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### **The Athens of West Africa: International Education at Fourah Bay College, 1814-2002**

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*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.[1]*

This paper 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 (1816-1876), colonial education (1876-1938), and development education (1938-2001). This work distinguishes the individual accomplishments of FBC students, faculty, and alumni from the constraints of a rather narrow curriculum and chronically under-funded institution.

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 success of its graduates at home and abroad.[2] 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.[3]

FBC was a European institution transported and situated in West Africa valued for its traditional Western academic focus and Christian character. It was required to maintain international (British) standards of excellence in order to be recognized 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. In addition, more Sierra Leonean students pursued higher education abroad than at FBC. However, FBC 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."[\[4\]](#) 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.

### MISSIONARY EDUCATION (1816-1876)

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. [\[5\]](#) 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 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."[\[6\]](#) 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."[\[7\]](#) Butscher was one of a long procession of German and 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]."[\[8\]](#)

The Church Missionary Society (CMS) was closely involved with the abolitionist movement. The history of FBC is inextricably bound with that of the CMS. In the early 1800's, 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 also found support in emerging economic theory that asserted the greater profitability of free labor over slave labor.[\[9\]](#) From its missionary abolitionist roots, FBC often argued from a moral standpoint. The strength of such arguments, however, often did not carry sufficient economic or political force to persuade those with power to support the College's educational mission. Missionary Education encompassed a complex mix of well-intentioned humanitarianism, rigid indoctrination, and economic expansionism.[\[10\]](#)

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.[\[11\]](#) Between 1807 and 1840, 60,000 Africans arrived in the Liberated African Yard in Freetown.[\[12\]](#) These "returnees" or "liberated" Africans included people of Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa, Bambarra, Bassa, Congolese, and Ashanti descent. The returned diasporan and European missionary community helped to settle and provide a Western education to these "refugees" of the slave trade.[\[13\]](#) It was an extremely diverse community where over 100 African languages were spoken.[\[14\]](#) 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. 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.[\[15\]](#) 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.

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 diasporan returnees, who received an allowance for food and clothing. These children were 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. According to the Sierra Leonean historian Claude George, this policy was primarily responsible for the effective closing of the Christian Institution in 1826.[\[16\]](#) However, the Christian Institution did not remain closed for long. At the very same time that local missionaries voted to dismiss the two remaining students, the CMS Parent Committee in England was hiring a new Principal to revive the institution.

The Reverend Charles L. F. Haensel arrived in Sierra Leone 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.[\[17\]](#)

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.[\[18\]](#)

Codifying local languages for Bible translations was an important early focus of the College. The emphasis on Latin and Greek began later with the arrival of an African-American principal at FBC.

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 CMS for 335 pounds.[\[19\]](#) Prior to 1807, "the site had been occupied by a slave factory, and the building that became the College had been the slaver's homestead."[\[20\]](#) 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.[\[21\]](#) Haensel served four years as principal before returning home to Europe an invalid.

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.[\[22\]](#)

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.[\[23\]](#)

Their "selfless exertions," "enterprising zeal," and "noble sacrifices" were well recognized.[\[24\]](#) They sincerely wanted to help their fellow man, but from their own Eurocentric worldview.

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. Mission work was as much about developing acceptance for new economic and social organization as it was about religious conversion.[\[25\]](#) Western-educated Africans aided in opening the interior of Africa to European trade. However, returned African diasporan missionaries did not simply spread Western civilization, Christianity and commerce in an unmitigated form. Christianity like Islam assimilated to the African context.[\[26\]](#)

Repatriated diasporan Africans and European missionaries spread Western education and Christianity throughout West Africa. These African and European missionary scholars were actively involved in linguistic transcription and translated the Bible into the many languages of West Africa. The CMS hired many of FBC's faculty including Charles Haensel, John Raban, Frederick Schon, Sigismund Koelle and Charles Reichardt from the United Brethren Mission of Moravia, Germany and the Basel Mission, located in a German speaking region of Switzerland.[27] Reichardt lived, taught, and died at FBC. His career there spanned over thirty years. All of the German missionaries made extensive use of African informants for the study of African languages. Africans educated at FBC became missionaries, teachers, and clerks employed throughout English speaking West Africa.

