that “The Senate trusts that no individual would be made to suffer for any opinions honestly and truthfully held. The Senate reiterates its loyalty to the College and Government of Sierra Leone, but feels the fundamental right to freedom of expression ought once again to be affirmed.”<sup>10</sup> Prime Minister Margai’s response emphasized FBC’s new found dependence upon government support. “Remember that we have always supported the University College financially at a level far exceeding any comparable item in our budget but at the same time have granted it complete freedom in its appointment of staff, selection of students and arrangements of curricula.”<sup>11</sup> However, higher education in West Africa enjoyed such freedom and support only for a short period during the late 1950s and early 1960s. The expulsion of John Hatch did not bode well for the future.

According to Christopher Fyfe, “We have seen how the 1960s were called the ‘Development Decade’—but that the people who chiefly developed were those who were well-developed already.”<sup>12</sup> In 1960 and 1961, the United States International Cooperation Administration (ICA) provided technical cooperation funds to Sierra Leone totaling \$330,000. George Roberts calculated that foreign grants and aid made to Sierra Leone in 1961 exceeded 50 million U.S. dollars. More than half of this amount was provided by companies with mining interests including \$90,000 from the Sierra Leone Diamond Corporation, a subsidiary of a British corporation, for the establishment of the department of Geology at FBC.<sup>13</sup> In 1977, Mr. Anthony Oppenheimer, one of the Directors of the company, noted that it had made an annual gift of 9000 Leones to the Department since independence.<sup>14</sup> This was a small amount of support given the huge profits generated by the diamond industry. However, it was one of just a few significant contributions to the College from private enterprise, another being a gift of 10,000 pounds from the United Africa Company for the development of the Science Department in 1957.<sup>15</sup>

Between 1961 and 1971, Sierra Leone obtained \$155 million dollars or 34 percent of its total revenue from foreign aid.<sup>16</sup> A lot of money was spent on development efforts in Africa but often the projects benefited the elite within the so-called “poor” countries. Determining how much to allocate to whom and for what type of development projects became important questions and issues of

contention. As John Hatch argued: “Despite widespread belief that the underdeveloped peoples have been supplied with massive economic aid by the richer countries since the war [World War II], the fact is that the worsening terms of trade due to low primary product prices have more than wiped out the value of all public aid.”<sup>17</sup>

Each of the successive governments in power during the 1960s, the Sierra Leone Peoples Party (SLPP), the National Reformation Council (NRC), and the All Peoples Congress (APC) were recipients of grants from the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), and other international organizations.<sup>18</sup> Sir Milton Margai (SLPP candidate) was elected the nation’s first prime minister in 1962. Albert Margai became prime minister after the death of his half-brother, Milton, in 1964. According to one political observer, the succession increased ethnic rivalry between Sierra Leone’s two largest groups, the Mende and Temne:

When Sir Milton died, the Temne hoped that their leader, John Karefa-Smart (a graduate of Columbia University), would succeed him. According to rumour, however, Albert Margai, with the support of the then chief of the army, threatened to take power by force if the premiership were not given to him. And when he assumed office, Sir Albert systematically dismissed Temne ministers and filled many senior positions with Mendes. He also replaced some Creole permanent secretaries with Mendes. In due course Mendezation was carried into the army by the training and commissioning of Mende Officers, who in 1967 reached a proportion more than twice that of the Mendes in the total population of the country.... Albert Margai threatened to destroy the major principles for which the Creoles had stood: a neutral civil service, free judiciary, free press, and free competition between a plurality of interest groups.<sup>19</sup>

As early as 1965, Albert Margai maneuvered to establish his party’s dominance and a one party state. Margai’s interest in establishing a one-party state was, in part, influenced by a desire to espouse a more pervasive socialism.<sup>20</sup> Albert Margai was an ally of Sekou Toure, President of neighboring Guinea, and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, both of whom were avowed socialists. In 1966, the Peace Corps was expelled from Guinea by Sekou Toure in response to United States complicity in the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah.<sup>21</sup>

When Nkrumah was overthrown in February of 1966, Albert Margai took even more extreme measures to consolidate power via authoritarian tactics. For example, he had a senior army officer, Colonel Bangura, imprisoned for allegedly plotting his overthrow.<sup>22</sup> Margai also signed an agreement with Guinea that called for either country, if requested, to aid the other against internal subversion.<sup>23</sup> Conflict also erupted in Nigeria in 1966. From 1957 to

1967, twenty-nine of the thirty-seven newly independent African states faced attempted coups.<sup>24</sup> Young army officers initiated most of these coups.

The university, too, was a battleground between youth and elders. While student unrest was almost unknown at FBC before the 1960s, students took to the streets in that decade.<sup>25</sup> During the early 1960s, according to one account, "Fourah Bay College was...a center of intellectual political discussion unfettered by government efforts at public censorship."<sup>26</sup> In 1965, young university lecturers

put together an impressive bill of particulars against Sir Albert's attempt to insure his position for the future. Once this was done, they circulated their views widely in the press and organized a massive rally to explain their position to the people.... The whole operation bore striking resemblance to what professor Eldred Jones had asked for earlier...the involvement of the educated of Sierra Leone in the political concerns of the nation.<sup>27</sup>

The reasons for student unrest in Sierra Leone and around the world were complex. According to one Sierra Leonean social scientist, "One can refer generally to the turmoil among university students in the late sixties and early seventies in so far as these relate, not to the Viet-Nam War, but to their desire to arrange and manage their own education, their own teaching and curriculum content, their own society, their own lives."<sup>28</sup> However, noting that African students did not enjoy the same rights and privileges as students in Europe and the United States, the FBC Registrar, L.P.L. Johnson, suggested: "our students are being held more accountable than others and are being asked to show genuine proof of maturity as a prerequisite to the granting of power and privilege."<sup>29</sup>

### 1967 Elections

The election of March 17, 1967 pitted Albert Margai, the SLPP incumbent candidate, against Siaka Stevens, the APC candidate. The election was characterized as "a genuine election, in which the electors' votes were influenced by their views on the real issues which were being debated, and in which voters succeeded, despite electoral mal-practices, in expressing a desire for change."<sup>30</sup> American researcher Fred Hayward recalled "being struck by the commitment of rural and urban voters to democratic norms, their opposition to the idea of a one-party state, and their expression of disenchantment with the regime in power disenchantment they soon expressed by voting them out of office."<sup>31</sup>

Despite Albert Margai's substantial efforts to manipulate election results, the All People's Congress (APC) opposition party gained control of parliament.

The APC won a narrow majority over the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP). On March 21, 1967, Siaka Stevens was appointed Prime Minister by the Governor-General, Sir Henry Lightfoot-Boston. Half an hour after Stevens was sworn in, the army commander, Brigadier David Lansana, arrested both Stevens and Lightfoot-Boston, declaring martial law. Lansana wanted to maintain power and control with the SLPP and Sir Albert Margai. He argued that the appointment of Stevens was made before the vote for the Paramount Chiefs (traditional community leaders) was tallied, although paramount chiefs were not elected on a party basis.<sup>32</sup> Two days later, a group of army officers, calling themselves the National Reformation Council (NRC), arrested Lansana.<sup>33</sup>

At first, the NRC was represented by Major Charles Blake who advised citizens by radio on the need for the army, government, and populace to avoid dividing along any tribal lines.<sup>34</sup> By 1967, again according to Hayward, a clear pattern of ethno-regional polarization along political party lines had replaced the older Colony-Protectorate rivalry.<sup>35</sup> On March 28, a Lieutenant Colonel Juxon-Smith emerged as the leader of the NRC. In a long press conference held at FBC on March 30th, he de-emphasized the issue of tribalism; rather, he condemned the increasing menaces of bribery, corruption, and nepotism in the country.<sup>36</sup>

Members of the University were outspoken critics of the military takeover.<sup>37</sup> According to one well-documented analysis, "A major clash took place between students at Fourah-Bay College and the Military regime of Juxon-Smith. At a time when the military banned free speech, meetings of any kind, as well as political debate, students of the College defied many decrees." Their anti-military posture, as well as that of many of their professors, eventually contributed to the return to civilian rule.<sup>38</sup> On April 18th 1967, not less than eighty-eight members of the USL Senior Staff endorsed an "Open Letter to the National Reformation Council" protesting the military's attempted crackdown on freedom of speech.<sup>39</sup> Davidson Nicol, FBC principal at the time, voiced his opposition to the military regime in a letter to the press. He was brought before a full meeting of NRC army and police officers and asked to withdraw his remarks in the press, but he refused.<sup>40</sup>

FBC experienced repercussions for its stance. The chair of the FBC economics department noted,

Since 1967—at the time of the military take-over when the government reduced its support of the College and a so-called freezing exercise was carried out, this hit the Faculty [of Economic and Social Studies] particularly badly. Economics lost three posts from its hopelessly inadequate establishment and Political Science practically became a one-man show.<sup>41</sup>

At a time when economic and political disruption characterized the national condition, FBC saw a dramatic deterioration, especially in many of its new departments.

Writing in August of 1967, David Dalby, then a lecturer in West African Languages at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, believed that the events in Sierra Leone “adhered to the African pattern [where] political leadership of a post-colonial State has been undermined by corruption and the quest for personal power, and has been replaced by a military junta.” He also believed that “public opinion may be strong enough to force the military government to be the first such regime in West Africa to hand back power to a civilian administration—thus avoiding the threat of civil war.”<sup>42</sup>

On April 18, 1968, a third coup occurred when non-commissioned officers ousted the NRC and shortly afterwards restored civilian rule, installing Siaka Stevens, leader of the All People’s Congress, as head of a government which included only four members of the SLPP.<sup>43</sup> Three months later, the APC began to articulate its support for a one-party state, a proposal it had campaigned against in the election.<sup>44</sup> Widespread violence erupted across the country and a state of emergency was declared which lasted until February 1969. There were several attempts to overthrow the government in 1969, 1970, and 1971.<sup>45</sup>

Though it had not promoted political unrest, FBC became a political prisoner; the prosperity of the late 1950s and early 1960s proved fleeting. In 1969, Arthur Porter described the challenge faced by many African universities, including those institutions in Sierra Leone:

But universities in Africa today face other problems and tasks. They are sometimes in the crossfire of politics.... We must on the one hand serve as instruments for change and on the other remain as centres of independent thought and critical inquiry. We must be at once and the same time institutions of cultural change as well as cultural preservation. We must, in today’s Africa, maintain a delicate balance between civic involvement and academic freedom.... The really relevant questions universities confront today are how, working with government, the full weight of their resources can contribute to national development.<sup>46</sup>

Unfortunately, both FBC and the government were out of touch with the majority of the nation’s people. As in other parts of West Africa, many talented scholars were drawn off to fill positions in government.<sup>47</sup> FBC did not emphasize learning about traditional African cultures. FBC was primarily a teaching institution rather than a research institution.

In 1969, FBC held its first commencement since the country’s return to civilian rule and Siaka Stevens received an honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law from the University of Sierra Leone. The 1969 graduation ceremony was the last in which FBC students received their degrees from Durham University.

Fourah Bay College had achieved its formal independence from British control eight years after Sierra Leone's independence. In 1969, the faculty was almost evenly split, with slightly more Sierra Leoneans (39) than British (38) and with a few Nigerians (4) and Americans (6) as well as several other nationalities represented.<sup>48</sup> Abner Cohen described the ceremony in detail:

Preparations for the ceremony had started many months earlier. A large (10"X8"), expensive invitation pamphlet, with a hard cover elaborately decorated and inscribed in gold, was distributed to literally thousands of people from every walk of life in the country. The roads leading from the centre of Freetown to the college and within the campus were substantially repaired, and their edges painted stark white. The terraces of the amphitheatre where the ceremony was to be held were repaired and consolidated with the help of a gift of 1,000 pounds from the United Africa Company. Traffic police made arrangements, days ahead, for the large number of cars expected to come, and a number of reserved special parking areas were marked for the VIP's.... A week beforehand, all teaching in the college stopped and rehearsals of the processions and of parts of the program were held.... Apart from the students and their relatives, and faculty members and their families, there were hundreds of important men and women present, including ambassadors, ministers, members of Parliament, representatives of various Christian denominations, of Muslim community organizations, of various business concerns, and of different societies, associations, and institutions. It was a drama on a national scale.... In its strictly formal structure, the ceremony was almost a replica of similar ceremonies that are held at British or American universities. But there the similarity ends. Sierra Leone is a small country, Freetown is a small town.... The ceremony was literally the talk of the town—indeed the nation—for months, both before and after it was held. The proceedings were given great prominence on radio and television for days, and the speeches were serialized in the national papers. The ceremony was attended by almost the entire state elite, including the head of state, the prime minister and cabinet, permanent secretaries, representatives of every professional and public association in the country, and representatives of international organizations, including almost the whole of the diplomatic corps. It celebrated the hegemony of education and professionalism in the country. Politicians who had no academic titles were given honorary ones. Power was wedded to knowledge, and knowledge to power, on the highest level of state and society.<sup>49</sup>



The degree of importance afforded this event by the rural populace may have been overstated by Cohen, but there was no doubt about its importance among the urban elite of the nation.

In 1972, former FBC principal Davidson Nicol was the Sierra Leonean High Commissioner to London, former director of the Institute of African Studies Edward Blyden III was the High Commissioner to Moscow, former FBC lecturer Ralph Taylor-Smith was Ambassador to China, and former FBC lecturer William Fitzjohn was High Commissioner to Lagos.<sup>50</sup> All of these important leaders were thus out of the country in 1973 when President Stevens installed himself as Chancellor of the University of Sierra Leone. The government had closed Milton Margai Teacher's College in December of 1972 following a strike by students.<sup>51</sup> Student protests and University closings became increasingly frequent as Siaka Stevens' A.P.C. government ushered in a period of political violence and intimidation previously unknown in the history of the country. Political thuggery became a preferred method through which the A.P.C. gained and maintained support. For example, in 1973, all the A.P.C. candidates in the Northern Province and parts of the Eastern Province were forcefully returned unopposed in the general election of that year.<sup>52</sup> Former FBC lecturer and soon to be Vice-Chancellor of the USL Arthur Porter repeatedly expressed concern for University autonomy and tried to reassure the government: "The function of the university, as a corporate body, is to seek the truth and to serve society; it is not to gain power for itself or to wield authority."<sup>53</sup> Porter's reassurances did not alter the government's authoritarian practices and many students and scholars fled.

An article titled "Sierra Leone's Brain Drain," which appeared in *West Africa* on November 12, 1973, questioned why so many well-educated Sierra Leoneans had left the country in its time of need:

The list of Sierra Leoneans who earn their living overseas is rapidly increasing: and they are all able and experienced people who are much needed in their own country.... This list of Sierra Leoneans working abroad is by no means complete. But certain questions inevitably arise: can Sierra Leone afford this brain drain; why do so many able, qualified and experienced Sierra Leoneans stay outside their own country?<sup>54</sup>

Before the early 1970s, Sierra Leoneans had traveled abroad for their education for many generations but the majority of these students had returned to Sierra Leone or settled elsewhere in West Africa. The "Brain Drain" phenomenon in the 1970s affected Sierra Leone in a very specific manner as Siaka Stevens dismantled all political opposition. For Sierra Leonean college graduates, it was safer and there was greater opportunity living and working abroad.

In July of 1974, fifteen people were arrested for allegedly attempting to overthrow the government including Steven's own former Minister of Finance,

Dr. M.S.Forna, and former Minister of Information, Ibrahim Taqi. They were tried, found guilty, and executed in July of 1975.<sup>55</sup> President Stevens had come to power in 1968 by opposing the establishment of a one-party state with the full support of faculty and students. However, he had now established through coercion and intimidation that which he himself had previously opposed.

### 1977 Student Protests

On Saturday, January 29<sup>th</sup>, 1977, college students openly criticized President Stevens during his USL commencement address for diverting government funds to personal use. According to former FBC student George Roberts:

A figure of \$40,000,000 was cited as the amount misappropriated from the national treasury, and the charge was made at a public function at which the president was presiding (the 150th anniversary of Fourah Bay College). When the President finally got up to sum up the events of the day which had lasted about three hours, he was drowned out by jeering students, with placards, charging him with corruption, larceny, and brutality. Unable to deliver his speech to the convocation, the president left in his motorcade, visibly pained and embarrassed.<sup>56</sup>

The placards that the students had held up read “Bring Back Our Money from the Swiss Banks,” “Shaki Must Resign,” “We Want Jobs Not Just Degrees,” and “President Should Decrease his Cabinet by 40%.”<sup>57</sup> About fifty students were involved in the demonstrations at the commencement. When students began marching and singing, they drowned out President Stevens’ speech, making it impossible to hear, and he was unable to finish. He left—his car being chased amidst jeers of “Tifi, Tifi, Jan Conico”—a chant usually used in the schoolyard when a child is caught stealing.<sup>58</sup> Sierra Leonean Syl Cheney Coker in his novel *The Last Harmattan of Alusine Dunbar* wrote: “Frightened by the monster that was revealing himself, the students came down to town from their Olympian tower, where they had not really taken him seriously, because he had been able to convince them that he was harmless, could not harm a fly, what with his lack of a ‘proper education’ that made him terribly dependent on their kind.”<sup>59</sup>

The student protest was followed by swift government retaliation. According to Roberts, “By 5:00 a.m. on Monday (two days later), a decision had been reached to send a counter-demonstration to the campus in order to redeem the President’s good name and respect. About 500 young party enthusiasts, alleged to be unemployed rogues and thugs, were transported by government buses to ‘teach the rude college students a lesson.’”<sup>60</sup> The counter-demonstration of Monday, January 31<sup>st</sup> by APC Party thugs resulted in numerous injuries, vandalism, theft, rape and several deaths including the death

of a Nigerian student and a refugee student from Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia).<sup>61</sup> Eldred Jones, the College principal was arrested along with three other lecturers (one an American). Dan Decker, the College Warden, was also beaten and arrested. Roberts noted:

The police and special security units dispatched to halt the melee were charged with joining in the victimization of the college community. Not only did these peace officers ignore the vandalism and atrocities of the 'thugs' but they arrested a few students and staff suspected of having incited the initial demonstration against the President. In the end, the government was forced to close down all schools and colleges, as demonstrations took to the streets in all the major towns and cities of Sierra Leone.<sup>62</sup>

By February 3, ten people had been killed and a state of emergency declared. One of the leaders of the counter-demonstration thugs was Akibo Betts. Stevens rewarded Betts by making him deputy Minister of Finance. Betts later redeemed himself with the Sierra Leone public by standing up to Stevens and exposing corruption in the ministry.<sup>63</sup>

The students nearly ended Siaka Stevens rule. On February 8, the USL Staff Association issued a statement condemning the actions of the counter-demonstrators while the students submitted a list of demands that included a call for new elections.<sup>64</sup> The President acceded to this demand announcing his intention to dissolve parliament and hold elections in April. One scholar summarized the situation: "As a result of the 1977 [student] protests, a government which was not inclined to call elections for at least another year felt compelled to set a date for elections in spite of the fact that many APC leaders believed they would lose.... The APC leadership felt that the consequences of ignoring mass demands for elections would be even greater than the risk of losing an election."<sup>65</sup> According to former FBC student Samuel Hinton, "the student protests were not so much antigovernment but rather pro-people."<sup>66</sup> One of the student leaders of the protests, Mr. Ndola Trye, was quoted in the news magazine *West Africa*: "the original demonstration had merely been an effort by the students to make the Government aware of the views and needs of ordinary people."<sup>67</sup> The same magazine also reported that Mr. Hindole (Ndola) Trye's February 9 radio broadcast calling for the reopening of schools and colleges had been "made under duress from armed members of the ISU" (Internal Security Unit).<sup>68</sup>

A State of Emergency remained in effect and was used to inhibit political opposition. The opposition SLPP issued a statement on April 5, 1977 calling for an end to the State of Emergency. Amnesty International estimated that at least 158 SLPP party members had been detained in the months leading up to elections.<sup>69</sup> The students issued an ultimatum on April 18, 1977 calling for a

“nullification of all seats declared unopposed” since candidates had been arrested and the electorate engulfed in an atmosphere of insecurity and intimidation. However, “both old and new politicians, hitherto strident in their criticisms of the government, became, after a date for the elections was announced, more concerned with devising strategies for getting themselves elected than with providing a credible alternative to the government they were opposing but now sought to join.”<sup>70</sup> *We Yone*, the government sponsored paper, reported that there were no opposition candidates contesting the up-coming May elections. According to American and Sierra Leonean researchers Fred Hayward and Jimmy Kandeh, “It is elite manipulation of the political process, rather than an unacculturated electorate, that is at the root of the problem posed for democratic institutions in Sierra Leone.”<sup>71</sup>

Students were not alone in their opposition to the Stevens regime. Awooner Renner, a physicist at FBC, wrote a letter highly critical of the President and his policies that was published in a Freetown paper *The People*. Renner, like the students, leveled charges of political violence, personal enrichment, and lack of free speech against the President and his government. Sarif Easmon, a highly respected physician in Freetown writing in July 1977, further documented the election abuses, noting that four APC candidates had been accused of murder and that as many as eighty people had been killed in a village in Koinadugu that had been burnt to the ground.<sup>72</sup>

In a letter to the editor of *West Africa*, Allieu Kanu wrote: “It is common for Sierra Leone’s leaders to argue that the country’s plight is a direct consequence of trends in the international economy. Of course the problems are to an extent caused by such developments. But the bulk of the problems are caused by unsound management at home. Perhaps it is awareness of this which caused students to demonstrate.”<sup>73</sup>

Still, there was an element of international collusion in the atrocities and injustice of Siaka Steven’s rule. According to one scholar: “there can be no reversal from this sad state of affairs as long as influential world leaders—President Reagan, Chancellor Schmidt, and Prime Minister Thatcher, to name a few—persist in viewing as caring statesman the demagogues of developing nations like Sierra Leone.”<sup>74</sup> In November of 1977, less than six months after the highly irregular elections, the World Bank announced that it would provide an 8.2 million Leone loan over 50 years to Sierra Leone for improving the King Tom (Freetown) power station.<sup>75</sup> Also in November, it was announced that the European Common Market would lend 42.5 million Leones over a four year period for various development projects.<sup>76</sup>

Democratic governments in the West and international institutions such as the World Bank were willing to work with Siaka Stevens despite the many well-documented cases of his electoral abuse and mismanagement in Sierra Leone. Amnesty International, which received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1977, reported that 662 people were detained without trial in Sierra Leone in 1977.<sup>77</sup>

Throughout the 1970's and into the early 1980s, Siaka Stevens intimidated and persecuted political dissidents. He continued to reward street boys for attacking university students protesting government policies and replaced or passed over qualified, productive, and progressive people with people who would do his bidding.<sup>78</sup>

Stevens was also able to coopt some dissidents into government service, although many fled the country. For example, Abdulai Conteh, a distinguished international lawyer, had been one of the most ardent and outspoken critics of the government prior to the 1977 elections.<sup>79</sup> Conteh had even been imprisoned for a few days. Stevens was able to convince people such as Conteh that they could be more productive working from the inside with government instead of fighting the government from the outside. Following the elections Conteh was appointed Foreign Minister. Joe Opala, an American anthropologist and FBC lecturer related the following story:

Conteh went to Cambridge and did his PHD in Law and you talk about somebody who was the epitome of what Sierra Leoneans regarded as an educated man.... He comes back and you've got to think of the period, it's a period in which that kind of individual would be near God in the eyes of a Sierra Leonean. And he began giving speeches against Stevens and very articulate about what's going on. Well, Stevens sends thugs to have him beat up, throws him in jail, waits a couple of days, lets him get really ripe in jail, brings him up to the President's office and then looks at him over his glasses—like this—and he would be very concerned and avuncular and caring about what was happening and he would say: "Oh Abdulai look at you, my goodness, our star, the best student to ever come out of Fourah Bay College and look what has become of you. Now, I know what you're about. I know what you're up to. You think we're making mistakes. Well, I'm gonna surprise you Abdulai. We are. I know you never expected me to say that but then again you've never come to talk with me just like a person, have you? And I'll tell you that I make mistakes all the time and one of the reasons I make mistakes is because the really smart people like you are on the outside throwing rocks at me instead of being on the inside here and trying to help me build this country. Now what I want you to do—is I want you to go home, go back to your family, clean yourself up and a week from today I want you to come see me." And then what will happen is Stevens will give him a cabinet position and then the whole country will be applauding. They won't hear from Abdulai for a while and then suddenly, people start realizing my God the man has three Benzes and he's built two new houses, and what will happen, and Stevens knew this would happen from the beginning, the public will start to hate him, that is Abdulai, far more. Stevens never promised that he would be honest in government. Abdulai

did, and now Abdulai has betrayed them and Stevens has been a crook forever. And he did this to one guy after another and in the end he destroyed all respect for the professors...1977, I think the public and certainly the students at FBC had given up on the professors. They were everybody's first thought, even the students first thought because they had so much respect but 77 marked the end. They sort of said: "if you are going to be led down the primrose path then let us handle it."<sup>80</sup>

President Stevens' contempt for the "educated" undermined confidence in the educational system. Siaka Stevens infamous remarks included: "Nohto book de mehk sense; na sense de mehk book" (books do not make people intelligent, rather intelligent people write books). Opala also noted:

You know I think most people in Sierra Leone in the '60s and '70s regarded the Fourah Bay College lecturers and professors, in particular, as the paragons, as people who had reached the ultimate heights of success.... People saw them as the real success stories in Sierra Leone to the point that Siaka Stevens had to make jokes about it.... He made up this famous proverb which is still well known "You say Davidson Nicol, me say Bailoh Barre." In other words your saying Davidson Nicol is a great success and I'm saying Bailoh Barre this rich Fulah is a great success, a business man.<sup>81</sup>

In 1978, multiparty competition was formally eliminated with the introduction of a one-party state. Sierra Leone, however, had been a *de facto* one-party state since 1973.<sup>82</sup> Although a referendum was held, it was conducted under violent circumstances of intimidation. According to American and Sierra Leonean scholars Fred Hayward and Jimmy Kandeh, "While no one doubted the outcome of the referendum, the government felt the need to go through the symbolic act of an election in order to demonstrate that this fundamental transformation of the system had the support of the people."<sup>83</sup> Stevens was a shrewd as well as ruthless politician.

According to FBC lecturer Eustace Palmer, "From 1978 onwards and the imposition of dictatorial rule the students were effectively muzzled, like every other group in the country. They vented their rage on the college authorities instead of on the government, and where their predecessors had demonstrated against corrupt regimes, they demonstrated over food and things like housing."<sup>84</sup> Student protests turned to the more practical concerns of food and housing because they could not openly protest against the government without putting their life in danger. Therefore, they restricted themselves to mundane expressions of the oppression they were supposed to be fighting. However, the physical deterioration of FBC was a serious reality reflecting the economic conditions of the entire country. According to visiting American student Steven

Salm, “The issues pertaining directly to students (water, electricity, books, teachers showing up for classes, transport, food, scholarships, etc.) were the issues in which students were willing to actively state their case.”<sup>85</sup> Siaka Stevens tolerated such demonstrations as long as they remained on-campus and about campus issues. Compared to the situation at many other university campuses in Africa, Stevens allowed a great deal of open discussion at FBC.<sup>86</sup>

In January, 1979, the first commencement or convocation ceremony was held at FBC since the 1977 student protests. The Reverend Professor Edward Fashole-Luke spoke on the relationship of truth to freedom:

Genuine freedom can only come from the pursuit of truth.... The modern world seems to thrive on lies and often blatant lies are presented as Gospel truths, in order to bolster the governing regimes and for the sake of electoral victories.... In modern Africa, there is a growing tendency to believe that criticism of governments and political leaders is disloyalty and ingratitude and when these criticisms come from the Universities, which are largely financed from public funds, then the Universities are accused of biting the hand that feeds them...Others who have often criticised governments have changed their tunes, and in positions of political power have proved to be worse than those they have criticised previously.... The history of University education in this country indicates that our University institutions stagger from one financial crisis to another. We are all aware that the government cannot do everything; but several attempts to develop an endowment fund for Fourah Bay College or for the University of Sierra Leone have so far proved fruitless.<sup>87</sup>

One wonders why Stevens tolerated this speech? And one wonders also why the corruption and intimidation of the Stevens’ regime did not seem to register with educational or political leaders outside of Sierra Leone? Stevens actually received honors from abroad.

Students demonstrated at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania on October 29, 1979 when Lincoln University conferred on Siaka Stevens an honorary Doctorate of Law degree. Estimates of the number of protesters ranged from 100–400. Stevens was booed and called a murderer as he spoke. Pictures of people who had been executed in Sierra Leone were circulated. Stevens cancelled later appearances on the campus.<sup>88</sup> When Stevens returned to Sierra Leone from the United States, FBC students refused to attend a special welcome reception.<sup>89</sup> Stevens received a letter from United States President Jimmy Carter congratulating him on his award. In November of 1980, Stevens also accepted a Knighthood from the Queen of England.<sup>90</sup>

Stevens’ government also received substantial financial support from abroad. In 1979 and 1980, the country received promises of 226 million dollars in loans from the IMF. However, a three-year agreement, signed in 1980, was

suspended the following year because the Sierra Leone government defaulted on the loan.<sup>91</sup> In 1983, there was yet another agreement with the IMF in which the Sierra Leone Government obtained a loan of \$23.3 million. The following year saw the signing of another loan support program of \$51.9 million which was suspended after \$19 million had been utilized. According to one Sierra Leonean observer:

There has never been any sustained policy of structural adjustment between the Fund and the Sierra Leone Government. Virtually all agreements have been abrogated by the Fund due either to inability of the Government to honor its debt to the Fund, or because of the Government's fear of the social and political consequences of implementing all the conditionalities prescribed by the fund.<sup>92</sup>

Hosting an Organization of African Unity (OAU) conference in 1980 cost Sierra Leone in excess of 25 percent of its annual budget. Several intellectuals criticized Stevens for the wasteful spending that occurred in connection with hosting the conference.<sup>93</sup> By 1981, the economic situation in Sierra Leone had taken a dramatic turn for the worse. In January of 1982, Arthur Porter, vice-chancellor of the USL, reported that the University's budget was cut from eleven million leones to 7.5 million.<sup>94</sup> Academic and living conditions at FBC also deteriorated dramatically. As the economic situation worsened in Sierra Leone, student protests became more frequent and intense.

