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PAN-AFRICANISM AND ITS IMPACT
ON THE SIERRA LEONEAN ELITE UP TO 1945

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Degree of Doctorate in African Civilization

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Dedication

To the memory of my mother,

To my father,

To my husband Sid Ahmed, my son Mehdi, and my daughter Sabrina,

To all my family, my friends, and my colleagues.

Abstract:

Slavery is a very old institution defined as an “involuntary servitude” in which the persons’ freedom and rights are denied and their actions restricted. It requires a compulsory service by which the slave is obliged to perform certain tasks for someone usually called a “master”. It emerged in the African society at an early age and developed after the establishment of the first contacts with the Europeans to give birth to a new form of servitude called the slave trade, a market established by the Europeans in the fifteenth century and by which black human cargoes were transported to provide labour in Europe and the Americas.

The introduction of black slavery in the New World was the result of a lack of labour. After the failure of the Indian labourers and the white servants, black human cargoes were imported from Africa to replace the used-up labour in America. The blacks performed intensive work in the mines and on the plantations and were treated as “chattels”. Their enslavement was practically rationalised in terms of cultural, biological, and racial arguments. It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that economic and religious motives led to the extinction of a business which had lasted for more than three centuries. In America, religious groups such as the Quakers denounced the institution of slavery in America and provided help for the emancipation of the poor black slaves. During the same period, humanitarian and philanthropic groups emerged in England, too, and expressed their reactions on behalf of Africans and African-Americans. They stood against the abuses of slavery and the slave trade in the British colonies and later in independent African territories. Mission activities were then sent to West Africa with Sierra Leone as the leading country. Their objectives were to put an end to slavery and the slave trade. In addition, they wanted to convert and educate the blacks. Above all, the introduction of Christianity in West Africa and Sierra Leone more particularly, the Europeans claimed, was regarded as a means by which they wanted to apologize for the harm

done to the Africans through the slave trade. With their educating and converting purposes, the Christian missions could stimulate numbers of Africans who were later to form "The educated elite class".

The blacks themselves reacted against their status. From the very beginning of the Atlantic slave trade, resistance and protest against the degradation of Africa took various forms. The blacks, at first those dispersed throughout the world, particularly in the New World, struggled to assert themselves in a world that was hostile to them. Their ideologies were not directed to the promotion of the blacks of the Americas only but the African blacks inside and outside the African continent. The growth of this Pan-African sentiment stemmed basically out of the Americans' racial prejudices about the African race and later the Europeans' colonial expansion in Africa. African-American and West Indian leaders like Edward Blyden (1832-1912), Booker. T. Washington (1858-1915), W. E. B. Du Bois (1868-1963), and Marcus Garvey (1887-1940) believed that both people, in Africa and America, were under the same conditions of exploitation and humiliation. A sense of solidarity and unity, therefore, developed among people on both sides of the Atlantic who envisioned to struggle together for the good of all.

"Unity", "solidarity", and "race pride" were the basis of a Pan-African movement known in history as "Pan-Africanism". It was a protest movement based on the belief that all the blacks of African descent inside and outside Africa must unite under a major and effective global force to achieve the lost dignity, equality, and self-respect worldwide.

The Africans' attitudes to the Pan-African movement were controversial. There were, on the one hand, those who were in favour of the movement and, therefore, believed in its objectives of racial unity and solidarity among all blacks of African descent. Others, on the other hand, rejected the movement claiming that it

was a movement destined for the promotion of the blacks of the Diaspora only and not directly related to the political, economic, and cultural needs of West Africa.

The educated elite in Sierra Leone responded positively to the Pan-African principles. In America and Great Britain and together with African-American and West Indian leaders, they took part in Pan-African conclaves held periodically between 1900 and 1945, and organised different Pan-African organisations with the intention of fostering greater understanding and cooperation across racial boundaries. Their political activities at a Pan-African level stimulated their nationalist consciousness. Through their different contacts with the African-American activists, the Sierra Leonean elite developed a growing African consciousness and a wider racial unity and awareness of Pan-African thinking.

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ABBREVIATIONS:

- A. M. E.: African Methodist Episcopal.
- A. M. E. Z.: African Methodist Episcopal Zion.
- C. M. S.: Church Missionary Society.
- C.O.: Colonial Office.
- J. A. H.: Journal of African History.
- L. C. P.: League of Coloured People.
- N. A. A. C. P.: National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People.
- N. C. B. W. A.: National Congress of British West Africa.
- N. P. U.: Nigerian Progress Union.
- P. A. A.: Pan-African Association.
- S. E. R. S. A. S.: South-Eastern Regional Seminar in African Studies.
- S. L. Y. L.: Sierra Leone Youth League.
- T. U. C.: Trades Union Congress.
- U. N. I. A.: Universal Negro Improvement Association.
- W. A. N. S.: West African National Secretariat.
- W. A. S. U.: West African Students' Union.
- W. A. Y. L.: West African Youth League.
- W. F. T. U.: World Federation Trade Unions.

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Introduction

Pan-Africanism describes a racially conscious movement which emerged out of the Africans' dispersion throughout the Americas and Europe through the Atlantic slave trade. It also refers to a unified struggle of African people and people of black African descent against all forms of external aggression and invasion. According to the African-American scholar, W. E. B. Du Bois, Pan-Africanism was essentially a movement that reflected the blacks' emotions and aspirations. It represented a growing ethnic awareness among the descendents of the African slaves in the New World. In its early stages, Pan-Africanism grew as an anti-racist philosophy which came out of the blacks' feelings of persecution, inferiority, and dependency; then it developed as an anti-colonialist ideology to denounce Western dominance. It espoused pride in the African heritage and solidarity among all peoples of African descent.

Literally, Pan-Africanism means "all Africanism". It is a protest movement based on the principle that all the people of black African descent in the African continent and all the blacks dispersed throughout the world in what was historically called the Diaspora, regardless of their ethnicity, culture or nationality share common bonds, history, experiences and objectives and must unify themselves under one force to attain their objectives.

As a movement worthy of the name, Pan-Africanism was coined in America by the Trinidadian barrister Henry Sylvester Williams (1869-1911) through the organization of the first Pan-African conference at Westminster Town Hall, London on 23-25 July, 1900. However, its roots may be traced back at least to the eighteenth century with the blacks' early protests against slavery and the slave trade. In the nineteenth century, Pan-Africanism developed as a reaction to segregation and racial discrimination in America and colonialism, Europeans' exploitation of the blacks' human and natural resources, in Africa.

The establishment of the first contacts between the Europeans and the Africans by the end of the fifteenth century followed by the discovery of the New World in 1492 paved the way for the inauguration of a trade known in history as "the Atlantic slave trade". Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, black human cargoes from Africa were transported across the Atlantic to serve as slaves for the cultivation of the American plantations. African slavery was a profitable trade from which the Europeans could get wealth as well as strength. It was also a business that was hated by the African slaves who were compelled to labour under cruel and dehumanising conditions and were heavily oppressed. The slaves in the Americas were indoctrinated with nefarious perceptions about Africa and the Africans in order to keep them in a position of inferiority and dependency. The abolition of slavery in America in 1863 further perpetuated the backwardness of the African race through the adoption of segregationist laws intended to maintain the blacks at the lowest rank of the American society.

The feelings of degradation, exploitation, and loss of dignity generated by slavery and later perpetuated by racial discrimination urged the African-Americans to react against the existing conditions. In America, the blacks' reactions against slavery are as old as the institution itself. However, the early forms of protest were hopeless and it was not until the eighteenth century with the emergence of the abolitionist movement and the impact it had on the political and intellectual forces

that Pan-African impulses were later able to develop. Some African blacks struggled to achieve their rights through integration in the white American society. Others, however, favoured to go back to Africa by advocating repatriation schemes historically referred to as the colonisation schemes. They believed that equality could never be obtained in America and favoured, therefore, to go to Africa, the land of the blacks' ancestors.

In their struggle for the achievement of the lost dignity, equality, and respect, both the integrationists and the emigrationists turned their attention to Africa as an ultimate solution to their racial problems. They regarded the promotion of the blacks in the African continent as a means by which they could improve their own conditions in America. If Africa could progress, the African-Americans would no longer be regarded as inferior beings and would gain respect and equality. The black Americans believed that there was a close relationship among the blacks on both sides of the Atlantic. Both people, the Africans and the African-Americans, were under white domination. A sense of solidarity and unity, therefore, developed and the African-Americans felt the need to fight not only for their own rights, but also for the promotion of the black race worldwide.

Early African-Americans' interest in Africa and the Africans goes as far back as to 1795. The contact between the African natives and their descendents in America became possible through missionary "civilising" and educating missions in Africa, the circulation of black newspapers in the United States, West Africa, the West Indies, and elsewhere in the world, and Africans' education in the United States and Great Britain. The interaction between both people, Africans and African-Americans, gradually led to a new racial consciousness among the most educated groups who viewed their fate as inextricably connected with the fate of all the darker people throughout the world. The blacks all over the world, had, therefore, to work for the achievement of unity through international cooperation and had to struggle together for the good of all.

The African-Americans were highly interested in the Sierra Leone colony. Its settlers were among the most educated groups in all Africa during the nineteenth century and were able to take advantage of the new initiatives the African-Americans could afford in education and religion. Sierra Leone was, in fact, established as "a province of freedom" grouping together former slaves from England, African-American blacks, Nova Scotians, Maroons, and freed slaves who had been liberated by the British navy since 1808. Together these settlers formed what came to be known in history as "the Creole community". The Creoles in Sierra Leone were provided with western education and Christianity and were regarded as British subjects.

The introduction of western education in the Sierra Leone colony led to the emergence of a new class of the educated people known in the history of the colony as "the educated elite" or "the westernised elite". The word elite refers to a group of people whose attainments are the best in society. These people consider that their high position in society allows them to emerge from the rest of the people. In the colony, the word elite designated those people who had received western education in European institutions and schools.

The acquisition of a western culture, the adoption of European principles and dressing styles and the possession of European names led the Sierra Leonean elite to feel themselves superior in comparison to the rest of the Africans of the other parts of British West Africa. However, they came to realise that they were not treated on equal basis with the Europeans and started to feel frustrated and humiliated. Consequently, by the wake of the twentieth century the Sierra Leonean educated people gradually broke away from the Christian western framework into a more African oriented view. They strove to identify themselves as a distinct and an equal group able to stand on its own. Their nationalist philosophy was highly influenced by the principles of Pan-Africanism and African-Americans' ideas about race pride, black solidarity, and "the African personality".

In Sierra Leone, Pan-Africanist leaders like Edward Blyden (1832-1912), Booker. T. Washington (1858-1915), W. E. B. Du Bois (1868-1963), and Marcus Garvey (1887-1940) not only brought enlightenment ideas about freedom and self-determination through their insistence upon unity, but they also provided the Sierra Leoneans, particularly the educated people, with the necessary tools to develop their nationalist awareness.

It was the subjugation of the Sierra Leonean educated people by the colonial authorities which gave rise to Black Nationalism in Sierra Leone, a tendency of the Creoles to control their own political, economic, and social institutions and to struggle for the attainment of self-determination from the alien rule. This nationalist consciousness that emerged out of oppression was strengthened through the Sierra Leonean elite's participation in the different Pan-African activities in Great Britain and the United States, and was exclusively based on pride in the African heritage and a determination to achieve freedom, justice, and equality.

The present work is entitled "Pan-Africanism and its Impact on the Sierra Leonean Elite up to 1945". Sierra Leone was selected as a field of work because of the great interest the colony represented to the Americans and the Europeans since the fifteenth century. Europeans' contacts with Sierra Leone were among the earliest ones in West Africa with the Portuguese mapping the area as early as 1462. In addition, the Atlantic slave trade was effectively launched from Sierra Leone in 1560. The first African slaves to land in North America were, indeed, brought from Sierra Leone. Again, during the eighteenth century when the cultivation of rice was at its peak, huge human cargoes were brought from Sierra Leone to serve as slaves on the plantations of South Carolina and Georgia. Most important of all, during the nineteenth century the Sierra Leoneans in and around Freetown were among the most enlightened people of British West Africa during the colonial era through their acquisition of western education and Christian principles. They were also among the

first educated groups to respond positively to the Pan-African ideologies that glorified the image of the black race.