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. Crowther, Schon, Koelle, and Reichardt, were among the leading linguistic researchers of African languages in the nineteenth century. Both Crowther and Schon 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." [28] Travel to the interior was an integral part of the research and service of both the African and European faculty. According to British scholar Paul Hair, "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." [29]

In the early 1800's, diasporan blacks returning to West Africa obtained a measure of freedom and 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. Edward Jones, an African-American, served as principal of FBC from December of 1840 to 1858, longer than any other FBC principal. 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. For example, FBC alumni James Africanus Horton and James "Holy" Johnson became two of the most outspoken advocates of African self-determination and the need to establish a West African university.[30]

From 1859 to 1864, Fourah Bay College was closed. Protest over the closing, galvanized into public outcry for the development of a "West African University." West Africans called for a secular university; British missionaries wanted a thoroughly Christian institution. Building on the work of Horton and Johnson, 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, England, and the United States. He valued a classical education because he felt that it was free of the contemporary "race-poison" that characterized much of the scholarly thinking of the period.[31] His two best-known works are *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race* (1888), and *African Life and Customs* (1908). The dominant themes of his work called for: 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. Blyden's incessant call for a secular West African University, his open criticism of Christian missions and his interest in learning about African Islam, forced the CMS to support the affiliation of FBC with the University of Durham in 1876.[32]

Blyden's work significantly influenced the Pan-Africanist movement.[33] Pan-Africanism was a direct response to Western imperialism and colonial racism. 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 increasingly recommended to the European administrators to include courses in African languages and culture, they made little progress. Nonetheless, the future development of education related to freedom, social justice, and democracy had substantial roots in the experience linking Africa and the diaspora.[34]

## COLONIAL EDUCATION (1876-1938)

In 1876, the affiliation of FBC to Durham University, an Anglican institution, assured against the possibility that FBC would become a "godless" (ie...Islamic) institution.<sup>[35]</sup> The affiliation was a compromise. It gave FBC university status but maintained its essentially Western curriculum. The FBC degree became equivalent to the Durham University degree. The affiliation marked the transition from missionary education to colonial education.

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 1880s, a number of Krios began to adopt African-style dress and African names.<sup>[36]</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. Edward Blyden and Orishatukeh Faduma made a significant impact on the intellectual environment of the period. Like Blyden, Faduma traveled between the United States and West Africa on several occasions.<sup>[37]</sup> At the United Native African Church's Congress on Africa in 1895 in Atlanta, Georgia, Faduma preached: "What Africans need, and what all races need, is not what will denationalize or de-individualize them, not what will stamp them out of existence, but what will show that God has a purpose in creating race varieties."<sup>[38]</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>[39]</sup> Faduma received his M.A. from Yale University and was principal of the Peabody Academy in Troy, North Carolina.<sup>[40]</sup> He returned for a lecture tour of Sierra Leone in 1908 and again in 1918. 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 helped found the NCBWA in 1920.<sup>[41]</sup> Faduma, like Edward Blyden, promoted the exchange of ideas between the diasporan communities of the United States and West Africa.

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. 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 eighteenth hundreds. In 1893, Sidthorpe 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>[42]</sup>

Between 1880 and 1920, Krio-owned newspapers and periodicals published numerous essays on African history and culture. The newspapers played a role that FBC seemed largely unable to provide.<sup>[43]</sup> The African-owned press seemed better suited to deal with the rapid changes undergoing West African society than the CMS sponsored Fourah Bay College.