FBC students were not only reacting to the conditions on campus but also to those affecting unemployed urban youths and the nation as a whole. According to two former FBC students:

Students immersed in the rebellious youth culture became the articulate mouthpiece of a disaffected youth cohort attacking APC rule and calling for fundamental change.... One of the first groups to organize opposition was the maligned Gardener's Club, central to a number of demonstrations in the late 1970s and early 1980s. During the 1980s, however, other politically oriented student groups emerged: the Green Book study club, the Juche Idea group, the Socialist Club and the Pan African Union (Panafu). These groups debated strictly political matters and sought to use the student union as an effective medium to channel grievances at the national level.<sup>95</sup>

#### 1984 Kutubu Commission of Inquiry

The Kutubu Commission of Inquiry was expressly formed by the government "to investigate the cause or causes of the frequent disturbances by students of Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone for the period September 1980



to January 1984.” In November of 1980, protests on the FBC campus resulted in the cancellation of classes and some violence. This was followed by a nationwide strike in September of 1981 that also closed the College. Campus closures became yearly occurrences.

Two incidents, in particular, led to the formation of the commission. On October 26, 1983, Arthur Porter the Vice-Chancellor, Eldred Jones the Principal, and Jenkin Smith the Warden were all doused with powdered milk and marched down the hill in the middle of the day to State House and used as hostages to arrange a *tete-a-tete* with Siaka Stevens. Four students and the three administrators met with the president. The campus was shut down for two weeks following the protest. On Thursday, January 12, 1984, students again protested. Tear gas was used on the marchers and there was some looting and one reported death. The protests coincided with the eighth biennial APC convention. According to a newspaper account, “The Head of State, Dr. Stevens, was at the height of delivering his report to the delegates in the main Conference Hall at the City Hall when missiles started sailing across the streets creating a panicky situation which saw dancers and masked devils scurrying for dear life.”<sup>96</sup>

In a speech delivered immediately following the student demonstrations on January 12th, Stevens cited the disturbances of both October 26, 1983 and earlier that same day as reasons for closing the campus and forming a Commission of Inquiry. The College remained closed for three months. Stevens noted: “the students as in the previous case, seized five mini buses belonging to the Road Transport Corporation, looted a number of shops and maliciously destroyed other vehicles, owned by private individuals. The seizure, wanton destruction of property and total disregard for law and order can no longer be tolerated.”<sup>97</sup>

An unidentified student attributed the major cause of disturbances to the “consciousness and sensitivity of the students to their [own] plight and also their commitment to the solution of national and international problems.”<sup>98</sup> Specific student grievances included the recent 25 percent cut in the University’s budget, poor quality of the food and accommodations, shortage of lecturers, poor provision of electricity and transportation, deterioration of classrooms and library facilities, lack of due process in student disciplinary hearings, inadequacy of the bookshop, and unsatisfactory health and security services at the college. In all a list of nineteen grievances was addressed by the commission. The Commission also took it upon itself to investigate charges of corruption, a particularly sensitive issue, as corruption was known to be rampant in other branches of the national government and civil service.

During Siaka Stevens’ 17 years of rule, Sierra Leone became a patronage-ridden personal autocracy. Stevens was head of the army, the university, and the civil service. Top officials converted the entire bureaucratic structure into an instrument of self-advancement and personal enrichment. As the country’s

leaders robbed and defrauded the public, corruption spread to lower and lower levels of government. As health workers, teachers, and civil servants did not receive salaries and wages, they took on second jobs or found other ways to profit from their jobs. From the late 1970s, intellectuals who entered politics in Sierra Leone had been among the most corrupt and self-serving.”<sup>99</sup> There was a close link between corruption and undemocratic politics. The Stevens government did not fight corruption; it institutionalized corruption. Stevens effectively destroyed or dismantled valuable institutions, including FBC.

The Kutubu Commission found accountability seriously lacking among the University catering department and described their dealings as “shady and tinged with corruption” and “cloak[ed] for some ill motives.... The College holds a large [food] stock of valuable items without proper accounting, verification, internal auditing and control.” In addition, the Warden of Students came under fire in the report for assigning rooms according to family background. “It is his lived habit to ask students for their parents names before deciding whether to give a room or not.” Perhaps most troubling of all, the Commission found “according to the evidence, the conditions of service for lecturers at Fourah Bay College are not competitive with other West African countries.... Many lecturers come and leave only after one year because conditions are stifling.”<sup>100</sup> Between September of 1980 and January 1984, a total of 22 professors, lecturers, and technicians left FBC.<sup>101</sup>

The Kutubu Commission made 95 recommendations including

that urgent steps be taken to repair the roof of the library building in order to avoid the destruction of valuable books...that in view of the exodus of lecturers from the University and the need to maintain high academic standards, that the conditions of service of lecturers in the University be revised, as a matter of extreme urgency...that urgent steps be taken to provide additional lecture rooms and to refurbish and repair all halls of residence and existing lecture rooms...that urgent steps be taken to provide an efficient telephone system at Fourah Bay College.<sup>102</sup>

The Commission further recommended the “phased fencing of Fourah Bay College campus” and “that the University Court should obtain from the Principal of Fourah Bay College a comprehensive report and audited statement of accounts of disbursement of Organization of African Unity (OAU) funds allocated to the College.” Also included among the 95 recommendations was the “re-introduction of national scholarships to encourage academic excellence.”<sup>103</sup> The deterioration of the entire educational system within Sierra Leone as well as that at FBC had created an atmosphere of an institution under siege. The 1984 appointment of Jenkin Smith, former police chief of Freetown, as Warden of Students seemed to reflect this attitude.<sup>104</sup>

In 1985, the College authorities called in the State Security Defence (SSD) to deal with a radical group of students who allegedly “held on to their room keys during a university break, intending to encamp Libyan mercenaries in their hostels.” The charges were never investigated. Forty-one students were expelled. When the College reopened there was widespread vandalism and looting and principal C.P. Foray’s car was set on fire. Three faculty members lost their jobs—Olu Gordon, Cleo Hanciles and Jimmy Kandeh. Kandeh took the University to court and was reinstated. Five students were imprisoned for a period of two months, charged with setting the car on fire. Two former FBC students observed that some of these students along with other angry unemployed urban youth formed the nucleus of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), the rebel faction that has terrorized Sierra Leone since 1991.<sup>105</sup> However, Kandeh wrote that “most of the former students who received military training in Libya opted out of the insurgency before it was launched.” Two former university students, Abu Kanu and Rashid Mansaray, were reportedly executed by Sankoh [the RUF leader] for opposing the violent tactics that rebels used against civilians.<sup>106</sup> The RUF has never formulated or attempted to communicate any constructive social, cultural, or ideological agenda. The anger and disillusionment of Freetown youth escalated. FBC seemed unable to channel such anger into productive activities. Corruption at FBC grew out of despair and disillusionment with the autocratic regime of Siaka Stevens.

### Structural Adjustment

Serious economic decline accompanied authoritarian rule in Sierra Leone. Conditions in Sierra Leone mirrored those of many other African nations. Between 1960 and 1994, the African countries’ share in the global distribution of wealth decreased.<sup>107</sup> So-called economic globalization resulted in greater disparity between the rich and poor of the world. The economic crisis in Sierra Leone arose from the recession experienced by the industrialized countries in the late 1970s and early 1980s. According to Kingsley Banya,

Because of the early 1980s recession in the industrialized countries, the demand for imports from primary producers declined considerably.... In 1982 commodity prices [in Sierra Leone] reached their lowest value since 1945, and coupled with the decline of diamond prices...resulted in the worst terms of trade the country has ever experienced.<sup>108</sup>

Per capita income fell in Sierra Leone from \$390 in 1982 to \$160 in 1992.<sup>109</sup>

In the mid-1980s, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank structural adjustment policies promoted the export of primary products and therefore were consistent with earlier colonialist policies. However, export

revenues were far below what was needed to repay outstanding loans. The high debt of African countries reduced their ability to limit or restrict the exploitation of their natural resources. Structural adjustment policies of the 1980s aimed at opening up markets and reducing the role of government in Africa and other regions of the world. These policies seemed to be less about equity than about continuing Western economic growth. Structural adjustment policies contributed to loss of local control and, therefore, to loss of political stability. Many African scholars left their university posts for teaching jobs in the United States with the advent of the economic and political crises accompanying structural adjustment.<sup>110</sup>

Problems of income distribution often lead to political instability. When a wide gap exists within society between the wealthy and the poor or the educated and uneducated, development stagnates and society eventually erupts in conflict. Political stability is also important for attracting investment. However, foreign investment does not necessarily contribute to the long-term interests of developing countries. Barry Riddell, a Canadian researcher who visited Sierra Leone in 1967, 1972, 1979, and 1981, observed that “the effects of the current internationalization are generally not in the interests of most Africans, and the outcome is often generally resented.” He further stated that African “people are withdrawing from a political system which is uncaring, inept, predatory, and unrepresentative.”<sup>111</sup> Riddell criticized the IMF for its rhetoric of requiring a strong state and its policies that weaken governments with conditionalities.

For too long, donors have made inadequate efforts to build capacity within central institutions, and they have adopted practices that actually undermine these capacities. For too long and too often, African governments have acted as if aid were a free resource and have not integrated aid into their own planning and budgeting exercises.... Rather than contributing to long-term development, much aid has increasingly been devoted to short-term crisis management.<sup>112</sup>

High debt blocks economic liquidity, destabilizing and devaluing currencies. Another scholar noted,

The foreign experts from the IMF and the World Bank had been persuading African governments to adopt policies that were actually causing overproduction and worsening terms of trade, land degradation and drought, destroying what was left of the strengths of African societies—skillful small-scale farming, the central role of women in the village economy, mixed cropping, urban crafts, the balance between urban and rural life and fruitful exchanges between agriculturalists and pastoralists. All these strengths had been undermined by large-scale mechanized farm

projects and stock ranching, by gigantic and ecologically unsound hydro-electric and irrigation projects, by deforestation, by waged work for men and the marginalization of women, by new industries dependent on imported machines and spare parts and raw material inputs and by prestige projects in the big cities. On this reckoning, the outbreaks of civil violence and internecine wars in Africa seemed to be more the result of impasse of accumulating debt and the destruction of old forms of community action than of any irreconcilable differences between ethnic groups.<sup>113</sup>

The effects of such policies combined with mismanagement and corruption led to a serious economic decline in Sierra Leone that reached a critical point with the end of the Cold War. According to American researcher Adell Patton, “The Cold War’s termination has proved a setback for sub-Saharan Africa. The industrialized world has changed its focus and a major share of its multilateral aid now goes to the former communist entities” in Eastern Europe and not to Africa.<sup>114</sup>

By the late 1980s, as Banya noted, teachers went for months without salaries and that most of the senior and qualified teachers were leaving the profession. In addition, he noted that “no new construction of primary schools has taken place in the past 10 years, despite the increase in enrollment.” He believed that the country “may be raising a whole generation of semi-illiterates.” He further revealed that “those in supervisory positions such as principals, head teachers and inspectors of schools have taken a leaf from the book of corrupt politicians to enrich themselves. If and when school materials are provided, they are sold to traders who sell them at exorbitant prices.”<sup>115</sup> Given the dire economic conditions of the country at the end of the 1980s and the fact that support was not readily available from external donors, Banya advocated that students be assessed fees for their university education.<sup>116</sup>

In 1985 under tremendous public pressure to step down, Siaka Stevens handpicked his successor, Joseph Saidu Momoh. Elections were slated for the following year. IMF funding was at least partially contingent upon Sierra Leone’s ability to implement a democratic electoral process. President Momoh made it clear that the elections were to be free and fair. Candidates such as Abdul Karim and Ibrahim Sorie who had close personal ties to former President Stevens were disqualified.<sup>117</sup> Many faculty and staff from the University of Sierra Leone resigned their positions to run for elected office, including J.A.Kamara and P.M.Dimoh, both of whom were elected.<sup>118</sup> The 1986 elections under the one-party system were “remarkably free of violence and intimidation,” in contrast to those in 1982, 1977 and 1973. However, American researcher Fred Hayward noted: “There was a feeling among many Government leaders, academics, professionals, and even some in the diplomatic community that the IMF and World Bank had not lived up to their part

of agreements in 1986 and had created unrealistic conditions that led to Sierra Leone's default very soon after the programme began."<sup>119</sup>

From 1985 to 1987 inflation soared. In 1987, the IMF and other foreign donors forced President Momoh's government to enact even more stringent economic structural adjustments. In a period of a few months the currency went from 7 leones to one dollar to over 120 leones to the dollar. Banks had to close their doors. Perhaps because of the tight economic controls, Stevens, vice-president Frances Minah, and Jamil Mohammed plotted Momoh's assassination. When the plot was uncovered, Jamil fled the country, Minah was tried and executed, and Stevens died a few months later while under house arrest.<sup>120</sup>

By 1989, Momoh's government was virtually bankrupt. Civil service salaries went unpaid; government workers stripped their offices of furniture, typewriters, light fixtures, etc.; and in the capital city, water, electricity, gasoline, and currency were in perpetual short supply.<sup>121</sup> Student protests continued and Fourah Bay College, Njala University and Milton Margai Teachers' College were all closed on November 28, 1989 and not reopened until January of 1990.<sup>122</sup> However, later in the year, President Momoh lifted a ban on student unions that had been in place since the mid-1980s and met with the new student body president, Mohammed Bah.<sup>123</sup> In 1990 with the country in a state of economic chaos, Momoh announced a plan to return the country to a multiparty democracy with elections to occur in 1992. In August of 1991, a National Referendum on a new constitution making way for a multiparty system was approved by 60 percent of the voters with a 75 percent electorate turnout.<sup>124</sup>

These positive moves, however, were overshadowed by the country's continued economic crisis and escalating military conflict. On January 26, 1992 students were tear-gassed during a peaceful march to commemorate the student protests of 1977. C.P.Foray, FBC principal from 1985 to 1993, led the students. Visiting Kalamazoo College students and their faculty advisor had planned to observe the march from a distance but were caught up in the ensuing melee. President Momoh accused FBC students of using American students as shields.<sup>125</sup> In February, the students again took to the streets calling for Momoh's resignation leading to further clashes with riot police.<sup>126</sup>

### State Collapse

In 1991, Momoh committed troops to the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) peacekeeping forces in neighboring Liberia. When armed Revolutionary United Front (RUF) forces entered Sierra Leone from Liberia in March of 1991, Sierra Leone's army was ill-prepared and illequipped to defend the country. Many soldiers hastily recruited for the Sierra Leone army were uneducated, previously unemployed,

urban youth. The RUF leaders, themselves, were alienated youth from Sierra Leone dissatisfied with the lack of economic opportunity. A small group left Sierra Leone in the late 1980's to train in Libya and then joined Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). One of the leaders, Foday Sankoh, had been imprisoned in Sierra Leone for his role in a coup attempt in the early 1970's. The RUF appropriated most of its strategy and tactics from neighboring Liberia. However, unlike in Liberia, RUF looting and violent terrorist tactics failed to attract rural people into joining the "revolution," even those long dissatisfied with the APC government.<sup>127</sup>

Despite a lack of modern weapons or basic supplies such as boots, uniforms, radios, and field kitchens, a few units within the Sierra Leone army distinguished themselves. Captain Prince Ben-Hirsch's troops were particularly successful. After the Captain was allegedly murdered by jealous higher ranking officers, his troops entered Freetown on April 29, 1992 and overthrew Momoh's corrupt government just months before scheduled elections. Twenty-seven-year-old Captain Valentine Strasser became head of the National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC). Strasser promised to restore honest government. An IMF loan that president Momoh had been negotiating for years was granted only a few days after the coup and the new government seemed miraculously to improve conditions overnight.<sup>128</sup> The NPRC convened several Commissions of Inquiry into the Siaka Stevens and Joseph Momoh regimes. Not surprisingly, these commissions found gross abuses of power resulting in losses exceeding ten billion Leones.<sup>129</sup> For example, ten million leones were disbursed to deal with a student protest that was allegedly to occur in June of 1990 but was aborted. Only 158 leones were returned to the government. Another 16.5 million leones were paid to the Police in January 1992 "to cover cost of emergency ration and fuel required to institute measures aimed at containing any public disorder which might emanate from a threatened demonstration by students." Only 24 thousand leones were returned to the Accountant-General.<sup>130</sup> In the case of January 1992, however, students demonstrated just as they had been doing every year at this time since 1977.<sup>131</sup>

Not long after the NPRC took control of the country, it organized a clean-up campaign in Freetown and other cities throughout the country. The campaign was very successful and boosted people's morale. "Youth organizations" took the campaign even further "patching streets, cleaning gutters, making planters, and painting curbs and median strips on a massive scale." What happened next was unexpected. Young people began creating patriotic art. Paintings, sculptures, public monuments, and roadside decorations sprang up throughout Freetown to celebrate the end of APC rule and the beginning of a new generation of leadership. The artists took many of the images for their paintings from a book, *Sierra Leone Heroes*, published in 1988 by the former government. The book was a collaborative project that involved Magbaily Fyle, Director, FBC Institute of African Studies from 1975 to 1991, Joe Opala, FBC lecturer from



1985 to 1991, Vera Viditz-Ward, Fulbright recipient to Sierra Leone in 1985, and Josef Marker, Kalamazoo study abroad participant in 1986. It contained biographies with photographs or drawings of fifty great men and women who helped build the nation. It was similar in concept, but much larger in scope, to a work done in 1961 titled *Eminent Sierra Leoneans*. The artists incorporated the images from the *Sierra Leone Heroes* along with other images into different themes including the NPRC and the rebel war, nationalism, cultural pride, Pan-Africanism, Rastafarianism, Islam and Christianity. Joe Opala noted: “The young soldiers of the NPRC made a revolution on April 29, 1992, but Freetown’s working class youth made another eight months later. The first was a revolution in political leadership; the second, in consciousness.”<sup>132</sup> This spontaneous outpouring of cultural pride had its roots at FBC.

Unfortunately, the young officer Strasser proved incapable of ruling. The Sierra Leone army started engaging in widespread looting and indiscriminate violence. It had become indistinguishable from the RUF. Strasser was unable to control these troops. The soldier/rebels became known as Sobels.<sup>133</sup> According to one observer, the breakdown of law and order in Sierra Leone signaled “The Coming Anarchy” for an increasingly bifurcated world of prosperity and poverty fighting for control over scarce resources.<sup>134</sup> The Sobels gained control of important diamond mining areas. Members of the NPRC also adopted a lifestyle of luxury openly displaying their new found wealth. Strasser traveled to Antwerp with forty-three million dollars worth of diamonds, making several personal investments including purchasing a house.<sup>135</sup> The military regime proved to be as corrupt as its political forerunners and it operated under even greater secrecy and censorship.<sup>136</sup> Corruption and theft were pervasive. Illegal mining in 1992 amounted to \$200 million worth of diamonds and gold smuggled out of the country. In addition, an estimated \$150 million worth of fish were lost to illegal fishing by foreign fleets. The cost of war to the Sierra Leone Government was estimated at 2.3 billion leones.<sup>137</sup>

By 1993, FBC, like the country, was nearing total collapse. Following farther disturbances at FBC and Njala in 1993, the NPRC instituted an investigative committee. The Professor Kwami Committee found widespread examination irregularities, financial mismanagement, a crumbling infrastructure, lack of qualified academic teaching staff, poor conditions of service, gender inequities, and sexual harassment to name a few of the most serious problems. The committee recommended the termination without benefits of one lecturer who had falsified examination results. Several departments were operating primarily with inexperienced faculty and teaching assistants. The Committee also noted that there had been no proper financial audit of the University of Sierra Leone in the past ten years. The unitary system that had been in place since 1974 establishing the University of Sierra Leone also came under fire for poor decision-making and wasteful expenditures. For example, forty-seven million leones went to fund the building of the Vice-



Chancellor's lodge when student housing, begun ten years earlier, had still not been completed (approximately 6 million leones had been spent on the student housing project).<sup>138</sup> In November of 1994, Kalamazoo College indefinitely suspended its study abroad program following a government shut-down of the University of Sierra Leone in early October. Six of the seven students participating in the Kalamazoo program transferred to the Kalamazoo program in Kenya while the remaining student returned home.<sup>139</sup> The Fulbright program also suspended its relationships with Sierra Leone in 1994. Neither of these programs has been resumed.

By February of 1995, the war had displaced an estimated 900,000 persons.<sup>140</sup> In 1995, the traditional Kamajor warriors mounted a massive civil defense effort with superior local knowledge of the terrain. Beginning in May, they were aided by Executive Outcomes (EO), a private South Africa-based security firm that was able to locate RUF radio communications and pinpoint strikes.<sup>141</sup> The Ohio-based Sierra Rutile corporation teamed up with Branch Energy to bring EO to the country at a cost of \$1.5 million a month.<sup>142</sup> The lure of rich resources remained a powerful incentive for companies wanting to maintain stability in weak states, while the strategic interests of major international powers such as Great Britain or the United States in small countries such as Sierra Leone declined with the end of the Cold War. Western defenses are geared for highly technical wars of mass destruction not low intensity civil wars. Somalia made it clear that U.S. politicians would be hard pressed to explain American casualties of such wars to their electorates.<sup>143</sup> Were these Western businesses hiring mercenaries to protect their own interests also rescuing Sierra Leone from marauding bandits? To and from who were the bandits selling diamonds and purchasing weapons? Western governments and multinational corporations have not effectively answered these questions.

Sierra Leoneans, with support from the international community, called for elections and a return to civilian rule. In January 1996, Strasser was overthrown by Brigadier Bio, the vice-chairman of the NPRC, who hoped to avert the electoral process. In February and again in March for the runoff and despite extreme dangers, thousands of Sierra Leone went to the polls for the first multi-party presidential election in twenty-eight years. Sobels killed at least twenty-seven people in attacks during the elections. Ahmad Tejan Kabbah was elected president and sworn in on March 29, 1996. In February of 1997, all foreign mercenaries left Sierra Leone in accordance with the Abidjan Peace Accord signed by President Kabbah and Foday Sankoh, the leader of the RUF. Three months later the government was again overthrown.<sup>144</sup>

On May 25, 1997 Sobels freed one of their leaders, Major Johnny Paul Koroma, from prison and, joined by RUF comrades, staged a coup—looting the city—finally dropping the charade that the army and rebels were at odds. They called the new government the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). Although the AFRC repeatedly tried to get civil servants to return to their jobs,

almost no one in Freetown returned to work.<sup>145</sup> Between 1991 and 1997, the RUF or AFRC armed insurgency displaced more than half the country's population and were responsible for an estimated 30,000 deaths.<sup>146</sup> In June of 1997, Koroma proclaimed himself Head of State while citizens continued to observe a campaign of civil disobedience. Sierra Leoneans refused to cooperate with these bandits.

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group refused to recognize the new government. Nigerian troops once deployed in neighboring Liberia now imposed a naval blockade on Sierra Leone. Sandline International was investigated by the British government for providing weapons during this period to the ousted Sierra Leone government in violation of United Nations sanctions. In February of 1998, ECOMOG troops led by Nigerian forces liberated Freetown and on March 10, President Kabbah was reinstated.<sup>147</sup> Nigeria was willing to place its troops on the ground in Liberia and Sierra Leone to contain conflict in West Africa. In 1998, it seemed ironic that Nigeria's military government would defend democracy in Sierra Leone. However, the historical role played by FBC and the Sierra Leonean Krios in Nigeria may have been part of the reason Nigerians came to the aid of Sierra Leone at a time when Western countries were unwilling to contribute men or resources to the conflict. As the Nigerian president stated many years earlier:

It is hard for a Nigerian to speak of Sierra Leone without deep emotions of abiding friendship and an enormous debt of gratitude. My country and people owe so much to Sierra Leone in terms of cultural and educational benefits that we regard it as our second home. Fourah Bay College has produced as many leaders of thought and community in Nigeria and I presume in West Africa, as any other University in the world. Besides, it was here in Freetown that Africa's steps to redress its historical humiliation of the slave trade and alien domination were first taken. One cannot over emphasize the singular role of Sierra Leone in our collective history and future endeavors.<sup>148</sup>

In January of 1999, significant portions of the capital, Freetown, again fell into rebel hands. One hundred thousand people were left homeless in the capital and two hundred thousand depended on feeding centers for their daily food. Since these attacks, international focus returned to Charles Taylor and his regime in Liberia for fueling the aggression. "The long-running violence in Sierra Leone is not a civil war...[It] is a war of aggression by Liberia, supported by rogue states and international criminals in the diamond and cocaine trade."<sup>149</sup> The overwhelming tendency of Western governments to look the other way as African leaders with little to no respect for their own people amass incredible wealth for ensuring Western access to markets and natural resources is

criminal. These problems citizens of the world cannot responsibly ignore. Warfare and corruption like peace and freedom require cooperation. Weapons supplied to Sierra Leone profit Western manufacturers and help bandits supply cheap raw diamonds to lucrative Western markets. In this regard, little has changed since the age of slavery.

As this is being written, United Nations troops occupy Freetown and are deployed in several regions of the country. President Kabbah remains in office. Foday Sankoh has been arrested. The Njala campus of the University of Sierra Leone has been virtually destroyed and was forced to move its operations to Freetown, its rural setting indefensible. Fourah Bay College still survives. On December 18, 1999, at the USL Fall Congregation in Freetown, President Kabbah recommended the following:

I welcome the idea that the University will try to incorporate peace education into its curricula. Let me suggest that the peace education or peace studies which is envisaged should include such elements as conflict prevention, conflict management, mediation, and conflict resolution. For a nation which is entering a post-conflict era, and in which tolerance in all its aspects should be encouraged, the need for some form of peace education, particularly at the university level, cannot be overemphasized. The University itself, which often has to deal with, I should say far too many internal grievances and even conflicts, could benefit from peace education or peace studies, and thus enhance its ability to achieve its goals and objectives in the coming years.... As part of its strategy to achieve its goals, the University may wish to consider creating more innovative ways of income generation from external sources.<sup>150</sup>

Rebuilding Sierra Leone will be an awesome task. FBC can play an important role in the process. It was the original task facing the College at its founding, although not specifically acknowledged, to prepare leaders to build a nation out of returnees from the diaspora and refugees of the slave trade. Hopefully, the international community will recognize the strengths as well as the perennial problems of FBC and work with the College to develop a comprehensive and appropriate plan of action. There is perhaps no more important task for higher education in today's global environment than to instill among students a strong sense of social responsibility and human rights as world citizens. Ending the violence and ensuring the health and safety of Sierra Leoneans is the most urgent priority. The situation in Sierra Leone requires extraordinary fortitude and commitment. It also requires huge investments. Can local and global forces work together? Can understanding and trust develop? Will FBC play a significant role?



# CONCLUSION

## International Education at FBC

*Fourah Bay pioneered the modern concept in which Universities were not only seats of learning for a particular country but were instruments for fostering friendship and understanding among the peoples of the world.<sup>1</sup>*

*The problem for the historian, then, is...how to do justice to the local, the regional, and the international in a single description or a single framework of analysis?<sup>2</sup>*

The legends and literature of history give shape to culture. The origins of Freetown and Fourah Bay College are legendary and closely connected to the democratic ideals of the modern era.<sup>3</sup> The study of history often reveals how people judge not only others but the past itself, through their own knowledge and value systems. Africans and Europeans have tended to either blame or denigrate the other for failing to understand or appreciate their unique perspectives, challenges and concerns. Within this cross-cultural context, far too many observers have either ignored or overlooked the mutually beneficial influences that African and European cultures have exerted upon each other. FBC was a European institution transported and situated in Freetown, Sierra Leone, and valued for its traditional Western academic focus and Christian character. It was set up to colonize the mind of the people, and to indoctrinate Africans to believe in the superiority of Western ethics, morals and civilization. Therefore, to understand this book is to understand how much FBC distanced itself from the indigenous population. This, in spite of the fact that throughout the College's existence, many alumni as well as other observers repeatedly criticized the institution for failing to provide a curriculum relevant to the African context.

FBC was required to maintain international (British) standards of academic excellence in order to qualify as a university institution. The faculty and students were often much more familiar with British history and culture than with the history and culture of indigenous ethnic groups in Sierra Leone or other parts of West Africa. Indeed, more Sierra Leonean students pursued

higher education abroad than at FBC. However, the College attracted students from all over West Africa, particularly British West Africa (Nigeria, Gambia, and Ghana). From 1827 to 1950 and from 1969 to the present, the majority of the faculty was African. While many of the African students and faculty wanted to learn as much as they could about their European benefactors and oppressors, others refused to adopt such Eurocentric perspectives. Like Obadiah Moore, some of the African faculty at FBC no doubt reminded their students, "You are African students in Africa. Your country expects and justly expects much from you... Study therefore from the African's point of view and not from the European's point of view. You have to change, clarify and carry forward our people's way and method of looking at things."<sup>4</sup> One of the most difficult and important challenges faced by FBC, and one clearly related to Moore's designs, was determining its role in the study of African culture, languages, and values.

FBC passed through periods of missionary, colonial, and development education. The historical influence of British colonial rule at FBC manifested itself through a continued emphasis within the curriculum on Christian theology, the English language, and British (Western) history. While there existed at FBC extensive interaction and collaboration among people of different backgrounds and experience, the spread of Western education, language, and culture superseded developing greater understanding for the diversity of indigenous African cultures. The curriculum was narrow and the institution poorly funded. The failure of FBC to develop a meaningful relationship with the local cultural environment is symptomatic of the failure of colonialism and neocolonialism.

Throughout the history of the institution, the "international" has taken precedence over the "local." However, the "international" perspective at FBC included resistance to Eurocentrism and imperialism. Therefore, FBC was also an African institution focused on asserting its basic human rights of self-determination. FBC-educated Africans took on leadership roles throughout West Africa combating and criticizing racist and imperialist colonial policies. Their contributions to national development in West Africa led to African independence.