The present work attempts to trace back the origins and the evolution of Pan-Africanism in America and the impact this Pan-African movement could play on the Sierra Leoneans' minds, especially the educated ones, up to 1945. It also seeks answers to different questions like: why did the Diasporan communities turn their attention to Africa in their struggle for the attainment of their own rights in America? What were the African-Americans' Pan-African activities in Africa, particularly in Sierra Leone? How did the Sierra Leonean elite receive the Pan-African ideas? What were the Sierra Leoneans' attitudes to Pan-Africanism? And to what extent could Pan-Africanism help shape Sierra Leoneans' nationalist ideologies?

This work is divided into three chapters. The first chapter deals with the origins of Pan-Africanism. It goes depth and insight throughout the different factors which paved the way for the emergence of the movement. It is divided into two parts. The first part traces back the Europeans' exploration of the West African coasts and the inauguration of the business of the Atlantic slave trade after the establishment of the first contacts between the Europeans and the West Africans during the fifteenth century. It also highlights the brutal nature of plantation slavery and racial prejudices the African blacks were subjected to up to the end of slavery by the end of the nineteenth century. Part two, on the other hand, is concerned with the implementation of the American segregationist laws after the abolition of slavery for the perpetuation of the blacks' racial prejudices in the Americas.

Chapter two deals with the evolution of Pan-Africanism in the New World. It sheds light on the African-Americans' early protests against their status, and the emergence of the black American Church as an early expression of Pan-Africanism. This chapter is also devoted to the African-Americans' interest in Sierra Leone as a base for their Pan-African schemes and their early activities there.

Chapter three deals with African-American and West Indian leaders' Pan-African ideologies and the extent of their influence on the Sierra Leonean elite's political consciousness up to 1945. It is concerned with E. Blyden's notion of "the African Personality" and its role in changing the Sierra Leonean elite's minds about the African race and sheds light on B. T. Washington's vocational principles and their impact on the Sierra Leoneans' thinking. This chapter further raises the Sierra Leoneans' participation in the different Pan-African activities including the Pan-African conferences held periodically between 1900 and 1945 under the leadership of W. E. Du Bois. The Sierra Leonean elite's involvement in M. Garvey's movement and different Pan-African students' organisations in London during the 1920's and the impact they could have on their political consciousness are also part of this work.

Chapter One

The Historical Background

of Pan-Africanism

(Prior to the eighteenth century)

Western people's early motivation in the African continent is traced back to the late Middle Ages. With the economic and scientific revivals¹ that took place in Europe during the fifteenth century, the Europeans became interested in the outside world. A new interest was given to trade and the Westerners strove to expand beyond Europe to extend their commercial opportunities. Voyages of exploration and discovery were, hence, launched to search for new markets outside the Europeans' homelands. After the establishment of the first contacts between the Africans and the Europeans, a trade in human beings, referred to in history as the slave trade, was established between West Africa and Europe. The slave trade expanded more extensively after the discovery of the New World in 1492. The newly discovered

¹ In the fifteenth century, Europe witnessed a strong economic growth characterised by the establishment of new trade routes throughout the European continent and beyond, international banking system, systemized foreign exchange markets, and insurance. www.britanica.com (accessed in November 2004).

land of America required a great deal of labour for the exploitation of its resources. For more than three centuries, the black Africans were used to perform intensive work in the mines and on the plantations and were treated as chattels. The slave trade was not abolished until the end of the eighteenth century. Economic motives and the emergence of humanitarian and religious groups in America and England led to an end of a business which had lasted for more than three centuries. Nonetheless, the end of black slavery witnessed the emergence of a new form of servitude expressed in terms of racial discrimination. The blacks were still regarded as inferior beings and were compelled to remain at the bottom of the ladder. What were the Europeans' motivations behind the exploration of the West African coasts? Why did the European traders develop the slave trade as the primary trade with West Africa during the fifteenth century? Why did the Europeans and the Americans abolish a business which lasted for more than three centuries? And what happened to the African slaves after the abolition of slavery and the slave trade?

I - Europeans' Exploration of the West African Coasts:

The exploration of the African continent by the Western people goes back to the sixth century B.C when an expedition was said to have reached the Red Sea in the eastern part of the continent¹. A similar attempt of navigation through the West African coasts was undertaken by the Carthaginians centuries later. These seamen attained the River Senegal and probably reached the area of modern

¹ Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade (1440 – 1780)*, London, Paper Mac 1997, p.49.

Sierra Leone. Nevertheless, little evidence was given to these early circumnavigations. It was not until the late Middle Ages that serious attempts to explore the African continent were undertaken.

It is worth noting that the Renaissance¹ that took place in Europe during the fifteenth century led to scientific and economic revivals. A new interest started to be given to trade in Europe and people there showed a great interest in the outside world. With the formation of new national states such as Portugal, France, and Spain, a competition increased between the traders of the same nationality as well as of different ones to gain power and capital which became the primary concerns of the Europeans after the breakdown of Feudalism². The governments of these emerging nations of Western Europe were ready to accept any methods by which wealth and strength could be obtained. Thus, voyages of exploration and discovery were encouraged to search for new markets, labour and material³.

It was more especially the Indian spices which attracted the European merchants. For many centuries, the Europeans among them the Italians, used to trade with Asia. They provided the people there with timber, iron and slaves and could themselves obtain a valuable quality of spices, ivory, and other commodities that were not available in Europe. When Asia fell under the Muslims' control in the eighth century, the Italian merchants were denied access to the interior. Their trade was to be restricted on the coasts only because the Muslims feared the influence of

1 The Renaissance was a cultural movement which emerged in the late Middle Ages first in Italy, then it swept throughout the rest of Europe. It witnessed a revival in different fields, namely art, literature, and economy. www.britanica.com (accessed in November 2004).

2 Feudalism is a form of government which swept Europe in the Middle Ages. In this form of government, the rulers considered themselves as the owners of all lands and the people living in those lands. www.britanica.com

3 O. P. Grenouilleau, *La Traite des Noirs*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1997, p.28.

the Christians on Islam. The quality and the quantity of goods that reached the coast were limited and very expensive due to the damages before their arrival and could hardly cover the Europeans' needs. The European merchants believed that they could get more profits if they could find a direct route which was to lead them directly to India in order to search their commodities themselves¹. A passage through Africa would probably lead them to the Asian original sources of spices. Therefore, voyages of exploration and discovery to the African continent had been encouraged.

The Italians were the first people to initiate the voyages of exploration towards the African continent. Their purpose was to reach the Red Sea, India and Ethiopia², through an eastward sailing round Africa. However, they soon found their ambitions blocked by the existence of the Muslims who swept over the Nile Valley too. The Muslims categorically refused any European contact with the native Africans whether for commercial or religious purposes³.

Because an eastward exploration of Africa seemed impossible, the Italians directed their explorations through the North of Africa. Their aim was to reach the Sudan and the Sahara and to establish trade relations with the natives who had a flourishing commerce at that time. By the end of the thirteenth century, a mission was sent to North Africa by Raymond Lull, a pioneer in the European study of Arabic who could accompany a trans-Saharan caravan⁴. In 1447 a Genoese merchant, Antonio Malfante, acquired knowledge about trade in the Sahara, and

1 M. B. Norton and D. M. Katzman, *A People and a Nation: A History of the United States*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2nd Edition, 1986, I, p.15.

2 Because Ethiopia was easily reached through the East of Africa, it has long been believed that it belonged to Asia rather than Africa. J. D. Fage, *A History of Africa*, Cambridge University Press, 1967, p.218

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

in 1469 a Florentine pioneer named Benedetto Dei reached Timbuktu. Nevertheless, no other successive attempts were undertaken because of the Muslims' influence which swept throughout the African interior as well. The Italians, who did not have a military strength to fight against the Muslims in Africa, preferred to direct their explorations westward by circumnavigating Africa.

Genoese navigators known as Ugolino and Vivaldi sailed on the West African coasts as early as 1231¹. However, their vessels were never found and little information was written down concerning their trip. Another journey was undertaken in 1320. It was led by Lan Zarotto, a Genoese adventurer who could plant a Spanish flag in the Canary Isles². However, Italians' attempts soon came to an end. Although the Italian seamen had a high knowledge of the arts of accurate navigation, they were short of maritime materials that could enable them to go further in their explorations of the West African coasts and to fight against the dangerous currents that were frequent there. In addition, there were no organized expeditions sponsored by the government. The Italian vessels that floated on the West African waters belonged to individual adventurers only. However, sailors from other emerging nations of Western Europe like Portugal had better opportunities.

Portugal emerged as a powerful national state during the late fourteenth century. It was ready to support expeditions that would explore the West African coasts and was in possession of highly developed vessels for that purpose. Through the exploration of Africa, the Portuguese aimed, in fact, to carry their crusade against Islam³. Above all, the circumnavigation of Africa was a way to reach the Indian Ocean, the Portuguese ultimate aim. It was the Indian spices that attracted the

1 H. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p.50.

2 *Ibid.*

3 M. B. Norton, D.M. Kadzman, *op. cit.*, p.15.

Portuguese. They believed that they could become the wealthiest and the strongest nation in all Europe if they could provide directly from India the commodities that were not available in Europe.

In their explorations of the West African coasts, the Portuguese benefited from the Italians' technical skills and knowledge about Africa. As early as 1339, an Italian cartographer from Palma, Angelino Dulcert, was able to draw a sea chart describing the existence of a land in Africa rich in gold. The Portuguese also acquired knowledge about Africa through early Arabs' writings about the land of the blacks. The Arab geographers stated that the African continent could be navigated because all of it was surrounded by the sea. Most important of all, it was the occupation of Ceuta in Morocco in 1415¹ under the leadership of Prince Henry² or "Henry the Navigator" as he is known in history, that the Portuguese enriched their knowledge about the blacks' land. They heard about the existence of a land across the Sahara in which gold was available and which was not under the Muslims' control. This land came to be called "Guinea", that is the land of the blacks which could only be reached by navigation³.

The Portuguese first attained Madeira⁴, a timber-bearing forest in 1418. They established a settlement there and started to plant sugar plantations by 1420. They reached the Azores in 1439. They discovered the White Cape, or Cape Blanco as it was called in 1441, and Arguin in 1443. As the island offered fishing opportunities, the Portuguese looked into the possibility of establishing trade relations there through the establishment of a trading fort in 1448. In 1444 -5 the

1 J. D. Fage, *A History of West Africa: An Introductory Survey*, Cambridge University Press, 4th Edition, 1969, p.50.

2 Prince Henry was born at Porto, Portugal. He was the son of John I of Portugal. Being interested in the world outside Europe, he sent out expeditions to explore the West African coasts since the fourteenth century. www.wikipedia.org (accessed in February 2005).

3 H. Thomas, op. cit, p.51.

4 Madeira in the Portuguese language means "wood". The Portuguese named it as such because of its timber-bearing forests. Ibid.

Portuguese explorers arrived at the Mouth of the Senegal and Cape Verde. Back to Portugal, they transported with them black slaves, as exhibits, to show Prince Henry that they had reached “the land of the blacks”. They discovered Sierra Leone¹ in 1460 and the Gold Coast in 1470. The coast was so rich in gold that the Portuguese started to erect a fort there as early as 1482. Eighteen years after the discovery of the Gold Coast, the Portuguese explorer Bartholomew Diaz (1450-1500) finally reached the Cape of Good Hope.