The Berlin Conference of November 1884 apportioned Africa among the European powers. Great Britain and France claimed the rights to four million square miles each of African territory. <sup>[44]</sup> Between 1884 and 1900, many West Africans engaged in open but limited military resistance to colonialism. 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. At the same time, due to rising racism, Europeans had begun to replace prominent black administrators in Sierra Leone and throughout West Africa. By the end of the century, political and administrative opportunities for Western-educated Africans had all but disappeared. European powers such as Great Britain attempted to establish monopoly control over the entire African continent and an emerging global market.[\[45\]](#)

British official parsimony restricted public expenditure to the minimum necessary to administer the colonies. FBC did not receive any financial support from the colonial government. CMS funding for FBC was unstable and usually quite low but it relieved the colonial government of any financial responsibility. European missionaries and colonial governments increasingly operated in concert to maintain hegemonic control. The pact between religious organizations and the colonial government to maintain control over students and the curriculum in West Africa differed significantly from the more contentious relations between such forces in Europe and the United States. The College faced on-going financial difficulties throughout this period. In the early 1900s, it looked as though the College would close again. However, it managed to provide for itself primarily through alumni donations and the tireless efforts of the predominantly African staff. From 1908 to 1928, alumni supported the College and its endowment grew considerably until it exceeded 20,000 pounds. FBC alumni such as Obadiah Moore and Obadiah Johnson, both of Nigeria, made significant financial contributions in support of the College.[\[46\]](#)

At least one 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."[\[47\]](#) Another scholar noted 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." It also "created a basic antagonism between the traditionalists and the emergent educated minority."[\[48\]](#) 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."[\[49\]](#) The emerging African educated elite challenged both traditional African and European authority.[\[50\]](#)

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.[\[51\]](#) Colonial rule established a formal administrative hierarchy and bureaucracy that was highly centralized. The administrative structure stretched from the Secretary of State in London through the local Governor down to the village Heads or Chiefs. While through indirect rule traditional authorities became part of the colonial system, FBC graduates, such as the Ghanaian Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford, began to organize effective political opposition to colonial rule.

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*.[\[52\]](#) Despite the recommendations of people such as Casely Hayford, the further development of universities in West Africa had to await the disintegration of indirect rule as a guiding instrument of British colonialism.

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 held in England. 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.[\[53\]](#)

While a total of 5000 pounds was raised, it soon appeared that FBC would not receive any benefit from the Pan-Anglican Congress. According to a British historian, 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." [54] Following the CMS announcement in 1909, prominent alumni and College officials developed a plan to endow FBC. As mentioned earlier, the alumni succeeded in raising enough funds to keep the College solvent. The acting principal of FBC from 1909 to 1912 was Sierra Leonean Charles N. Lewis. Lewis was an unsung defender of the College, his role overshadowed by that of his successor, British principal James Denton. Both men devotedly served the college for more than twenty-five years. Unfortunately, as FBC historian T. J. Thompson noted in his 1930 work, "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." [55]

By September of 1914, the whole FBC 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. [56] 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." [57] 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. [58] World War I had the further effect of proving to members of the Western-educated urban elite of West Africa that they could run FBC without the help of Europeans.

In the early 1900s, the debate over liberal education versus vocational education for African-Americans crossed the Atlantic from the United States to Africa through the auspices of the 1921 Phelps-Stokes Commission. [59] 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. However, competition between the United States and Great Britain for economic and political influence in Sierra Leone increasingly fueled and directed development efforts throughout the following period.

## **DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION (1938-2002)**

The concept of development education connotes a state of "undeveloped" or underdeveloped" that manifested itself in the pejorative nomenclature of colonial racism. The concept of underdevelopment through the imposition of colonial educational systems has received much attention. [60] However, as one author has noted, 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." [61] 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 assumed was the case in traditional non-Western 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.

By the late 1930s, the demand for the greater provision of higher education and a wider curriculum was insatiable throughout West Africa. Included in this was the demand for women to gain greater access to colleges and universities. The exclusion of women at FBC, practically until after WWII, reflected the paternalism and separatism of the Western University. In the 1930s, the British established other Colleges in West Africa and Fourah Bay College lost its unique claim as the only institution of higher learning in the region. 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.