Following World War II, adverse Cold War ideologies served to compromise emerging notions of African nationalism and socialism, a situation that resulted in very opportunistic foreign policies. Universities became pawns of national and international politics. While from the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s African institutions of higher learning such as FBC received adequate financial support, too many political conditions were attached to the use of these funds. The approach was both wasteful and unsustainable and tended to benefit a wealthy elite rather than the masses. In many ways those who came to "help" the "less fortunate" benefited most. It was only during this period that British and American faculty at FBC significantly outnumbered the African faculty.

While FBC students, faculty and alumni helped spread Western education and culture, their interest and commitment to record African history and customs in written form also helped preserve some of what otherwise might have been lost. Faculty and alumni of FBC made important contributions to the field of African Studies. They helped reform the traditional methodologies and canons of the university, particularly in the humanities and social sciences. Oral historiography reached new levels of development in the African context. Some members of the faculty resisted the idea of developing separate programs or departments of African Studies at FBC because they felt that within Africa everything involved the study of Africa.<sup>5</sup> African studies never became an integral part of the institution's curriculum, although this did not prevent FBC alumni from making important contributions to the field. A strand of liberation protest that is Pan-African and diasporan connects the research and writings of FBC's students, faculty and alumni over time. African scholars may have questioned the value of creating centers or institutes of African Studies within African universities but Western universities have also not embraced the idea. For example, very few universities in the United States have developed degree programs in African Studies.

Conflict arises when different groups fail to understand their problems as mutual. The world has not moved beyond hierarchical concepts of rich and poor, developed and undeveloped, to a more shared, mutual understanding of international relations. Poverty breeds despair. Fear breeds hatred and violence. Economic despair, social injustice, and political oppression are weapons protecting the privileged. According to a United Nations report, "the purpose of human development should be to improve our ability to live together peacefully."<sup>6</sup> Human development requires nurturing communities. The university should be a center for community development and resolving conflict. It should strive to build awareness of the complex relationship between global and local elements. International education's ultimate concern must be protecting human rights.

There is only one conclusion to be drawn from the history of Fourah Bay College. There is an urgent need to develop better ways to share responsibility for ending the continued deterioration of African society and for developing a more equitable, stable, and peaceful global society. Creating university partnerships that allow for the development of a shared sense of identity and responsibility as world citizens is imperative. Investment in international education is an investment in developing a more stable, secure, and peaceful future. One of the best ways to accomplish this within the context of university education is to put more funding into research and teaching aimed at understanding and appreciating what has been misunderstood, destroyed, and neglected—traditional African culture. There is a great deal to be learned from the study of African culture and from the relationships that have characterized African and European contact.

FBC has been largely unable to achieve a sense of relevance amidst conflicting cultures and priorities. Understanding culture as the context in which people solve their problems, not as the cause of their problems, is essential to international cooperation and development. As this book demonstrates, higher education in West Africa has often been a tool exercised to wield power and maintain privilege. As observed by Sierra Leonean scholar, Cream Wright, “Education can act equally as a force for domination or as a force for liberation.”<sup>7</sup>

Democracy had no role in the systems imposed on Sierra Leone through colonial rule, however, democratic principles gained recognition throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. African and African-American demands for representative voice have helped shape concepts of modern democracy. In the early 1960s, the promise of freedom and justice through African independence seemed to be a real possibility. However, the politicization of tribalism, following Sierra Leone’s independence, corrupted the democratic process. Despotic and greedy rulers contributed to bankruptcy and the breakdown of civic institutions. By the 1980s, the promise of freedom and justice that accompanied independence had deteriorated into pleas for peace and unity among a largely divided West Africa. Since the late 1980s, a period of despair and disillusionment has settled on FBC and Sierra Leone. Marauding bandits gained control over an illicit diamond trade and terrorized the country with sophisticated weaponry, bringing the country to near total collapse. They persecuted helpless victims in rural villages, threatening to destroy what few elements of cultural continuity had managed to survive earlier assaults on the fabric of West African societies. The overall response of the international community has been limited and indecisive.

For three or four centuries in West Africa, war, violence, poverty, and disease have been endemic. If Western society looks back at its historical relationship with Africa during this period, there is very little of which it can be proud. Cultures do not develop in isolation. As a United States citizen of European descent, I look back with indignation on this past as primarily a series of violent acts, oppressive, greedy, selfish, and self-righteous. Western humanitarianism at FBC has largely been self-serving, creating dependency rather than self-sufficiency or sustainability. The case of FBC helps bring to light the ethical tension between the good intentions of philanthropic humanitarianism and the economic hegemony of modern Western civilization in West Africa. African scholars have struggled to create a space for themselves amidst these powerful forces. Modern society and the modern university need to provide adequate space for different perspectives to flourish. Ethical scholarship demands redress and the inclusion of diverse, multicultural perspectives.

Like Athens, Freetown and Fourah Bay College lost its preeminence as other cosmopolitan centers of commerce and learning emerged across West Africa.



After the 1930s, FBC was no longer the only institution of higher education in West Africa.<sup>8</sup> However, the problem for FBC was not that there were too many colleges and universities in West Africa but that education at all its levels in Sierra Leone was not adequately supported or relevant to the majority of the people.

Is the title the Athens of West Africa an epitaph? The Athens of West Africa certainly captures the persistent historical influence of the traditional Western canon on FBC and the modern university. However, many of the intellectual traditions of Athens originally came out of Africa. The significance of the title might best rest in its emphasis on the need to understand history. The terrible effects of slavery and colonialism on Africa's development far outweigh the aid that has been provided to Sierra Leone or other parts of the continent by Great Britain, France, and the United States. We need to understand the depth of these wrongs and work towards social justice and shared responsibility. I hope that African Studies will form an integral and essential part of the modern international university.

The African university is an institution critical to the development of the African continent. It must be shaped to meet its main challenge of fostering cultural development and achieving modernization, thereby interlinking its dual worlds—the traditional African environment and the modern Western sector. The African university would then be a vital force, contributing to the solution of the continent's pressing problems and enhancing the development of the continent.<sup>9</sup>

The history of international relations at Fourah Bay College emphasizes the challenges of transforming higher education into a more inclusive, multicultural, international system that promotes development globally. Despite some notable accomplishments, it appears that the university as an institution has not yet developed the appropriate knowledge, skills, or understanding to bring about such transformation. International education needs to be more than a gesture of humanitarian goodwill if it is to be a shared process of mutual benefit. Responsibility for transforming international education must be a joint enterprise, a partnership, which recognizes the importance of balancing different perspectives and accepting their legitimacy. The future of FBC depends upon learning from the mistakes of the past and refusing to repeat them. It requires much more focused attention as to how the traditional knowledge and skills of West African cultures inform modern society, their relationships with each other as well as the wider world.

There is a long history of division, suffering and mistrust among the many different people of the world. The field of African Studies has an important role to play in helping all people understand and overcome prejudice and injustice. The history of FBC helps demonstrate the importance of African Studies to

international education. International education involves a transformation of social consciousness beyond national consciousness. Higher education must strive for a diverse curriculum that emphasizes an international perspective. We must learn to understand and appreciate the diversity of cultures and the complexity of problems facing the world, if we are to contribute to solutions rather than a viscous cycle of authoritarianism, poverty and violence.

# Notes

## NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

- 1 The analogy of the “Athens” of West Africa originally referred to the very multicultural and educated citizenry of the city of Freetown but increasingly was associated with the College.
- 2 The roots of the university as a community of international scholars date back to the second or third century B.C. The Alexandria library housed over 200,000 volumes and attracted scholars from the Egyptian, North African, Greek, Roman and Jewish worlds. The oldest Islamic university in Africa is Karawiyan founded in 859, followed by Al-Azhar and the University of Timbuktu. J.F.Ade Ajayi, Lameck K.H.Goma, and G. Ampah Johnson, *The African Experience with Higher Education*, (Accra: The Association of African Universities, 1996), 5–11.
- 3 Robert July, *The Origins of Modern African Thought: Its Development in West Africa during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Faber and Faber: London, 1968), 25–31.
- 4 Eric Williams, *Capitalism & Slavery* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1961 [1944]).
- 5 Toyin Falola, *Nationalism and African Intellectuals* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2001), xvii.
- 6 Toyin Falola, *Nationalism and African Intellectuals* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2001), 223.
- 7 Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African: A Study in the Ecology of Higher Education* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966); Kenneth King, *Pan-Africanism and Education: A Study of Race Philanthropy and Education in the Southern United States and East Africa* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (New York: David McKay Company, 1974); Ali A.Mazrui, *Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978).
- 8 See for example Robert Kaplan, “The Coming Anarchy,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, (February, 1994), 44–76.

## NOTES TO PART ONE

- 1 E.Christian Anderson and Earl Dewitt Baker, *Educational Development in Sierra Leone* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Malloy Lithoprinting, Inc., 1969), 5.
- 2 The Basel Mission Society was founded in Switzerland in 1822 and was very involved in linguistic studies and bible transcription work throughout West Africa, particularly in Ghana. Peter Schweizer, *Survivors on the Gold Coast: The Basel Missionaries* (Ghana: Smartline Publications, 2000).
- 3 The large number of liberated Africans that joined the Freetown settlement was one element that differentiated the development of Sierra Leone from Liberia.
- 4 Thomas Jesse Jones, et al, *Education in Africa: A Study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission*, (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1920–21), xxvii.
- 5 Cream Wright, “Cultural and Political Influences on the Development of Education in Sierra Leone,” Noel Entwistle, ed., *Handbook of Educational Ideas and Practices*, (London: Routledge, 1990), 186. Wherever quoted, the British spelling rather than American spelling will be used as it was by the original author. The Mansfield decision of 1772 was largely understood to have freed any slave from the colonies who sets foot in Great Britain but slavery did not end in the colonies until much later. The British “officially” declared abolition of the slave trade in 1807, but the trade continued. Slavery was abolished in the British West Indies in 1837.
- 6 Eric Williams, ‘The Saints and Slavery,’ *Capitalism & Slavery* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1961 [1944]), 178–196.
- 7 J.F.Ajayi, et al, *The African Experience with Higher Education* (Accra: The Association of African Universities, 1996), 15.
- 8 Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 105, 121, 250.
- 9 John Hargreaves, “African Colonization in the Nineteenth Century: Liberia and Sierra Leone,” Jeffrey Butler, (ed.), *Boston University Papers in African History, Volume I* (Boston: Boston University Press, 1964), 63; see also Jean Herskovits Kopytoff, 25.
- 10 P.E.H.Hair, “Colonial Freetown and the Study of African Languages,” Murray Last and Paul Richards (ed.s), *Sierra Leone, 1787–1987 Two Centuries of Intellectual Life* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 561.
- 11 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, (Freetown: The Government Printer, 1963), 23.
- 12 Cream Wright, “Cultural and Political Influences on the Development of Education in Sierra Leone,” Noel Entwistle, ed., *Handbook of Educational Ideas and Practices* (London: Routledge, 1990), 185.
- 13 For an alternative perspective emphasizing the role of legitimate trade in agricultural products by indigenous interior people such as the Fulani toward ending the slave trade see Bruce Mouser, *Trade and Politics in the Nunez and Pongo Rivers, 1790–1865* (Indiana University, 1971).
- 14 Joel Spring, *Education and the Rise of the Global Economy* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1998), 18.
- 15 T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, (Freetown: The Elsiemay Printing Works, 1930), 49.
- 16 C.P.Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History (1827–1977)*, (Freetown, 1979), 2.

- 17 L.J.Coppin, "The Redemption of Africa" in *The United Negro: His Problems and his Progress* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1902), 291.
- 18 A.E.Tuboku-Metzger, *Historical Sketch of the Sierra Leone Grammar School, 1845–1935*, (Freetown: Daily Guardian Press, 1935), 6.
- 19 Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism*, (New York: David McKay Co., Inc, 1974), 128.
- 20 Edward Berman, *African Reactions to Missionary Education* (New York: Teacher's College Press, Columbia University, 1975), xi–xii.
- 21 Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity: the Religious Impact* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1983), 210–211. Long before the establishment of Fourah Bay College, there had been Islamic institutions of higher learning in Sierra Leone. See Edward Wilmot Blyden, "Christian Missions in West Africa," [1876], *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1994 [1888]), 72. See also David E.Skinner, "Islam and Education in the Colony and Hinterland of Sierra Leone (1750–1914)," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* (Vol. X, No. 3, 1975), 501–508.
- 22 Edward Wilmot Blyden, "The Aims and Methods of a Liberal Education for Africans" [1881], *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 97.
- 23 Jean Herskovits Kopytoff, *A Preface to Modern Nigeria: The Sierra Leoneans in Yoruba, 1830–1890*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), 37–43, 57; and Akintola J.G.Wyse, "The Sierra Leone Krios: A Reappraisal from the perspective of the African Diaspora," 321–322.
- 24 Paul E.H.Hair, "C.M.S. 'Native Clergy' in West Africa to 1900, *Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion* (Vol. 4, No. 2, Dec. 1962), 71–72.
- 25 Edward Wilmot Blyden, "The Aims and Methods of a Liberal Education for Africans: Inaugural Address as President of Liberia College, January 5, 1881", *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 83.
- 26 Moses N.Moore, *Orishatukeh Faduma: Liberal Theology and Evangelical PanAfricanism 1857–1946* (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, 1987), 37.
- 27 Samuel Crowther, *Journal of an Expedition up the Niger and Tshadda Rivers* (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1970). [First Edition 1855]; and James Africanus Beale Horton, *West African Countries and Peoples, British and Native* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1969 [First Edition 1868]). American scholar Robert July described Crowther's correspondence as "voluminous—long letters, thick diaries and journals... painstakingly recorded, yet lively and vivid, accounts of tribal customs, native dress, linguistic variations and topographical phenomenon." Robert July, *The Origins of Modern African Thought: Its Development in West Africa during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, (Faber and Faber: London, 1968), 183.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

- 1 W.E.B.Du Bois, "The African Roots of the War," *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1915, 708.
- 2 Akintola J.G.Wyse, "The Sierra Leone Krios: A Reappraisal from the Perspective of the African Diaspora," *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora*, Harris, Joseph, E., (ed.), (Washington: Howard University Press, 1982), 309; and William

- H.Watkins, "PanAfricanism and the Politics of Education: Towards a New Understanding," Sidney Lamelle and Robin D.G.Kelley, (eds.), *Imagining Home: Class, Culture and Nationalism in the African Diaspora*, (London: Verso, 1994), 230. The slave trade continued long beyond the declaration of its abolition by the British.
- 3 John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 304–317.
  - 4 Michael Reap (ed.), *Family Across the Sea Viewers Guide* (South Carolina Humanities Council, 1990), 10.
  - 5 Stephen J.Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists: London 's Blacks and the Foundation of the Sierra Leone Settlement, 1786–1791* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994), 18–20. Two other influential abolitionists in the Sierra Leone cause were Thomas Fowell Buxton and Henry Venn.
  - 6 Stephen J.Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists*, 16–18, 84–85.
  - 7 G.Obeyskere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), 123–132; and M.D.Sahlins, *How Natives Think* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1995), 10. The views of Sahlins and Obeyskere differ significantly but taken together the characteristics of part scientist, part humanitarian, part venture capitalist, and part Christian evangelist are an apt description of the enlightened citizen.
  - 8 Eric Williams, "The Saints and Slavery," *Capitalism & Slavery* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1961 [1944]), 178–196.
  - 9 Cited in Stephen J.Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists*, 77. James Walvin, *The Black Presence, A Documentary History of the Negro in England, 1555–1860*; and Folarin Shyllon, *Black People in Britain 1555–1833*.
  - 10 Advertus A.Hoff, *A Short History of Liberia College and the University of Liberia* (Monrovia, Liberia: Consolidated Publications Incorporated, 1962), 11–12.
  - 11 Robert July, *The Origins of Modern African Thought: Its Development in West Africa during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Faber and Faber: London, 1968), 27, 52.
  - 12 Eleni Tedla, *Sankofa: African Thought and Education*, (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), 93; Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (New York: David McKay & Co., 1974), 123; and Stephen J.Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists*, 24, 77, 5.
  - 13 Stephen J.Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists*, 103–105.
  - 14 Robert July, *The Origins of Modern African Thought*, 61.
  - 15 Stephen J.Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists*, 198–209.
  - 16 The mortality rate was also high among European settlers, approximately 49 percent among those who arrived in 1791. Malaria and yellow fever were the most deadly diseases, but many of those inflicted died from the prescribed treatments of the period, severe blood-lettings and Calomel or mercury poisoning. 260 out of 269 European settlers to Bulama Island died between their arrival in April 1792 and November 1793. Philip D.Curtin, "The White Man's Grave: Image and Reality, 1780–1850," *Journal of British Studies* (Vol 1, 1961), 102.
  - 17 Michael R.Kallon, "An Interpretive Study of Planned Educational Reform in Sierra Leone: The Primary School and Teacher Education," Unpublished Dissertation (University of Toronto, 1996), 18.

- 18 See for example the story of Thomas Peters in *Eminent Sierra Leoneans* (Freetown: Government Printer, 1961); and Bankole Timothy, *Yesterday's Africans* (Unugu, Nigeria: Delta Publications, 1982).
- 19 Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 105, 121, 250. See also A.W.H.Pearsall, "Sierra Leone and the Suppression of the Slave Trade," *Sierra Leone Studies*, (New Series, No. 12, December 1959), 211–229.
- 20 Akintola J.G.Wyse, "The Sierra Leone Krios: A Reappraisal from the Perspective of the African Diaspora," 313–315.
- 21 Jean Herskovits Kopytoff, *A Preface to Modern Nigeria*, 24.
- 22 George W. Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America 1619–1880* (New York: Arno Press, 1968), [1898], 89–90. Williams traveled to Africa on several occasions. Adam Hochschild credited Williams with being one of the first journalists to have "interviewed Africans about their experience of their white conquerors." See Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999), 4.
- 23 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, (Freetown: The Government Printer, 1963), 23.
- 24 Kenneth L.Little, "The Significance of the West African Creole for Africanist and Afro-American Studies," *African Affairs* (Vol. 49, No. 194, 1950), 310.
- 25 John Hargreaves, "African Colonization in the Nineteenth Century: Liberia and Sierra Leone." Jeffrey Butler, (ed.), *Boston University Papers in African History, Volume I* (Boston: Boston University Press, 1964), 63; see also Jean Herskovits Kopytoff, *A Preface to Modern Nigeria*, 25.
- 26 Akintola J.G.Wyse, "The Sierra Leone Krios: A Reappraisal from the Perspective of the African Diaspora," 318.
- 27 The Krio language began much earlier as a contact language between African and European traders in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.
- 28 Casely Hayford, *British Relations with West Africa*, quoted in Edward W.Blyden III, *African Political Thought*, (Nsukka: University of Nigeria, 1964), 168.
- 29 Leo Spitzer, *The Creoles of Sierra Leone: Responses to Colonialism, 1870–1945*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974), 16.
- 30 Rosalind Cobb Wiggins, *Captain Paul Cuffe's Logs and Letters, 1808–1817*, (Washington: Howard University Press, 1996), 44–46, 58–67, 180, 514; and Rhett S. Jones, "Preface to," *Captain Paul Cuffe's Logs and Letters, 1808–1817*, (Washington: Howard University Press, 1996), 37.
- 31 Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 63.
- 32 W.E.B.Du Bois, "Africa and the American Negro Intelligentsia," *Presence Africaine*, (Paris), December 1955-January 1956, reprinted in Herbert Aptheker, *Writings by W.E.B.Du Bois in Periodicals, Volume 4 1945–1961*, (Millwood, New York: Kraus-Thompson Organization Unlimited, 1982), 248–249. A key difference between Sierra Leone and Liberia was that the use of Freetown as a point of resettlement for tens of thousands of recaptured slaves which meant that a more complex and diverse social structure as well as knowledge of African culture existed in Freetown as compared to Monrovia. For further discussion see Robert July, *The Origins of Modern African Thought*, 88.

- 33 Antony Dugdale, J.J.Fueser, and J.Celso de Castro Alves, *Yale, Slavery and Abolition* (New Haven, CT: The Amistad Committee, 2001).
- 34 Paul E.H.Hair, "Koelle at Freetown," *Polyglotta Africana* (Freetown: Fourah Bay College, 1963), 8\*.
- 35 T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College, Freetown, Sierra Leone* (Freetown: The Elsiemay Printing Works, 1930), 9–10. I have maintained the British spelling of words like "organising" in my quotations.
- 36 A.P.Kup. "The Development of the Humanities—History," *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 78. See also D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, (Freetown: The Government Printer, 1963), 12. According to Sumner the first German missionaries were hired by the CMS in 1801, first because no British volunteers could be found, and second because a small German seminary was in debt and needed money.
- 37 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone* (Freetown: The Government Printer, 1963), 17–18.
- 38 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 13.
- 39 Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity: the Religious Impact* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1983), 61.
- 40 C.P.Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History (1827–1977)*, (Freetown, 1979), 3.
- 41 A.P.Kup, "The Development of the Humanities—History," *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 78–79.
- 42 Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity*, 61.
- 43 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone* (Freetown: The Government Printer, 1963), 22. M'Carthy is an alternate spelling of MacCarthy.
- 44 Cited in D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 16.
- 45 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 17.
- 46 "Rice and the Black Majority," Michael Reap (ed.), *Family Across the Sea*, 11.
- 47 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 17.
- 48 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 6.
- 49 A.B.C.Sibthorpe, *The History of Sierra Leone* (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1970 [1868]), 147. In the late 1800's, Sidthorpes extensive publications on the history and culture of the peoples of West Africa were serialized in J.C.May's news journal *The Sierra Leone Weekly News*.
- 50 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 27.
- 51 Cited in T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College, Freetown, Sierra Leone* (Freetown: The Elsiemay Printing Works, 1930), 10.
- 52 "The Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone," *The Durham University Journal* (No. 2, Dec. 16, 1876), 6. Most colleges of this period started out as preparatory schools. I refer to the Institution as a College from this time forth; although Fourah Bay did not institute a more fully academic course until the arrival of Principal Smith and then Principal Jones in the late 1830s and early 1840s. Principal Jones, however, continued to refer to the College as the Christian Institution at Fourah Bay through his final reports of 1858.
- 53 Cited in D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 28.



- 54 T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 10–11.
- 55 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 29.
- 56 T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 11.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 12.
- 58 Davidson Nicol, “Fourah Bay College—The University College of Sierra Leone,” *Fourah Bay College Annual Report*, 1959–60, 42.
- 59 Sierra Leone’s reputation as the “White Man’s Grave was stronger in the 1820s and 1830s than at any other time. Three European governors of Sierra Leone died in three successive years from 1826 to 1828. See Philip D.Curtin, “The White Man’s Grave: Image and Reality, 1780–1850,” *Journal of British Studies* (Vol. 1, 1961), 103.
- 60 Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity*, 134.
- 61 Claude George, *The Rise of British West Africa* (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1968 [1908]), 417–418.
- 62 “The Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone,” *The Durham University Journal* (No. 2, Dec. 16, 1876), 6; see also C.P.Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History*, 3.
- 63 T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 13.
- 64 Sibthorpe, A.B.C., *The History of Sierra Leone*, 150.
- 65 T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 13
- 66 According to Sierra Leonean scholar T.J.Thompson, it was not until 1848 with the completion of the new building that the Institution was first officially called a College. T.J. Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 17.
- 67 Charles L.F.Haensel, *Report Presented to the Quarterly Meeting of Church Missionaries held on the 20th of June 1827* (Church Missionary Archives: University of Birmingham), CA1/0108/73a.
- 68 Charles L.F.Haensel, *Report Presented to the Servants of the Quarterly Meeting of Church Missionary Society, held at Fourah Bay on the 25th June 1828* (Church Missionary Archives: University of Birmingham) CA1/0108/77a; *Quarterly Report of the Christian Institution, Presented to the Servants of the Church Missionary Society, held at Fourah Bay on the 24th September 1828* (Church Missionary Archives: University of Birmingham) CA1/0108/78a; *Report of the Christian Institution, Report Presented at the Quarterly Meeting of the Servants of the Church Missionary Society, held on the 23rd December 1828* (Church Missionary Archives: University of Birmingham) CA1/0108/79a.
- 69 Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity*, 62–63.
- 70 Charles L.F.Haensel, *Quarterly Report of the Christian Institution, 25th September 1832* (Church Missionary Archives: University of Birmingham) CA1/0108/95a.
- 71 Davidson Nicol, “Fourah Bay College—The University College of Sierra Leone,” *Fourah Bay College Annual Report*, 1959–60, 44. Crowther was also the first non-European to become an Anglican Bishop since the Reformation and was awarded an honorary doctorate of Divinity by Oxford University.
- 72 Charles L.F.Haensel, *Report Presented to the Servants of the Quarterly Meeting of Church Missionary Society, held at Fourah Bay on the 25th June 1828* (Church Missionary Archives: University of Birmingham) CA1/0108/77a.
- 73 *Ibid.* Liberated Africans refers to those Africans repatriated to Sierra Leone from the slaves ships intercepted by the British Naval Squadron.

- 74 Charles L.F.Haensel, *Quarterly Report of the Christian Institution 25th September 1832* (Church Missionary Archives: University of Birmingham) CA1/0108/95a. Haensel later served as principal of St. Andrews Normal School, Jamaica, 1835–37.
- 75 Raban, as previously mentioned, conducted research on the Yoruba language in Freetown.
- 76 Cream Wright, “Cultural and Political Influences on the Development of Education in Sierra Leone,” Noel Entwistle, ed., *Handbook of Educational Ideas and Practices*, (London: Routledge, 1990), 192–193.
- 77 G.A.Kissling, *Report of the Christian Institution for the Quarter ending Dec. 25th 1834* (Church Missionary Archives: University of Birmingham) CA1/0131/30a; G.A. Kissling *Report of the Christian Institution for the Quarter ending March 25th 1836*, (Church Missionary Archives: University of Birmingham) CA1/0131/36; and G.A. Kissling *Report of the Christian Institution for the Quarter ending June 25th 1836*, (Church Missionary Archives: University of Birmingham) CA1/0131/37.
- 78 T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 15.
- 79 G.A.Kissling *Report of the Christian Institution for the Quarter ending March 25th 1835*, (Church Missionary Archives: University of Birmingham) CA1/0131/32.
- 80 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, (Freetown: The Government Printer, 1963), 47.
- 81 Adell Patton, *Physicians, Colonial Racism, and Diaspora in West Africa*, 72.
- 82 *Ibid*, 64–71.
- 83 See Jones-Quartey, K.A.B., “Sierra Leone’s Role in the Development of Ghana” *Sierra Leone Studies*, (June 1958), 73–84; O.Adewoye, “Sierra Leonean Immigrants in the Field of Law in Southern Nigeria, 1862–1934” *Sierra Leone Studies*, (No. 26, Jan. 1970), 11–28; S.J. S. Cookey, “West African Immigrants in the Congo 1885–1896” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, (Vol. 3, No. 2, Dec. 1965), 264; M.C.F. Easmon, “Sierra Leone Doctors,” *Sierra Leone Studies*, (No. 6, June 1956), 81–96; Jean Herskovits Kopytoff, *A Preface to Modern Nigeria: The Sierra Leoneans in Yoruba, 1830–1890*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965); and Nicol, Abioseh, “West Indians in West Africa,” *Sierra Leone Studies*, (No. 13, June 1960), 14–23.
- 84 Bankole Timothy, *Yesterday’s Africans* (Unugu, Nigeria: Delta Publications, 1982), 11. In 1864, Crowther was consecrated “Bishop of the countries beyond the limits of our dominion” by the Anglican Church.
- 85 J.F.Ade Ajayi, “Introduction to the Second Edition,” reprinted in Robert I. Rotberg (ed.) *Missionary Researches and Travels* (Cambridge, Mass: Cass Library of African Studies, 1969), *Journals of the Rev. James Frederick Schon and Mr. Samuel Crowther who with the Sanction of Her Majesty’s Government accompanied the Expedition Up the Niger in 1841 in behalf of the Church Missionary Society* (London: Hatchard and Son, 1842), xv–xvi.
- 86 P.E.H.Hair, “Koelle at Freetown,” *Polyglotta Africana* (Freetown: Fourah Bay College, 1963), 8\*.
- 87 P.E.H.Hair, “The Contribution of Freetown and Fourah Bay College to the Study of West African Languages,” *Sierra Leone Language Review*, (No. 1, 1962), 7, 9, 16.

- 88 Tony Martin, *The Pan-African Connection* (Dover, Mass: The Majority Press, 1984), 8–11, 40–44.
- 89 Mac Dixon-Fyle, *A Saro Community in the Niger Delta, 1912–1984: The Potts Johnsons of Port Harcourt and Their Heirs* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 1999), 196. Two of the most famous Saros, Henry Carr and Herbert Macauley, served as each other's best critic, constantly involving each other in policy debates. See Patrick Cole, *Modern and Traditional Elites in the Politics of Lagos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 105–119.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

- 1 Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity: the Religious Impact* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1983), 53–55.
- 2 Fred M. Hayward and Jimmy D. Kandeh, "Perspectives on Twenty-five Years of Elections in Sierra Leone," *Elections in Independent Africa* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1987), 25.
- 3 A.E. Tuboku-Metzger, *Historical Sketch of the Sierra Leone Grammar School, 1845–1935*, (Freetown: Daily Guardian Press, 1935), 8. The Grammar School was staffed almost entirely by graduates of FBC throughout its existence.
- 4 *Report of Isaac Smith for the Quarter Ending September 25th 1840* (Church Missionary Archives: University of Birmingham) CA1/0199/18.
- 5 Alpha Bah, "19th Century Returnees to West Africa," Michael Reap (ed.), *Family Across the Sea: Teacher's Guide* (South Carolina Humanities Council, 1990), 13.
- 6 D.L. Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, (Freetown: The Government Printer, 1963), 351.
- 7 Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity: The Religious Impact* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1983), 80.
- 8 Alpha Bah, "19th Century Returnees to West Africa," 13.
- 9 D.L. Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 49.
- 10 A.E. Tuboku-Metzger, *Historical Sketch of the Sierra Leone Grammar School, 1845–1935*, (Freetown: Daily Guardian Press, 1935), 5–6.
- 11 Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 315. Jones served as editor of several newspapers in Sierra Leone including the *African*, *Sierra Leone Weekly Times* and *West African Record*.
- 12 CA1/0129/1 (CMS Archives): Reverend Edward Jones, Letter to D. Coates, Esq. Church Missionary house, Salisbury Square, London, January 30, 1841.
- 13 Madden Report (1841), PRO, CO 267/172.
- 14 George W. Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America 1619–1880* (New York: Arno Press, 1968 [1898]), 89.
- 15 T.J. Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 20.
- 16 Nicol and Jones are Krio names that re-emerged 100 years later in the 1960s and 1970s as the first full-time Sierra Leonean principals of the College.
- 17 T.J. Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 16.
- 18 Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity: the Religious Impact*, 135.
- 19 T.J. Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 17.