After the success of the first voyage to India by Vasco De Gama (1469-1524) in 1497, the Portuguese became less interested in Africa². Asia could provide the Europeans with luxury goods which were not available in Europe and the traders there were used to maritime trade. West African people, however, had a commerce mainly directed inland through the Sahara and Sudan, and apart from slaves, ivory and gold they could offer but little to the European merchants’ needs at that time³. It was, however, the gold of the Gold Coast used as a means of exchange against the Asian goods, as well as the availability of slaves which made the Portuguese merchants change their attitude towards West Africa. They realized a new commercial profit in the transportation of African blacks to Europe. They believed that they could become wealthy by selling black people into servitude and elucidated their traffic in Christian terms. They claimed that the blacks who were taken to a foreign land would have the opportunity to get education and embrace Christianity⁴, but this was, in fact, just a pretext by which the Portuguese justified their business.

1 Sierra Leone in Portuguese means the lions’ mountain. www.britanica.com (accessed in February 2005).

2 J.D. Fage, *A History of Africa*, op. cit, p. 229.

3 R. Oliver and J.D. Fage, *A Short History of Africa*, Great Britain: Penguin books, 1970, p.101.

4 J. P. Davis, *The American Negro Reference Book*, New Jersey: Prentice- Hall, inc., Engle wood Cliffs, 1966, p.1.

The importation of black slaves in Europe remained limited. Black women were used as house servants and concubines and black males worked as labourers, builders, ferrymen, dancers, singers and players in the European ceremonies. It was not until the discovery of the New World in 1492 and the rapid growth of the demand for labour there that the Europeans started to realize the importance of the African continent in supplying the American colonies with slaves to perform the agricultural tasks on the plantations.

The discovery of America revolutionized, to a great extent, African slavery¹. It is true that slavery, as an institution, was known among the earliest people of Africa and its existence goes back to countless centuries. The slaves in Africa could perform a variety of tasks. Black women were house servants and concubines, at times wives, and black males were agricultural labourers and victims of ritual sacrifice². The slave in the African society was in the possession of some rights and was recognized as a member of a household³. In some societies as the Ashanti society, for instance, the slave could “marry, own property, himself own a slave, swear an “oath”, be a competent witness, and ultimately might become heir to his master”⁴. However, after the establishment of the first contacts between the Africans and the Europeans, African slavery became a profitable trade by which the westerners could acquire wealth and strength. Black slaves started to be transported in bulk across the Atlantic to meet the labour shortage in the Americas. Statistics show that the number of black slaves who landed overseas was estimated at about 293.000 slaves in the sixteenth century, 1.494.000 in the seventeenth century, 5.212.000 in the eighteenth century and 2.783.000 in the nineteenth century⁵. (See table one).

1 A. Stamm, *L'Histoire de l'Afrique Pré-Coloniale*, Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 1997, p.114.

2 P. Kolchin, *American Slavery (1619-187)*, London: Penguin Books, 1993, p.20

3 S.M. Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2nd Edition, 1968, p.96.

4 Ibid.

5 J. D. Fage, *A History of Africa*, op. cit., p. 254.

Table one: Estimated numbers of African Slaves landed overseas by European traders (1451-1867):

	to old world destinations		To the Americas		totals
	totals	Annual average	totals	Annual average	
1451-1525	76.000	1.000			
1526-50	31.300	1.200	12.500	500	
1551-75	26.300	1.000	34.700	1.400	
1576-1600	16.300	600	96.000	3.800	293.000
1601-25	12.800	500	249.000	10.000	
1626-50	6.600	300	236.000	9.500	
1651-75	9.000	120	368.000	15.000	
1676-1700	2.700	100	616.000	25.000	1.494.000
1701-20			626.000	31.000	
1721-40			870.000	43.000	
1741-60			1.007.000	50.000	
1761-80			1.148.000	57.000	
1781-1800			1.561.000	78.000	5.212.000
1801-20			980.000	49.000	
1821-67			1.803.000	38.000	2.783.000
Totals	175.000		9.607.000		9.782.000

Source: J.D. Fage, *A History of Africa*, op. cit., p.254.

The establishment of plantations in the newly discovered land of America required a great deal of labour. With the quick demand in manpower, the West African coasts became the essential markets from which black human cargoes were being transported across the Atlantic to meet the labour shortage in the Americas.

II- The Business of the Atlantic Slave Trade:

The European traders referred to transportation of blacks across the Atlantic during the fifteenth as the Atlantic Slave Trade or the Triangle Trade (see map one). They gave it this name because of the triangle passage of the ships before their arrival in the Americas. The initial step took place on European ports. Bristol, Liverpool and London in Great Britain; Nantes, Bordeaux, Le Havre and La Rochelle in France; and Cadiz in Spain were the most important ports to trade with West Africa. Before their embarkation, the Europeans gathered in their slaving ships a variety of European goods. Weapons, gun powder, spirits, cotton textiles¹, brass and rum were to be exchanged against slaves on the West African coasts². The slaves were then transported across the Atlantic for sale in the Americas. Back to Europe, the European merchants filled their ships with American crops that were to be sold in European markets.

In order to facilitate trade with the Europeans, trading posts or forts in which European goods as well as African slaves were stoked were established. These forts or "factories" as the Europeans called them, were well garrisoned to prevent people from securing European goods without buying them³. In the Grain Coast (the area stretching from Sierra Leone to Cape Palmas) and the Ivory Coast (the area stretching from Cape Palmas to modern Ghana) where the forts were absent smoke signals were used by the African slave traders to show the European ships on the waters their desire to trade with the Europeans⁴, then, the African traders either used their canoes to reach the ship or waited for it on the shores of the coast. However,

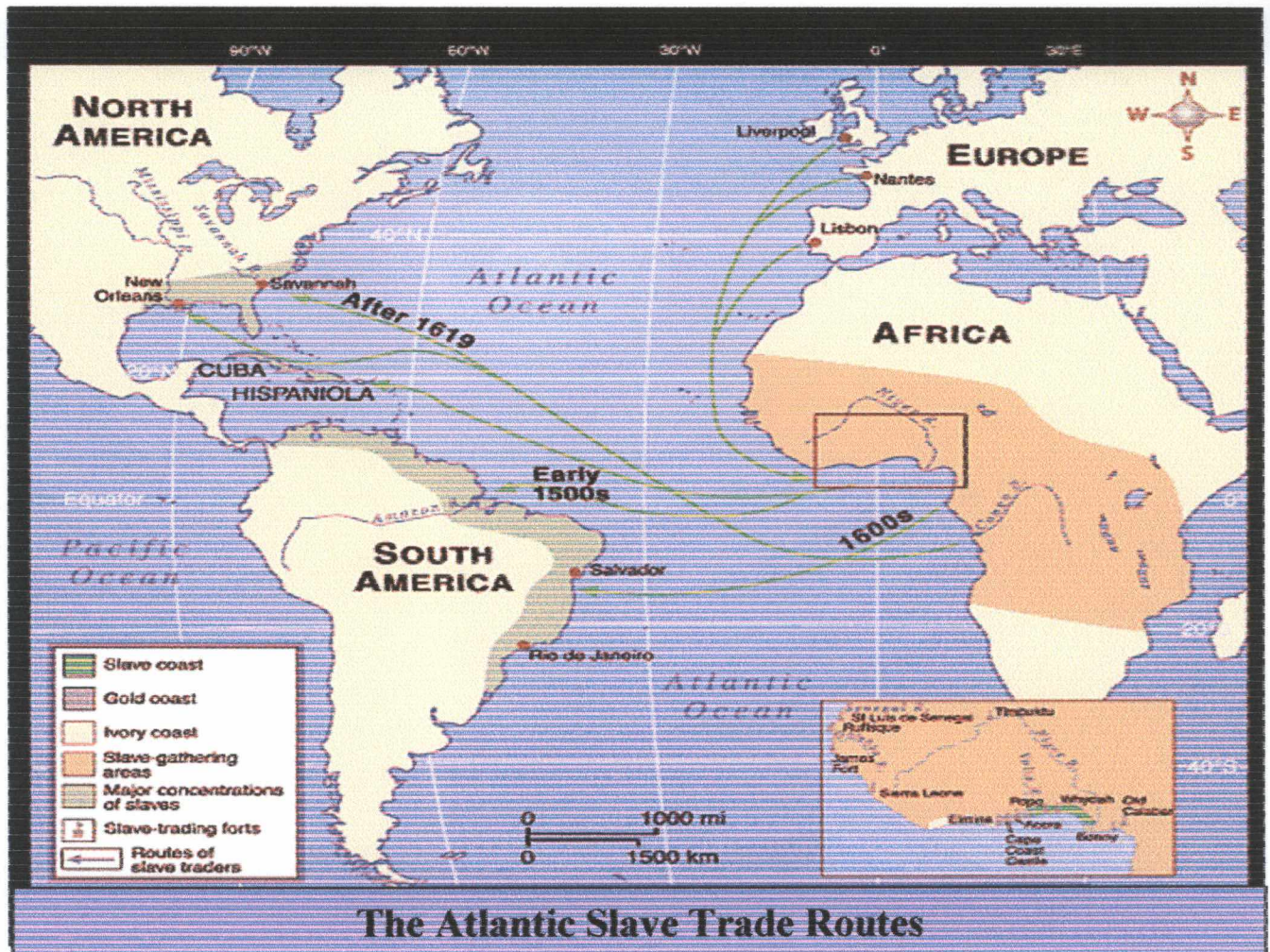
1 J.H. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*, New York: Vintage Books Edition, 3rd Edition, 1969, p.54.

2 A. Stamm, op. cit., pp. 114-115.

3 J.H. Franklin, op. cit., p.54.

4 A. Meier and E. Rudwick, *From Plantation to Ghetto*, New York: Hill and Wang, 3rd Edition, 1976, p.33.

Map one: The Atlantic Slave Trade Routes Map (1500-1619).



Source: Maps.com (accessed in April 2009).

Europeans' influence there was very slight because the coasts were characterized by dangerous currents and storms and did not have natural harbours¹. On the other hand, the Slave Coast (the coast east of the Gold Coast) which became the major source of slaves during the eighteenth century forts were also established. But unlike the Gold Coast and the Senegambia (see map two) where forts were fortified, the rulers of the Slave Coast allowed but mud forts².

Being denied access to the interior, the European slave traders needed the co-operation of the natives³ and their rulers. They established friendly relationships with African agents who worked as middlemen in charge of bringing supplies of slaves. In Nigeria, the slave trade was directed by "the Oracle", a judicio-religious body which acted as a mediating agency. Its duty was to bring supplies of slaves from the whole of the Niger region to the coasts. The people who were destined for enslavement were said to be eaten by the Oracle⁴.