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>[62]</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>[63]</sup> 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>[64]</sup> The "Colonial Colleges" were major beneficiaries but delays in establishing FBC as a Colonial College slowed its development. In all, ten Education Commissions visited FBC between 1938 and 1960.<sup>[65]</sup>

As WW II began, the British announced plans to more actively assist and invest in their colonies. The Colonial Development & Welfare (CD&W) scheme was first announced during World War II to counteract prevailing criticism of British colonialism and help preserve the loyalty of the colonial people for imperial reconstruction.<sup>[66]</sup> However, 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). 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>[67]</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. Following World War II, support to FBC was slow to materialize as its complex relationship with the Church Missionary Society and Durham University had to be untangled. In addition, according to British scholar Christopher Fyfe: "under the dead hand of the University of Durham, the narrow curriculum [of FBC] was retained and research was ignored."<sup>[68]</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>[69]</sup>

The period of transition from colonial rule to independence in Sierra Leone corresponded with the greatest financial and personnel support from Great Britain and the United States that FBC has ever experienced. The high point of Western support for FBC's development lasted less than two decades from approximately 1954 to 1969.<sup>[70]</sup> During this period, British and American faculty at FBC significantly outnumbered the African faculty.

Sierra Leone received a lot of foreign aid in relation to the total revenue of the country.<sup>[71]</sup> 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>[72]</sup> A significant portion of this aid came from the United States and went to support education. For example, USAID contributed 4.5 million dollars to the University of Illinois/Njala University College (NUC) project between 1963 and 1973.<sup>[73]</sup> NUC along with FBC formed the two constituent parts of the University of Sierra Leone founded in 1966. 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.<sup>[74]</sup> The absorption of FBC into the University of Sierra Leone hurt the College's ability to maintain its own unique identity. 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. The forces that pushed FBC into becoming a part of the USL included American and British competition for control over educational policy.

The development era coincided with the Cold War. Politics determined social and cultural policy. Political independence in Africa did not result in economic independence.<sup>[75]</sup> The Cold War came to Africa in spite of African attempts to remain nonaligned.<sup>[76]</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.[77] 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.[78] 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.[79]

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.[80] 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.[81]

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.[82] 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.[83] 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.[84] 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.[85] Nonetheless, acceptance of external aid compromised local autonomy. The failure of Western prescriptions for development in Africa as advanced through foreign aid projects led to increasing distrust among Sierra Leonean academics.[86]

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.[87] These universities took on international assistance projects based on Western knowledge and cultural norms that often were inappropriate and unsustainable.[88] 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.[89]

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

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." [90] 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." [91] 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. [92] In the 1960s and early 1970s at FBC, "lecturers led anti-government demonstrations openly, expatriates as officials of the Senior Staff Association organized them." [93] Outside Africa, African studies focused on the modern politics of Africa. Within Africa, only a few cursory studies examined traditional African political systems. [94]

With Sierra Leone's independence in 1961, FBC students and faculty wanted their own curriculum not one dependent on the West for its content and they wanted a non-aligned political system. Academic freedom and political independence were closely linked concepts among African students and scholars of the period. Ownership, self-reliance, and relevance emerged as important themes following African independence. 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. There was resistance to the idea of African Studies at FBC among some members of the Sierra Leonean faculty because they felt that in Africa everything involved the study of Africa. [95]

In the 1950s and 1960s, fields of social science were still relatively newcomers to the academy. This was the period when the social sciences first developed the language and methods of cross-cultural data collection, observation, and analysis. [96] Economics, politics, psychology, sociology, anthropology and communications all struggled to understand a complex rapidly changing world. African perspectives greatly influenced developments in these fields. For "ethnographers and sociologists....It was vital to their own sense of legitimacy that they should place themselves within the cultures they were studying, and report the world from that standpoint." [97] However, there was very little in the way of joint research or two-way exchanges. United States researchers visiting Sierra Leone tended to conduct shorter field research compared with earlier British scholars.

The Institute of African Studies was established at FBC in October of 1964. 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 Sierra Leone to conduct research for periods ranging from three months to two years. [98] 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." [99] These courses were introductory, advanced courses were yet to be developed. African history had to involve more than written English colonial sources before it could flourish.

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.

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 to combat Western domination. 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>[100]</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>[101]</sup> Few such historical or cultural studies occurred at FBC and most such studies were done by visiting scholars. 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>[102]</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>[103]</sup> 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 without much knowledge or regard for local 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>[104]</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>[105]</sup>

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 abroad their values and identity. 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 throughout West Africa. The College did not emphasize connections to the cultural past of Africa as much as it emphasized its role as an interpreter and negotiator of European culture. Outside of the traditional "bush" schools, there was no comprehensive or relevant school curriculum based upon local culture or knowledge. In a country like Sierra Leone where formal education had for nearly two centuries divorced education from its cultural roots, perhaps nothing could be more important.