- 20 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 57.
- 21 Davidson Nicol, "Fourah Bay College—The University College of Sierra Leone," *Fourah Bay College Annual Report, 1959–60*, 43.
- 22 CA1/0129/4, 5, 6a (CMS Archives): Remarks on Rev. Warburton's letter of January 25, 1846, Jones to CMS Feb 11, 1846 and March 10, 1846.
- 23 Paul E.H.Hair, "Koelle at Freetown," *Polyglotta Africana* (Freetown: Fourah Bay College, 1963), 11\*.
- 24 Paul E.H.Hair, "The Contribution of Freetown and Fourah Bay College to the Study of West African Languages," *Sierra Leone Language Review* (No. 1, 1962), 12.
- 25 P.E.H.Hair, "Colonial Freetown and the Study of African Languages," Murray Last and Paul Richards (ed.s), *Sierra Leone, 1787–1987 Two Centuries of Intellectual Life* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 561.
- 26 T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 18.
- 27 Paul E.H.Hair, "The Contribution of Freetown and Fourah Bay College to the Study of West African Languages," *Sierra Leone Language Review* (No. 1, 1962), 13.
- 28 *Ibid*, 11.
- 29 Bishop Weeks (FBC Principal 1825–26) succeeded Bishop Vidal in 1855 and also lived at FBC. Bishop Weeks ordained seven African priests in 1856, six of whom were FBC alumni. Bishop Weeks died in his room at FBC. T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 20, 24.
- 30 George W.Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America 1619–1880* (New York: Arno Press, 1968), [1898], 90.
- 31 CA1/0129/78 (CMS Archives): Edward Jones, Report of the Christian Institution, Fourah Bay for the half year ending 12th April 1853.
- 32 A.E.Tuboku-Metzger, *Historical Sketch of the Sierra Leone Grammar School, 1845–1935*, (Freetown: Daily Guardian Press, 1935), 18.
- 33 CA1/0129/83 (CMS Archives): Edward Jones, Report of the Christian Institution, Fourah Bay for the half year ending 17th April 1854.
- 34 CA1/0129/93c (CMS Archives): Reichardt and Nicol reports for the Semester ending by the 31st October 1855.
- 35 *Ibid*.
- 36 C.E.Whiting, *The University of Durham* (London: The Sheldon Press, 1932), 302.
- 37 CA1/0129/98a (CMS Archives): Edward Jones, Report of the Christian Institution, Fourah Bay for the half year ending 14th April 1858.
- 38 Edward Jones, *Report of the State of the Christian Institution for the half year ending, 14th April 1858* (Birmingham: CMS Archives), CA1/0129/98a. The famous explorer Dr. Livingstone visited FBC in 1858.
- 39 Apollos O.Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism: Britain and University Education for Africans 1860–1960* (London: Frank Cass, 1996), 8.
- 40 Christopher Fyfe, *Africanus Horton: 1835–1883* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 26.
- 41 Adell Patton, *Physicians, Colonial Racism and Diaspora in West Africa*, 78.
- 42 Christopher Fyfe, "Contrasting Themes in the Writings of Africanus Horton, James Johnson and Edward Blyden," *Africana Research Bulletin* (Vol. 1, No. 3, April 1971), 3.

- 43 Christopher Fyfe, *Africanus Horton: 1835–1883* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 134–137.
- 44 Adell Patton, *Physicians, Colonial Racism and Diaspora in West Africa*, 80.
- 45 Apollos O.Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*: 3–4.
- 46 Eric Ashby, *African Universities and Western Tradition*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1964), 170.
- 47 Robert July, “Africanus Horton and the Idea of Independence in West Africa,” *Sierra Leone Studies*, (New Series, No. 18, January 1966), 2–17.
- 48 George Shepperson, “Introduction,” James Africanus Beale Horton, *West African Countries and Peoples, British and Native* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1969 [First Edition 1868]), vii.
- 49 James Africanus Beale Horton, *West African Countries and Peoples, British and Native* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1969 [First Edition 1868]), 89.
- 50 James Africanus Beale Horton, *West African Countries and Peoples*, 181.
- 51 Apollos O.Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 8.
- 52 James Africanus Beale Horton, *West African Countries and Peoples*, 183.
- 53 Apollos O.Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 10–11.
- 54 Robert July, “Africanus Horton and the Idea of Independence in West Africa,” *Sierra Leone Studies* (New Series, No. 18, January 1966), 2. Horton “interested himself in mining and railroad development in the Gold Coast and only a few months before his death founded a bank at Freetown to provide scarce credit to small merchants, commercial farmers, and particularly to industrious young men in need of capital for development purposes.”
- 55 James Africanus Beale Horton, *West African Countries and Peoples*, 183–184.
- 56 *Ibid*, 206.
- 57 *Ibid*, 45.
- 58 *Ibid*, 202; and Nicol, Davidson, *Black Nationalism in Africa 1867: Extracts from the Political, Educational, Scientific, and Medical Writings of Africanus Horton*, (New York: Africana Publishing Corporation, 1969), 95–108.
- 59 E.A.Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836–1917* (New York: Humanities Press, 1970), 20–24.
- 60 E.A.Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836–1917*, 32.
- 61 *Ibid*, 97.
- 62 S.J.S.Cookey, “West African Immigrants in the Congo 1885–1896,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* (Vol. 3, No. 2, Dec. 1965), 264. It was the political savvy of Belgium’s King Leopold in garnering treaties for control over the Congo that, in part, led to the Scramble for Africa. See Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold’s Ghost*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999).
- 63 E.A.Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism*, 43.
- 64 T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 26.
- 65 *Ibid*, 25–26.
- 66 “The Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone,” *The Durham University Journal* (No. 2, Dec. 16, 1876), 6.
- 67 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 67.
- 68 CA1/0129/92 (CMS Archives): Edward Jones, Report of the Christian Institution, Fourah Bay for the half year ending 10th April 1855.
- 69 CA1/0129/93a/0129/93a (CMS Archives): Edward Jones, Report of the State of the Christian Institution for the half year ending, 31st October 1855.

- 70 E.A.Ayendele, *Holy Johnson*, 71.
- 71 Harry Sawyerr, "Theology at Fourah Bay College," *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 1.
- 72 George Nicol letter to Henry Venn, CMS archives, CA1/0164/90, 91a, 91b.
- 73 George Nicol, "Paper read at the re-opening of Fourah Bay College about twenty years ago under the Rev. J.Hamilton," printed in *The Sierra Leone Church Times*, (Vol. 1, No. 21, March 4, 1885).
- 74 C.P.Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History (1827–1977)*, (Freetown, 1979), 5.
- 75 Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 334–335.
- 76 Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity: the Religious Impact*, 136.
- 77 Basil Davidson, *A History of West Africa*, (New York: Anchor Books, 1966), 310.
- 78 James Africanus Beale Horton, *West African Countries and Peoples, British and Native* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1969 [First Edition 1868]), 55.
- 79 George Nicol letter to Henry Venn, (CMS archives), CA1/0164/98 a, b, c.
- 80 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 95.
- 81 T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 55.
- 82 Peter Olisanwuche Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement, 1776–1963* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1982), 26–27.
- 83 *Ibid*, 98.
- 84 Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity: the Religious Impact*, 137.
- 85 Davidson Nicol, "West Africa's First Institution of Higher Education," *Sierra Leone Journal of Education*, (Sierra Leone: Ministry of Education, 1966), 8.
- 86 James Hamilton letter to Henry Venn, CMS archives, CA1/0109/13a & b. See also James Hamilton letter to Henry Venn of March 21, 1864, CMS archives, CA1/0109/16.
- 87 George Nicol, "Paper read at the re-opening of Fourah Bay College about twenty years ago under the Rev. J.Hamilton," printed in *The Sierra Leone Church Times*, (Vol. 1, No. 21, March 4, 1885).
- 88 July noted, however, that Nicol favored a traditional European education over the progressive African university that Edward Blyden proposed in the early 1870s. Robert July, *The Origins of Modern African Thought: Its Development in West Africa during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Faber and Faber: London, 1968), 147.
- 89 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 76; see also T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 98.
- 90 Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity: the Religious Impact*, 137.
- 91 Henry Wilson, *Origins of West African Nationalism* (London: Macmillan, 1969), 26–27.
- 92 Canon Moore, "Rev. Henry Jones Alcock," in T.J. Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 98.
- 93 James Africanus Beale Horton, *West African Countries and Peoples, British and Native* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1969 [First Edition 1868]), 90.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

- 1 Apollos O.Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism: Britain and University Education for Africans 1860–1960*, (London: Frank Cass, 1996), 1.
- 2 C.P.Foray, *Historical Dictionary of Sierra Leone*, (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1977), 37.
- 3 Samuel Lewis, “Introductory Biographical Note,” *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1994 [1886]), xiv–xv; see also Peter Olisanwuche Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement, 1776–1963* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1982), 30–31. Liberia College was founded in 1862.
- 4 Leo Spitzer, *The Creoles of Sierra Leone: Responses to Colonialism, 1870–1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974), 111.
- 5 C.E.Whiting, *The University of Durham* (London: The Sheldon Press, 1932), 302.
- 6 T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 66–71.
- 7 E.A.Ayendele, *Holy Johnson*, 50.
- 8 Christopher Fyfe, “Contrasting Themes in the Writings of Africanus Horton, James Johnson and Edward Blyden,” *Africana Research Bulletin*, (Vol. 1, No. 3, April 1971), 3. Blyden first arrived in Sierra Leone in 1872 to teach at FBC but was subsequently released before beginning his assignment as a lecturer due to a scandal involving an alleged affair with the wife of the President of Liberia, a charge of which he was later cleared.
- 9 C.M.S. CA1/025(e), Bishop Cheetham to C. Fenn, 1/6/1874.
- 10 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 97.
- 11 E.A.Ayendele, *Holy Johnson*, 72.
- 12 Christopher Fyfe, “Contrasting Themes in the Writings of Africanus Horton, James Johnson and Edward Blyden,” *Africana Research Bulletin*, (Vol. 1, No. 3, April 1971), 4.
- 13 E.A.Ayendele, *Holy Johnson*, 75–76.
- 14 Letter from Edward Blyden to Governor Hennessy, (Freetown, December 6th, 1872) reprinted in Hollis R. Lynch, *Black Spokesman: Selected Writings of Edward Wilmot Blyden*, (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1971), 227.
- 15 Edward Wilmot Blyden, “Christian Missions in West Africa,” [1876], *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 75–76.
- 16 Edward Wilmot Blyden, “Philip and the Eunuch,” [1882], *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 185–189.
- 17 Edward Wilmot Blyden, “Christian Missions in West Africa,” [1876], *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 79.
- 18 Edward Wilmot Blyden, “African Colonisation,” [1888], *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 396.
- 19 Adell Patton, *Physicians, Colonial Racism, and Diaspora in West Africa*, 146.
- 20 Letter from Bishop Henry Cheetham to Henry Wright CMS Secretary, March 13, 1873, reprinted in Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African: A study in the Ecology of Higher Education* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), 463–464.
- 21 Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African*, 463–464; see also J.F. Ade Ajayi, et al, *The African Experience with Higher Education*, 22.
- 22 Apollos O.Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe, and Nationalism*, 19–20.
- 23 Edward Wilmot Blyden, *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 379, 374. Blyden was also known as Abd-ul-Karim to the Muslims of Sierra Leone.

- 24 David E. Skinner, "Islam and Education in the Colony and Hinterland of Sierra Leone (1750–1914)," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* (Vol. X, No. 3, 1975), 502.
- 25 Bruce Mouser, *Trade and Politics in the Nunez and Pongo Rivers, 1790–1865* (Indiana University, 1971).
- 26 *Ibid.*, 91.
- 27 Edward Wilmot Blyden, "Christian Missions in West Africa," [1876], *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 75.
- 28 Edward Wilmot Blyden, "The Aims and Methods of a Liberal Education for Africans: Inaugural Address as President of Liberia College, January 5, 1881", *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 83.
- 29 Arthur Abraham, *Cultural Policy in Sierra Leone* (Paris: UNESCO, 1978), 28.
- 30 Edward Wilmot Blyden, "Mohammedanism and the Negro Race," [1875], *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 12.
- 31 Edward Wilmot Blyden, "Africa and the Africans," [1878], *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 305.
- 32 Edward Wilmot Blyden, "Mohammedanism and the Negro Race," [1875], *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 14.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 15.
- 34 Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity: the Religious Impact*, 83–87.
- 35 Edward Wilmot Blyden, "The Mohammedans of Nigrita," [1888], *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 381.
- 36 David E. Skinner, "Islam and Education in the Colony and Hinterland of Sierra Leone (1750–1914)," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* (Vol. X, No. 3, 1975), 501, 503.
- 37 *Ibid.*, 501–508.
- 38 Edward Wilmot Blyden, "Christian Missions in West Africa," [1876], *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 72.
- 39 Edward Wilmot Blyden, "Sierra Leone and Liberia," [1884], *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 263. Tarawally appears as an alternate spelling of Tarawali in Blyden's work as compared to Skinner's.
- 40 Edward Wilmot Blyden, *African Life and Customs*, (London: New Impression, 1969[1908]), 10–25.
- 41 Edward Wilmot Blyden, *African Life and Customs*, (London: New Impression, 1969[1908]), 39, 30–32.
- 42 Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Context of African Abolition," in *The End of Slavery in Africa*, Suzanne Miers and Richard Roberts, (ed.s), (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 486, 490, 494.
- 43 Steven Feierman, "Dissolution of World History," in Robert H. Bates, V.Y. Mudimbe, and Jean O'Barr (eds.), *Africa and the Disciplines: The Contributions of Research in Africa to the Social Sciences and Humanities* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1993), 194.
- 44 Edward Wilmot Blyden, *African Life and Customs*, 41.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 44.
- 46 Peter Olisanwuche Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism*, 61–64.
- 47 Hollis R. Lynch, *Edward Wilmot Blyden, Pan-Negro Patriot 1832–1912* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 85–104.



- 48 Edward Wilmot Blyden, "Sierra Leone and Liberia," [1884], *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 253.
- 49 Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African: A study in the Ecology of Higher Education* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), 174.
- 50 Edward Wilmot Blyden, "Sierra Leone and Liberia," [1884], *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 244.
- 51 Ibid, 247.
- 52 *General Report on Elementary Schools in the Colony of Sierra Leone, 1885*, enclosed in Sunter to Rowe, 16 May 1885, C.O.Library Volume 7860; and *General Report, Gold Coast and Lagos, 1884*, enclosed in Brandforth Griffith to Granville, No. 327, 25 August 1886, C.O. 96/175 cited in Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African: A study in the Ecology of Higher Education* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), 154. For a comprehensive overview of a more shared view of history emphasizing mutual encounters and confrontations see Eric Wolfe, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).
- 53 Thomas Babington Macauley, "Minute on India," John Clive and Thomas Pinney, (ed.s), in *Selected Writings* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 214.
- 54 Cited in Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African: A study in the Ecology of Higher Education* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), 154–155.
- 55 Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African*, 162, 467–468.
- 56 Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African*, 465, 466–467.
- 57 Ibid, 163.
- 58 Henry Cheetham to Henry Wright, (March 13, 1873) reprinted in Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African: A study in the Ecology of Higher Education* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), 464.
- 59 Henry Wright to Henry Cheetham, (March 10, 1873) reprinted in Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African: A study in the Ecology of Higher Education* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), 468–69.
- 60 Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African*, 164. Of course, the so-called "African baby" was slightly older than the institution to which it was to be affiliated, since Durham University was founded in 1832.
- 61 Africanus Horton to the Honorable William Grant, (1873) reprinted in T.J. Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 53–55.
- 62 T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 56.
- 63 T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 64–68. By the early 1920s, there were often more Nigerians than Sierra Leoneans studying at FBC.
- 64 Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African: A study in the Ecology of Higher Education* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), 163–166, 467.
- 65 J.F.Ade Ajayi, et al, *The African Experience with Higher Education*, (Accra: The Association of African Universities, 1996), 23.
- 66 E.A.Ayendele, *Holy Johnson*, 80.
- 67 Ibid, 100.
- 68 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 98.
- 69 Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African*, 22.
- 70 Apollos O.Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe, and Nationalism*, 202–203.
- 71 Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African*, 166–167.
- 72 Ibid, 168–169.

- 73 Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity: the Religious Impact*, 138.
- 74 Edward Jones, *Report of the Christian Institution, Fourah Bay for the half year ending 10th April 1855* (CAI/0129/92); see also T.J. Thompson, 60.
- 75 In either period, “throwing open the College” did not include having women students attend FBC.
- 76 A.E.Tuboku Metzger in T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 100–101.
- 77 David E. Skinner, “Islam and Education in the Colony and Hinterland of Sierra Leone (1750–1914),” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* (Vol. X, No. 3, 1975), 515.
- 78 *Durham University Calendar* (Durham: Caldcleugh & Son, 1891 and 1892).
- 79 Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 372.
- 80 T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 37–38.
- 81 Edward Wilmot Blyden, “The Mohammedans of Negrita,” [1878], *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 380.
- 82 “The Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone,” *The Durham University Journal* (No. 2, Dec. 16, 1876), 6–7. A London Newspaper, criticized the action of the Durham Senate noting “that the next step would probably be the affiliation of the zoo.” Cited by A.E. Tuboku-Metzger in T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 125; and C.E.Whiting, *The University of Durham*, 306.
- 83 Davidson Nicol, “Fourah Bay College—The University College of Sierra Leone,” *Fourah Bay College Annual Report, 1959–60*, 45.
- 84 Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity: the Religious Impact*, 138.
- 85 Cited in T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 38–40.
- 86 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 98; and A.E.Tuboku Metzger in T.J. Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 101.
- 87 Paul E.H.Hair, “The Contribution of Freetown and Fourah Bay College to the Study of West African Languages,” *Sierra Leone Language Review* (No.1, 1962), 12.
- 88 Arnold Bradshaw, “The Development of the Humanities—Classics,” *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 21.
- 89 Edward Wilmot Blyden, “The Aims and Methods of a Liberal Education for Africans” [1881], *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 97.
- 90 Letter from Bishop Henry Cheetham to Henry Wright CMS Secretary, March 13, 1873, reprinted in Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African: A study in the Ecology of Higher Education* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), 463–464.

## NOTES TO PART TWO

- 1 Joel Spring, *Education and the Rise of the Global Economy* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1998), 17.
- 2 By the 1860s, quinine had become an effective treatment and prophylactic against malaria, but the image of West Africa as “The White Man’s Grave” persisted. See

- Philip D.Curtin, "The White Man's Grave: Image and Reality, 1780–1850," *Journal of British Studies* (Vol 1, 1961), 94–110.
- 3 W.E.B.Du Bois, "The African Roots of the War," *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1915, 708–709.
  - 4 Arthur Abraham, *Topics in Sierra Leone History: A Counter-Colonial Interpretation*, (Freetown: Leone Publishers, 1976), 56–59.
  - 5 Robert Young, *African Wastes Reclaimed: Illustrated in the Story of the Lovedale Mission* (London: J.M.Dent & Co., 1902), 261, 82.
  - 6 Michael R.Kallon, "An Interpretive Study of Planned Educational Reform in Sierra Leone: The Primary School and Teacher Education," Unpublished Dissertation (University of Toronto, 1996), 3.
  - 7 Peter Olisanwuche Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement 1776–1963* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1982), 3.
  - 8 Kenneth Onwuka Dike, "A Hundred Years of University Education in West Africa: A Critical Evaluation," an address delivered during the Centenary Celebrations of Fourah Bay College, 1976 in Chieka Ifemesia, *Issues in African Studies and National Education: Selected Works of Kenneth Onwuka Dike* (Unugu: Snaap Press, 1988), 250.
  - 9 Christopher Fyfe, "Contrasting Themes in the Writings of Africanus Horton, James Johnson and Edward Blyden," *Africana Research Bulletin*, (Vol. 1, No.3, April 1971), 6–7.
  - 10 Peter Olisanwuche Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement*, 29.
  - 11 Eric Wolfe, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 7–10.
  - 12 Daniel Quinn, *Ishmael* (New York: Bantam, 1992), 72.
  - 13 Pam Christie and Colin Collins, "Bantu Education: Apartheid Ideology or Labor Reproduction," *Comparative Education* (Vol. 18, No. 1, 1982), 60.
  - 14 William H.Watkins, "Pan-Africanism and the Politics of Education: Towards a New Understanding," in Sidney J.Lamelle and Robin D.G.Kelley, (ed.s), *Imagining Home: Class, Culture and Nationalism in the African Diaspora* (London: Verso, 1994), 225–228.
  - 15 Elleni Tedla, *Sankofa: African Thought and Education*, (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), 79–92; and William Watkins, "Pan-Africanism and the Politics of Education," 223–224.
  - 16 Martin Caraoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism*, (New York: David McKay Co., Inc, 1974), 311.
  - 17 Harold Perkin, "History of Universities," in Philip Altbach, (ed.), *International Higher Education—An Encyclopedia* (New York & London, Garland Publishing, Inc., 1991), 193.
  - 18 Burton R.Clark, *The Higher Education System: Academic Organization in Cross National Perspective* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1983), 227–231.
  - 19 Ali Mazrui, *Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978), 69.
  - 20 Michael R.Kallon, "An Interpretive Study of Planned Educational Reform in Sierra Leone: The Primary School and Teacher Education," Unpublished Dissertation (University of Toronto, 1996), 21.
  - 21 Apollos O.Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 35.

- 22 Sally Falk Moore, "Changing Perspectives on a Changing Africa," in Robert H. Bates, V.Y.Mudimbe, and Jean O'Barr (eds.), *Africa and the Disciplines: The Contributions of Research in Africa to the Social Sciences and Humanities* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1993), 8.
- 23 Ibid, 41.
- 24 Apollos O.Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 54.
- 25 Ibid, 85.
- 26 Apollos O.Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 63.
- 27 Fewzi Borsali, "British Colonial Policy Towards Higher Education in West Africa and the Foundation of the University Institutions 1939–51," Unpublished Dissertation, (University of Aberdeen, 1983), 562.
- 28 J.F.Ade Ajayi, et al., *The African Experience with Higher Education* (Accra: The Association of African Universities, 1996), 25–26.
- 29 Thomas Jesse Jones, et al, *Education in Africa: A Study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission*, (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1921).
- 30 Richard A.Corby, "Educating Africans for Inferiority under British Rule: Bo School in Sierra Leone," *Comparative Education* (August 1990), 315–316.
- 31 Apollos O.Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 48.
- 32 Michael Crowder, *West Africa under Colonial Rule*, (London: Hutchinson University Library for Africa, 1968), 374.
- 33 Christiana I.Parker, "The University of Sierra Leone (Fourah Bay College): An Examination of Students' Perspectives about the Institutions Role in Meeting Educational and Occupational Needs," Unpublished Dissertation, (New York University, 1984), 37.
- 34 J.F.Ade Ajayi, et al., *The African Experience with Higher Education*, 30–31.
- 35 C.P.Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History (1827–1977)*, 13.
- 36 Personal Interview with Edward Blyden III, (Fortworth, Texas, June 3, 2000). I have been unable to determine the exact date or author for the Alma Mater.
- 37 Koso-Thomas, Olayinka, "Excerpts from Tributes: Eldred Durosimi Jones," *Not Words Alone: Selected Speeches of Kosonike Koso-Thomas*, (Elms Court, England: Arthur H. Stockwell, 1991), 85.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

- 1 Edward Dominic Amadu Turay, *Adult Education in Sierra Leone C. 1870–1939* (Freetown: Institute of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, 1986), 1–2.
- 2 Cream Wright, "Cultural and Political Influences on the Development of Education in Sierra Leone," Noel Entwistle, ed., *Handbook of Educational Ideas and Practices*, (London: Routledge, 1990), 191.
- 3 Lovedale was founded in 1841. Both European and African students attended the school. According to the records of the Cape Education Department between 1884 and 1886, Lovedale had 597 passes in Standards III, IV, V. In 1893, no fewer than sixteen ethnic or racial groups were present among the 534 students at Lovedale including fortythree Europeans. Robert Young, *African Wastes Reclaimed: Illustrated in the Story of the Lovedale Mission*, (London: J.M.Dent & Co., 1902), 49–52, 78–89; and Ernest Dube, "The Relationship between Racism and Education

- in South Africa,” *Harvard Educational Review*, (Vol. 55, No.1, Feb. 1985), 90, 92. Liberia College was founded in 1862.
- 4 Christopher Fyfe, “A Sierra Leone Bicentenary,” Murray Last and Paul Richards (ed.s), *Sierra Leone, 1787–1987 Two Centuries of Intellectual Life* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 418.
  - 5 Samuel B. Hinton, “An Analysis of the Connection between Role Concept and Political Participation among Preliminary Year Students at Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone,” Unpublished Dissertation, (University of Virginia, 1981), 26.
  - 6 “Title XI,” *The Durham University Calendar with Almanack* (Durham: Andrews & Co., 1877), xlvii–xlviii.
  - 7 J.F.Ade Ajayi, et al, *The African Experience with Higher Education* (Accra: The Association of African Universities, 1996), 23.
  - 8 “The Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone,” *The Durham University Journal* (No. 6, March 23, 1878), 3–4.
  - 9 E.H.M.Wright, “The Development of the Sciences at Fourah Bay College,” *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 60. The first full-time science lecturer from Europe was not appointed at FBC until 1924.
  - 10 Harry Sawyerr, “Theology at Fourah Bay College,” *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 2.
  - 11 Church Missionary Intelligencer, (Vol. XIII, 1888), 196.
  - 12 Harry Sawyerr, “Theology at Fourah Bay College,” *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 2.
  - 13 Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity: The Religious Impact*, 215.
  - 14 A.E.Tuboku Metzger in T.J. Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 100–101.
  - 15 Reichardt’s career at FBC spanned thirty years.
  - 16 It is possible (particularly on a more informal level) that instruction continued from 1859 through 1864 as it did from 1883 to 1885 through the auspices of African tutors without direct support from the CMS.
  - 17 D.J.Coker in T.J. Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 101–102.
  - 18 M.C.F.Easmon, “Sierra Leone Doctors,” *Sierra Leone Studies* (New Series, No. 6, June 1956) 81–96.
  - 19 “Fourah Bay College”, *The West African Reporter*, (August 9, 1884).
  - 20 *Durham University Calendar 1884–85* (Durham: Thomas Caldcleugh; Andrews & Co.), 1884.
  - 21 “The Fourah Bay College” *The Durham University Journal* (Vol. VI, No. 11, November?, 1885), 153.
  - 22 *Ibid*, 153.
  - 23 D.J. and E.T.C., “Fourah Bay College and Sawyerr’s Trade Circular,” *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (August 14, 1886).
  - 24 John C.Sawyerr., “Fourah Bay College and Sawyerr’s Trade Circular,” *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (August 21, 1886).