Not all slaves that were brought to the coastal stations belonged to coastal areas. To meet the Europeans' demands of slaves, the African agents needed to move throughout the interior. Therefore, the acquired slaves belonged to different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, and came from diverse geographical areas. This enabled the Europeans on the coast to select the slaves they desired to acquire. In the Gold Coast, for instance, the slaves were to be used as field hands⁵ due to their strong physical corpulence. The slaves of the Gold Coast, Congo and Angola, however,

1 J. D. Fage, *A History of West Africa*, op. cit., p.58.

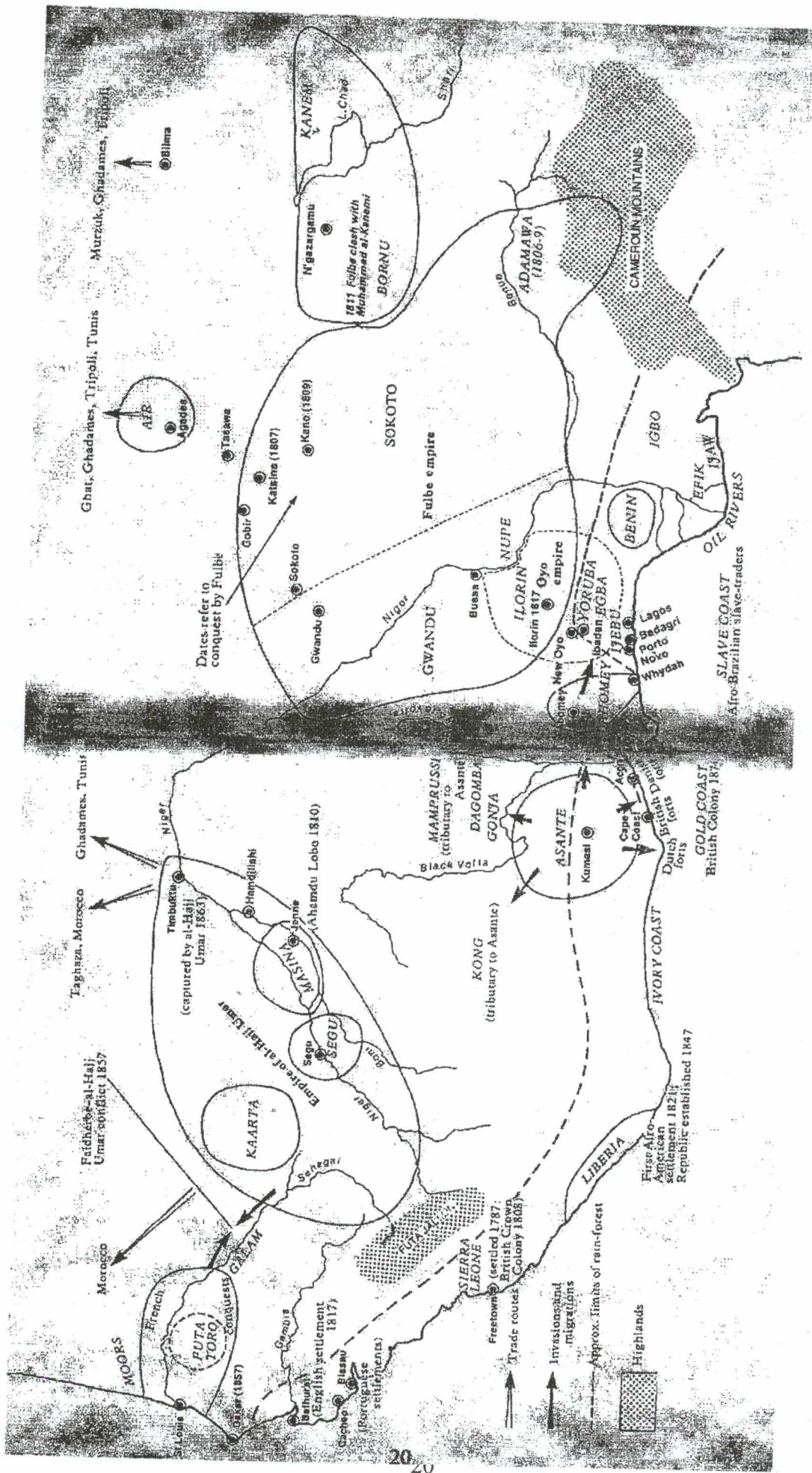
2 A. Meier and E. Rudwick, op. cit., p. 34.

3 P. Curtin and al., *African History*, London and New York: Longman, 1984, p.222.

4 S.M. Elkins, op. cit., p.96.

5 P. Kolchin, op. cit., p.18

Map two: West Africa, 1800-1875



Source: R. Oliver & A. Atmore, *Africa since 1800*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp: 58-59.

were much weaker and could only serve as house-servants. These slaves could be obtained as a result of military conflicts or indebtedness. Other slaves were prisoners of wars, or victims of kidnappings¹. During the first years of the slave trade, the American colonists insisted on the importation of black males. Then, they realized the importance of women in the colonies, too. The existence of the black woman, the colonists believed, would encourage the formation of the slave family², in other words, the self-reproduction of the slave population.

The slaves brought to the coasts were cruelly treated. After some weeks of march in the forests, the slaves reached the coasts in decreasing numbers³. Naked, tied together by their necks, hands and feet chained, they were then gathered in prisons near the trading posts before being inspected by a physician in charge of selecting the best slaves to be sold. The Europeans always looked for the strongest and the ablest slaves available. For this reason, the slaves' bodies were very often oiled so that neither their age nor their physical conditions could be detected. As Historian J. H. Franklin pointed out : "...The prospective slaves had been so cleanly shaven and soaked in palm oil that it was difficult to ascertain their ages or physical condition"⁴. The rejected slaves were then left to death; selected ones, however, were branded with a hot iron and embarked on shipboard⁵.

1 A. Bourrier, *L'Esclavage aux Etats Unis : du Déracinement à L' Identité*, Paris : Ellipses Edition Marketing, 2001, p.33.

2 Ibid., p.34.

3 Great numbers of captives died along the way because of the hardships of the long march to the coasts. S.M. Elkins, op., cit., p. 99.

4 J.H. Franklin, op. cit., p.55.

5 S.M. Elkins, op. cit., p.100.

The passage from the West African coasts to the Americas lasted about two months and was given the name of "the middle passage"¹. It was undergone by the black slaves as a veritable nightmare. Gathered together, the black male slaves were offered little space to move their enchained bodies. The crowded conditions on the ships paved the way for contagious diseases such as smallpox and flux which led to the death of a great number of slaves². The dead and alive slaves remained stuck together in chains for many days before being thrown over board³. Women and children were offered more space. However, the hardships of the ship guards and the long voyage often led to their extinction. Some slaves put an end to their lives by committing suicide. Others mutilated themselves with the chains they were held with and other slaves preferred to starve refusing to face an unknown future. Pregnant women who gave birth to new born babies killed themselves and their kids too preferring death to enslavement⁴. Some black slaves who had never seen the sea⁵ before believed that they were in front of a monster able to devour them. Olaudah Equiano, a former slave, narrating his own experience in slavery wrote: "...I was now persuaded that I had gotten into a world of bad spirits and they were going to kill me"⁶.

Despite the great rate of mortality of slaves during the long march to the coasts, in the trading posts or during the long voyage to the Americas as it is shown in table two below, the European merchants could realize great profits from the business of the slave trade. Estimates show that during the eighteenth century when the market of the slave trade reached its highest peak, the benefit was of 360 pounds

1 A. Bourrier, op. cit. p.35.

2 J.H. Franklin. op. cit., p.56.

3 N. Bacharan, *Histoire des Noirs Américains au XXe Siècle*, Bruxelles : Editions Complexes, 1994, p.17.

4 A. Bourrier, op. cit., p.36.

5 P. Kolchin, op. cit., p. 20.

6 Ibid.

on the sale of 307 slaves and sometimes attained more than 7.000 pounds for 250 slaves on one voyage only¹.

Table two: Possible loss of population to West Africa occasioned directly by the Atlantic slave trade.

	Percent of total for all Africa	Loss of population	Approximate average annual loss.
Up to 1600	60	200 000	1 340
1601 – 1700	60	940 000	9 400
1701 – 1810	60	4 510 000	41 000
After 1810	33	650 000	11 000
Total		6 300 000	

Source: J. D. Fage, *A History of Africa*, op .cit., p.85.

Portugal was the first European power to inaugurate the Atlantic slave trade, holding a complete mastery until the 1530's. It was as well the only European force at that time to have a standing position on the West African coasts. Portuguese influence in West Africa had been in the upper Guinea coastlands, stretching from the Mouth of the Gambia to the modern border between Sierra Leone and Liberia. The existence of rivers and offshore islands as the Cape Verde and Madeira were important factors which led to the establishment of Portuguese trade relations there². By the 1480's Portuguese influence started to be noticed in the islands of the Gulf of Guinea. The islands were used as a stop providing the European ships going back to Europe or Brazil with provisions. Hitherto, it was the Gold Coast which most

¹ J.H. Franklin, op. cit, p.20

² J. D. Fage, *A History of Africa*, op. cit., pp. 239-40.

attracted the Portuguese. The coast offered not only slaves but more especially great quantities of gold to be exploited. The fact that the coast was divided into small kingdoms, the most important of which were Ga, Akan, Adangme, Komenda and Afutu, enabled the Portuguese to exercise control over the coast. Interestingly, the ruler of each kingdom sought to direct the trade with the Portuguese to his own benefit. Therefore, the rulers of different kingdoms were constantly in competition supplying the Portuguese with gold and slaves and receiving in return European commodities supposed to be of equal value. El Mina, the Portuguese first fort was then built as early as 1482 between Komenda and Afutu¹. Local rulers' desire to trade with the Portuguese encouraged the establishment of further forts on the coast, at Axim in the West of the Gold Coast in 1503-8, at Shama at the Mouth of the River Pra in 1560², and also at Accra during the same period where great quantities of gold were available there. The Portuguese were given the permission to trade with local rulers and to establish forts on condition that they made regular payments of trade goods to the kings. These payments were regarded by local rulers as a means by which they could show their supremacy over the land and its people.

Portugal feared the European powers' competition. Under the leadership of Prince Henry, the Portuguese asked for the pope's permission to give them a monopoly of the exploration and trade on the West African coasts. In 1442, the Portuguese could secure exclusive rights over the West African coasts. Their claims over West Africa were strengthened with three further bulls in the 1450's³. Until the end of the sixteenth century, Portugal remained, therefore, the leading power in West Africa⁴. However, its power started to be weakened by the emergence of other European powers.

1 Ibid., p.232.

2 H. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p.78.

3 Ibid., pp.64-65.

4 J. D. Fage, *A History of Africa*, *op. cit.*, p.240.

Spain was the first European power to compete with Portugal in the trade with West Africa. As early as the 1440's, licences to explore the West African coasts were granted to Spanish captains. In 1449 a Castilian attempted to exploit the African coastlands as far as South Bojador. Again in 1454, the Portuguese captured a Spanish ship sailing on the Guinea coasts.

To discourage Spanish attempts, the Portuguese punished the Spanish adventurers by killing them. However, despite the dangers of capture and Portuguese claims over West Africa, the Spanish carried their explorations of the West African coasts as the demand for African slaves became increasingly great in Spain. Not only slaves, but gold and ivory were brought from West Africa.

It was only after the discovery of the New World in 1492 that the Spanish became less interested in Africa. At first sight, the newly discovered land of America did not seem of a great importance. Little gold was found and the explorers could hardly exploit the soil by means of the natives. The diseases brought by the Europeans, in addition to the hard work the native Americans were asked to perform to search for and to extract gold often led to their extinction¹. Hitherto, when moving to the adjacent mainland, the Spanish realized that the newly discovered land offered new opportunities of exploitation after the discovery of silver mines in Peru and Mexico² in the middle of the sixteenth century. In addition, the soil was fertile and could be used for the cultivation of the crops which were demanded in Europe³. Nevertheless, the exploitation of America's resources could not be achieved without labour. The Spanish looked for their supplies from the Portuguese as early as 1510⁴.

1 J. D. Fage, *A History of West Africa*, op. cit., pp. 63-64.

2 Ibid., p.64.

3 P. Kolchin, op. cit., p. 6.

4 R. Oliver and J. D. Fage, op. cit., p. 120.

Like the Portuguese who claimed exclusive rights over the discovered coasts of Africa, the Spanish also claimed possession of the newly discovered lands of the West Indies and the American mainland. In 1493, the world was divided into two spheres of influence, the Spanish on the one hand, and the Portuguese on the other. The treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 gave the Castilians the monopoly in America and the Portuguese in Africa. The other European powers¹ were not ready to accept this decision that concerned Portugal and Castile only. The great profits the Portuguese were realizing from the transportation of African slaves across the Atlantic and the Spanish through the exploitation of the Americas led to the involvement of other European powers in the traffic. By the 1530's Portugal's position in West Africa and Spain's in America started to be challenged by the emergence of other European powers.