Established educational policies were not the only aspects of colonial rule that were resistant to change in independent Sierra Leone thus lending credence to the many accusations of neocolonialism. For the former colonial powers, there was great advantage in granting political independence while maintaining favorable trade relations. The new leaders of independent Africa replaced colonial administrators without replacing exploitative structures and corrupt practices. President Siaka Stevens was one of many Western-tolerated dictators allowed to misrule because he maintained the exploitative relationships of the colonial period. Stevens actually received honors from abroad. On October 29, 1979 Lincoln University in Pennsylvania conferred an honorary Doctorate of Law degree to Siaka Stevens.<sup>[106]</sup> In November of 1980, Stevens also accepted a Knighthood from the Queen of England.<sup>[107]</sup>

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>[108]</sup> In 1978 American scholar 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>[109]</sup> As the political process in Sierra Leone was corrupted through the increasingly predatory and self-interested regime of Stevens, student protests at FBC grew more frequent and desperate. As

FBC and the University of Sierra Leone suffered budget cuts due to the ever-worsening economic situation more and more faculty resigned and left the country.[\[110\]](#) Throughout the 1970's and into the early 1980s, Siaka Stevens intimidated and persecuted political dissidents. He rewarded 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.[\[111\]](#) The Stevens government did not fight corruption; it institutionalized corruption. Stevens effectively destroyed or dismantled valuable institutions, including FBC. From the late 1970s, intellectuals who entered politics in Sierra Leone were among the most corrupt and self-serving.[\[112\]](#)

Protest at FBC in the 1960s involving both students and faculty focused on issues of democracy and academic freedom. For example, protest over the 1967 national election helped restore the democratically elected Prime Minister to power. In the 1970s as the Sierra Leone government became increasingly authoritative, protest at FBC primarily involved students and focused entirely on the abuse of power by the country's leaders. For example, the 1977 student protests resulted in violent government retaliation that 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).[\[113\]](#) Eldred Jones, the College principal was arrested along with three other lecturers. Dan Decker, the College Warden, was also beaten and arrested.[\[114\]](#) In the 1980s under a suffering economy, students' protests turned on FBC and the University of Sierra Leone (USL).[\[115\]](#)

The problems at FBC compounded. The 1994 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 at FBC. The committee recommended the termination without benefits of one lecturer who had falsified examination results. 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.[\[116\]](#) The National Provisional Ruling Council (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.[\[117\]](#) 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.[\[118\]](#) In the case of January 1992, however, students demonstrated just as they had been doing every year at this time since 1977.[\[119\]](#)

However, as Magbaily Fyle, director of the FBC Institute of African studies from 1975 to 1991, has emphasized:

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 signaled 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.[\[120\]](#)

"During the 1960-1994 period, the developing countries' share in the global distribution of wealth has shrunk."[\[121\]](#) So-called economic globalization has 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. Reflecting a change of policy, 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.[\[122\]](#) In addition, structural adjustment policies of the 1980s aimed at opening markets and reducing the role of government in Africa and other regions of the world. These policies seemed to be less about issues of equity than about continuing Western economic growth. Structural

adjustment policies pressed upon high debtor nations by the World Bank contributed to loss of local control and therefore political stability. Per capita income fell in Sierra Leone from \$390 in 1982 to \$160 in 1992.[\[123\]](#) By 1989, the Sierra Leone government was bankrupt.

Ironically, a few models of success had begun to emerge just as the Western political will for development assistance waned. 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.[\[124\]](#) 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."[\[125\]](#)

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.[\[126\]](#)

## REPERCUSSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

African studies never became an integral part of FBC's curriculum, although this did not prevent 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 African Studies programs.

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."[\[127\]](#) 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.

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. 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.