- 25 Edward Dominic Amadu Turay, *Adult Education in Sierra Leone C. 1870–1939* (Freetown: Institute of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, 1986); and Leo Spitzer, *The Creoles of Sierra Leone: Responses to Colonialism, 1870–1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974).
- 26 Leo Spitzer, *The Creoles of Sierra Leone: Responses to Colonialism, 1870–1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974), 142.
- 27 S.H. “The Sierra Leone Vernacular & the Rev. Frank Nevill,” and “Is the Sierra Leone Vernacular a Language and Is It Likely to Become Obsolete,” *Sawyers’ Trade Circular* (December 19, 1885), 6–7.
- 28 George Nicol, “Rev. G.Nicol of Bathurst Gambia, on the Sierra Leone Patois,” *Sawyers’ Trade Circular* (December 19, 1885) 9–10. Articles written in Krio rarely appeared in the local press. At this point in time, it was primarily a spoken not a written language.
- 29 Edward Dominic Amadu Turay, *Adult Education in Sierra Leone C. 1870–1939* (Freetown: Institute of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, 1986), 30.
- 30 Cited in Edward Dominic Amadu Turay, *Adult Education in Sierra Leone C. 1870–1939* (Freetown: Institute of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, 1986), 74–75.
- 31 C.P.Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History (1827–1977)*, 6. While this may appear to be a major breakthrough for coeducational opportunity at FBC, there is no record of any women students having graduated from FBC until Lati Hyde in 1938. The accomplishments of the Annie Walsh Memorial School toward the education of women in West Africa deserve greater attention.
- 32 D.J.Coker in T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 102. The scholarship became known as the Nevill Reading Prize.
- 33 Samuel T.Brown in T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 104.
- 34 *Ibid*, 104.
- 35 For a detailed account of medical history in Sierra Leone see Adell Patton, *Physicians, Colonial Racism, and Diaspora in West Africa*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996).
- 36 *The Durham University Journal* (February 19, 1887), 136
- 37 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 122.
- 38 Paul E.H.Hair, “Creole Endeavor & Self-Criticism in Sierra Leone Church Missions,” *Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion* (Vol. 8, No.1, June 1966), 8.
- 39 Leo Spitzer, *The Creoles of Sierra Leone: Responses to Colonialism*, 116–119.
- 40 Moses N.Moore, *Orishatukeh Faduma: Liberal Theology and Evangelical PanAfricanism 1857–1946* (Lanham, Md: The Scarecrow Press, 1987), 34. Casely Hayford, Hutton Mills, and Euba all helped to establish the National Congress of British West Africa.
- 41 Kufileh Tubohku, “Orishatukeh Faduma (or Fadumoh),” *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, (Vol.4, No.4, Sept. 24, 1887).
- 42 Moses N.Moore, *Orishatukeh Faduma: Liberal Theology and Evangelical PanAfricanism 1857–1946* (Lanham, Md: The Scarecrow Press, 1987), 42. Tuboku-Metzger was the first student to graduate from FBC and receive the B.A. degree of Durham University under the terms of the affiliation. He went into the Government Civil Service. In the late 1920s, he became one of three elected members of the Sierra Leone Legislative Council. See Arthur T.Porter, “The Social Background of

- Political Decision-Makers in Sierra Leone,” *Sierra Leone Studies* (June, 1960), 1–23.
- 43 Harry Sawyerr, *God: Ancestor or Creator?* (London: Longman, 1970), 47, 105.
- 44 Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity: the Religious Impact*, 211.
- 45 One of his most famous trips involved recruiting 38 African-Americans from Oklahoma to emigrate or “return” to the Gold Coast in 1913. See Toyin Falola, *Nationalism and African Intellectuals* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2001), 84.
- 46 Peter Olisanwuche Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement 1776–1963*, 38.
- 47 Orishetukeh Faduma, “Success and drawbacks of Missionary Work in Africa by an Eye-Witness” in *Africa and the American Negro: Addresses and Proceedings of the Congress on Africa*, J.W.E. Bowen (ed.), (Miami: Mnemosyne Publishing 1969 [1895]), 128.
- 48 O.Faduma, “African Negro Education: Some of the Demands of Modern Education,” *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, August 10, 1918.
- 49 “Principal O.Faduma, B.D.,” *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (June 13, 1908), 5.
- 50 In Sierra Leone in 1918, Faduma helped organize the first West African Conference a forerunner to the political activities of the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA). Faduma (along with people such as J.E.Casely Hayford) helped found the NCBWA in 1920. In 1921, Faduma served as a tutor at FBC. See Moses N. Moore, *Orishatukeh Faduma: Liberal Theology and Evangelical Pan-Africanism 1857–1946* (Lanham, Md: The Scarecrow Press, 1987), 176–178. See also Martin Kilson, “The National Congress of British West Africa, 1918–1935,” in Robert I.Rotberg and Ali A.Mazrui (eds.), *Protest and Power in Black Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 583.
- 51 Edward Wilmot Blyden, “Philip and the Eunuch” [1882], *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 185.
- 52 Edward Wilmot Blyden, “The Aims and Methods of a Liberal Education for Africans” [1881], *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 88.
- 53 Christopher Fyfe, “Contrasting Themes in the Writings of Africanus Horton, James Johnson and Edward Blyden,” *Africana Research Bulletin*, (Vol. 1, No. 3, April 1971), 12.
- 54 Edward Wilmot Blyden, “Christian Missions in West Africa” [1876], *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 54.
- 55 Edward Wilmot Blyden, “The Aims and Methods of a Liberal Education for Africans” [1881], *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 83.
- 56 *Ibid*, 90.
- 57 *Ibid*, 91.
- 58 Henry S.Wilson, “Edward Wilmot Blyden 1832–1912,” Marc Pachter and Francis Wein (ed.s), *Abroad in America: Visits to the New Nation* (Reading Mass: AddisonWesley Publishing, 1976), 157–166.
- 59 Akintola J.G.Wyse, “The Sierra Leone Krios: A Reappraisal from the Perspective of the African Diaspora,” 323; Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African*, 164; and Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity*, 101, 137–138.
- 60 Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity: the Religious Impact*, 137–138. Sanneh also comments that “neither his [Blyden] motive nor his vision could be faulted.”

- 61 Christopher Fyfe, "A Sierra Leone Bicentenary," Murray Last and Paul Richards (ed.s), *Sierra Leone, 1787–1987 Two Centuries of Intellectual Life* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 415.
- 62 Thomas W.Livingston, *Education and Race: A Biography of Edward Wilmot Blyden* (San Francisco: The Glendessary Press, 1975), 108–109.
- 63 Thomas W.Livingston, *Education and Race*, 109.
- 64 Thomas H.Henrikson, "Black is Beautiful: An Old Idea," *Negro History Bulletin* (Vol. 34, No.7, November 1977), 150–152.
- 65 J.F.Ade Ajayi, et al, *The African Experience with Higher Education*, 18.
- 66 Edward Wilmot Blyden, "The Aims and Methods of a Liberal Education for Africans" [1881], *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 97, 101.
- 67 Ibid, 104.
- 68 Ibid, 105.
- 69 Christopher Fyfe, "A.B.C.Sidthorpe: A Neglected Historian," in Davidson Nicol and Arthur Porter (ed.s), *Eminent Sierra Leoneans* (Freetown: Government Printer, 1963), 31–38.
- 70 Christopher Fyfe, "A.B.C.Sidthorpe: A Tribute," *History in Africa* (Vol. 19, 1992), 330–31, 337.
- 71 "In Memoriam: Rev. N.H.Boston," *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (May 12, 1917), 565. In February 1886, The *Durham University Journal* reported "FOURAH BAY COLLEGE IN DANGER. Expected Raid by Natives." In June of the same year, Allen Elba, a student and future tutor at FBC reported in the *Durham University Journal* that: "Fourah Bay College was in no peculiar danger from the Younie raid." As European claims to African territory were advanced through measures such as the Berlin Conference of 1885 and subsequent "Scramble for Africa," indigenous military resistance was met. In the 1880s and 1890s, Africans witnessed the final episodes of the European military takeover of Africa. As in the case of the Younie War of 1885–86, many prominent Krios such as Sir Samuel Lewis, advocated British military protection for the diasporan African community in Freetown from indigenous groups. See J.D. Hargreaves, *A Life of Sir Samuel Lewis*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), 52.
- 72 C.P.Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History (1827–1977)*, 7.
- 73 "Fourah Bay College," *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, (August 20, 1892), 5.
- 74 "Fourah Bay College," *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, (October 1, 1892), 8; see also "Fourah Bay College," *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, (September 24, 1892), 3. Humphrey's decision to dismiss the students was referred to the CMS not to Durham University.
- 75 "Troubles at Fourah Bay College," *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, (November 12, 1892), 5.
- 76 "The Memorial," *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, (August 19, 18932).
- 77 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 119.
- 78 "Last Report of Rev. W.J.Humphrey," *Sierra Leone Times* (August 27, 1898). The Hut Tax War is discussed in the next paragraph. Principal Humphrey was one of just a few non-military European personnel killed in the Northern campaigns of the war. For full detail of the Hut Tax War see LaRay Denzer and Michael Crowder, "Bai Bureh and the Sierra Leone Hut Tax War of 1898," in Robert I.Rotberg; and Ali A.Mazrui (eds.), *Protest and Power in Black Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 209.



- 79 Earl Conteh-Morgan and Mac Dixon-Fyle, *Sierra Leone at the end of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 42–43.
- 80 A.Watcher, “Fourah Bay College,” *Sierra Leone Times* (November 12, 1898).
- 81 Earl Conteh-Morgan and Mac Dixon-Fyle, *Sierra Leone at the End of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 42.
- 82 LaRay Denzer and Michael Crowder, “Bai Bureh and the Sierra Leone Hut Tax War of 1898,” in Robert I.Rotberg and Ali A.Mazrui (eds.), *Protest and Power in Black Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 169.
- 83 Earl Conteh-Morgan and Mac Dixon-Fyle, *Sierra Leone at the end of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 42–43.
- 84 Abner Cohen, *The Politics of Elite Culture: Explorations in the Dramaturgy of Power in a Modern African Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 92.
- 85 Earl Conteh-Morgan and Mac Dixon-Fyle, *Sierra Leone at the end of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 42–43.
- 86 Abner Cohen, *The Politics of Elite Culture*, 48.
- 87 Christopher Fyfe, “A Sierra Leone Bicentenary,” Murray Last and Paul Richards (ed.s), *Sierra Leone, 1787–1987 Two Centuries of Intellectual Life*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 414.
- 88 Edward Dominic Amadu Turay, *Adult Education in Sierra Leone C. 1870–1939* (Freetown: Institute of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, 1986), 79.
- 89 Metcalfe Sunter, Report on Training of Schoolmasters at Fourah Bay College, March 8, 1877 and accompanying letters from the Governor of Sierra Leone C.Kortright and Secretary of State to the Colonies (PRO, CO 267/331/27B). The Governor of Sierra Leone wrote to the Secretary of State to the Colonies: “to carry this [teacher training program] out in its entirety would entail some expense, but if it be desirable to encourage education, such expenditure would not be thrown away, as has been the case hitherto.” The reply from the Secretary of State was: “I fear that at the present moment the colony is not in a position to bear the expenditure which the adaptation of the scheme would entail.”
- 90 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 130, 135; see also C.E.Whiting, *The University of Durham*, 303; and C.P.Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History (1827–1977)*, 7.
- 91 *Church Missionary Intelligencer* (Vol. XXV, 1900), 450.
- 92 “Fourah Bay College,” *Durham University Journal* (Vol. XVI, No.2, March 18, 1904), 19.
- 93 Christian E.Anderson and Earl Dewitt Baker, *Educational Development in Sierra Leone* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Malloy Lithoprinting, Inc., 1969), 72.
- 94 Richard A.Corby, “Educating Africans for Inferiority under British Rule: Bo School in Sierra Leone,” *Comparative Education*, (August 1990), 319.
- 95 Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African*, 157–158.
- 96 Richard A.Corby, “Educating Africans for Inferiority under British Rule: Bo School in Sierra Leone,” *Comparative Education*, (August 1990), 319.
- 97 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 141.
- 98 C.P.Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History (1827–1977)*, 7.
- 99 *Ibid*, 7.
- 100 C.E.Whiting, *The University of Durham*, 303.
- 101 C.P.Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History (1827–1977)*, 7–8.

- 102 James Denton, "Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone," *Durham University Journal* (Vol. XVI, No.5, June 9, 1906), 53; and *Durham University Calendar 1905–06* (Durham: Thomas Caldcleugh & Son, 1905), 295..
- 103 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 141–142; see also T.J.Thompson, 76–77.
- 104 C.P.Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History (1827–1977)*, 8.
- 105 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 142.
- 106 "Bishop Johnson on the Education Question Again," *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, (February 22, 1908), 2.
- 107 Casely Hayford, "Appendix A. To the Editor of the Weekly News," in Edward Wilmot Blyden, *African Life and Customs* (London: New Impression, 1969 [1908]), 86–87.
- 108 Ngugi wa Thiong'o, "Europhonism, Universities, and the Magic Fountain: The Future of African Literature and Scholarship," Ashby Lecture given at Clare Hall, Cambridge, May 1999, *Research in African Literatures* (Vol. 31, No. 1).
- 109 Casely Hayford, "Appendix A. To the Editor of the Weekly News," in Edward Wilmot Blyden, *African Life and Customs* (London: New Impression, 1969 [1908]), 84–85. Hayford entered FBC in 1882 and may have been one of the remaining students at FBC when it was allegedly closed in 1883 and 1884. As previously noted, the College remained open but without a European principal such status was not officially recognized.
- 110 Robert July, *The Origins of Modern African Thought: Its Development in West Africa during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Faber and Faber: London, 1968).
- 111 Peter Olisanwuche Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement*, 37–45.
- 112 Herbert Aptheker, (ed.), *Against Racism: Unpublished Essays, Papers, Addresses, 1887–1961 by W.E.B.Du Bois* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1985), 44.
- 113 Subsequent conferences were held in 1921, 1923, 1927, 1945, and 1958.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

- 1 T.S.Johnson in T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 111–112.
- 2 Lewis's role was over-shadowed by his British successor, James Denton, who also served the College many years (1898–1926). He served as principal from 1911–1921 and 1925–26.
- 3 Address of C.Marke, "Fourah Bay College," *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (January 29, 1910), 5.
- 4 James Denton, "Speech of the Local Secretary of the Society" in T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 81. In 1909, the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* of September 11th noted that 3000 pounds was to be set aside "for strengthening the divinity side of Fourah Bay College, or should it prove desirable for the establishment of a West Africa Clergy School elsewhere in West Africa."
- 5 C.E.Whiting, *The University of Durham*, 304; see also T.J. Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 75.

- 6 "The Mayor's Speech," T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 79.
- 7 James Denton, "Speech of the Local Secretary of the Society" in T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 80.
- 8 "The Sierra Leone Government Report, 1908," *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (February 5, 1910), 6-7.
- 9 Lawson to Leopold, "The Future of Fourah Bay College," *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (April 18, 1908), 2.
- 10 "Remarks made by Principal L.J.Leopold at the Conference of Churchmen, February 17, 1908," *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (March 7, 1908), 2-3.
- 11 "The Mayor's Speech," T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 78-79. See also "The Future of Fourah Bay College," *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (June 12, 1909), 8. "The University-side of the College" was a phrase often used to describe the College's academic degree programs as differentiated from ministerial or teacher training programs.
- 12 "The Future of Fourah Bay College," *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (August 7, 1909), 6. The anonymous author may have been Casely Hayford who frequently wrote "Afric" rather than Africa.
- 13 G.Rome Hall, "A Preliminary College for West Africa," *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (June 25, 1910), 3-4. In the end, Jones' estate did not provide any funding to FBC. Instead, a trade school bearing Sir Alfred Jones name was subsequently founded in Freetown.
- 14 "A Preliminary College for West Africa," *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (June 25, 1910), 5-6.
- 15 'The Future of Fourah Bay College,' *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (August 7, 1909), 5.
- 16 J.D., "The Future of Fourah Bay College," *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (November 21, 1908), 4.
- 17 Charles N.Lewis, "The Prospects of Collegiate Work in West Africa," E.T.Cole, (ed.), *Sierra Leone Native Church* (London: Furnival Press, 1917), 223-226.
- 18 Obadiah Moore, "Fourah Bay College," *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (May 7, 1910), 5.
- 19 "Fourah Bay College Commencements," *The Durham University Journal* (June 19, 1911), 115.
- 20 Ibid, 116.
- 21 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 135.
- 22 Richard A. Corby, "Educating Africans for Inferiority under British Rule: Bo School in Sierra Leone," *Comparative Education* (August 1990), 321-323.
- 23 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 161, 231. See also "The Diamond Corporation West Africa Limited Our Mineral & Mining Industry, Sierra Leone yearbook (Freetown: Daily Mail production, 1972), 69; and Sierra Leone digs deep for Diamonds," *West Africa* (February 8, 1982), 349. Diamonds were discovered in Sierra Leone at least as early as 1927. Sierra Leone Selection Trust started mining alluvial diamonds in Sierra Leone in 1934. (See map on following page).
- 24 T.S.Johnson in T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 112.
- 25 Davidson Nicol, "West Africa's First Institution of Higher Education," *Sierra Leone Journal of Education*, (Sierra Leone: Ministry of Education, 1966), 9.

- 26 Kenneth King, *Pan-Africanism and Education: A study of Race Philanthropy and Education in the Southern United States and East Africa*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 16. As previously noted, a number of FBC alumni, including Orishatukeh Faduma, had already traveled to the United States.
- 27 T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 86–87. Foray's interpretation likely reflected his own contemporary dismay and disappointment over the College's economic position and lack of financial support from alumni. See C.P. Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History (1827–1977)*, 8.
- 28 T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 86–87.
- 29 Including, for example, a gift from Dr. Obadiah Johnson of 5000 pounds to endow a chair of Natural Science. Obadiah Johnson also edited Samuel Johnson's influential work *The History of the Yorubas from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate*, (Lagos: CMS, 1921).
- 30 J.F.Ade Ajayi, et al, *The African Experience with Higher Education*, 31.
- 31 John Henry Clarke (ed.), *Marcus Garvey and the Vision of Africa* (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), 51. Blyden did not teach at FBC but he tutored many of the students.
- 32 J.E.Casely Hayford, *Ethiopia Unbound—Studies in race Emancipation* (London: Frank Cass, 1969 [1911]), 95. The main character in Hayford's book was Kwamankra, a prophetic name in its resemblance to future Pan-African leader, Kwame Nkrumah.
- 33 James Smoot Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 187.
- 34 Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African*, 179.
- 35 Ali A.Mazrui, *Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa*, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978), 249.
- 36 Martin Kilson, "The National Congress of British West Africa, 1918–1935," in Robert I.Rotberg and Ali A.Mazrui (eds.), *Protest and Power in Black Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 571.
- 37 T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 87.
- 38 C.P.Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History (1827–1977)*, 9.
- 39 Erasmus W.B.Cole, "The British Universities and the War," *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (May 25, 1918), 10.
- 40 "Fourah Bay College—Meeting of Convocation," *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (May 27, 1916), 9.
- 41 Pythias J.Williams, "The Future of Fourah Bay College," *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (January 4, 1908), 3.
- 42 T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 90–92.
- 43 C.E.Whiting, *The University of Durham*, 304.
- 44 Cited in D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 156–157.
- 45 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 201.
- 46 Harry Sawyerr, "Theology at Fourah Bay College," *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 2–3.
- 47 "Fourah Bay College," *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (August 10, 1918), 5.

- 48 Christopher Fyfe, "Contrasting Themes in the Writings of Africanus Horton, James Johnson and Edward Blyden," *Africana Research Bulletin*, (Vol. 1, No. 3, April 1971), 12.
- 49 Michael Crowder, *West Africa Under Colonial Rule* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1968), 377.
- 50 Christopher Fyfe, "The Emergence and Evolution of African Studies in the United Kingdom," in William G.Martin and Michael O.West (eds.), *Out of One, Many Africas* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 54–61.
- 51 C.D.Hotobah During, "The Sierra Leone Studies," *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (August 3, 1918), 4.
- 52 "Convocation at Fourah Bay College," *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (August 10, 1918), 9–10.
- 53 Advertus A.Hoff, *A Short History of Liberia College and the University of Liberia* (Monrovia: Consoloidated Publications Incorporated, 1962), 72. S.J.Taylor was elected President of Liberia College in 1935.
- 54 Paul E.H.Hair, "Creole Endeavor & Self-criticism in Sierra Leone Church Missions," *Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion* (Vol. 8, No. 1, June 1966), 9.
- 55 Eliphaz G.Mukonoweshuro, *Colonialism, Class Formation and Underdevelopment in Sierra Leone* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1993), 71–81, 236–237, 240.
- 56 Eliphaz G.Mukonoweshuro, *Colonialism, Class Formation and Underdevelopment in Sierra Leone* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1993), 7, 76.
- 57 Sahr John Kpundeh, *Politics and Corruption in Africa: A Case Study of Sierra Leone* (New York: University Press of America, 1995).
- 58 Martin Kilson, "The National Congress of British West Africa, 1918–1935," in Robert I.Rotberg and Ali A.Mazrui (eds.), *Protest and Power in Black Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 577–578.
- 59 *Ibid*, 588.
- 60 Bankole Timothy, *Yesterday's Africans* (Unugu, Nigeria: Delta Publications, 1982), 52.
- 61 Cited in Martin Kilson, "The National Congress of British West Africa," 580.
- 62 *Church Missionary Record* (Vol. LXXIV, 1923), 111. This was practically the same recommendation that the majority report of the Elliot Commission would make in 1945 concerning the future of FBC and the two institutions affiliated with the University of London—Achimota College in the Gold Coast (Est. 1928) and Yaba Higher College in Lagos, Nigeria (Est. 1932).
- 63 G3/A1/L15 (CMS Archives): Report of Meeting, September 19, 1922, 52.
- 64 Martin Kilson, "The National Congress of British West Africa, 1918–1935," in Robert I.Rotberg and Ali A.Mazrui (eds.), *Protest and Power in Black Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 581.
- 65 Howard J.Laski, *A Grammar of Politics* (London: Unwin Brothers Limited Working, 1963 [1925]), 587–661.
- 66 Fewzi Borsali, "British Colonial Policy Towards Higher Education in West Africa and the Foundation of the University Institutions 1939–51," Unpublished Dissertation, (University of Aberdeen, 1983), 28–29.
- 67 Arthur Porter, "History," David Brokensha and Michael Crowder (eds.), *Africa in the Wider World: The Interrelationship of Area and Comparative Studies* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1967), 86.

- 68 Fewzi Borsali, "British Colonial Policy Towards Higher Education in West Africa," 28–29. Oxford and Cambridge had been involved in colonial education through their colonial examinations and supervision of colonial students since 1902. The most popular degree within the British system for those interested in working abroad in the Foreign Service began at Oxford in the 1930s and was multidisciplinary in nature, the PPE (politics, philosophy and economics). Personal interview with Edward Blyden III, (Fortworth, Texas, June 3, 2000).
- 69 Institute of International Education, *Handbook on International Study*, (New York: Institute of International Education, 1955).
- 70 Arthur A.Schomburg, *Racial Integrity: A Plea for the Establishment of a Chair of Negro History in our Schools and Colleges* (paper read at Cheney Institute, July 1913).
- 71 Carl G.Rosberg, Jr., "Political Science," David Brokensha, and Michael Crowder, (eds.), *Africa in the Wider World: The Interrelationship of Area and Comparative Studies*, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1967), 105.
- 72 Raymond Leslie Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928), Vol. 1, 873.
- 73 Sally Falk Moore, "Changing Perspectives on a Changing Africa," in Robert H. Bates, V.Y.Mudimbe, and Jean O'Barr (eds.), *Africa and the Disciplines: The Contributions of Research in Africa to the Social Sciences and Humanities* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1993), 9.
- 74 Edward H.Berman, "Educational Colonialism in Africa: The Role of American Foundations, 1910–1945," in Robert Arnove (ed.), *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism: The Foundations at Home and Abroad* (Boston: G.K.Hall, 1980), 179.
- 75 William Watkins, "Pan-Africanism and the Politics of Education," 225.
- 76 Thomas Jesse Jones, et al, *Education in Africa: A Study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission*, (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1921).
- 77 J.F.Ade Ajayi, et al., *The African Experience with Higher Education*, 43.
- 78 Edward H.Berman, "Educational Colonialism in Africa," 194–195.
- 79 Kenneth King, *Pan-Africanism and Education: A study of Race Philanthropy and Education in the Southern United States and East Africa*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 57.
- 80 Thomas Jesse Jones, et al, *Education in Africa: A Study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission*, (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1921), xxvii.
- 81 Thomas Jesse Jones, et al, *Education in Africa*, 119.
- 82 Robert Wellesley Cole, "The Development of the Humanities—Philosophy," *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 12, notes that the Arts class of 1924 (just a couple of years following the commission's visit) studied Latin, Greek, Ancient History, Mathematics and Logic in the first year; Latin, Greek, New Testament Criticism, Mathematics, and Psychology in the second year; and Latin, Greek, Mathematics, and Ethics in the third year.
- 83 Philip J.Foster, "The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning," in C. Arnold Anderson and Mary Jean Bowman, (ed.s), *Education and Economic Development* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1963), 144–154.

- 84 Davidson Nicol, "West Africa's First Institution of Higher Education," *Sierra Leone Journal of Education*, (Sierra Leone: Ministry of Education, 1966), 9.
- 85 Linda R.Buchanan and Philo A.Hutcheson, "Reconsidering the Washington-Du Bois Debate: Two Black Colleges in 1910–1911," Wayne J.Urban, (ed.), *Essays in Twentieth-Century Southern Education: Exceptionalism and Its Limits* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1999), 77–99.
- 86 Apollos O.Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 43.
- 87 J.F.Ade Ajayi, et al., *The African Experience with Higher Education*, 42, 50.
- 88 V.E.King, "The Development of Teacher Education" in *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976*, (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 51.
- 89 D.Dawson-Walker, "The Centenary of Fourah Bay College, and the Jubilee of its Affiliation to the University of Durham," *Durham University Journal* (XXV, No.2, March 1927), 100.
- 90 F.B.Heiser, "Fourah Bay College," *Church Missionary Record* (Vol. LXXVII, 1926), 71.
- 91 Akintola J.G.Wyse, "The Dissolution of Freetown City Council in 1926: a Negative Example of Political Apprenticeship in Colonial Sierra Leone," Murray Last and Paul Richards (ed.s), *Sierra Leone, 1787–1987 Two Centuries of Intellectual Life* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987).
- 92 *Church Missionary Record* (Vol. LXXVII, 1926), 173.
- 93 T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 126.
- 94 *Ibid*, 192.
- 95 *Ibid*, 157–161.
- 96 *Ibid*, 116.
- 97 E.Christian Anderson and Earl Dewitt Baker, *Educational Development in Sierra Leone* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Malloy Lithoprinting, Inc., 1969), 107.
- 98 V.E.King, "The Development of Teacher Education" in *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976*, (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 51.
- 99 *Ibid*, 51.
- 100 J.C.O.During in T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 132.
- 101 T.S.Johnson in T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 112–113.
- 102 *Fourah Bay College: Report of the Commission Appointed in 1938 by the Secretary for the Colonies*, (London: Majesty's Stationary Office, Colonial Office, 1939), 9.
- 103 C.P.Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History (1827–1977)*, 10.
- 104 T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 167. Horstead came to FBC from Durham.
- 105 C.P.Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History (1827–1977)*, 10.
- 106 T.J.Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume*, 170.
- 107 Kenneth King, *Pan-Africanism and Education*, 233–235.
- 108 T.O.Dosumu-Johnson, *Reflections of an African Nationalist* (New York: Vantage Press, 1980), 13–14. Dosumu-Johnson was a student in the United States in the 1930s and experienced such discrimination first-hand upon his return to Sierra Leone.
- 109 Personal interview with Edward Blyden III, (Fortworth, Texas, June 3, 2000).

- 110 William H.Fitzjohn, *Ambassador of Christ and Caesar* (Ibadan: Daystar Press, 1975), 29–31.
- 111 Horace Mann Bond, in his 1945 inaugural address as Lincoln's first black president noted that the University had been founded for "the redemption of Africa by American Negroes." Cited in Wayne J.Urban, *Black Scholar: Horace Mann Bond 1904–1972*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 146, 179. Lincoln was founded in 1854 as the Ashmun Institute through the philanthropic efforts of missionaries involved in the abolitionist movement.
- 112 T.O.Dosumu-Johnson, *Reflections of an African Nationalist* (New York: Vantage Press, 1980), 14.
- 113 Kwame Nkrumah, *The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (New York: International Publishers, 1957), 64. Nkrumah addressed an audience of students at Fourah Bay College.
- 114 Victor Effah-Apenteng, "Isaac Theophilus Akunna Wallace-Johnson," (M.A. Seminar Paper, Pamphlet Box, University of Legon, 1969), 7.
- 115 *The Role of African Student Movements in the Political and Social Evolution of Africa from 1900 to 1975* (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1994), 60–61.
- 116 Another FBC graduate who was very influential in the founding of the African Students Unuion in London in the late 1920s was Chief Ladipo Solanke from Nigeria. See Davidson Nicol, "The Formation of a West African Intellectual Community," *The West African Intellectual Community: Papers and Discussions of an International Seminar on Inter-University Cooperation in West Africa* (Ibadan University Press, 1962), 12.
- 117 C.Ake, "WASU in Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone," *The role of African student movements in the political and social evolution of Africa from 1900 to 1975*, (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1994), 51–65.
- 118 I.T.A.Wallace-Johnson, "European Christianity," (*Gold Coast Spectator*, May 16, 1936), p839 Col. 2 cited in Victor Effah-Apenteng, "Isaac Theophilus Akunna WallaceJohnson," (M.A. Seminar Paper, Pamphlet Box, University of Legon, 1969), 3.
- 119 I.T.A.Wallace-Johnson, (*Gold Coast Spectator*, Feb. 22, 1936), p338 Col. 3 cited in Victor Effah-Apenteng, "Isaac Theophilus Akunna Wallace-Johnson," (M.A. Seminar Paper, Pamphlet Box, University of Legon, 1969), 3.
- 120 Victor Effah-Apenteng, "Isaac Theophilus Akunna Wallace-Johnson," (M.A. Seminar Paper, Pamphlet Box, University of Legon, 1969), 3.
- 121 Victor King , "African Thought on African Education" *Sierra Leone Daily Guardian* (September 5, 1936).
- 122 Noah A.Cox-George, *The Development of the Social Sciences in FBC*, (Freetown: Atlantic Printers, Lmted, 1977), 3–4.
- 123 James S.Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960). Also interview with Edward Blyden III, (Fortworth, Texas, June 3, 2000).

### NOTES TO PART THREE

- 1 Eric Wolfe, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 11–13, 21–23.