By the beginning of 1600, the Dutch became seriously interested in challenging the monopolies of both Portugal in West Africa and Spain in America. To compete with the Portuguese and the Spanish powers for world trade monopoly, the Dutch chartered two major companies, the Dutch East India Company and the Dutch West India Company, respectively in 1602 and 1607. Both companies were given a charter providing them with a monopoly of trade, one in Asia along the Indian Ocean, and the other in the West across the Atlantic. However, the West India Company was not very strong and was, therefore, doomed to failure. When the Spanish and Portuguese ports were closed to the Dutch trading ships at the close of the sixteenth century², Holland wanted to take revenge. In 1610, a Dutch company, "the Guinea Company" was founded, followed some years later, in 1621 by the reorganization of the West India Company³ with a monopoly of 24 years of

1 These Europeans were mainly the Dutch, The English, the French, the Danes, the Swedes and the Brandenburgers. H. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

2 When the Netherlands took its freedom from Spain, Philip II wanted to weaken it. *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*

Dutch trade in Africa and America¹. By the 1630's the company could secure a share of Portuguese possessions in Northern Brazil² used for the cultivation of sugar as well as a market in which African slaves were sold throughout the Americas³.

In the early stages of its establishment, the West India Company was not interested in the slave trade. Its directors believed that "... a trade in human beings was not morally justified"⁴. Nevertheless, the directors started to change their attitudes towards black slavery as they became aware that their possessions in America would not prosper without slave supplies from Africa. The first African slaves who landed in the Dutch colonies in America were secured by the Portuguese. Then the Dutch who wanted to supply their own colonies, started by the middle of the seventeenth century to compete with the Portuguese in West Africa⁵. By the 1640's the Dutch seized Portuguese posts in Arguin, Goree, Sao Thome, Loanda as well as the Portuguese forts in the Gold Coast⁶ and became the leading power in Africa as well, supplying not only their own colonies in the New World but also other European ones with slaves from Africa.

By the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century, individual merchants from England and France became interested in West Africa. The earliest French ship was captured on the West African coasts as early as 1492. Fifty years later, the French ship, the *Baptiste de Saint Jean de Luz* sailed down the West African waters under the leadership of the French Captain,

1 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p.50.

2 I. Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement*, London: Methuen and COLTD, 1974, p.17.

3 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p.51.

4 H. Thomas, op. cit., p.162.

5 J. P. Davis, op. cit., p. 4.

6 J. D. Fage, *A History of West Africa*, op. cit., p. 66.

André Morrison¹. Similar expeditions to West Africa were undertaken by individual adventurers from England. William Hawkins, an English captain, sailed down the Guinea coast as early as 1530. Another voyage to West Africa took place in 1534. The expedition was led by an English captain called John Lock who brought not only slaves to England but also gold, ivory, and Guinean pepper known as *malaguetta*². However, neither the French nor the English were supported by their governments. When the Dutch became the paramount suppliers of European markets with African, Asian, and American commodities, the governments of both England and France started to change their attitudes. The Dutch commodities were exchanged for European gold. However, as a nation's power in the seventeenth century was related to the quantities of gold it possessed³, England and France felt their powers threatened. Thus, in 1650 they began to challenge the Dutch power seriously through the establishment of companies by which they could themselves procure the commodities needed. Among the most important ones, there were the English Royal Adventurers Trading in Africa and the Royal African Company, chartered respectively in 1660 and 1672, and the French West Indies Company chartered in 1664.

The Dutch disruption of the Spanish monopoly in the Americas facilitated English and French involvements. By the 1640's the French had possessions in San Domingo, Guadeloupe, Martinique and Marie Galente, followed in the 1650's by the acquisition of St Lucia and Granada. Similarly, the English acquired St Christopher in 1623 and Barbados in 1625. In the 1630's the English also acquired Nevis, Antigua, and Montserrat⁴ followed by Jamaica in 1655 and Trinidad in 1808⁵.

1 About 200 French Ships sailed down the West African coasts as far as Sierra Leone from 1540 to 1578. H. Thomas, op. cit., p.154.

2 Ibid.,

3 J. D. Fage, *A History of West Africa*, op. cit., p.67.

4 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., pp. 61-62.

5 I. Geiss, op. cit., p.17.

In addition to these West Indian possessions, the English and the French also had colonies in the Northern American mainland. English possessions included areas stretching from New Hampshire in the North to Georgia in the South. The French also had possessions in North America, in Canada, Louisiana, and the Mississippi River. However, by 1763 these possessions fell under the control of England¹.

Europeans' West Indian and American colonies depended primarily on large supplies of slave labour for the cultivation of the established plantations. The English and the French, who had, hitherto, depended on the Dutch for their supplies of African labour, decided to bring themselves their labour from Africa by competing with the Dutch. By 1618 the British took possession of James Island in the estuary of the Gambia and became very effective on the coast from the Sierra Leone River to Sherbro Island. The French activities were, on the other hand, stretched in the area from Senegal to the Gambia. It was the Gold Coast which was the scene of major competition between different European powers. This led to armed conflicts between the Dutch, the British and the French from 1652 to 1713². These wars ended with the extinction of the Dutch power³, and the beginning of a new era of struggle between the French and the British in the eighteenth century to dispute monopoly over the trade with West Africa. By the end of the eighteenth century, the British started to gain grounds over the French. Britain's power goes back mainly to the strength of its navy⁴. Moreover, the British industries were able to export great quantities of goods at moderate prices as a result of the Industrial Revolution which took place in the eighteenth century. In addition, Britain's trade was not restricted to trading companies only. Individual merchants were also active

1 George Clark et al., "Portrait of the United States of America", USA, *United States Information Agency*, Sep., 1997, p. 21.

2 J. D. Fage, *A History of West Africa*, op. cit., p.249.

3 J. P. Davis, op. cit., p. 4.

4 Ibid.

in West Africa. By the mid- 1780's, therefore, the slave trade became predominantly in British hands.

The Danes, the Swedes, and the Brandenburgers were also engaged in the competition for the trade with West Africa. They wanted to acquire directly from native merchants and producers in Africa and Asia the commodities that were not available in Europe. Thus the governments of these competing nations chartered companies to acquire a monopoly of their respective nations' trade with West Africa. They believed that it was the only means by which they could secure forts in which not only slaves, but also goods could be stocked and protected against alien powers. However, neither the Danes nor the Swedes or the Brandenburgers were strong enough to compete against the other powers and the British more particularly.

As a result of the great competition between the European powers for trade and world monopoly, their plantations in the Americas tended to grow in size and the demand in slaves tended always to exceed the supply. In 1790, the number of the slave population in the American southern colonies only was estimated at 43% in South Carolina, 35% in Georgia, and 51% in Louisiana as it is shown in table three.

Table three: slave population and distribution in America (1790-1860).

	1790		1860	
United States	697,897	(17.8%)	3,953,760	(12.6%)
North	40,370	(2.1%)	64	(0.0%)
Regional share	5.8%		0.0%	
South	657,527	(33.5%)	3,953,696	(32.1%)
Regional share	94.2%		100.0%	
Upper South	521,169	(32%)	1,530,229	(22.1%)
Regional share	74.7%		38.7%	
Deep South	136,358	(41.1%)	2,423,467	(44.8%)
Regional share	19.5%		61.3%	
UPPER SOUTH				
Delaware	8,887	(15.0%)	1,798	(1.6%)
Maryland	103,036	(32.2%)	87,189	(12.7%)
Virginia	293,427	(39.2%)	490,865	(30.7%)
North Carolina	100,572	(25.5%)	331,059	(33.4%)
Kentucky	11,830	(16.2%)	225,483	(19.5%)
Missouri	-----		114,931	(9.7%)
Tennessee	3,417	(9.5%)	275,719	(24.8%)
DEPP SOUTH				
South Carolina	107,094	(43.0%)	402,406	(57.2%)
Georgia	29,264	(35.5%)	462,198	(43.7%)
Florida	-----		61,745	(44.0%)
Arkansas	-----		111,115	(25.5%)
Alabama	-----		435,080	(45.1%)
Louisiana	16,544	(51.6%)	331,726	(46.9%)
Mississippi	-----		436,631	(55.2%)
Texas	-----		182,566	(30.2%)

Source: P. Kolchin, op. cit., p. 242.

The introduction of black slavery in the New World was the result of a lack of labour. After the failure of the Indians and the white servants, black human cargoes were imported from Africa to replace the used-up labour in America.

III- The Introduction of Black Slavery in America:

The first African blacks who reached the American soil were not slaves. The earliest blacks who landed in the New World were explorers. Their existence there is traced back to 1501¹. They accompanied the Spanish in their voyages of exploration and discovery of the New World². The black Nuflo de Olano was with the Spanish explorer Vasco Nunez Balboa (1475-1517) when he discovered the Pacific Ocean in 1513. Negroes also accompanied Hernan Cortes (1485-1547) when he reached Mexico in 1519, and were with Vélas in 1520. In addition, the blacks were with the expeditions of Diego De Almagro (1475-1538) and Francisco Pizarro (1476-1541) in the exploration and conquest of the coastal regions of the Pacific Ocean, South of Panama during the 1520's.

The blacks also assisted the Europeans when they started to move inland through the American interior. They were with the Spanish explorer Cabeza De Vaca (1507-1559) when he explored the Southern part of America during the 1530's. They also accompanied Francisco Vasquez De Coronado (1510-1554) in the exploration of New Mexico in the 1540's. In fact, the black explorer Estevanico³, known in history as "Little Stephan", was the one who opened up New Mexico. Through their efforts of exploration of the New World with the Europeans, the Negroes contributed, to a great extent, to opening the world to the European exploitation.

The voyages of exploration allowed the Europeans to be aware of the richness of the New World in terms of gold and fertile lands. Wealth, however, could

1 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p.46

2 L. E. Lomax, *The Negro Revolt*, New York: A Signet Book, 1963, p.22.

3 He was among the most outstanding black explorers. He was killed by the Indians who believed him to be an impostor. G. Bourrier, op. cit., p.42.

be obtained only through an intensive work on the plantations. Manpower was, therefore, required for that purpose.

As a matter of fact, the Indians, the natives of America, were the first people to be used as labourers. Through the exploitation of Indians on the plantations, the Europeans would save money since the importation of labour from elsewhere would cost money. The Europeans shared paradoxical views with regard to the Indians. They considered the Native Americans as “nobles”. At the same time they wanted to Christianize them believing that they were pagans¹. They were kidnapped, enslaved and sold in the open market.

As a labour force, the Indians soon proved unsatisfactory for a variety of reasons. The Indians were not ready to be converted to Christianity and refused to speak a foreign language which would allow communication between themselves and the colonists². In addition, the Indians who were the natives of the American soil refused to be submitted to others in a land of their own, and their knowledge of the soil allowed them to escape easily without being captured by their masters. The failure of the Native Americans as a labour force was, above all, due to their refusal to perform agricultural tasks traditionally regarded as women’s work. The diseases brought by the European settlers as well as the bad treatment the Indians received on the part of the whites also led to their extinction³. Moreover, the natives were not used to the new regime of the plantation system imposed by the Europeans⁴, and the work in the mines was so hard that they could hardly resist.

When the Indian labour proved to be inadequate in the colonies, the colonists opted for another source of supply known as “indentured servitude”. This

1 P. Kolchin, *op. cit.*, p.7.

2 A. G. Bourrier, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

3 *Ibid.*

4 S. M. Elkins, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

practice consisted in bringing people from Europe. These people were offered a free voyage to the Americas. In return, they had to work there, without pay, for a certain number of years¹ and could get their freedom after the end of the term of their indenture.

The Europeans who were brought from Europe belonged to the poorest classes. Others were vagabonds, prostitutes, or prisoners brought for criminal sanctions² or as a result of kidnappings. In the North, the white indentured servants served as artisans and domestics and were asked to perform agricultural tasks in the South. As the demand in American crops such as sugar, tobacco, and cotton increased in Europe, more intensive work was required on the plantations. The white labourers could hardly resist due to climatic problems and the long hours under the sun often led to their extinction. The European labourers also died as a result of tropical diseases such as malaria and yellow fever. Others ran away³ escaping the hardships of their masters who, in order to extend their profits, heavily exploited them before the end of the term of their indenture. Furthermore, the number of the importation of white indentured started to decline by the 1660's. After the restoration of the monarchy in England in 1660, the political scene stabilized and people were offered better employment opportunities with decent wages⁴. In the colonies, however, things were different. With the development of the tobacco plantations in the late seventeenth century, the American economy became basically agricultural and the whites found little opportunities of work except as hand fields.