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 the development of international cooperation and multicultural communities. Higher education in West Africa has often been a tool exercised to wield power and maintain privilege. According to Sierra Leonean scholar, Cream Wright, "Education can act equally as a force for domination or as a force for liberation."[\[128\]](#)

Democracy had no role in the systems imposed on Sierra Leone through colonial rule, however, new world concepts of democracy gained popularity 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, neocolonialism and the politicization of tribalism, following Sierra Leone's independence, corrupted the democratic process. By the 1980s, the promise of the 1960s had deteriorated into plaintive 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 have gained control over an illicit diamond trade and have terrorized the country with sophisticated weaponry, bringing the country to near total collapse. They are persecuting helpless victims in rural villages, destroying what few elements of cultural continuity had managed to survive earlier assaults on the fabric of West African society. 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, 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 such 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>[129]</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 by 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>[130]</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. International education needs to be more than a gesture of humanitarian goodwill if it is to be a shared process of mutual benefit. The future of FBC depends upon learning from the mistakes of the past and refusing to repeat them. It requires much more focused attention to the stories, traditions, and cultures of West Africa and their relationships with each other as well as the wider world. There is a long history of division, suffering and mistrust to overcome both locally and globally. 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 the process of international education and community development.

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"150 Years of Fourah Bay," *West Africa*, (June 20, 1977).

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## Notes

- 1 "150 Years of Fourah Bay," *West Africa* (June 20, 1977).
- 2 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.
- 3 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 Karawiyah 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.
- 4 Obadiah Moore, "Fourah Bay College," *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (May 7, 1910), 5.
- 5 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.
- 6 Paul E.H. Hair, "Koelle at Freetown," *Polyglotta Africana* (Freetown: Fourah Bay College, 1963), 8\*.
- 7 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 all quotations.
- 8 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.
- 9 In addition, the economic interests of the abolitionists themselves had switched from the West Indies to the East Indies. See for example Eric Williams, "The Saints and Slavery," *Capitalism & Slavery* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1961 [1944]), 178-196.
- 10 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. 11 Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 105, 121, 250.
- 12 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.
- 13 D. L. Sumner, *Education in Sierra Leone*, (Freetown: The Government Printer, 1963), 23.
- 14 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.
- 15 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. Bruce Mouser, *Trade and Politics in the Nunez and Pongo Rivers, 1790-1865* (Indiana University, 1971).
- 16 Claude George, *The Rise of British West Africa* (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1968 [1908]), 417-418.

- 17 "The Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone," *The Durham University Journal* (No. 2, Dec. 16, 1876), 6.
- 18 T.J. Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 13.
- 19 A.B.C Sibthorpe, *The History of Sierra Leone*, (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1970 [1868]), 150.
- 20 T.J. Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 13.
- 21 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. Timber for the roof beams of the 1848 edifice was salvaged from condemned slave ships. Rebel forces destroyed the historic building in 2000.
- 22 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. 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. Philip D. Curtin, "The White Man's Grave: Image and Reality, 1780-1850," *Journal of British Studies* (Vol. 1, 1961), 102.
- 23 T.J. Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 49.
- 24 C. P. Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History (1827-1977)*, (Freetown, 1979), 2.
- 25 Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism*, (New York: David McKay Co., Inc, 1974), 128.
- 26 Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity: the Religious Impact* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1983), 210-211. 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.
- 27 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).
- 28 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.
- 29 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), 11.
- 30 See for example James Africanus Beale Horton, *West African Countries and Peoples, British and Native: A Vindication of the African Race*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1969 [First Edition 1868]), 181-183. The many Krio or Saro merchants, missionaries and teachers who followed Bishop Crowther, Bishop Johnson and others to Nigeria sent their children and students back to Sierra Leone to study at FBC.
- 31 Edward Wilmot Blyden, "The Aims and Methods of a Liberal Education for Africans" [1881], *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 97.
- 32 T.J. Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 66-71.
- 33 Peter Olisanwuche Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement 1776-1963*, 29.
- 34 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.

35 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.

36 Leo Spitzer, *The Creoles of Sierra Leone: Responses to Colonialism*, 116-119.

37 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*, 84.

38 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.