- 2 See for example Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (London: Bogle-L'Overture Publications, 1972).
- 3 Brian Garvey, "Education and Underdevelopment in Africa: The Historical Perspective," in Keith Watson, *Education in the Third World* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), 63.
- 4 George W. Shepherd, *The Politics of African Nationalism: Challenge to American Policy* (New York: Praeger, 1962), 5.
- 5 Peter Kaim-Caudle, "Review of Economic Changes in Sierra Leone, 1930–55," *The Durham University Journal*, (Vol. L, 1957–58), 34–41.
- 6 Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* (New York: International Publishers, 1965), 147–148.
- 7 Almost thirty years later, Clifford Fyle observed: "Africa continues to earn less for what it gives and to pay more for what it receives." Clifford N. Fyle, *Education for Africa in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Breda: UNESCO, July 1993), 26. Today, the fight for control over diamond fields and illegal smuggling operations has practically destroyed the country.
- 8 Ian Fleming, *The Diamond Smugglers* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1958), 103. See map on following page.
- 9 Graham Greene, *The Heart of the Matter* (New York: Viking Press, 1948).
- 10 Abioseh Nicol, *Return to West Africa*, in Langston Hughes, (ed.), *An African Treasury*, (New York: Crown Publishers, 1960); Raymond Sarif Easmon, *Dear Parent and Ogre*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1964); Lemuel Johnson, *Highlife for Caliban*, 1973; Syl Cheney-Coker, *Concerto for an Exile*, 1973; and Yulisa Maddy, *Big Berrin*, 1984. At the time of printing I became aware of another novelist who deserves recognition in this list, her name is Aminatta Forna. Her moving and thorough expose on corruption is outstanding. Aminatta Forna, *The Devil that Danced on the Water* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2002).
- 11 Eliphaz G. Mukonoweshuro, *Colonialism, Class Formation and Underdevelopment in Sierra Leone*, 236–237.
- 12 John Hatch, "Election without Issues," *New Statesman* (June 8, 1962), 820.
- 13 Personal correspondence with John D. Hargreaves, March 16, 2001.
- 14 *West Africa*, (December 13, 1958), 1191. For a thorough discussion of the emergence of African nationalism see Toyin Falola, "Seek Ye the Political Kingdom": Nationalism and Nation Building," *Nationalism and African Intellectuals* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2001), 97–142.
- 15 Albert Hirschman, "The Rise and Decline of Development Economics," in A. Hirschman, (ed.), *Essays in Trespassing: Economics to Politics and Beyond* (Cambridge University Press, 1981).
- 16 Ade Ajayi, et al., *The African Experience with Higher Education*, 53.
- 17 Apollon O. Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 159.
- 18 Kwasi Ansu-Kyeremeh, *Communication, Education and Development* (Legon: Ghana Universities Press, 1994), 22.
- 19 James S. Coleman with David Court, *University Development in the Third World: The Rockefeller Foundation Experience* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1993), 4.
- 20 Snow, C.P., *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 48.
- 21 Edward H. Berman, "The Role of Foundations, Bilateral, and International Organizations in the Diffusion of the Modern School," in William K. Cummings,

- and Noel F. McGinn, (eds), *International Handbook of Education and Development: Preparing Schools, Students and Nations for the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1997), 138.
- 22 Irvin Sobel, "The Human Capital Revolution in Economic Development," in Philip Altbach, R. Arnove, and Gail Kelly, (eds.), *Comparative Education* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1982), 56.
  - 23 C. Tunnerman, "A New Vision of Higher Education," *Higher Education Policy: The Quarterly Journal of the International Association of Universities*, (Great Britain: Pergamon, 1996), 11.
  - 24 Roger Fieldhouse, "Cold War and Colonial Conflicts in British West African Adult Education, 1947–1953," *History of Education Quarterly* (Fall 1984), 359–371.
  - 25 John Hatch, "Election without Issues," *New Statesman* (June 8, 1962), 820. The article also included a culturally insensitive remark concerning the circumcision of young women through the *Bundu* society. A more complete discussion of this episode is presented in [Chapter Seven](#).
  - 26 Personal correspondence with John D. Hargreaves, March 16, 2001.
  - 27 Ali Mazrui, "The African University as a Multinational Corporation: Problems of Penetration and Dependency," *Harvard Educational Review* (Vol. 45, No. 2, May 1975).
  - 28 J. Gus Liebenow, *African Politics: Crises and Challenges* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 273.
  - 29 "Anglo-American Differences in Africa," *West Africa* (June 30, 1962), 705.
  - 30 "What is African Socialism," *West Africa* (May 12, 1962), 507.
  - 31 Cited in Carl G. Rosberg, Jr., "Political Science," Brokensha, David and Crowder, Michael (eds.), *Africa in the Wider World: The Interrelationship of Area and Comparative Studies*, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1967), 113.
  - 32 G. Mennen Williams, *Africa for the Africans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 1969), 33–39.
  - 33 George Shepherd, *The Politics of African Nationalism: Challenge to American Policy*, 11.
  - 34 Mennen Williams, *Africa for the Africans*, 71–85.
  - 35 Amadu Sesay, "Sierra Leone's Foreign Policy since Independence," *Africana Research Bulletin* (Vol. XI, No. 1 & 2, March 1981), 7.
  - 36 James S. Coleman, *University Development in the Third World*, 227.
  - 37 Edward H. Berman, *The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy*, 34–35.
  - 38 Mennen Williams, *Africa for the Africans*, 179.
  - 39 Edward H. Berman, *The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy*, 42.
  - 40 *Ibid*, 8–9, 37–58.
  - 41 Maurice Harari, *Global Dimensions in U.S. Education: The University* (New York: Center for War/Peace Studies, 1972), 5. For example: the Russian Research Center at Harvard, Southeast Asian studies at Yale, Near Eastern studies at Princeton, Japanese studies at Michigan, Indian studies at Pennsylvania, Latin American studies at Vanderbilt, Tulane, and Texas, and African studies at Northwestern.
  - 42 David Brokensha and Michael Crowder (eds.), *Africa in the Wider World: The Interrelationship of Area and Comparative Studies*, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1967), 4. See also Edward H. Berman, "The Foundations' Role in American

- Foreign Policy: The Case of Africa, post 1945,” in Robert Arnove (ed.), *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism: The Foundations at Home and Abroad* (Boston: G.K.Hall, 1980), 208; and Ellen Lagemann, *The Politics of Knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation, Philanthropy, and Public Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 153–179.
- 43 Personal interview with Edward Blyden III, (Fortworth, Texas, June 3, 2000).
  - 44 Personal interview with Paul Hair, (Liverpool, England, July 21, 2000).
  - 45 Edward H.Berman, “The Foundations’ Role in American Foreign Policy: The Case of Africa, post 1945,” in Robert Arnove (ed.), *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism: The Foundations at Home and Abroad* (Boston: G.K.Hall, 1980), 221–223.
  - 46 Personal correspondence with Arthur Abraham, January 3, 2001.
  - 47 Telephone interview with A.K.Turay, December 14, 2000.
  - 48 John Wilson, (ed.), *Education and Changing West African Culture* (New York: Columbia University, 1963), 115, v.
  - 49 W.W.Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960); and Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (Oxford University Press: New York, 1976 [1895]).
  - 50 Ali A.Mazrui, “The African University as a Multinational Corporation: Problems of Penetration and Dependency,” *Harvard Educational Review*, (Vol 45, No. 2, May 1975), 198–199.
  - 51 John Wilson, (ed.), *Education and Changing West African Culture* (New York: Columbia University, 1963), 116–117.
  - 52 John C.Bock, “Education and Development: A conflict of Meaning,” in Philip Altbach, Robert Arnove, and Gail Kelly, (eds.), *Comparative Education* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1982), 78.
  - 53 Abner Cohen, *The Politics of Elite Culture*, 138.
  - 54 For example, the *Africana Research Bulletin* (Vol. III, No. 3, April 1973) published by the Institute of African Studies at FBC dedicated an issue to review that state of African Studies at FBC. The issue contained four articles: “Developments in the Study of African Literature” by Eldred Jones, “The Study of African History: The Sierra Leone Scene” by John Peterson, “The Study of African Religions” by Edward Fashole-Luke, and “Social Effects of Industrialization and Urbanization in Sierra Leone” by M.B.Dumbuya.
  - 55 Davidson Nicol had been appointed principal of FBC a year prior to Sierra Leone’s independence.
  - 56 Robert H.Bates, V.Y.Mudimbe, and Jean O’ Barr (eds.), *Africa and the Disciplines: The Contributions of Research in Africa to the Social Sciences and Humanities* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1993), xvi.
  - 57 The first lecturer to teach political science at FBC was C.B.McLane from Columbia University followed by Robert S. Jordan from Princeton University in 1966.
  - 58 Christopher Allen, “Sierra Leone,” John Dunn (ed.), *West African States: Failure and Promises* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 196.
  - 59 E.N.Emenyonu, et al, (ed.s), *Education, Culture, and Development in Africa: Proceedings of the first seminar of the PWPA of English speaking West Africa, University of Ife, Nigeria, August 26–27, 1982* (New York: Professors World Peace Academy, 1985), 7–19, 54, 26–27.

- 60 Arthur Abraham, *Cultural Policy in Sierra Leone* (Paris: UNESCO, 1978), 11.
- 61 Magbaily C. Fyle, "Culture and Higher Education: The Sierra Leone Experience," *Educafrica* (Dakar, Senegal: UNESCO), Vol. 2, December 1987, 237.
- 62 Roland Foday Kargbo, *Educational Assistance and School Development in Sierra Leone: Concepts of Foreign Assistance in Education and Their Effects on the development of the School System in Sierra Leone Since Independence (1961)*, (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1991), 35; see also George Roberts, *The Anguish of Third World Independence: The Sierra Leone Experience* (University Press of America, 1982), 56–57.
- 63 Russell T. Odell, "The Development of University Agricultural Education in Sierra Leone 1962–1976," *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 68.
- 64 Earl Conteh-Morgan, *American Foreign Aid and Global Power Projection: The Geopolitics of Resource Allocation* (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1990), 144, 228–234.
- 65 Daniel E. Babatunji Chaytor, *Building Indigenous Capacities for Development in Africa* (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign: African Studies Program Occasional Papers Series, No. 1, 1982), 14.
- 66 Earl Conteh-Morgan, *American Foreign Aid and Global Power Projection*, 16, 73.
- 67 Roland Foday Kargbo, *Educational Assistance and School Development in Sierra Leone*, 213–224.
- 68 Edward H. Berman, "The Role of Foundations, Bilateral, and International Organizations in the Diffusion of the Modern School," 148.
- 69 Daniel E. Babatunji Chaytor, *Building Indigenous Capacities for Development in Africa*, 30.
- 70 See Ajayi Coomber and Christiane Kayser, (ed.s), *Education in Traditional Life: Report on Research Assignments 1987/88* (Freetown: Institute of Adult Education, 1988); and Edward Turay and Christiane Kayser (eds.), *Traditional Education and Training in the Informal Sector* (Freetown: Institute of Adult Education, 1991).
- 71 Daniel E. Babatunji Chaytor, *Building Indigenous Capacities for Development in Africa* (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign: African Studies Program Occasional Papers Series, No. 1, 1982), 33.
- 72 Robert Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy," *The Atlantic Monthly*, (February, 1994), 44–76.

### NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

- 1 Fewzi Borsali, "British Colonial Policy Towards Higher Education in West Africa and the Foundation of the University Institutions 1939–51," Unpublished Dissertation, (University of Aberdeen, 1983), 556–563.
- 2 Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African: A study in the Ecology of Higher Education*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), 215–223. Ashby noted that the Currie Report (1933), the De La Warr Report (1936), the Channon Report (1941), the Asquith Commission (1943), and the Elliot Commission (1945) all recommended that Colonial universities be indigenous institutions relevant to local needs.
- 3 Fewzi Borsali, "British Colonial Policy Towards Higher Education in West Africa," 28–29.

- 4 Harry Sawyerr, "Address of the Principal at the Fourah Bay Congregation, Saturday, November 29, 1969" in *The Fourah Bay College Gazette* (Vol. 5, No. 4, Sept.-Dec., 1969), 20. The ten Commissions were: A.W.Pickard Cambridge 1938, Walter Elliot 1944, Hamilton Fyfe 1947, Greaves 1947, J.Harlow and H.C.Weston 1950, Lightfoot-Boston 1953, John Fulton 1954, Fisher Cassie 1955, Charles Wilson 1959, G. H.J.Daysh 1960.
- 5 Peter Kaim-Caudle, "Review of Economic Changes in Sierra Leone, 1930-55," *The Durham University Journal*, (Vol. L, 1957-58), 40-41.
- 6 Kenneth King, *Pan-Africanism and Education: A study of Race Philanthropy and Education in the Southern United States and East Africa*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 257.
- 7 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 311.
- 8 In 1938, there were thirty-two students attending FBC, thirty-two students attending Achimota, and seventy-three students attending Yaba. Of the thirty-two students attending FBC, sixteen were pursuing coursework for the B.A. degree and of these nine were from Nigeria, two from the Gold Coast, and one from The Gambia. *Fourah Bay College: Report of the Commission appointed in 1938 by the Secretary for the Colonies*, (London: Majesty's Stationary Office, Colonial Office, 1939), 16. For more information see Martin Kilson, "Emergent Elites of Black Africa" in Peter Duignan (ed.) *Colonization in Africa 1870-1960 Vol 2* (Hoover Institution Publication: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 353; and Michael Crowder, *West Africa under Colonial Rule*, (London: Hutchinson University Library for Africa, 1968), 377.
- 9 Fewzi Borsali, "British Colonial Policy Towards Higher Education in West Africa," 99. While there had been one African representative on the Phelps-Stokes Commission of 1922, the next educational commission to include Africans would be the Elliot Commission formed in 1944.
- 10 Cited in Apollos O.Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 108. Today, too, African universities are seeking ways to avoid duplication and share resources regionally.
- 11 *Fourah Bay College: Report of the Commission appointed in 1938 by the Secretary for the Colonies*, (London: Majesty's Stationary Office, Colonial Office, 1939), 25-26.
- 12 Apollos O.Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 149-151.
- 13 J.F.Ade Ajayi, et al., *The African Experience with Higher Education*, 47, 68.
- 14 Michael Crowder, *West Africa under Colonial Rule* (London: Hutchinson University Library for Africa, 1968), 386.
- 15 *Fourah Bay College: Report of the Commission appointed in 1938 by the Secretary for the Colonies*, 6, 11.
- 16 *Fourah Bay College: Report of the Commission appointed in 1938 by the Secretary for the Colonies*, 5, 19.
- 17 C.P.Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History*, 11.
- 18 Heath Clarke, former Director of Education in Nigeria, cited in *Fourah Bay College Annual Report* (Segbwema: Bunumbu Press, 1940).
- 19 L.Proudfoot and C.Cole, "Conditions of Extra-Mural Work in Sierra Leone," *Adult Education* (Vol. XXXI, No. 4, 1959), 286. Such tension would be exploited by future president Siaka Stevens.

- 20 Records of the Durham University Registrar file opened 15–10–41 and closed 25–6–47, Letter from E.A.H. Roberts to the Secretary of the Examinations Board at Durham, April 17, 1941.
- 21 Mabang was founded in 1909 by a wealthy Sierra Leonean who saw a need to promote agricultural science.
- 22 The first female graduate of the College was Lati C.Hyde (1934–38).
- 23 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 272.
- 24 C.P.Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History*, 11–12.
- 25 *Fourah Bay College: Report of the Commission appointed in 1938 by the Secretary for the Colonies*, 25.
- 26 Cited in Christian E.Anderson and Earl Dewitt Baker, *Educational Development in Sierra Leone* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Malloy Lithoprinting, Inc., 1969), 108; see also D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 255.
- 27 *Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa, 1944–45*, (Cmd. 6655) [Elliot Report].
- 28 C.P.Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History*, 20.
- 29 James F.Duff, “Three Months in British West Africa,” *The Durham University Journal* (Vol. XXXVII, No.1, December 1944), 6.
- 30 Akintola Wyse, *The Krio of Sierra Leone: An Interpretive History*, (London: C. Hurst & Co., 1989), 8.
- 31 James F.Duff, “Three Months in British West Africa,” *The Durham University Journal* (Vol. XXXVII, No. 1, December 1944), 6.
- 32 Duff III/B/136/4–5, (Durham University Archives). Unpublished notes for and texts of talks given by Sir James Fitzjames Duff concerning his visit to West Africa, 15 January—10 April, 1944 as a member of the Elliot Commission on Higher education in West Africa.
- 33 N.A.Cox-George, “The Development of the Social Sciences,” *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 29.
- 34 Toyin Falola, *Nationalism and African Intellectuals* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2001), 196, 228. Dike’s Ph.D. thesis, “Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, 1830–1885,” (1956) pioneered the study of African economic and political history.
- 35 Chieka Ifemesia, *Issues in African Studies and National Education: Selected Works of Kenneth Onwuka Dike* (Unugu: Snaap Press, 1988), 200.
- 36 Apollos O.Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 161. They were K. Arkuh Korsah of the Gold Coast (later to serve as Chief Justice of Ghana), E.H.Taylor-Cummings of Sierra Leone, and J.J.Ransome-Kuti of Nigeria. Other notable members of the Commission included the chair Walter Elliot, previously Rector of Aberdeen University; H.J.Channon, Professor of Chemistry at Liverpool University who previously headed the 1941 Channon Advisory Committee on Higher Education in the Colonies; Sir Geoffrey Evans, Acting-Director of the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew; Julian Huxley, noted biologist and writer; Arthur Creech Jones, a Labour Party MP, B.Mouat Jones, the Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University and former member of the De La Warr Committee which had reported on higher education in East Africa in 1937; and Margaret Read, an anthropologist and future Head of the Colonial Department at the University of London’s Institute of Education. See Clive Whitehead, “The Two-way Pull and the Establishment of

- University Education in British West Africa,” *History of Education*, (Vol. 16, No. 2, 1987), 120.
- 37 C.P.Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History*, 20.
  - 38 Clive Whitehead, “The Two-way Pull and the Establishment of University Education in British West Africa,” *History of Education*, (Vol. 16, No.2, 1987), 121, 132.
  - 39 Fewzi Borsali, “British Colonial Policy Towards Higher Education in West Africa,” 562.
  - 40 Apollos O.Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 188.
  - 41 C.P.Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History*, 20.
  - 42 Clive Whitehead, “The Two-way Pull and the Establishment of University Education in British West Africa,” *History of Education*, (Vol. 16, No.2, 1987), 122, 124.
  - 43 J.E.Ade Ajayi, et al., *The African Experience with Higher Education*, 57–58.
  - 44 Letter from Hubert Stevenson, Governor of Sierra Leone to the Colonial Secretary, 14 January 1946 (Accra: Public Records and Archives Administration, RG3/1/240), 114.
  - 45 Comments on the Despatch of the Secretary of state for the Colonies regarding the Report of the Elliot Commission on Higher Education in West Africa by the Tutorial Staff of Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone (Accra: Public Records and Archives Administration, RG3/1/240), 116–118.
  - 46 Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Education Held at the legislative Council Chamber on Wednesday, 5 December 1945 (Accra: Public Records and Archives Administration, RG3/1/240), 118–121.
  - 47 Mary Magdelene Brown, *A Descriptive List of the Records Relating to the Higher Education Division of the Ministry of Education in the Native Administration of Ghana, 1931–1987*, (Accra: Public Records and Archives Administration Department, September, 1994) 30.
  - 48 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 313.
  - 49 C.P.Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History*, 21.
  - 50 Apollos O.Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 188.
  - 51 Fewzi Borsali, “British Colonial Policy Towards Higher Education in West Africa,” 369–370.
  - 52 CO. 554/145/33599/6/1948. Part 2. R. Easmon to Creech-Jones memo of Fourah Bay College Fund Committee April 29, 1948. Cited in Fewzi Borsali, “British Colonial Policy Towards Higher Education in West Africa,” 371.
  - 53 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 314.
  - 54 Fewzi Borsali, “British Colonial Policy Towards Higher Education in West Africa,” 377.
  - 55 C.P.Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History*. 22.
  - 56 *Secretary of State’s Despatch of 16 August, 1947 and Inter-University Council Memorandum on Higher Education in West Africa*, (Accra: Public Records and Archives Administration, RG3/1/367), 34–46.
  - 57 Prior to World War II, FBC had been primarily staffed by Sierra Leoneans.
  - 58 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 315.
  - 59 Fewzi Borsali, “British Colonial Policy Towards Higher Education in West Africa,” 359.
  - 60 *Ibid*, 376.

- 61 PRO/CO/1045/777, Note on the Conversation on the Position of Fourah Bay College, October 29, 1945. Comments of Mr. Hooper, CMS Africa Secretary.
- 62 "Recorded Interview with the Late Miss L.M.Dolphin," in *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 24
- 63 C.D.Hotobah-During, "Fourah Bay College in the Limelight Again," *Sierra Leone Daily Mail* (April 15, 1946).
- 64 Fewzi Borsali, "British Colonial Policy Towards Higher Education in West Africa," 559.
- 65 Ibid, 170–173.
- 66 John Hatch, "A Note on English Speaking Africa," in Rene Dumont, *False Start in Africa* (Andre Deutsch, 1969), 298. Following independence, loans allocated to ex-British colonies continued to pay compensation and pensions to British ex-colonial servants.
- 67 CO. 554/145/33599/6/1948. Discussion with Hooper, Grace, Robinson and Secr. Of State 29.12.1947. Cited in Fewzi Borsali, "British Colonial Policy Towards Higher Education in West Africa," 373.
- 68 *The Fourah Bay* (New Series), Vol. II, No. 1, Michaelmas Term, 1948.
- 69 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 317–318.
- 70 As during the 1908–1911 financial crisis, when a distinction was made between the Divinity-side and University-side of FBC. At that time, the CMS supported the divinity-side of the college's development.
- 71 Fewzi Borsali, "British Colonial Policy Towards Higher Education in West Africa," 501–504. The new College Council had twenty-two members: seven missionary representatives (two from the CMS, two from the Methodist Missionary Society (MMS), two from the Fellowship of United Brethren (FUB)., one from the Roman Catholic Mission (RCM), one representative from the colony, two from the Protectorate, one from the Chamber of Commerce, one from the Muslim Community, one from the Gambia, two secondary school principals, one from the Old Students Union, one from the Fourah Bay Fund Committee, one of FBC's African Staff, the Principal, and three seats for the colonial government.
- 72 Fewzi Borsali, "British Colonial Policy Towards Higher Education in West Africa," 505.
- 73 CO 554/145/33599/6/1948. Part 3. Duff to Cohen, July 30, 1948. Cited in Fewzi Borsali, "British Colonial Policy Towards Higher Education in West Africa," 383.
- 74 CO 554/145/33599/6/1948. Part 3. Confidential, Ramage to A.B. Cohen, Assistant Under-Secretary of State, July 29, 1948. And Fyfe to Cox July 26, 1948. Cited in Fewzi Borsali, "British Colonial Policy Towards Higher Education in West Africa," 388.
- 75 Personal Interview with Paul Hair, (Liverpool, England, July 21, 2000).
- 76 D.L.Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, 328.
- 77 The Ordinance further recommended that the Council "endeavor to preserve the Christian traditions of the College." Christian E. Anderson and Earl Dewitt Baker, *Educational Development in Sierra Leone* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Malloy Lithoprinting, Inc., 1969), 148.
- 78 Thomas Sylvester Johnson, "New Life For Old: Congregation sermon delivered on January 20, 1953" *Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion* (Vol. 8, No.2, Dec. 1966), 40–44. Bishop Johnson's association with FBC exceeded 59 years. See also Harry



- Sawyers, "Address of the Principal at the Fourah Bay Congregation, Saturday, November 29, 1969" *The Fourah Bay College Gazette* (Vol. 5, No. 4, Sept.—Dec., 1969), 20.
- 79 C.L. Horstead, "Enlarged Fourah Bay College Thanks-giving Sermon, *The Sierra Leone Outlook* (Vol. XLI, No.6, July 1950), 17–18. Horstead was the first principal appointed to FBC from Durham University.
- 80 C.P.Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History*, 22.
- 81 Advisory Committee for Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology of Fourah Bay College held on 17th July 1951 in Durham Castle, and Personal Note by Mr. Dain on FBC Development Plan, 12–7–51, and Summary of Alternative Modifications, 6–1–51, (Central Files, Durham University, opened 5–6–1951 closed 16–10–1951).
- 82 PRO/CO/554/1/05 *Boston Commission of Inquiry into the Financial Affairs of the Fourah Bay College during the year 1952*, 5–6. According to the Commission a total of 44,492 pounds of CD&W funds were spent at FBC between 1950–52. Members of the Commission included H.J.Lightfoot Boston, E.N.Jones (Lamina Sankoh), J.Newman, and L.G.Beckley. E.N.Jones changed his name to Lamina Sankoh in the twenties in protest against white racism, not to win sympathy from the Protectorate people. See Akintola Wyse, *H.C.Bankole-Bright and Politics in Colonial Sierra Leone, 1919–1958* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 142. Sir Henry Lightfoot Boston was the 1<sup>st</sup> Sierra Leonean Governor-General (1962–69).
- 83 "The Finances of Fourah Bay," *West Africa*, May 1, 1954, 388.
- 84 PRO/CO/554/1/05 *Letter to Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State, from the Acting Governor of Sierra Leone, August 25, 1954*. See also PRO/CO/554/1/05 *Boston Commission of Inquiry into the Financial Affairs of the Fourah Bay College during the year 1952*, 9. The Commission explicitly found that "the Bursar and the Principal were responsible for the over-spending on the recurrent side of the College's affairs in that they allowed these misleading statements to be submitted to the Finance and General Purposes Committee." An article titled "The Finances of Fourah Bay," *West Africa* (May 1, 1954) reported that: "It had not been possible from the records to establish that all stores paid for were actually received."
- 85 Personal interview with Walter Taylor, (Durham, England, July 27, 2000). Dain had never been well-liked at FBC as it was felt that he did not possess adequate academic credentials to lead the institution.
- 86 "Visit of Mr. F.R.Dain, Principal of Fourah Bay College and Dr. F.H. Hiliard, Vice-Principal and Head of the University Department, 6th and 7th September, 1950," (Central Files, Durham University, opened 23–1–1950 closed 2–11–1950).
- 87 Colonial Office, Annual Report: Sierra Leone, 1955, 51.
- 88 Noah Abraham Cox-George, *The Development of the Social Sciences in FBC*, (Freetown: Atlantic Printers, Lmtd., 1977), 14.
- 89 Colonial Office, *Annual Reports: Sierra Leone, 1948–58*; Martin Kilson, "Sierra Leone" in Helen Kitchen (ed.), *The Educated African*, (New York: Praeger, 1962), 396; and Noah Abraham Cox-George, *The Development of the Social Sciences in FBC*, (Freetown: Atlantic Printers, Lmtd, 1977), 7.
- 90 *Fourah Bay College Visitation Report*, (Sierra Leone, Government Printing Office, 1959), 3.
- 91 Dwaine Marvick, "African University Students: A Presumptive Elite," 486.

- 92 K. Gyasi-Twum, "Sierra Leone Students Leaving Fourah Bay College Between 1944 and 1956," *Sierra Leone Studies: The Journal of the Sierra Leone Society* (New Series, No. 10, June 1958), 85–98.
- 93 Akintola J.G., Wyse, *The Krio of Sierra Leone: An Interpretive History*, (London: C. Hurst & Co., 1989), 33. Wyse titled a chapter in this work "The Benefits of Western Civilisation: 'Og no go Ingran fo natin.'"
- 94 John Hargreaves, "The Idea of a Colonial University," *African Affairs* (Vol. 72, Issue 286, 1973), 26–27, 33.
- 95 L.Proudfoot and C. Cole, "Conditions of Extra-Mural Work in Sierra Leone," *Adult Education* (Vol. XXXI, No. 4, 1959), 291.
- 96 John Hargreaves, "The Idea of a Colonial University," *African Affairs* (Vol. 72, Issue 286, 1973), 35.
- 97 *Ibid*, 35.
- 98 J.F.Ade Ajayi, et al., *The African Experience with Higher Education*, 69–70.
- 99 Personal interview with Paul Hair, (Liverpool, England, July 21, 2000).
- 100 Noah Abraham Cox-George, *The Development of the Social Sciences in FBC*, (Freetown: Atlantic Printers, Lmted., 1977), 14–15.
- 101 J.J.Grant, "Report of Fourah Bay College, *The Sierra Leone Outlook* (Vol. 48, No. 2, March-April 1958), 8–13. See Also "What Sort of College Do You Want," *Sierra Leone Daily Mail* (January 25, 1958), 10–11.
- 102 John Hatch, "A Note on English Speaking Africa," in Rene Dumont, *False Start in Africa* (Andre Deutsch, 1969), 297.
- 103 Christian Cole, "Community Development in the Rural Areas," *The University's Role in Community Development: A Report on the Workshop Conference held at Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone and International Workcamps organized in Ghana, June 28 to July 22, 1959* (Geneva: World University Service, 1959), 13–14
- 104 L.Proudfoot and C.Cole, "Conditions of Extra-Mural Work in Sierra Leone," *Adult Education* (Vol. XXXI, No. 4, 1959), 282.
- 105 "The Role of the Educated Man and Woman in Underdeveloped Societies," *The University's Role in Community Development: A Report on the Workshop Conference held at Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone and International Workcamps organized in Ghana, June 28 to July 22, 1959* (Geneva: World University Service, 1959), 21–23.
- 106 *Fourah Bay College Visitation Report* (Freetown: Sierra Leone Government Printer, 1959), 29.
- 107 *Report of the Triennial Advisory committee appointed to consider the Estimates of Fourah Bay College and the University College of Sierra Leone for the period 1st September 1961 to 31st August 1964* (Sierra Leone, Government Printer, August, 1960), 3.
- 108 Harry Sawyerr, "Theology at Fourah Bay College," *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 5.
- 109 Arthur T.Porter, "The Relevance of Extra-Mural Studies," *The Fourah Bay* (Vol. 5, 1953), p. 2–3. Porter received his Ph.D. from Boston University and was influenced by American educational trends. As we will see in the next chapter, American influences on the development of African Studies were significant.
- 110 Abner Cohen, *The Politics of Elite Culture: Explorations in the Dramaturgy of Power in a Modern African Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982),

- 115, 200–201; see also Earl Conteh-Morgan and Mac Dixon-Fyle, *Sierra Leone at the End of the Twentieth Century*, (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 60–68.
- 111 C.P.Foray, *Historical Dictionary of Sierra Leone* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1977), 99. Sankoh died in 1953. Foray referred to Sankoh as having “died—a martyr for the cause of national unity.”
- 112 L.Proudfoot and C.Cole, “Conditions of Extra-Mural Work in Sierra Leone,” *Adult Education* (Vol. XXXI, No. 4, 1959), 286.
- 113 R.Sarif Easmon, “Is Sierra Leone Ready for Independence,” *Sierra Leone Daily Mail* (January 21, 1958), 3; and “Our Politicians are Toying with Our Future,” *Sierra Leone Daily Mail* (January 22, 1958), 3; and “Rank Dishonesty in Some Leaders,” *Sierra Leone Daily Mail* (January 23, 1958), 3.
- 114 Forty years later, a Sierra Leonean scholar serving with UNESCO would note that “a unified and culture-sensitive structure of government needs to be urgently found.” See Clifford N.Fyle, *Education for Africa in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Breda: UNESCO, July 1993), 32.
- 115 Cyril P.Foray, *Historical Dictionary of Sierra Leone* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1977), 134. See also L.Tanssig, “Milton Margai and Adult Education in Sierra Leone,” (*Africana Research Bulletin*, Vol. VIII, No. 2 & 3, 1978), 59. Tanssig wrote that “he became the first protectorate student to complete his studies at FBC and subsequently received a Bachelor of Medicine from King’s College Newcastle and an M.A. from Durham University.” As a medical doctor, Margai had taken a particular interest introducing modern medicine to the traditional Bundu women’s society. See Sir Milton Margai, “Welfare Work in a Secret Society,” *African Affairs*, (Vol. 48, No. 3, 1948), 223–233. Other protectorate students such as James “Holy” Johnson had graduated from FBC during the early years of the College’s existence. Tuboku-Metzger noted: “Princes from Sherbro, Yongro, Gallinas and all parts were to be met in the school [Sierra Leone Grammar School]. Boys from the Gambia, Liberia, Cape Coast, Lagos, Abeokuta, Fernando Po, Cameroons, Bonny, Brass, Opobo and other places.” In A.E.Tuboku-Metzger, *Historical Sketch of the Sierra Leone Grammar School, 1845–1935*, (Freetown: Daily Guardian Press, 1935), 22. Many Sierra Leone Grammar School graduates from the protectorate areas continued their education at FBC.
- 116 Alpha M.Lavalie, “The SLPP in Opposition: A Political History of the Sierra Leone Peoples Party 1968–1978,” *Africana Research Bulletin* (Vol XII, No. 3, June 1983), 127.
- 117 John Hatch, “Election without Issues,” *New Statesman* (June 8, 1962), 820.
- 118 Cream Wright, “Cultural and Political Influences on the Development of Education in Sierra Leone,” Noel Entwistle, ed., *Handbook of Educational Ideas and Practices*, (London: Routledge, 1990), 185.
- 119 Martin Kilson, “The Emergent Elites of Black Africa, 1900 to 1960,” in Peter Duignan, *Colonialism in Africa 1870–1960: Volume 2* (New York: Hoover Institution Publications, 1970), 54; see also Eliphaz G. Mukonoweshuro, *Colonialism, Class Formation and Underdevelopment in Sierra Leone*, 219–221, 227, 147–151.
- 120 John Hatch, “Election without Issues,” *New Statesman* (June 8, 1962), 820.
- 121 Personal Interview with Paul Hair, (Liverpool, England, July 21, 2000).
- 122 Adell Patton, *Physicians, Colonial Racism, and Diaspora in West Africa*, 233.