After the failure of the white indentured servitude, the European colonists turned their attention upon the blacks. They wanted the black Africans to fill the bulk of the colonies' labour needs. It was not until the beginning of the seventeenth

1 The period of indenture varied between seven and eight years. P. Kolchin, op. cit., p.12

2 F. L. Schoell, *Histoire de la Race Noire aux Etats Unis du XVIIe Siècle à nos Jours*, Paris: Payot, 1959, p.14.

3 L. E. Lomax, op. cit., p. 23.

4 P. Kolchin, op. cit., p.12.

century that the Spanish and the English in particular thought about the Africans. There was no need to import a black man power from Africa as long as the indentured whites could meet the labour needs in the colonies. African blacks had to be adjusted to the European culture, language and techniques of work. Most important of all, the use of black labour in the British colonies was expensive and hard to be obtained as the market of the slave trade remained in the Portuguese and the Dutch hands until the 1660's¹.

It was, in fact, the development of the tobacco plantations by the 1660's which encouraged the introduction of black slavery in the colonies. The Indian tobacco, known as *Nicotianum Tobacum* was first discovered by John Rolfe in 1612. The initiation of this crop in the colonies was a turning point in American black slavery. People in Europe became interested in the Indian tobacco, and through time their demand started to exceed the production. As the white labour proved to be a failure, the colonists thought about the Africans as the ultimate source of labour supply. The blacks, the colonists believed, were used to the hardships of the sun and were traditionally destined for agricultural tasks. They also claimed that the blacks could easily be captured in case they ran away due to the colour of their skin². In addition, in contrast with the white labourers who were able to take back their freedom after the end of the term of their indenture, the blacks were permanently held in slavery and their enslavement was transmitted to their kids.

By the 1660's the number of the black population started to grow considerably and their importation started to take proportions within the British colonies. Statistics given by Professor Philip Curtin show that 9,566,100 slaves landed in the Americas in a period extending from 1551 to 1870³. The number of slaves who reached the New World in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries was

1 Ibid., p.11.

2 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p. 72.

3 P. E. Lovejoy, "The Volume of the Atlantic Slave Trade: A Synthesis", *J. A. H.*, 1982, vol.23. N°4, p. 473.

limited since the demand was not very great. It was estimated at 125,000. As the need for labour became very huge as a result of the introduction of sugar cultivation on the plantations, slaves' importation in the Americas tended to increase. It was estimated at 1,280,000 in the seventeenth century ¹ and reached its peak in the eighteenth century after the discovery of the cotton gin in 1793. ²

The introduction of black slavery among the Christians was practically rationalized on the basis of racial differences. The whites believed in the blacks' inferiority and backwardness. They claimed that the Negro was a "savage", a "barbarian" and "a heathen" and was, thus condemned by nature to enslavement. They associated the white colour with purity and sainthood and claimed that the black skin colour was a symbol of evil, darkness and dirt. According to historian A. Rose "Darker colour, woolly hair, and other conspicuous physical Negro characteristics became steadily associated with servile status,...low intelligence performance, and lack of morals" ³. Early works in America made-up the blacks' innate biological inferiority. They stated that the blacks belonged to an inferior species. At Johns Hopkins University, a Southern student called Robert B. Bean, made a research and claimed that the blacks had deficient mental capacities⁴ as compared to the whites due to the smallness of their brains⁵. He wrote: "the Negroes' skulls and brains were smaller than the skulls of white men and their brains less convoluted and otherwise deficient"⁶.

1 J. D. Fage, *A History of West Africa*, op. cit., p. 82.

2 The cotton gin is the device of separating the seeds from the lint. www.britanica.com

3 A. Rose, *The Negro in America*, Boston: The Beacon Press, 1948, p.36.

4 F. P. Mall, "On Several Anatomical Characters of the Human Brain, Said to Vary According to Race and Sex, With Especial Reference to the Weight of the Frontal Lobe" *American Journal of Anatomy*, [February, 1909], p. 9.

5 These results were obviously rejected later by scientists who argued that there were no mental differences between the blacks and the whites. A. Rose, op. cit., p. 34.

6 Ibid.

In addition to the innate biological arguments, another more complex argument was given by the whites to justify the enslavement of the black people. This argument was related to the African tribal culture¹ which was associated with primitivism, savagery, superstition and witchcraft. Furthermore, the blacks were accused of infantilism. The whites in America claimed that the black race was a childlike race incapable of maturity. It required the help of a superior race to stand on its legs. The blacks were given the name of "the Sambo"², meaning "race stereotype". This African black was "docile but irresponsible, loyal but lazy, humble but chronically given to lying and stealing; his behaviour was full of silliness and his talk inflated with childish exaggeration"³. In his book *Concluding Summary* published in the late 1930's, Historian Gunnar Myrdal described the white colonists' tendency to make generalisations about the low and savage nature of the black slaves. He wrote:

The description of the stereotypes held concerning the American Negro indicates the widespread tendency to look upon the Negro as inferior and to ascribe him qualities of intellect and personality which mark him off with some definiteness from the surrounding white American population...⁴.

1 These arguments were later denied by some historians like M. J. Herskovits in his book *The Myth of the Negro Past*, published in 1941. M. J. Herskovits stated that generalizations about the African culture were impossible at that time because the slaves who were transported to the Americas belonged to diverse geographical areas and had therefore various cultures, languages and beliefs. Historian Elkins also criticized this argument. He stated that the Europeans could know but little about the African interior since it remained unknown till the end of the slave trade. M. J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past*, New York: Harper, 1941, pp. 81-82.

2 The Word "Sambo" in the African language refers to the second son of the family. M. Elkins, op. cit., p.82.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., p. 83.

He added: "when the Negro is praised, he is praised for his childlike qualities of happiness and good nature or for his artistic and musical gifts..."¹.

It was in the West Indies that Negro slavery was established for the first time by the Spaniards in the New World² The existence of the black slave in the Americas took place when the Spanish bishop Bartholomew De Las Casas (1474-1566) influenced Charles V in 1517 to encourage Spanish immigration in the Americas by giving the settlers a permission for each one of them to import twelve slaves³. The Negroes who were regarded as "black gold"⁴ were first used in the tobacco plantations of the Caribbean Island. When in the seventeenth century, the island's settlers turned their attention to the cultivation of sugar, the slave population in the Caribbean started to grow steadily.

In the Northern American mainland, the introduction of black slavery first emerged in the Chesapeake colonies in Virginia, followed later by Maryland and the North East corner of North Carolina. The initial step took place in 1619 when the Dutch captured a Spanish ship carrying about twenty Negroes supposed to be taken to the Spanish colonies in the South⁵. The blacks were left at James Town colony in Virginia and were welcomed because the colony was young (about twelve years) and needed a great deal of labour to build the houses and work the lands. In the Chesapeake colonies there were fertile lands, a moderate climate suitable for the cultivation of various crops and trade routes which could facilitate the transportation of their products. All these conditions were suitable for the cultivation of tobacco, the most valuable crop during the 1660's. Statistics show that in the Chesapeake

1 Ibid.

2 I. Geiss, op. cit., p. 10.

3 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p.49.

4 J. P. Davis, op. cit., p. 7.

5 Michèle Métoudi and J.P. Thomas, *Abolir l'Esclavage*, Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1998, p.28.

colonies only the annual American export of tobacco was estimated at 20.000 pounds in 1619. The number of tobacco annual exportations shifted to 38 million pounds in 1700 and 25 to 60 million pounds during the eighteenth century¹.

In the lower South (South Carolina, Georgia, and the South East corner of North Carolina) the colonies' economy was essentially based on slavery. The cultivation of rice in these colonies was as important as the cultivation of tobacco was in the Upper South. The cultivation of rice was initiated in South Carolina in the 1690's followed in the 1750's by the cultivation of indigo. The cultivation of these crops required a great deal of labour. After the failure of the Indians and the white indentured servants, black labour came to meet the labour shortage in the colonies.

In the middle colonies of New York and New Jersey, however, slavery was not very successful. The industrial character of the colonies did not require a great deal of labour. Nevertheless, the slaves were used as farm labourers, servants, miners and artisans².

Slavery also existed in New England: in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Hampshire³. The first Negroes landed in Massachusetts Bay in 1638 and the institution of black slavery was legitimized some years later in "The Body of Liberties"⁴ of 1641. Slavery was later established both in Plymouth and Connecticut. The blacks in New England worked as domestics or as craftsmen.

1 P. Kolchin, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

2 A. Meier and E. Rudwick, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

4 It was the first legal code set up by the European colonists in New England in 1641. www.wikipedia.org (accessed in June 2006).

The progress of black slavery in America was very slow in the first stages of its emergence. Slavery grew like a cancer. At first it grew on a small scale, and then it started to propagate increasingly throughout the colonies to fill the bulk of the colonies' labour needs. In Virginia, for instance, the number of blacks was limited to only 23 in 1625, and about 300 by the middle of the seventeenth century. By 1708, however, there were more than 12,000 blacks in the colony compared to a white population of 18,000¹. When England secured the monopoly of the slave trade by the beginning of the seventeenth century, the slave population became estimated at 23,000 when the whites were 72,500². In 1850 more than 2,800,000 slaves lived in the South compared to only about 400,000 in Northern towns and cities.

During the first decades of their enslavement the blacks' status remained uncertain³. The black slaves worked together with the white indentured servants and enjoyed nearly the same rights⁴. Black and white labourers were on equal rank and shared the same living and working conditions⁵. The social contact between the two races, black and white, led to the emergence of a new race, known in history as "the mulatto race". To illustrate the interaction between blacks and whites, historians T. H. Breen and Stephen Innes wrote: "in the seventeenth century Northampton county Virginia...Englishmen and Africans could interact with one another on terms of relative equality for two generations"⁶. Historian Peter Hood added: "[blacks and whites]... shared the crude and egalitarian intimacies inevitable on a frontier"⁷.

1 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p. 73.

2 Ibid.,

3 Claude Fohlen, *les Noirs Aux Etats Unis*, Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 1990, pp.4-5.

4 S. M. Elkins, op. cit., p.38.

5 As far as punishments were concerned, the blacks were not punished in the same way as the white labourers. The blacks who had a different language, customs, culture, and work habits deserved more corrections according to the whites. P. Kolchin, op. cit., p. 16.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

The black slaves like the white indentured servants worked for a period of time and could get their freedom after the end of the term of their indenture. In the period extending from 1664 to 1677, a number of blacks¹ could secure their freedom and establish themselves as land owners in the colonies². Gradually, however, the blacks' status tended to change. After the failure of the Indians and the white servants, the number of the labourers increasingly diminished. As a first step the white colonists looked for their supplies of labour from the Spanish and the Portuguese. Then, they realized that what was needed was not a temporary labour which was to be renewed every few years, but a permanent manpower by holding the blacks in perpetual slavery. Gradually, the blacks' status started to change and from the 1660's, the black servants became servants for life or *durante vita*.

Therefore, by the middle of the seventeenth century, slavery became a fixed institution throughout the American mainland and was given a statutory recognition. The first law to recognize black slavery as a legal institution was enacted in Virginia in 1661. Similar laws recognizing the legality of slavery were enacted throughout the Southern colonies as happened in Maryland in 1663. In the Northern and middle colonies, laws were also enacted to legitimize the institution of black slavery. They were established in Massachusetts in 1670³ and New York in 1684.

Furthermore, the white colonists also prohibited contact of any type between the blacks and the whites in the colonies and started by the mid-seventeenth century to enact laws to avoid the amalgamation of races. The whites adopted the "Anti Amalgamation Doctrine" to keep the white race pure. In 1664 Maryland

1 Out of 101 slaves, about 15 became free between the 1660's and the 1670's. P. Kolchin, op. cit., p. 16.

2 Ibid.

3 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p.105.

adopted the first law and other colonies rapidly fell in line: Virginia in 1691, Massachusetts in 1705, North Carolina in 1715, Delaware and South Carolina in 1717. The interracial laws primarily forbade the white woman to marry a black male slave. Otherwise, herself and her future children would be destined to slavery. White men were to be jailed and black slaves were to be sold to other non-British colonists¹.