39 O. Faduma, "African Negro Education: Some of the Demands of Modern Education," *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, August 10, 1918.

40 "Principal O. Faduma, B.D.," *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (June 13, 1908), 5.

41 See 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.

42 Christopher Fyfe, "A. B. C. Sidthorpe: A Tribute," *History in Africa* (Vol. 19, 1992), 330-31, 337. See also 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.

43 Edward Dominic Amadu Turay, *Adult Education in Sierra Leone C. 1870-1939* (Freetown: Institute of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, 1986), 74-75.

44 W. E. B. DuBois, "The African Roots of the War," *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1915, 708-709.

45 Eric Williams, *Capitalism & Slavery* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1961 [1944]).

46 In his 1930 work *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 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.

47 Apollos O. Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism: Britain and University Education for Africans 1860-1960*, (London: Frank Cass, 1996). 35.

48 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, 41.

49 Apollos O. Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 54.

50 Toyin Falola, *Nationalism and African Intellectuals* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2001), xvii.

51 Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism*, (New York: David McKay Co., Inc, 1974), 311.

52 J. E. Casely Hayford, *Ethiopia Unbound - Studies in race Emancipation*, (London: Frank Cass, 1969 [1911]). See also 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.

- 53 James Denton, "Speech of the Local Secretary of the Society" in T.J. Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 81.
- 54 C. E. Whiting, *The University of Durham 1832-1932*, (London: The Sheldon Press, 1932), 304.
- 55 T.J. Thompson, *The Jubilee and Centenary Volume of Fourah Bay College*, 87.
- 56 C.P. Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History, (1827-1977)*, (Freetown, 1979), 9.
- 57 Erasmus W. B. Cole, "The British Universities and the War," *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (May 25, 1918), 10.
- 58 "Fourah Bay College - Meeting of Convocation," *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (May 27, 1916), 9.
- 59 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).
- 60 See for example Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (London: Bogle-L'Overture Publications, 1972).
- 61 Brian Garvey, "Education and Underdevelopment in Africa: The Historical Perspective," in Keith Watson, *Education in the Third World*, (London: Croom Helm, 1982), 63.
- 62 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.
- 63 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) recommended Colonial universities be indigenous institutions relevant to local needs.
- 64 Fewzi Borsali, "British Colonial Policy Towards Higher Education in West Africa," 28-29.
- 65 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.
- 66 Fewzi Borsali, "British Colonial Policy Towards Higher Education in West Africa," 170-173.
- 67 Ibid, 559.
- 68 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.
- 69 Michael Crowder, *West Africa Under Colonial Rule* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1968), 377.
- 70 With the 1954 Fulton Commission, FBC became a University College and thus eligible for CD&W funding.
- 71 According to British scholar John Hatch who briefly served as Director of Extra-Mural Studies at FBC before he was deported from Sierra Leone in 1962, "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." John Hatch, "A Note on English Speaking Africa," in Rene Dumont, *False Start in Africa* (Andre Deutsch, 1969), 298.

- 72 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.
- 73 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.
- 74 See for example "Sierra Leone's University," *West Africa* (October 22, 1966), 1203; and C. P. Foray, *An Outline of Fourah Bay College History*, 25-26.
- 75 Ali Mazrui, "The African University as a Multinational Corporation: Problems of Penetration and Dependency," *Harvard Educational Review* (Vol. 45, No. 2, May 1975).
- 76 J. Gus Liebenow, *African Politics: Crises and Challenges* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 273.
- 77 "Anglo-American Differences in Africa," *West Africa* (June 30, 1962), 705. 78 "What is African Socialism," *West Africa* (May 12, 1962), 507.
- 79 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.
- 80 G. Mennen Williams, *Africa for the Africans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 1969), 33-39.
- 81 George Shepherd, *The Politics of African Nationalism: Challenge to American Policy*, (New York: Praeger, 1962), 11.
- 82 James S. Coleman, *University Development in the Third World: The Rockefeller Foundation Experience*, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1993), 227.
- 83 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), 34-35.
- 84 Mennen Williams, *Africa for the Africans*, 179.
- 85 Earl Conteh-Morgan, *American Foreign Aid and Global Power Projection*, 16, 73.
- 86 Arthur Abraham, *Cultural Policy in Sierra Leone* (Paris: UNESCO, 1978), 64.
- 87 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.
- 88 Maurice Harari, *Global Dimensions in U.S. Education: The University* (New York: Center for War/Peace Studies, 1972), 5.
- 89 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.
- 90 Personal interview with Edward Blyden III, (Fortworth, Texas, June 3, 2000).
- 91 Personal interview with Paul Hair, (Liverpool, England, July 21, 2000).