- 123 Personal Interview with David Dalby, (Hendy Gwyn, Wales, July 15, 2000). Dalby is currently working on the Linguasphere Project mapping the languages of the world contextualizing linguistic and geographic features, a project he first began in Sierra Leone. See also Rupert Emerson and Martin Kilson (eds.), *The Political Awakening of Africa* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965), 2–3, 13. From 1956 to 1960 more than twenty African states achieved their sovereign independence and membership in the United Nations. “If colonialism took over speedily, the sweep into independence of almost all the African colonies has come even more rapidly.” Edward Blyden III, James S. Coleman, and Martin Kilson were all students of Rupert Emerson at Harvard. Emerson had been a student of Harold Laski’s at the London school of economics. Interview with Edward Blyden III, (Fortworth, Texas, June 3, 2000).
- 124 R.K. Gardiner, *Citizenship in an Emergent Nation: A Lecture Delivered before Members of an Extra-Mural Residential Course at Oshogbo, Nigeria, On January 12, 1953* reprinted in Rupert Emerson and Martin Kilson (eds.), *The Political Awakening of Africa* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965), 106–110.
- 125 Cream Wright, “Cultural and Political Influences on the Development of Education in Sierra Leone,” Noel Entwistle, ed., *Handbook of Educational Ideas and Practices*, (London: Routledge, 1990), 196.
- 126 Christopher Fyfe, “A Sierra Leone Bicentenary,” Murray Last and Paul Richards (ed.s), *Sierra Leone, 1787–1987 Two Centuries of Intellectual Life*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 417–419.
- 127 Earl Conteh-Morgan and Mac Dixon-Fyle, *Sierra Leone at the End of the Twentieth Century*, (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 67.
- 128 Personal interview with A.K. Turay, December 14, 2000.
- 129 Dwaine Marvick, “African University Students: A Presumptive Elite,” in James Coleman, (ed.), *Education and Political Development* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 484.
- 130 A.P. Kup, “The Development of the Humanities—History,” *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 80–81.
- 131 Henry S. Wilson, *Origins of West African Nationalism* (London: Macmillan, 1969).
- 132 Personal correspondence with John Hargreaves, August 24, 2000.
- 133 *50 Years of Open Doors* (New York: Institute of International Education, 2000).
- 134 Dwaine Marvick, “African University Students: A Presumptive Elite,” 482; and Martin Kilson, “Sierra Leone” in Helen Kitchen (ed.), *The Educated African* (New York: Praeger, 1962), 396.
- 135 Peter Kaim-Caudle, “A Political Economist’s Recollections,” *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 39. Scholarship policy remained a politically thorny issue and would be revisited in the 1960s, 70s, and 80s. See also Harry Sawyerr, “The Role of a University of Sierra Leone—A Projection,” *Sierra Leone Journal of Education* (Sierra Leone: Ministry of Education, 1966); and Arthur T. Porter, *Sierra Leone Education Review: All Our Future* (Freetown: University of Sierra Leone, 1976); and *Kutubu Commission of Inquiry* (Freetown: Government of Sierra Leone, 1984).

- 136 International education, today, represents one of the largest income generating activities of a number of wealthier leading nations such as Australia, United States, and Great Britain.
- 137 Fourah Bay College, *Annual Report*, (Central Files, Durham University, opened 13–2–57, closed 26–5–59).
- 138 *Fourah Bay College Visitation Report* (Freetown: Sierra Leone Government Printer, 1959), 1, 8, 21, 26.
- 139 William Henry Fitzjohn, *Ambassador of Christ and Caesar* (Ibadan: Daystar Press, 1975), 95. Fitzjohn, while serving as the Sierra Leonean Ambassador to the United States, was involved in a highly publicized racial incident in 1961. While traveling from Washington to the University of Pittsburgh to deliver a lecture on “The United Nations and Africa,” he was refused service at a Howard Johnson restaurant in Hagerstown, PA.
- 140 Kalil Brima Sannoh, “An Evaluation of Teacher Training Programs for Secondary School Teachers at Fourah Bay College, Njala University College, and Milton Margai Teachers College in Sierra Leone,” Unpublished dissertation, (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1974), 34.
- 141 Harry Sawyerr, “Theology at Fourah Bay College,” *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 3.
- 142 Christopher Fyfe, unpublished “brief biography of Davidson Nicol,” (2000) in the possession of the author. Nicol later served as Vice-President of the CMS, London; Chair, West African Exams Council; Sierra Leone Ambassador to the United Nations (1969); Chairman of the United Nations Security Council (1970–71); Sierra Leone High Commissioner to London (1971); United Nations Under-Secretary-General (1972); and director of the United Nations Institute for Training and Development.
- 143 Personal interview with Edward Blyden III, (Fortworth, Texas, June 3, 2000).
- 144 Christopher Fyfe, unpublished “brief biography of Davidson Nicol,” (2000).
- 145 Davidson Nicol, *Africa—A Subjective View* (London: Longman’s, Green, and Co. Ltd., 1964), vi.
- 146 *Ibid*, 6.
- 147 Davidson Nicol, “Return to West Africa,” Langston Hughes, *An African Treasury* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1960), 1–10.
- 148 Davidson Nicol, *Africa—A Subjective View*, 10.
- 149 *Ibid*, 15–16, 38.
- 150 “Expansion Plans at Fourah Bay,” *West Africa* (March 3, 1962), 233.
- 151 July noted similarly high costs for building projects, scholarships, and expatriate travel at Legon in Ghana. Robert July, *An African Voice: The Role of the Humanities in African Independence*, (Duke University Press: Durham, 1987), 162.
- 152 *Report of the Triennial Advisory committee appointed to consider the Estimates of Fourah Bay College and the University College of Sierra Leone for the period 1st September 1961 to 31st August 1964* (Sierra Leone, Government Printer, August, 1960), 4, 11, 16.
- 153 Davidson Nicol, *Africa—A Subjective View* (London: Longman’s, Green, and Co. Ltd., 1964), 40.
- 154 J.F.Ajayi, et al, *The African Experience with Higher Education*, 74, 95.

- 155 “University Teacher Deported,” *West Africa* (September 1, 1962), 961; also *West Africa* (December 1, 1962), 1323; and *West Africa* (December 8, 1962), 1367.
- 156 Cited in Richard Sklar (ed.), *Nationalism and Development in Africa: Selected Essays of James Smoot Coleman* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 264. Both of these cases will be discussed in [Chapter Seven](#). The post-independence concept of the “Scramble out of Africa,” intended as a satirical commentary on the “Scramble for Africa,” assumed a very different meaning through the exodus of university-educated Africans as part of the “Brain Drain” phenomenon. While most Sierra Leoneans had returned home after their studies abroad under colonialism, as the newly independent African governments became increasingly authoritarian, students and scholars became less likely to return.
- 157 J.F.Ajayi, et al, *The African Experience with Higher Education*, 97.

### NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

- 1 Koso Thomas, “Higher Education and the Developing Society,” *Sierra Leone Journal of Education* (Vol. 3, No.1, 1970), 9–12.
- 2 Personal interview with Paul Hair, (Liverpool, England, July 21, 2000). Hair assisted his American friend and colleague Bob Armstrong to organize the conference. Hair noted: “The Ford Foundation had just moved into African Studies and was handing out money right, left, and center. So the old British monopoly, SOAS [School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London] for instance, was swept away by the new American monopoly.”
- 3 J.F.Ade Ajayi, *The American Factor in the Development of Higher Education in Africa* (Los Angeles: University of California African Studies Center, 1988), 11.
- 4 Edward H.Berman, *The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy: The Ideology of Philanthropy*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), 68.
- 5 Personal interview with Edward Blyden III, (Fortworth, Texas, June 3, 2000).
- 6 Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs Annual Country Report (Freetown: American Embassy, 1962), (Fayetteville, Arkansas: Fulbright Papers, Box 320, Folder 1).
- 7 George Roberts, *The Anguish of Third World Independence: The Sierra Leone Experience* (University Press of America, 1982), 53–73.
- 8 “164m. Development Plan,” *West Africa* (June 23, 1962), 681. In 1962, one leone was approximately equivalent to a dollar and a half.
- 9 Edward H.Berman, “The Foundations’ Role in American Foreign Policy: The Case of Africa, post 1945,” in Robert Arnove (ed.), *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism: The Foundations at Home and Abroad* (Boston: G.K.Hall, 1980), 204.
- 10 Peter Kaim-Caudle, “Sierra Leone—Hopes and Prospects,” *The Durham University Journal* (Vol. LIV, 1961–62), 21–31.
- 11 Cited in “Sierra Leone’s University,” *West Africa*, October 22, 1966, 1203.
- 12 Educational and Cultural Exchange: Annual Report (Freetown: American Embassy, September 10, 1968), (Fayetteville, Arkansas: Fulbright Papers, Box 320, Folder 1); and Jack Woddis, *An Introduction to Neo-Colonialism* (London:

- Lawrence & Wishart, 1967), 74. Most of the early Peace Corps volunteers served as teachers.
- 13 Several surveys related to issues of adjustment have been conducted including C. Juanita Graul, "A Study of Returned Peace Corps Volunteers—1961 to 1995," (Unpublished Masters Thesis, Antioch University, 1997); E.A. Winslow, *A Survey of Returned Peace Corps Volunteers as of January 1977* (Washington, DC: ACTION/Peace Corps, 1977); *A Survey of Returned Peace Corps Volunteers* (New York: Louis Harris and Associates, 1969).
  - 14 Arthur T. Porter, *Sierra Leone Education Review: All Our Future* (Freetown: University of Sierra Leone, 1976), 48–49.
  - 15 Kalil Brima Sannoh, "An Evaluation of Teacher Training Programs for Secondary School Teachers at Fourah Bay College, Njala University College, and Milton Margai Teachers College in Sierra Leone," Unpublished dissertation, (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1974), 6.
  - 16 Russell T. Odell, "The Development of University Agricultural Education in Sierra Leone 1962–1976," *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 66–68.
  - 17 Edward R. Rhodes, "A Sketch of The Development of Agricultural Education in Sierra Leone 1962–1976," *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 70–73.
  - 18 C.P. Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History*, 25–26.
  - 19 *Ibid*, 25.
  - 20 "Sierra Leone's University," *West Africa* (October 22, 1966), 1203. Nearly one million leones was spent on housing for the African staff at FBC. See *Sierra Leone Government Financial Report for the period July 1968 to June 1969* (Freetown: Government Printer, 1969), 83–85.
  - 21 "Requirements of Njala University College for Meeting Regional Needs in Agricultural Education and in the Related Sciences: 1968–1974," (Kalamazoo College Archives: International Program Files).
  - 22 Victor King, "University and Higher Education in Sierra Leone," *Teaching Today* (No.2, January, 1972), 34–43.
  - 23 *Higher Education in Sierra Leone* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1968), 1–2.
  - 24 *Ibid*, 7–8.
  - 25 *Ibid*, 10.
  - 26 See Ann Seidman, "Foreign Enterprise in Africa Today," in Christopher Allen (ed.), *African Perspectives* (Cambridge: University Press, 1970), 257–259.
  - 27 Davidson Nicol, "West Africa's First Institution of Higher Education," *Sierra Leone Journal of Education*, (Sierra Leone: Ministry of Education, 1966), 10.
  - 28 *Ibid*, 10. The College of Medicine and Allied Health Sciences did not actually come into being until 1987.
  - 29 John Peterson, "A Return to Sierra Leone," *Kalamazoo College Review* (Vol. XXIX, No.1, Spring 1967), 21–24.
  - 30 C.P. Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History*, 26.
  - 31 Abner Cohen, *The Politics of Elite Culture: Explorations in the Dramaturgy of Power in a Modern African Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 204.

- 32 Davidson Nicol, *Africa—A Subjective View* (London: Longman's, Green, and Co. Ltd., 1964), 47, 55.
- 33 Harry Sawyerr, "Fourah Bay College," Yesufu, T.M. (ed.), *Creating the African University: Emerging Issues in the 1970's*, (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1973), 200–201.
- 34 Harry Sawyerr, "The Role of a University of Sierra Leone—A Projection," *Sierra Leone Journal of Education* (Sierra Leone: Ministry of Education, 1966), 11–16.
- 35 Harry Sawyerr, "The Role of a University of Sierra Leone—A Projection," 14. English, history and theology were the strongest academic departments at FBC.
- 36 Robert July, *An African Voice: The Role of the Humanities in African Independence* (Duke University Press: Durham, 1987), 179. July particularly noted J.F. A.Ajayi's opposition to special African Studies institutes.
- 37 Christopher Fyfe, "The Emergence and Evolution of African Studies in the United Kingdom," in William G.Martin and Michael O.West (eds.), *Out of One, Many Africas* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 54–61.
- 38 David Brokensha and Michael Crowder (eds.), *Africa in the Wider World: The Interrelationship of Area and Comparative Studies*, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1967), 1–7.
- 39 Arthur Porter, "History," David Brokensha and Michael Crowder (eds.), *Africa in the Wider World: The Interrelationship of Area and Comparative Studies*, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1967), 101.
- 40 David Carney, "Economics," David Brokensha and Michael Crowder (eds.), *Africa in the Wider World: The Interrelationship of Area and Comparative Studies*, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1967), 128.
- 41 *Ibid*, 130.
- 42 PRO/OD/17/126: Dunnill to Thornton, January 3, 1963.
- 43 PRO/OD/17/126: Nicol to Thornton, October 16, 1963. In 1960, FBC included among its graduates Milton Margai, Prime Minister of Sierra Leone; Sir Henry Lightfoot Boston, Governor-General of Sierra Leone; Arku Korsah, Governor-General of Ghana; the Chief Justices of both Sierra Leone and Ghana; Victor Adolphus Tettey, Deputy Director of Education of Ghana; the Principal of the University College Ibadan; the Bishop of Lagos and a host of other civil servants, headmasters, church dignitaries, physicians and politicians.
- 44 "Britain Gives Le40,000 to Fourah Bay College," *Sierra Leone Daily Mail* (October 13, 1964).
- 45 Davidson Nicol, *Africa—A Subjective View*, 47.
- 46 *Africana Research Bulletin*, (Vol. 1, No.2, January 1971), 50–56; (Vol. V, No.3, April 1975), 94–96; (Vol. VII, No. 3, June 1977), 65–69; and (Vol. IX, No.3, March 1979), 85–87. In addition, the same journal provides extensive lists of visiting lecturers.
- 47 *Bulletin of the African Studies Association of the United Kingdom*, (No.8, July 1966), 13–15.
- 48 *Africana Research Bulletin*, (Vol. 1, No.3, April 1971), 51–53.
- 49 Post Report from Sierra Leone, (Freetown: American Embassy, July 20, 1961); Annual Report on the Educational Exchange Program (Freetown: American Embassy, October 17, 1961); and Foreign Lecturers and Research Scholars (no date), Fayetteville, Arkansas: Fulbright Papers, Box 320, Folder 1. The 1945 Fulbright Agreement set aside \$50,000,000 of the \$650,000,000 realized from the



- sale of United States surplus property in Great Britain for use by advanced students from the British colonies. See PRO/CO 987/13: *Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies: Fulbright Agreement*. FBC's application to participate in the Fulbright program was denied in 1950 but by 1960 eighteen Sierra Leoneans had received Fulbright grants. See Fewzi Borsali, "British Colonial Policy Towards Higher Education in West Africa," 510; and U.S. Embassy Post Report from Sierra Leone, July 20, 1961, (Fayetteville, Arkansas: Fulbright Papers, Box 320, Folder 1.
- 50 See Fulbright Papers, Fayetteville, Arkansas.
- 51 *Bulletin of the African Studies Association of the United Kingdom* (No.8, July 1966), 13.
- 52 Davidson Nicol, *Africa—A Subjective View*, 52–53, 58, 66.
- 53 Toyin Falola, *Nationalism and African Intellectuals* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2001), 228–237. Kenneth Onwuka Dike headed the history department at the University of Ibadan in 1954 and later became the first principal and Vice-Chancellor. He also helped establish the National Archives of Nigeria and served as its first director as well as president of the Historical Society of Nigeria.
- 54 Robert July, *An African Voice: The Role of the Humanities in African Independence* (Duke University Press: Durham, 1987), 129.
- 55 Abner Cohen, *The Politics of Elite Culture*, 138.
- 56 Christopher Fyfe left a job as a teacher in England to become Government Archivist in Sierra Leone in 1950. According to Fyfe, the Sierra Leone Public Record Archives were in total state of disarray. Fyfe had a two year appointment. He spent the first six months organizing the material and the next eighteen months reading it. Although never officially on staff at FBC, his academic career was catapulted by the research he did. By 1956, Fyfe had completed about a hundred thousand words, when Kenneth Dike's *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta* was published and Fyfe decided to rewrite his yet unpublished *A History of Sierra Leone*. Personal interview with Christopher Fyfe, (SOAS, London, July 31, 2000). Kenneth Dike also found colonial records "in varying stages of neglect and decay." See Robert July, *An African Voice: The Role of the Humanities in African Independence* (Duke University Press: Durham, 1987), 142.
- 57 John D.Hargreaves, "Sierra Leone Monument," *West Africa* (April 28, 1962), 463.
- 58 Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, (Gregg Revivals, 1993) 1.
- 59 Personal interview with Joe Opala, February 22, 2000.
- 60 Personal correspondence with Magbaily Fyle, December 27, 2000.
- 61 Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone, *Prospectus*, 1969–1970. In the 1981–84 *Prospectus* there were no African History courses required for the general degree except for the foundation course or multidisciplinary survey course on The West African Environment. There was, however, a slightly larger selection of courses at the honours level offered at FBC in the early 1980s as compared with the late 1960s. These included Regional Geography of West Africa, African Political Systems, African Social Systems, Politics of Development, International Relations, African History since the late 18<sup>th</sup> Century, History of Sierra Leone, Pan-Africansim, Nigeria, Slave Trade, 19<sup>th</sup> Century Societies of Southern Africa, Topics in Sierra Leone History, and History of Islam in West Africa. See Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone, *Prospectus*, 1981–82, 1982–83, 1983–84

- 62 Ellen Lagerman, *The Politics of Knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation, Philanthropy, and Public Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 177–178.
- 63 J.F.Ade Ajayi, *The American Factor in the Development of Higher Education in Africa* (Los Angeles: University of California African Studies Center, 1988), 11. Herskovits also founded the African Studies Association in the United States in 1957.
- 64 John Paden, “Social Science and Africa,” in *The African Experience*, John Paden and Edward Soja (ed.s) (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970), 610–611. Jan Vansina’s *De la Tradition Orale* (1961) argued persuasively for the use of oral traditions in African historical work, offering basic elements of a method. Kenneth Dike is credited as a pioneering scholar in the use of oral historiography. See Toyin Falola, *Nationalism and African Intellectuals* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2001), 228–237.
- 65 J.F.Ade Ajayi, *The American Factor in the Development of Higher Education in Africa*, 12; see also Harry Sawyerr, “The Role of a University of Sierra Leone—A Projection,” *Sierra Leone Journal of Education* (Sierra Leone: Ministry of Education, 1966).
- 66 “Grantee Report: John Peterson, 1972,” Fayetteville, Arkansas: Fulbright Papers, Box 137, Folder 35. Peterson received a Fulbright Scholarship to continue his research at FBC from 1971–73. He had also previously received a Great Lakes Colleges Association Fellowship in 1966–67 and a Ford Foundation Foreign Area Training Fellowship (1958–60).
- 67 Sandra Greene, “Nowhere to Hide: Perspectives on an African Foreign-Study Program,” in Patricia Alden, David Loyd, and Ahmed Samatar (eds.), *African Studies and the Undergraduate Curriculum* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994), 244. Fiftythree United States students attended Njala through the Kalamazoo program.
- 68 Gretchen Cassel, “Our Stay in Sierra Leone,” Kalamazoo College Archives, (International Programs Collection, 1962),. The military coup in Togo that accompanied the assassination of that country’s first leader following independence, Sylvannus Olympio, in January of 1963 was the first in a series that abruptly ended the euphoria of the African independence movement. For a comprehensive list of the numerous coups that occurred between 1963–1969 see G.Mennen Williams, *Africa for the Africans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 1969) 40–49.
- 69 News Bureau Document, Kalamazoo College Archives, (International Programs Collection, 1967).
- 70 Sandra Greene, “Nowhere to Hide: Perspectives on an African Foreign-Study Program,” 250.
- 71 For an in-depth analysis of one African-American students’ experience of the Kalamazoo study program at FBC see the play *The Dark Kalamazoo* written by Oni Faida Lampléy (debuted in 1999).
- 72 Kalamazoo College Archives, (International Programs Collection, 1962 & 1987). In 1987, while reflecting on the relative success of Kalamazoo, Joe Fugate observed: “Africa has largely been ignored by American institutions when it comes to study abroad.” See Joe Fugate, “Hallmarks of Successful Programs in the Developing World: Academic Programs in Universities in Sub-Saharan Africa for

- Undergraduates,” Council on International Education Exchange (Occasional Paper, No.22, March, 1987).
- 73 Sandra Greene, “Nowhere to Hide: Perspectives on an African Foreign-Study Program,” 247.
- 74 “Why Theology at Fourah Bay College,” *Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion*, (Vol. 11, 1969), 37–44.
- 75 Edward Fashole-Luke, “The Study of African Religions,” *Africana Research Bulletin* (Vol. III, No. 3, April 1973), 52.
- 76 Harry Sawyerr, “Theology at Fourah Bay College,” *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 5.
- 77 Harry Sawyerr, *God: Ancestor or Creator?* (London: Longman, 1970).
- 78 Robert Wellesley Cole, “The Development of the Humanities—Philosophy,” *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 17.
- 79 Deana Thomas, “The Development of the Humanities—Philosophy,” *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 18–20. Unfortunately, the gifted Dr. Caulker, Vice-Principal and head of the philosophy department, was killed in a Air France plane crash on August 29, 1960 outside Dakar while returning from the Rehovoth International Scientific Conference in Israel.
- 80 Langston Hughes (ed.), *An African Treasury* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1960).
- 81 Paul Edwards, *West African Narrative: An Anthology for Schools* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1963).
- 82 Eldred Jones, “Developments in the Study of African Literature,” *Africana Research Bulletin* (Vol. III, No. 3, April 1973), 3.
- 83 Hans M.Zell, *Writings by West Africans* (Freetown: Sierra Leone University Press, 1967).
- 84 Olayinka Koso-Thomas, *Not Words Alone: Selected Speeches of Ksonike KosoThomas* (Elms Court, England: Arthur H. Stockwell, 1991), 86. Eldred Durosini Jones (FBC-Principal 1975–84) was a student, then a faculty member and finally principal of FBC. His life at the college spanned forty-five years from 1944 to 1989. He graduated with a B.A. from FBC in 1947, a Diploma in Education also from FBC in 1949, and a B.A. Honours from Oxford in 1953. In December of 1953, he was appointed a Lecturer of English at FBC and became Acting Head of Department in October of 1956.
- 85 As quoted in Olayinka Koso-Thomas, *Not Words Alone*, 4.
- 86 Kofi Buenor Hadjor, *Africa in an Era of Crisis* (Trenton: Africa World Press, Inc., 1990), 10.
- 87 John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 11, 14, 28.
- 88 Eldred Jones, “Developments in the Study of African Literature,” *Africana Research Bulletin* (Vol. III, No. 3, April 1973), 5.
- 89 Neville Shrimpton, “Thomas Decker and the Death of Boss Coker,” Murray Last and Paul Richards (ed.s), *Sierra Leone, 1787–1987 Two Centuries of Intellectual Life* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 531.
- 90 Edward Dominic Amadu Turay, *Adult Education in Sierra Leone C. 1870–1939* (Freetown: Institute of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, 1986), 102.

- 91 Eldred Jones, "Sierra Leone and the English Language," *West African Journal of Education* (February 1960), 13.
- 92 *Ibid.*, 10.
- 93 Jerry Messec, "Language Issues and National Educational Systems: Experience in African Developing Nations," in David Chapman and Carol A. Carrier, *Improving Educational Quality: A Global Perspective*, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 261.
- 94 Ali Mazrui, *Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa*, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978), 9–10.
- 95 Eldred Jones, "Academic Problems and Critical Techniques," in Gerald Moore, *African Literature and the Universities*, (Ibadan: The Congress for Cultural Freedom, 1965), 92–94.
- 96 Kingsley Banya, "Economic Decline and the Education System: the Case of Sierra Leone," *Compare* (Vol. 21, No. 2, 1991), 127.
- 97 Clifford N.Fyle, *Education for Africa in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Breda: UNESCO, July 1993), 48–49.
- 98 Personal interview with Joe Opala, February 22, 2000.
- 99 Arthur Abraham, *Cultural Policy in Sierra Leone* (Paris: UNESCO, 1978), 16.
- 100 *Ibid.*, 62.
- 101 Personal interview with Joe Opala, February 22, 2000.
- 102 Arthur Abraham, "African Heritage: The Assets of Sierra Leone," in Fladmark, J. M. (ed.) *In Search of Heritage: As Pilgrim or Tourist*, (Donhead, 1998), 326–27.
- 103 Arthur Abraham, *Cultural Policy in Sierra Leone* (Paris: UNESCO, 1978), 64.
- 104 Magbaily C. Fyle, "Culture and Higher Education: The Sierra Leone Experience," *Educafrica* (Dakar, Senegal: UNESCO, Dec. 1987), 240.
- 105 Magbaily C. Fyle, "African Culture and Higher Education: The Sierra Leone Situation," *Africana Research Bulletin* (Volume XV, No. 2, June 1986), 15.
- 106 Edward Stewart, *American Cultural Patterns: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press, 1972), 62–65. There are, of course, some significant exceptions such as Henry David Thoreau and John Muir.
- 107 Elleni Tedla, *Sankofa: African Thought and Education* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), 28.
- 108 Richard A. Corby, "Educating Africans for Inferiority under British Rule: Bo School in Sierra Leone," *Comparative Education* (August 1990), 314.
- 109 Elleni Tedla, *Sankofa: African Thought and Education*, 11–40; See also Molefi K. Asante, and Kariam W. Asante, *African Culture: The Rhythms of Unity* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985), 112–113.
- 110 Michael R. Kallon, "An Interpretive Study of Planned Educational Reform in Sierra Leone: The Primary School and Teacher Education," Unpublished Dissertation (University of Toronto, 1996), 42.
- 111 Elleni Tedla, *Sankofa: African Thought and Education*, 17–18.
- 112 Lynda R. Day, "Rites and Reason: Precolonial Education and Its Relevance to the current Production and Transmission of Knowledge," in Marianne Bloch, Josephine Beoku-Betts, and B. Robert Tabachniak, (eds.) *Women and Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Power, Opportunities, and Constraints* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998), 68.
- 113 Lynda R. Day, "Rites and Reason: Precolonial Education and Its Relevance to the current Production and Transmission of Knowledge," 56–65.