Further laws were adopted by the end of the nineteenth century; these laws were against intermarriage between blacks and whites. These laws were enacted in the Mississippi and Louisiana in 1870, South Carolina in 1872 and Arkansas in 1874². They proclaimed that: "a white woman who married a slave would have to serve the said slave's master as long as her husband lived"³.

The slaves performed a variety of tasks. Some were employed as domestics in charge of cooking, cleaning, and gardening. The great majority of slaves, however, were hand fields.⁴

In the effort of making the slaves work, all sorts of brutalities were practised over the poor blacks.⁵ Whipping, extraction of teeth, body mutilations, brandings, castration, nose slitting, amputation of ears, toes, fingers, hands and feet were different ingenious punishments the slaves could receive on the part of their masters. In his diary written in 1710, William Byrd gave different accounts of

1 A. Bourrier, op. cit., p.46.

2 Ibid.

3 L. H. Fishel and B. Quarles, *The Black American: A Documentary History*, USA: Scott Forceman and Company, 3rd Edition, 1976, p.20.

4 M. M. Smith, *Debating Slavery: Economy and Society in the antebellum American South*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p.6.

5 In a system like slavery where the slave is deprived of all his human, social, and cultural rights, people refused to work seriously and their masters needed to apply different methods to make them work. P. Kolchin, op. cit., p. 58.

slaves' punishments. He stated: "my wife against my will caused little Jenny to be burned with a hot iron, for which I quarrelled with her"¹. Shocked by what he had seen when visiting South Carolina in 1736, Charles Wesley, a Methodist minister noted:

One gentleman recommended that one "first nail up a Negro by the ears, then order him to be whipped in the severest manner, and then to have scalding water thrown over him, so that the poor creature could not stir for four months after"².

Narrating his own experience in slavery, Stephen Dickson, J.R, a former slave wrote:

....Without making any remark, [the overseer] ordered us all to be whipped. We were taken into the prison yard, shipped, and one after the other tied to a ladder, laying on the ground with our faces down, and each received thirty five lashes on his bare skin, with what they called a bull whip...³

To maintain order and discipline in the colonies, the white colonists enacted a set of laws referred to in history as The Black Codes⁴. These codes were primarily concerned with the maintenance of the black slaves under control to avoid insurrections. Above all, these laws were designed to protect the whites against the blacks. It was in modern Haiti that the French King Louis XIV (1638 -1715) adopted the first slave code in March 1685 with the establishment of

1 Ibid.

2 Ibid.

3 J. W. Blassingame, *Slave Testimony*, Louisiana: State University Press, 1977, p. 691.

4 A. Meier and E. Rudwick, op. cit., p. 45.

le Code Noir in the French overseas' Colonies¹. It was a royal edict which contained a series of rules essentially destined to keep order and tranquillity within the colonies². It was called as such because it was essentially concerned with the black slaves. It was adopted throughout all the French colonies in the Americas, in St Domingue on 6 May 1687, Cayenne in May 1704, the Bourbon Island in December 1723 and Louisiana in 1724³.

Inspired by the French model, the English also adopted slave codes to control the blacks on the plantations⁴. The English codes varied widely from one colony to another, but in general it was in the Southern colonies where the slave population was huge⁵ that slave codes were more strengthened, because there were fears of Negroes' agitation. The first code was adopted in Virginia in 1680. It consisted of the following instructions:

No slave was allowed to leave the plantation...without a written permission of his master. Slaves wandering about without such permits were to be taken up and returned to their masters. Slaves found guilty of murder or rape were to be hanged, and their masters were compensated by the colony. For robbing a house or a store a slave was given sixty lashes by the sheriff, placed in the pillory with his ears nailed to the posts for half an hour, and then his ears were severed from his head. For petty offences slaves were whipped, maimed, or branded...⁶

1 I. Geiss, op. cit., p. 60.

2 M. Métoudi and J. P. Thomas, op. cit., p. 33.

3 L. S. Molins, *Le Code Noir ou le Calvaire de Canaan*, Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 1987, p. 80.

4 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p.60.

5 F. L. Schoell, op. cit., p. 23.

6 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p.74.

This code was reinforced in 1705. In the Carolinas a slave code was established in 1686. It forbade “the Negroes to engage in any kind of trade...They [the blacks] should not leave their master’s place between sunset and sunrise without a note of explanation from the master. White persons who encountered a slave violating this act were authorized to chastise...him...¹ These codes were further strengthened in 1722 authorizing justices “to search Negroes for guns, swords, ‘and other offensive weapons’ and to take them unless the Negro could produce a permit...authorizing him to carry such a weapon”².

In the middle and the northern colonies where the number of slaves was not great (about 1% in New Hampshire and 11% in New York)³, slaves’ codes were not as harsh as in the Southern colonies, especially in New England⁴ through the influence of the Puritans⁵. The slaves were regarded as human beings and enjoyed some liberties. In addition, they could testify against the whites and were allowed to own a property. Nevertheless, “the slaves were forbidden on the streets at night after nine; they could not strike a white person, the sale of liquor to them was prohibited”⁶.

For many centuries, the black slaves were regarded as inferior beings and were treated as chattels. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, the attitudes towards their status tended to change and attempts were made to end their bondage.

1 Ibid.

2 Ibid., p.79.

3 F. L. Schoell, op. cit., p.23.

4 A. Meier and E. Rudwick, op. cit., p. 47.

5 The word Puritan usually refers to any person who was against the Reformation of the Church of England in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. The Puritans advocated a separation from the Church of England, and they were in search of “purity” of worship. www.britanica.com (accessed in September 2008).

6 A. Meier and E. Rudwick, op. cit., p. 47.

IV – The End of Slavery and the Slave Trade:

Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the transportation of African slaves across the Atlantic represented a profitable trade by which England, France, Holland, as well as other European powers were gaining wealth and strength. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, the attitude towards the slave trade tended to change and attempts were made to suppress it.

1– The British Campaign Against the Slave Trade:

Britain which was the major European power to gain wealth and strength through the business of trading in men became by the end of the eighteenth century the leading European nation to be actively and seriously engaged in its abolition. The philosophy of Enlightenment with its emphasis on human equality, natural rights, and religious redemption that swept Europe in the eighteenth century, led to a moral questioning over slavery and the slave trade. The Church and Christian missionaries expressed their opposition to the slave trade through the organisation of Christian missionary societies whose aim was to convert the African “heathens”. Among the most important of these organizations, there were Anglican¹ societies like the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Church Missionary Society founded in the 1790’s. Other Protestant societies were organized during the beginning of the nineteenth century. They included, the Methodist Missionary Society in West and South Africa; the Basel Society in West Africa; and The Mission of the Scottish Presbyterian Churches with mission activities in West, East, and South Africa².

The Church was not the only preacher of abolitionism. Moved by the humanitarian spirit of Enlightenment, English intellectuals started by the middle of

¹ An Anglican is a member of the Church of England or any church related to it. www.britanica.com (accessed in September 2008).

² R. Oliver and J. D. Fage, op. cit., p. 138.

the eighteenth century to express their opposition to slavery and the slave trade. They wrote articles in newspapers, books and pamphlets in which they condemned slavery as an institution that was contrary to the principles of human liberty and legality. Among the most important of these publications there were, *Moral Philosophy*, published by Dr William Paley in 1785, *The Essay on the Conversion and Treatment of the African Slaves* and *An Enquiry into the Effects of the Abolition of the Slave Trade* published by Dr James Ramsay in the 1780's¹. Furthermore, under the leadership of Granville Sharp (1735-1813)², Thomas Clarkson (1760 – 1846)³ and William Wilberforce (1759-1833)⁴ a Committee for the Suppression of the Slave Trade was founded on 24 May 1787⁵. However, despite these philanthropic efforts, the genuine factors which were to lead to the abolition of slavery and the slave trade were rather economic.

With the Industrial Revolution and the progress of technology in Europe in the late eighteenth century,⁶ the British realized that local manufacturing and free trade were more profitable and less expensive than plantation slavery. The British who tended to encourage the slave trade as the most profitable business realized that

1 H. Thomas, op. cit., p. 490.

2 Granville Sharp was a British abolitionist who fought massively the slave trade. He was born on November 10, 1735 at Durham. He was a founding member of different British religious and humanitarian societies like the British and Foreign Bible Society, and Society for the Conversion of the Jews by the end of the eighteenth century. He died in Fulham on July 06, 1813. www.britanica.com (accessed in October 2005).

3 Thomas Clarkson was born in Cambridgeshire, England on March 28, 1760. He was an eminent abolitionist who devoted a great part of his life for the abolition of slavery in England and throughout the British Empire at the close of the eighteenth century. He was among others, a member of the Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade (1787). He died on 26 September 1846 www.wikipedia.org (accessed in October 2005).

4 William Wilberforce was a British statesman and a reformer. He was born in Hull in 1733. He was elected to Parliament in 1780 where he defended the abolitionist cause in the House of Commons. Through Wilberforce's efforts, legislation was passed in 1807 for the prohibition of the slave trade. He died in 1833. www.britanica.com (accessed in October 2005).

5 I. Geiss, op. cit., p. 35.

6 J. F. Ajayi and Michael Crowder, *History of West Africa*, London: Longman Group LTD, Vol. II, 1974, p. 33.

it had to be abandoned since tropical crops for the manufacturing industries could be secured in other American and Asian markets with cheaper prices than through African slave labour on the British West Indian plantations¹. However, the British discovered a new commercial profit in the African labour. Through their maintenance in the African continent, the British claimed, the Africans would play a dual role. They would provide the Europeans with raw-materials needed for the industries and would buy the European manufactured goods². The slave trade became, therefore, unprofitable and was abolished by an act of parliament in 1807, followed some years later in 1833 by the abolition of slavery in the British overseas territories.

Britain was not the only nation to abolish the slave trade. It was followed and sometimes preceded by other powers. Denmark suppressed it in 1803, the United States in 1808, Sweden in 1813, the Netherlands in 1814, Portugal in 1815, Spain in 1817 and finally Brazil in 1825.

Despite the enactment of laws for the suppression of the slave trade, African slaves were still transported across the Atlantic. Britain strengthened its laws through the establishment of patrols along the West African coasts. Their role was to arrest British ships suspected of transporting slaves and imposing severe penalties upon them. However, slave traders from other nations carried on their business. This obviously affected Britain's trading interests and therefore its power. Reciprocal Search Treaties were signed between Britain, Portugal and Spain in 1817 and France in 1831. These treaties gave the British the permission to stop the other European powers' ships suspected of transporting slaves. Similarly, the other European powers also had the right to capture British slave trading ships³. Despite these treaties, the slave trade still flourished mainly because, apart from Britain, no other anti-slavery

1 J. D. Fage, *A History of West Africa*, op. cit., p. 112.

2 Kevin Shillington, *History of Africa*, London: Mc Milan Press, 1993, p. 234.

3 J. D. Fage, *The History of West Africa*, op. cit., p. 114.

nation was seriously and permanently controlling the coasts. Moreover, the crew of the arrested ships often claimed that they did not belong to the powers that had signed treaties.

Britain claimed that additional treaties had to be signed in order to enforce the campaign against the slave trade. These treaties were referred to as Equipment Treaties. They aimed at arresting ships on the West African borders that were suspected of carrying slave equipment¹. France signed in 1833, Spain in 1835, Portugal in 1842 and the United States in 1862.