- 92 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.
- 93 Personal correspondence with Arthur Abraham, January 3, 2001.
- 94 Telephone interview with A. K. Turay, December 14, 2000.
- 95 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.
- 96 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.
- 97 Basil Davidson, "After Imperialism," *The African Studies Centre and the Studies of Africa Speeches held on 22 September 1997* (Leiden: Afrika Studie Centrum, 1998), 20.
- 98 *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.
- 99 *Bulletin of the African Studies Association of the United Kingdom* (No. 8, July 1966), 13.
- 100 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 helped establish the National Archives of Nigeria serving as its first director as well as president of the Historical Society of Nigeria.
- 101 Robert July, *An African Voice: The Role of the Humanities in African Independence* (Duke University Press: Durham, 1987), 129.
- 102 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 the 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.
- 103 Davidson Nicol had been appointed principal of FBC a year before Sierra Leone's independence.
- 104 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.
- 105 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.
- 106 "Conflict over Students' Protests," *West Africa* (November 19, 1979), 2135. See also "Honorary Doctorate of Law from Lincoln University," (November 5, 1979), 2069.
- 107 Amadu Sesay, "Sierra Leone's Foreign Policy since Independence," *Africana Research Bulletin* (Vol. XI, Nos. 1 & 2., March 1981), 32.
- 108 Earl Conteh-Morgan and Mac Dixon-Fyle, *Sierra Leone at the End of the Twentieth Century*, (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 75.

- 109 Christopher Allen, "Sierra Leone," John Dunn (ed.), *West African States: Failure and Promises* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 196.
- 110 "Sierra Leone's Brain Drain," *West Africa* (November 12, 1973). This article listed fifty-nine prominent, university-educated Sierra Leoneans who had recently left the country. *Kutubu Commission of Inquiry* (Freetown: Government of Sierra Leone, 1984), 75-76. Between September of 1980 and January 1984, a total of 22 professors, lecturers, and technicians left FBC.
- 111 Sahr John Kpundeh, *Politics and Corruption in Africa*, 153.
- 112 Ibid, 63, 127, 151-159.
- 113 Sheikh Batu Daramy, *Constitutional Developments in the Post-Colonial State of Sierra Leone 1961-1984* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellon Press, 1993), 190.
- 114 George Roberts, *The Anguish of Third World Independence*, 253.
- 115 *Kutubu Commission of Inquiry* (Freetown: Government of Sierra Leone, 1984), ii-iii.
- 116 *Report of the Professor Kwami Investigating Committee on the University of Sierra Leone* (Sierra Leone: Government Printing Office, September, 1994).
- 117 Sahr John Kpundeh, *Politics and Corruption in Africa*, 70-78.
- 118 *White Paper on the Report of the Justice Beccles Davies Commission of Inquiry* (Freetown: Sierra Leone Government, August 1993), 31-32.
- 119 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 31st). 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.
- 120 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.
- 121 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.
- 122 Earl Conteh-Morgan, *American Foreign Aid and Global Power Projection: The Geopolitics of Resource Allocation* (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1990), 144, 228-234.
- 123 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.
- 124 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).
- 125 Daniel E. Babatunji Chaytor, *Building Indigenous Capacities for Development in Africa*, 30.
- 126 Robert Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy," *The Atlantic Monthly*, (February, 1994), 44-76.
- 127 UNDP, "Chapter 1: Trends in Human Development," *Human Development Report 1993*.

128 Cream Wright, "Cultural and Political Influences on the Development of Education in Sierra Leone," Noel Entwistle, ed., (London: Routledge, 1990), 184.

129 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.

130 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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