- 114 L.Tanssig, "Milton Margai and Adult Education in Sierra Leone," (*Africana Research Bulletin*, Vol. VIII, No. 2 & 3, 1978).
- 115 Edward Milton-Margai, "The Arts Education Association of Sierra Leone (AEASL) Motto: Service and Research," in the *Report of First National Curriculum Conference at Cape Sierra Hotel, Freetown 11th-12th June, 1976* (Freetown: Institute of Education, University of Sierra Leone), 44.
- 116 Herbert Hinzen, *Giving and Taking Involved in Sierra Leone Adult Education* (Freetown: Institute of Adult Education and Extra-mural Studies, 1987), 134–135; see also Michael R.Kallon, "An Interpretive Study of Planned Educational Reform in Sierra Leone: The Primary School and Teacher Education," Unpublished Dissertation (University of Toronto, 1996), 45. In 1936, there were only 9,828 protectorate children attending school out of an estimated population of 330,000 school-age children. See Michael Crowder, *West Africa Under Colonial Rule* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1968), 376. No statistics were kept on participation in the "bush" schools of the traditional societies.
- 117 William F.Conton, "Some Proposals for Further Reforms in the Educational System of Sierra Leone," *Sierra Leone Journal of Education* (April, 1971), 35–36.
- 118 A.B.Zack-Williams, "Crisis, Structural Adjustment and Creative Survival in Sierra Leone," *Africa Development* (Vol. XVIII, No. 1, 1993), 56.
- 119 A.C.Nunn, "Some Remarks on the Work of the English Department at Fourah Bay College," *Fourah Bay Studies in Language and Literature* (Vol. I, 1980), 93–97.
- 120 S.J.Lebby, "The Programme for Curriculum Development in the Bunumbu Pilot Schools," in the *Report of First National Curriculum Conference at Cape Sierra Hotel, Freetown 11th-12th June, 1976* (Freetown: Institute of Education, University of Sierra Leone), 32. Bunumbu is a small city in northern Sierra Leone.
- 121 T.J.Lemuel Forde, "A Proposal for an Overall Approach to Curriculum Development in Sierra Leone," in the *Report of First National Curriculum Conference at Cape Sierra Hotel, Freetown 11th-12th June, 1976* (Freetown: Institute of Education, University of Sierra Leone), 69–72.
- 122 Arthur T.Porter, *Sierra Leone Education Review: All Our Future* (Freetown: University of Sierra Leone, 1976), 1–3, 88–90.
- 123 Suhas L.Ketkar, "The Economics of Education in Sierra Leone," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* (Vol. 15, No. 2, 1977), 307. Also *West Africa*, (December 19, 1977), 2621.
- 124 Arthur T.Porter, *Sierra Leone Education Review: All Our Future*, 56–57.
- 125 Detailed analysis of the political and economic problems confronting Sierra Leone in this period will be discussed in the following chapter.
- 126 Suhas L.Ketkar, "The Economics of Education in Sierra Leone," 307–309.
- 127 C.Magbaily Fyle, "The Nature of Poverty in Sierra Leone," *History and SocioEconomic Development in Sierra Leone*, (Freetown, Sierra Leone Adult Education Association, 1988), 212–243.
- 128 Arthur T.Porter, *Sierra Leone Education Review: All Our Future*, 49.
- 129 Canon J.P.Ferguson, "The Development of the Humanities: Philosophy in Africa," *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone 1876–1976* (Freetown, 1977) 8–11.
- 130 David Carney, "The Development of the Social Sciences—The Next Hundred Years," *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 43–47.

- 131 E.H.M.Wright, "The Development of the Sciences at Fourah Bay College," *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 64.
- 132 Herbert Hinzen, *Giving and Taking Involved in Sierra Leone Adult Education* (Freetown: Institute of Adult Education and Extra-mural Studies, 1987), 137.
- 133 Christiana I.Parker, "The University of Sierra Leone (Fourah Bay College): An Examination of Students' Perspectives about the Institution's Role in Meeting Educational and Occupational Needs," Unpublished Dissertation, (New York University, 1984), 43.
- 134 *Ensuring Equitable Growth: A Strategy for Increasing Employment, Equity and Basic Needs in Sierra Leone* (Report of the Sierra Leone Government, International Labor Office, Addis Ababa, 1981), 187–193.
- 135 Christiana I.Parker, "The University of Sierra Leone (Fourah Bay College): An Examination of Students' Perspectives," 6.
- 136 Christiana I.Parker, "The University of Sierra Leone (Fourah Bay College): An Examination of Students' Perspectives," 17.
- 137 Kingsley Banya, "Education for Rural Development: the Case of Sierra Leone," *Compare* (Vol. 16, No. 2, 1986), 175–176.
- 138 Michael R. Kallon, "An Interpretive Study of Planned Educational Reform in Sierra Leone: The Primary School and Teacher Education," Unpublished Dissertation (University of Toronto, 1996), 51.
- 139 Herbert Hinzen, *Giving and Taking Involved in Sierra Leone Adult Education* (Freetown: Institute of Adult Education and Extra-mural Studies, 1987), 136.
- 140 People's Educational Association of Sierra Leone (Bo, Sierra Leone, 1985). The PEA cooperated with the Bo-Pujehun Rural Development Project, Seed Multiplication Project, PLAN International, St. Martin's Parish Adult Literacy Programme, Mother's Union of the Diocese of Freetown, Sierra Leone Labour Congress, Crystals Youth Club, Sierra Leone Adult Education Association, Institute of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies (FBC), Ministry of Education, African Association for Literacy and Adult Education, German Agro Action, PEA of Ghana, International Council for Adult Education, the International Association for Community Development, and the Canadian Organisation for Development through Education.
- 141 Kingsley Banya, "Education for Rural Development: the Case of Sierra Leone," *Compare* (Vol. 16, No. 2, 1986), 176–177, 180–181, 184–185.
- 142 Ajayi Coomber and Christiane Kayser, (ed.s), *Education in Traditional Life: Report on Research Assignments* (Freetown: Institute of Adult Education, 1988), i–v.
- 143 *Training Opportunities in the Informal Sector of Freetown* (University of Sierra Leone: Research and Development Services Bureau, 1991).
- 144 Edward Domin Turay and Christiane Kayser (eds.), *Traditional Education and Training in the Informal Sector* (Freetown: Institute of Adult Education and Extra-mural Studies, 1991).
- 145 Ernest, H.Wright, "Improvement and Renewal of Higher Education in Africa: The Sierra Leone Situation" *Educafrica* (Vol. 2, Dec. 1987), 263.
- 146 Kingsley Banya, "Economic Decline and the Education System: the Case of Sierra Leone," *Compare* (Vol. 21, No. 2, 1991), 131.

- 147 Ernest Wright, "Improvement and Renewal of Higher Education in Africa: The Sierra Leone Experience," *Educafrica* (Dakar, Senegal: UNESCO, Dec. 1987), 258–270.
- 148 Clifford N.Fyle, *Education for Africa in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Breda: UNESCO, July 1993), 19, 24–25, 38.
- 149 *Ibid.*, 52–53.
- 150 *Ibid.*, 18.
- 151 Herb Frazier, "Under the Gun," *Black Issues in Higher Education* (v. 12, April 20, 1995), 24–26.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT

- 1 Basil Davidson, "After Imperialism," *The African Studies Centre and the Studies of Africa Speeches held on 22 September 1997* (Leiden: Afrika Studie Centrum, 1998), 22.
- 2 Earl Conteh-Morgan and Mac Dixon-Fyle, *Sierra Leone at the End of the Twentieth Century*, (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 75.
- 3 Magbaily C.Fyle, "African Culture and Higher Education: The Sierra Leone Experience," *Africana Research Bulletin* (Vol. XV, No. 2, June 1986), 4; see also *Educafrica* (Dakar, Senegal: UNESCO), Special Vol. 2, December 1987, 237.
- 4 Francis Musa Boakari, "Foreign Student Reentry: the Case of the Hurrying Man," *NAFSA Newsletter* (November 1982).
- 5 *Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs Report* (Freetown: American Embassy, 1962); and *Annual Report on the Educational and Cultural Exchange Program*, (Freetown: U.S. Embassy, August 28, 1964), Fayetteville, Arkansas: Fulbright Papers, Box 320, Folder 1.
- 6 John Hatch, "Election without Issues," *New Statesman* (June 8, 1962), 820.
- 7 James Smoot Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 244.
- 8 During a tour of West Africa in 1973, McNamara spent three days in Sierra Leone visiting the diamond mining areas. He estimated that the World Bank had contributed 5.5 million Leones since 1964 to Sierra Leone for expansion of the electricity system, education, roads and agriculture. *West Africa* (January 22, 1973), 123.
- 9 John Hatch, "Election without Issues," *New Statesman* (June 8, 1962), 820. The article also included a culturally insensitive remark concerning the circumcision of young women through the *Bundu* society.
- 10 "University Teacher Deported," *West Africa* (September 1, 1962), 961.
- 11 *West Africa* (December 1, 1962), 1323; and *West Africa* (December 8, 1962), 1367.
- 12 Christopher Fyfe, "Contrasting Themes in the Writings of Africanus Horton, James Johnson and Edward Blyden," *Africana Research Bulletin*, (Vol. 1, No. 3, April 1971), 16.
- 13 George Roberts, *The Anguish of Third World Independence: The Sierra Leone Experience* (University Press of America, 1982), 55; see also E.H.M.Wright, "The Development of the Sciences at Fourah Bay College," *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 61.

- 14 *West Africa* (December 5, 1977), 2483.
- 15 *Sierra Leone Daily Mail* (January 21, 1957).
- 16 George Roberts, *The Anguish of Third World Independence*, 56–57.
- 17 John Hatch, “A Note on English Speaking Africa,” in Rene Dumont, *False Start in Africa* (Andre Deutsch, 1969), 298.
- 18 George Roberts, *The Anguish of Third World Independence*, 58.
- 19 Abner Cohen, *The Politics of Elite Culture: Explorations in the Dramaturgy of Power in a Modern African Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 134–135.
- 20 George Roberts, *The Anguish of Third World Independence*, 107.
- 21 Bruce Benton, “Peace Corps’ first Expulsion: A Message Poorly Received,” *Kalamazoo College Review* (Vol. XXXIII, No. 4, 1971), 3–7.
- 22 Earl Conteh-Morgan & Mac Dixon-Fyle, *Sierra Leone at the End of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 77.
- 23 Humphrey J.Fisher, “Elections and Coups in Sierra Leone, 1967,” *The Journal of Modern African Studies* (Vol. 7, No. 4, 1969), 614.
- 24 L.P.L.Johnson, “University Administration, Student Demands, Unrest and Participation in University Governance in West Africa,” *Second Meeting of the Conference of West African University Registrars, University of Ghana Legon, July 23–30, 1973* (Accra: Association of African Universities, 1973) 76–77.
- 25 The most notable exception was on August 18, 1892, when Principal Humphrey dismissed fifteen of the seventeen students currently enrolled at FBC. Also of note was a three-day hunger strike that occurred in 1950. See Peter Tucker, “Student Activities at Fourah Bay College 1948–52,” *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1977), 57–59.
- 26 Fred M.Hayward and Jimmy Kandeh, “Perspectives on Twenty-five Years of Elections in Sierra Leone,” *Elections in Independent Africa* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1987), 40.
- 27 John Peterson, “A Return to Sierra Leone,” *Kalamazoo College Review* (Vol. XXIX, No. 1, Spring 1967), 21–24.
- 28 David Carney, “The Development of the Social Sciences—The Next Hundred Years,” *One Hundred Years of University Education in Sierra Leone, 1876–1976* (Freetown: Celebrations Committee, 1976), 43.
- 29 L.P.L.Johnson, “University Administration, Student Demands, Unrest and Participation in University Governance in West Africa,” 65–86.
- 30 Humphrey J.Fisher, “Elections and Coups in Sierra Leone, 1967,” 612.
- 31 Fred M.Hayward, *Elections in Independent Africa* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1987), xv.
- 32 Martin Meredith, *The First Dance of Freedom: Black Africa in the Postwar Era*, 240–241.
- 33 Sierra Leone’s new constitution had been developed with the assistance of Great Britain and did not take into account the degree to which “traditional authorities [in Africa] are unmistakably formal and part of the public domain. Furthermore, their existence is often recognized by national constitutions, and they are frequently incorporated into a constitutional order for the performance of specific functions.” See Richard Sklar, “African Frontier for Political Science,” in Robert H.Bates, V.Y.Mudimbe, and Jean O’Barr (eds.), *Africa and the Disciplines: The*



- Contributions of Research in Africa to the Social Sciences and Humanities* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1993), 97.
- 34 Humphrey J.Fisher, "Elections and Coups in Sierra Leone, 1967," 631.
- 35 Fred M.Hayward and Jimmy Kandeh, "Perspectives on Twenty-five Years of Elections in Sierra Leone," 47.
- 36 Humphrey J.Fisher, "Elections and Coups in Sierra Leone, 1967," 634. A 1967 Commission of Inquiry found that Albert Margai had in a three year period received 200,000 leones more than his lawful income. See Martin Meredith, *The First Dance of Freedom: Black Africa in the Postwar Era*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1984), 240.
- 37 David Dalby, "The Military Takeover in Sierra Leone," *The World Today* (Vol. 23, August 1967), 359.
- 38 Hinton, Samuel B., "An Analysis of the Connection between Role Concept and Political Participation among Preliminary Year Students at Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone," Unpublished Dissertation, (University of Virginia, 1981), 7.
- 39 Copy in possession of author.
- 40 Cited in Richard Sklar (ed.), *Nationalism and Development in Africa: Selected Essays of James Smoot Coleman* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 264.
- 41 Noah Abraham Cox-George, *The Development of the Social Sciences in FBC*, (Freetown: Atlantic Printers, Lmted., 1977), 19.
- 42 David Dalby, "The Military Takeover in Sierra Leone," 354–360.
- 43 Humphrey J.Fisher, "Elections and Coups in Sierra Leone, 1967," 611.
- 44 George Roberts, *The Anguish of Third World Independence*, 251.
- 45 Adekunle Ajala, *Pan-Africanism: Evolution, Progress and Prospects*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), 164–166.
- 46 Arthur T.Porter, "African Universities: Our Needs and Our Priorities," *African Studies Bulletin* (Vol. XII, No. 3, Dec. 1969), 247–253.
- 47 Robert July, *An African Voice: The Role of the Humanities in African Independence*, (Duke University Press: Durham, 1987), 154.
- 48 *Fourah Bay College Calendar 1968–69*, (Freetown, 1968), 24–29.
- 49 Abner Cohen, *The Politics of Elite Culture*, 195–199.
- 50 "Heads of Sierra Leone Missions," *Sierra Leone Yearbook* (Freetown: Daily Mail , 1972), 3. Over 700,000 leones were allocated by government to support Sierra Leone's foreign missions abroad. See *West Africa*, (February 26, 1973), 291.
- 51 L.J.L.Johnson, "University Administration, Student Demands, Unrests and Participation in University Governance in West Africa," 82.
- 52 Alpha M. Lavalie, "The SLPP in Opposition: A Political History of the Sierra Leone Peoples Party 1968–1978," *Africana Research Bulletin* (Vol XII, No. 3, June 1983), 130.
- 53 Arthur Porter, "The University in Africa Tomorrow," *Report of the Third General Conference of the Association of African Universities, Ibadan 9–14 April 1973* (Accra: Liberty Press, 1973), 34–44.
- 54 "Sierra Leone's Brain Drain," *West Africa* (November 12, 1973).
- 55 Cyril Foray, *The Road to the One-Party State: The Sierra Leone Experience* (Africanus Horton Memorial Lecture, University of Aberdeen, November 9, 1988),

39. See also Aminatta Forna, *The Devil that Danced on the Water* (New York: Atlantic monthly Press, 2002).
- 56 George Roberts, *The Anguish of Third World Independence*, 252–253.
- 57 Sheikh Batu Daramy, *Constitutional Developments in the Post-Colonial State of Sierra Leone 1961–1984* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellon Press, 1993), 189.
- 58 FBC program reports, (Kalamazoo College Archives: International Program Files); and Personal Interview with Joe Opala, (Savannah, Georgia, November 19, 2000).
- 59 Syl Cheney-Coker, *The Last Harmattan of Alusine Dunbar*, (London: Heinemann, 1990), 389.
- 60 George Roberts, *The Anguish of Third World Independence*, 252–253.
- 61 Sheikh Batu Daramy, *Constitutional Developments in the Post-Colonial State of Sierra Leone 1961–1984* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellon Press, 1993), 190. A large number of Rhodesian and Cameroonian students attended FBC in the 1970s.
- 62 George Roberts, *The Anguish of Third World Independence*, 253.
- 63 Personal interview with Joe Opala, (Savannah, Georgia, November 19, 2000). The government scandals became known as voucher-gate and squander-gate and cost the country an estimated 60 million dollars. When Akibo ran for office from the mountain district where FBC was located in the 1980s after J.S.Momoh had become president, Eldred Jones put his election posters on his gate. See also Sheikh Batu Daramy, *Constitutional Developments in the Post-Colonial State of Sierra Leone 1961–1984* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellon Press, 1993), 262–263.
- 64 George Roberts, *The Anguish of Third World Independence: The Sierra Leone Experience* (University Press of America, 1982), 322–334.
- 65 Fred M.Hayward and Jimmy Kandeh, “Perspectives on Twenty-five Years of Elections in Sierra Leone,” 32.
- 66 Samuel B.Hinton, “An Analysis of the Connection between Role Concept and Political Participation among Preliminary Year Students at Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone,” Unpublished Dissertation, (University of Virginia, 1981), 75.
- 67 “General Election in May,” *West Africa* (February 21, 1977), 391.
- 68 “Debate on State of Emergency,” *West Africa* (March 7, 1977).
- 69 *West Africa* (October 31, 1977), 2228.
- 70 Fred M.Hayward and Jimmy Kandeh, “Perspectives on Twenty-Five Years of Elections in Sierra Leone,” 53.
- 71 *Ibid.*, 55.
- 72 George Roberts, *The Anguish of Third World Independence*, 258–261, 266–267, 333.
- 73 Allieu Kanu, “Which Way Sierra Leone,” *West Africa* (April 4, 1977), 655–656.
- 74 George Roberts, *The Anguish of Third World Independence*, 252–254, 281.
- 75 *West Africa* (November 14, 1977), 2332.
- 76 *West Africa* (November 26, 1977), 2430.
- 77 “A Voice for those in Prison,” *West Africa* (February 5, 1979), 197.
- 78 Sahr John Kpundeh, *Politics and Corruption in Africa*, 153.
- 79 Fred M.Hayward and Jimmy Kandeh, “Perspectives on Twenty-five Years of Elections in Sierra Leone,” 53.
- 80 Personal Interview with Joe Opala, (Savannah, Georgia, November 19, 2000).
- 81 *Ibid.*
- 82 “Power at a Price,” *West Africa* (May 28, 1973).

- 83 Fred M.Hayward and Jimmy Kandeh, "Perspectives on Twenty-five Years of Elections in Sierra Leone," 41.
- 84 Personal correspondence with Eustace Palmer former Chair of FBC English Department and Dean of Students, May 15, 2000.
- 85 Personal correspondence with Steven Salm, former University of Wisconsin-Madison exchange student to FBC 1989-90, March 23, 2000.
- 86 Personal correspondence with Fred Hayward, December 27, 2000.
- 87 "The Academics Duty Towards the Truth," *West Africa* (January 8, 1979), 44.
- 88 "Conflict over Students' Protests," *West Africa* (November 19, 1979), 2135. See also "Honorary Doctorate of Law from Lincoln University," (November 5, 1979), 2069.
- 89 "President Stevens Welcomed Home," *West Africa* (December 3, 1979), 2259.
- 90 Amadu Sesay, "Sierra Leone's Foreign Policy since Independence," *Africana Research Bulletin* (Vol. XI, Nos. 1 & 2., March 1981), 32.
- 91 Michael R.Kallon, "An Interpretive Study of Planned Educational Reform in Sierra Leone: The Primary School and Teacher Education," Unpublished Dissertation (University of Toronto, 1996), 34.
- 92 A.B.Zack-Williams, "Crisis, Structural Adjustment and Creative Survival in Sierra Leone," *Africa Development* (Vol. XVIII, No. 1, 1993), 58-59.
- 93 George Roberts, *The Anguish of Third World Independence*, 304-311; and Amadu Sesay, "Sierra Leone's Foreign Policy since Independence," *Africana Research Bulletin*, (Vol. XI, No. 1 & 2, March 1981), 26.
- 94 "Economic Realities Squeeze University," *West Africa* (January 18, 1982), 151. He also noted that the Carnegie Corporation had provided \$150,000 toward the construction of a new administrative building at FBC.
- 95 Ibrahim Abdullah and Patrick Muana, "The Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone," Clapham, Christopher (ed.), *African Guerrillas*, (Oxford: James Currey, 1998), 174-175.
- 96 *New Citizen*, January 14, 1984. See also FBC program reports, Kalamazoo College Archives, International Program Files.
- 97 *Kutubu Commission of Inquiry* (Freetown: Government of Sierra Leone, 1984), ii-iii.
- 98 *Ibid*, ii-iii, 1.
- 99 Sahr John Kpundeh, *Politics and Corruption in Africa*, 63, 127, 151-159.
- 100 *Kutubu Commission of Inquiry* (Freetown: Government of Sierra Leone, 1984), 24-25, 30, 35, 75, 206.
- 101 *Ibid*, 75-76.
- 102 *Kutubu Commission of Inquiry* (Freetown: Government of Sierra Leone, 1984), 249-251.
- 103 *Ibid*, 255.
- 104 Ibrahim Abdullah and Patrick Muana, "The Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone," 175.
- 105 Paul Richards, *Fighting for the Rainforest* (Portsmouth: Heineman, 1996), 18; see also Ibrahim Abdullah and Patrick Muana, "The Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone," 176-177, 193.
- 106 Fred M.Hayward and Jimmy Kandeh, "Sierra Leone," *African Contemporary Record* (Vol. 24, 1992-1994), B164, B170.

- 107 Paul Streeten, "Globalization and Competitiveness: Implications for Development Thinking and Practice," in Louis Emmerji (ed.), *Economic and Social Development into the XXI Century* (Washington, D.C.: Inter-American Development Bank, 1997), 113.
- 108 Kingsley Banya, "Economic Decline and the Education System: the Case of Sierra Leone," *Compare* (Vol. 21, No. 2, 1991), 128–129.
- 109 Fred M. Hayward and Jimmy Kandeh, "Sierra Leone," *African Contemporary Record* (Vol. 24, 1992–1994), B181 and Fred Hayward, "Sierra Leone," *Africa Contemporary Record* (Vol 22, 1989–1990), B139.
- 110 This movement has continued from the mid-1980s to the present. See Philip Curtin, "Ghettoization of African Studies," *Chronicle of Higher Education* (April 1995). Curtin's article was found offensive by most African and African-American scholars of Africa as it seemed to link the entrance of more black scholars in African Studies with a lowering of standards in the field. The article was also seen to indicate a threat to white control of U.S. academe. See *ACAS Bulletin*, (No. 46, Winter 1996).
- 111 J. Barry Riddell, "Things Fall Apart Again: Structural Adjustment Programmes in SubSaharan Africa," in Kenneth Jameson and Charles Wilbur, (ed.s), *The Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment* (McGraw Hill, 1996), 218–219.
- 112 Nicolas Van de Walle and Timothy A. Johnston, *Improving Aid to Africa* (Washington, D.C.: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), 117.
- 113 Michael Barratt Brown, *Africa's Choices: After Thirty Years of the World Bank* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1996), 6.
- 114 Adell Patton, *Physicians, Colonial Racism, and Diaspora in West Africa*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 254.
- 115 Kingsley Banya, "Economic Decline and the Education System: the Case of Sierra Leone," *Compare* (Vol. 21, No. 2, 1991), 131–132, 134.
- 116 *Ibid*, 138.
- 117 Fred M. Hayward and Jimmy Kandeh, "Perspectives on Twenty-five Years of Elections in Sierra Leone," 27, 35–37.
- 118 Olayinka Koso-Thomas, *Not Words Alone: Selected Speeches of Ksonike Koso-Thomas* (Elms Court, England: Arthur H. Stockwell, 1991), 41–42.
- 119 Fred Hayward, "Sierra Leone," *Africa Contemporary Record* (Vol. 22, 1989–1990), B145.
- 120 Joseph Opala, "Sierra Leone: the Politics of State Collapse," essay prepared for Conference on Irregular Warfare in Liberia and Sierra Leone, Denver, (July 30–Aug. 1, 1998), 9–10.
- 121 *Ibid*, 10.
- 122 Fred Hayward, "Sierra Leone," *Africa Contemporary Record* (Vol. 22, 1989–1990), B143.
- 123 Fred Hayward, "Sierra Leone," *Africa Contemporary Record* (Vol. 23, 1990–1992), B156.
- 124 *The Europa World Year Book*, (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1998), 2973.
- 125 FBC program reports, (Kalamazoo College Archives: International Program Files).
- 126 Fred Hayward, "Sierra Leone," *Africa Contemporary Record* (Vol. 23, 1990–1992), B157.

- 127 Ibrahim Abdullah and Patrick Muana, "The Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone," 177–78.
- 128 Joseph Opala, "Sierra Leone: the Politics of State Collapse," 11–12.
- 129 Sahr John Kpundeh, *Politics and Corruption in Africa*, 70–78.
- 130 *White Paper on the Report of the Justice Beccles Davies Commission of Inquiry* (Freetown: Sierra Leone Government, August 1993), 31–32.
- 131 FBC students have annually commemorated January 29, 1977 as ALL THUGS DAY with demonstrations and speeches (although the actual day of violence against the students was January 31<sup>st</sup>). See Cyril Foray, *The Road to the One-Party State: The Sierra Leone Experience* (Africanus Horton Memorial Lecture, University of Aberdeen, November 9, 1988), 59.
- 132 Joseph A. Opala, *Ecstatic Renovation: Street Art Celebrating Sierra Leone's 1992 Revolution* (Freetown, April 15, 1993).
- 133 Ibrahim Abdullah and Patrick Muana, "The Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone," 182.
- 134 Robert Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy," *The Atlantic Monthly* (February, 1994), 44–76.
- 135 Friends of Sierra Leone, *News From Sierra Leone*, (Winter 1994, Vol. 3, No. 10), 56.
- 136 Sahr John Kpundeh, *Politics and Corruption in Africa*, 155.
- 137 Fred Hayward, "Sierra Leone," *Africa Contemporary Record* (Vol. 23, 1990–1992), B163–165.
- 138 *Report of the Professor Kwami Investigating Committee on the University of Sierra Leone* (Sierra Leone: Government Printing Office, September, 1994).
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- 140 *The Europa World Year Book*, 2974.
- 141 Ibrahim Abdullah and Patrick Muana, "The Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone," 185.
- 142 Project underground, <http://moles.org/projectUnderground/mil/sleone.html>, August 11, 1998.
- 143 David Shearer, "Outsourcing War," *Foreign Policy*, (Fall 1998), 68–81.
- 144 *The Europa World Year Book*, 2975.
- 145 Joseph Opala, "Sierra Leone: the Politics of State Collapse," 19.
- 146 Ibrahim Abdullah and Patrick Muana, "The Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone," 172.
- 147 *The Europa World Year Book*, 2976.
- 148 Alhaji Shehu Shagari, "Speech by former President of Nigeria," (OAU Summit, Freetown, June 1980), reported in *Wes Africa*, (July 7, 1980), 1215.
- 149 Embassy of Sierra Leone, "Press Release," (Washington, D.C., February 15, 1999), <http://www.Sierra-Leone.org/embassy021599.html>
- 150 Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, USL Fall Congregation, December 18, 1999. Reprinted on Leonenet, December 21, 1999.

## NOTES TO THE CONCLUSION

- 1 "150 Years of Fourah Bay," *West Africa* (June 20, 1977).
- 2 Steven Feierman, "Dissolution of World History," in Robert H. Bates, V.Y. Mudimbe, and Jean O'Barr (eds.), *Africa and the Disciplines: The Contributions of Research in Africa to the Social Sciences and Humanities* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1993), 187.
- 3 The story of Thomas Peters, an emancipated West African returnee who crossed the Atlantic four times and played an influential role in establishing Freetown, is one more example of the intricate global connections of which Freetown and Fourah Bay were an important part. See Jerry H. Bentley and Herbert F. Ziegler, *Traditions and Encounters: A Global Perspective on the Past*, (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2000), 621. People were living in the Freetown area for many centuries before the founding of "The Province of Freedom." The original name of Freetown was Romarong inhabited by the Temne.
- 4 Obadiah Moore, "Fourah Bay College," *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (May 7, 1910), 5.
- 5 Harry Sawyerr, "The Role of a University of Sierra Leone—A Projection," *Sierra Leone Journal of Education* (Sierra Leone: Ministry of Education, 1966), 14; and David Carney, "Economics," David Brokensha and Michael Crowder (eds.), *Africa in the Wider World: The Interrelationship of Area and Comparative Studies*, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1967), 130.
- 6 UNDP, "Chapter 1: Trends in Human Development," *Human Development Report 1993*.
- 7 Cream Wright, "Cultural and Political Influences on the Development of Education in Sierra Leone," Noel Entwistle, ed., *Handbook of Educational Ideas and Practices*, (London: Routledge, 1990), 184.
- 8 Liberia College was founded in 1862 but due to the country's political isolation only served Liberia, hence its influence in West Africa was somewhat neutralized. Between 1930 and 1960 almost all the colonial territories both British and French established their own colleges and universities. Following the African independence movement the colonial colleges became national universities.
- 9 Mary Antoinette Brown Sherman, "The University in Modern Africa: Toward the Twenty-First Century," *Journal of Higher Education* (July/August 1990, Vol. 61, Issue 4), 384. Mary Sherman is a former president of the University of Liberia.

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#### INTERVIEWS

- Edward Blyden III, (Fortworth, Texas, June 3, 2000).
- David Dalby, (Hendy Gwyn, Wales, July 15, 2000).
- Christopher Fyfe, (SOAS, London, July 31, 2000).
- Paul Hair, (Liverpool, England, July 21, 2000).
- Joe Opala, February 22, 2000.
- Joe Opala, (Savannah, Georgia, November 19, 2000).
- John Peterson, (By telephone to Michigan, December 21, 2000).
- Walter Taylor, (Durham, England, July 27, 2000).
- A.K.Turay, (By telephone to England, December 14, 2000).

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- John Hargreaves, March 16, 2001.
- Eustace Palmer, May 15, 2000.
- Steven Salm, March 23, 2000.





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