The slaves who were captured during the patrols were settled in Sierra Leone. The colony was established in 1787 by abolitionist leaders like Granville Sharp and Olaudah Equiano². The colony was founded to settle down former slaves from England, in addition to some African-Americans who fought on the British side in the American War for Independence. The first expedition reached Sierra Leone in 1787. It was followed five years later by another group of former slaves from Nova Scotia. The third group landed in Sierra Leone in 1799. The settlers were referred to as "the maroons". They were ex-slaves brought from Jamaica.

Not only the British, but the Americans too, attempted to put an end to African slavery especially after the emergence of religious groups and abolitionist leaders who denounced the institution of slavery in America and provided help for the emancipation of the black slaves.

1 Ibid.

2 K. Shillington, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

2- The end of slavery in America:

There had always been denunciations and protests against black slavery in America since its establishment in the seventeenth century. Some religious groups expressed their reactions as early as the 1650's. The first reaction expressed by The Society of Friends was an epistle written by the founder of the society: George Fox (1624-1691) in 1657. It was entitled, *To Friends beyond the Sea That Have Black and Indian Slaves*. He believed that: "since God made all the nations of the earth of one blood, all are entitled to hear His message"¹. The members of the Society of Friends "also worked for the liberation of black slaves through the accumulation of funds sufficient enough to purchase their freedom. In addition, the members of the society assisted the free blacks to acquire their own properties. By 1800, the free blacks in the American states started gradually to own properties. In 1800, the free blacks in Philadelphia possessed more than 100 houses and lots². During the middle of the nineteenth century, the free blacks' property was estimated at \$ 1,400,000 in New York, about \$ 500,000 in Cincinnati, \$ 463,000 in Virginia, \$ 778,000 in Charleston, and more than \$ 15,000,000 worth of property in New Orleans³.

On February 18, 1688, a group of Quakers⁴ at Germantown Pennsylvania issued a protest against slavery⁵. The document pointed out five main reasons which led them to oppose slavery.

First, the Friends appealed to the fundamental idea of the golden rule, of doing unto others as one would have others do unto, as being

1 H. Aptheker, *Toward Negro Freedom*, New York: New Century Publishers, 1956, p.11.

2 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p.223.

3 Ibid., pp. 223-4.

4 The Quakers were also known as the Religious Society of Friends. The movement came to birth in England in the seventeenth century. However, its members were persecuted. They moved to the Americas where they were among the early movements to oppose slavery. The society's members also defended women's rights and were against warfare. www.britanica.com (accessed in September 2008).

5 J. P. Davis, op. cit., p. 15.

directly opposed to human enslavement. Secondly, they declared that ... it was wrong to buy and sell human beings... Thirdly, they maintained that slavery was based on thievery, the stealing of men and women in Africa... Fourthly, it is peculiarly inapt for us to sanction slavery in Pennsylvania for we rule this province and the existence of slavery amongst us besmirches our name before humanity... Fifthly, slavery is exceedingly dangerous...¹

The Quakers were also very active in the establishment of anti-slavery societies. The first society was set up as early as 1775. Joined by other humanitarian groups, the Quakers established additional societies, the most important of which was The New York Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves in 1785. Similar anti-slavery societies had been established since the 1780's². These societies were primarily concerned with the abolition of slavery and the slave trade. Some of them worked for the prohibition of the slave trade in the American states, others thought about the repatriation of blacks out of America³. In his book entitled *A Historical Account of Guinea*, published in 1772, the Quaker Anthony Benezet of Philadelphia stated that the black slaves must be freed and given a land of their own. To remain in the Americas, Benezet added, was not a solution for the blacks who were to be persecuted⁴. The members of these anti-slavery societies were also concerned with the Christianization and the education of the black children. In 1774 a school for the education of black children was established in Philadelphia by a group of Quakers. A similar school, New York Africa Free School, was set up for the blacks by the Manumission Society in 1787. Similar attempts were undertaken in Virginia and the Carolinas by the Quaker Robert Pleasants who provided land and

1 H. Aptheker, *Toward Negro Freedom*, op. cit., p. 14.

2 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p.140.

3 Ibid.

4 Nelly Schmidt, *Abolitionnistes de l'Esclavage et Réformateurs des Colonies (1820-1851)*, Paris : Editions Karthala, 2000, p. 140.

money for the establishment of black schools there. However, his plans were not fruitful due to the Southerners' opposition to such schemes.

Throughout the years that preceded the Revolution, the Quakers joined with the Puritans of New England. This latter group of religious men, who came to America to flee religious persecution in England in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, sided with the Quakers in their struggle against perpetual slavery¹. However, no strong political measures were undertaken. The colonists were preoccupied with political and economic problems during the colonial era and had little interest in humanitarian matters. It was only during the Revolution that attention started to be turned to slavery.

By the 1760's England adopted a new policy in its American colonies². After its glorious victory in the French and Indian wars in 1763³, the English government attempted to share the high expenses of the war with its American colonies through the imposition of taxes. The Sugar Act in 1764 placed duties on sugar and molasses, and the Stamp Act, a year later, taxed newspapers, legal papers and some business documents. The colonists who felt themselves oppressed, reacted against England's policies which aimed at exercising political and economic control over them. The colonists insisted that England did not have the right to tax them since it was not their real representative. They, therefore, asked for political liberty from England. Their slogan was "no taxation without representation". They, hitherto, realized that slavery was against the principles for which the American Revolution was fought. They claimed that it was inconsistent to fight for their liberty from England if they were themselves holding black people in bondage. Thomas Paine, an

1 A. Meier and E. Rudwick, *op. cit.*, p.50.

2 M. M. Smythe, *The Black American Reference Book*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1976, p. 15.

3 N. Bacharan, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

American politician and pamphleteer believed that the initial step to get rid of England was to free the blacks still in bondage¹. Many slaves got their freedom as a result of the liberal philosophy that swept America during the Revolution while others were enlisted in the army and were promised freedom after the end of their service.

During the first months of the War for Independence (1775-1786), black people, slaves and free, participated in the struggle against the mother country. However, when George Washington² (1732-1799) took command of the army on July 03, 1775, a decision was taken a week later not to enlist "any deserter from the ministerial army, nor any stroller, Negro, or vagabond, or a person suspected of being an enemy of the liberty of America nor any under eighteen years of age"³. Again on October 08, 1775, Washington's council of war refused the enlistment of blacks in general, both slaves and free. On November 12, 1775, an order was issued not to enlist "Negroes, boys unable to bear arms, or old men unable to endure the fatigues of campaign"⁴. However, when the governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, recruited blacks in the British army in November 1775 and promised them freedom after the end of their service⁵, General Washington realized that he had to change his attitude vis à vis blacks' enlistment⁶. Being aware of what might happen as a result of the blacks' participation on the British side, Washington with the agreement of Congress accepted the blacks' participation in the American army on January 16, 1776 but enlistment concerned free blacks only. Later the slaves were enlisted in several states (except Georgia and South Carolina)⁷, and were promised freedom

1 N. Métoudi and J. P. Thomas, op. cit., p. 68.

2 He is remembered as one of the U.S presidents, a general in the army, and the president of the convention that wrote the U.S constitution. www.britanica.com (accessed in June 2007).

3 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p. 132.

4 Ibid., p.133.

5 A. Meier and E. Rudwick, op. cit., p. 52.

6 J. P. Davis, op. cit., p. 20.

7 J. Grant, *Black Protest*, USA: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1974, p.19

after the end of their service. The blacks who fought in the struggle for the American independence served both in the army as well as in the navy. Of the 5,000 blacks who fought against the mother country, 2,000 were recruited in the navy¹. The slaves fought to get bounties, others were sent to substitute for their masters, or took up arms in the name of liberty.

The war was not the only means by which the black slaves could secure their freedom. Influenced by the liberal ² ideas of the Revolution, Northern states enacted laws for gradual emancipation through the influence of emerging societies like the Pennsylvania Society founded in the 1770's with Benjamin Franklin (1706-1780) who became its president. This kind of societies aimed at the gradual abolition of slavery and the promotion of the blacks' conditions. Thus, in 1780 Pennsylvania provided that "black people born after that year [1780] were to be free at the age of twenty eight then were to be treated as apprentices"³. Similar laws were enacted in Massachusetts in 1783, Connecticut and Rhode Island in 1784, New York in 1785 and New Jersey in 1786 ⁴. Even in the South, the masters were encouraged to emancipate their slaves without legislative permission, as happened in Virginia in 1782. However, the slaves' emancipation did not gain much support as the Southerners showed a great interest in slavery as the basis of their wealth.

The interest in the blacks during and after the revolutionary period was also reflected by the emergence of eminent white abolitionists who not only spoke about the manumission of the black soldiers, but denounced the institution of black slavery in general as an evil that was opposed to the American principles of liberty and human natural rights. Thomas Jefferson ⁵ (1743-1826) was among the most prominent leaders.

1 L. H. JR. Fishel and B. Quarles, op. cit., p. 41.

2 It refers to a political philosophy adopted by the Americans in their struggle for independence. It espoused individual liberty, equality, and freedom of thought. www.wikipedia.org (accessed in March 2006).

3 A. Meier and E. Rudwick, op. cit., p. 53.

4 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p. 141.

5 He is remembered as one of the presidents of the USA, and the writer of the Declaration of Independence. www.britanica.com

When writing the Declaration of Independence, he strongly accused the British king to be responsible for the enslavement of the black people:

He [the King] has waged a cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere... this piratical warfare... is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain....¹

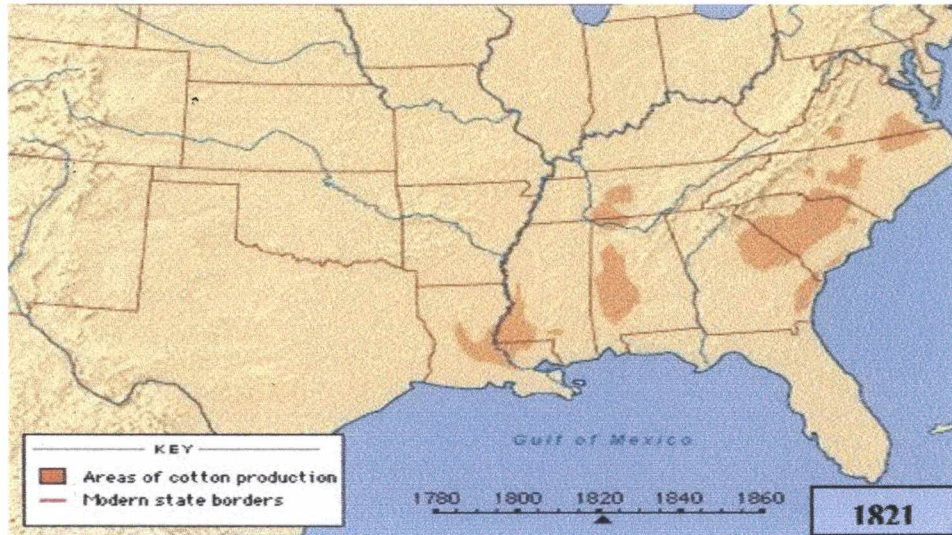
But such a clause was not mentioned when the Declaration of Independence was finally issued in 1776, as it was opposed by the Southern delegates who claimed that the business of transporting slaves was practised by the colonists as well. Moreover, the Southerners wanted to defend their economic interests through the maintenance of black slavery, especially after the discovery of a new economic importance of the institution.

A new interest was being drawn to the cultivation of cotton in the eighteenth century (see map three). The emergence of textile factories and spinning and weaving machines in England engendered by the Industrial Revolution, created a great demand for the raw-lint. To meet the English shortage, the American planters looked for the possibility of growing superior quality of cotton throughout the plantations. The cultivation of cotton did not require great funds and was very profitable especially when cultivated by a cheap black man-power. The invention of the Cotton Gin by Eli Whitney (1765-1825) in 1793 accelerated, to a great extent, the expansion of cotton cultivation. Cotton was grown throughout the Southern plantations and the colonists started to move further to Louisiana in 1803, Mississippi in 1817, Alabama and Florida in 1819² (see map four). Great numbers of

¹ J. H. Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

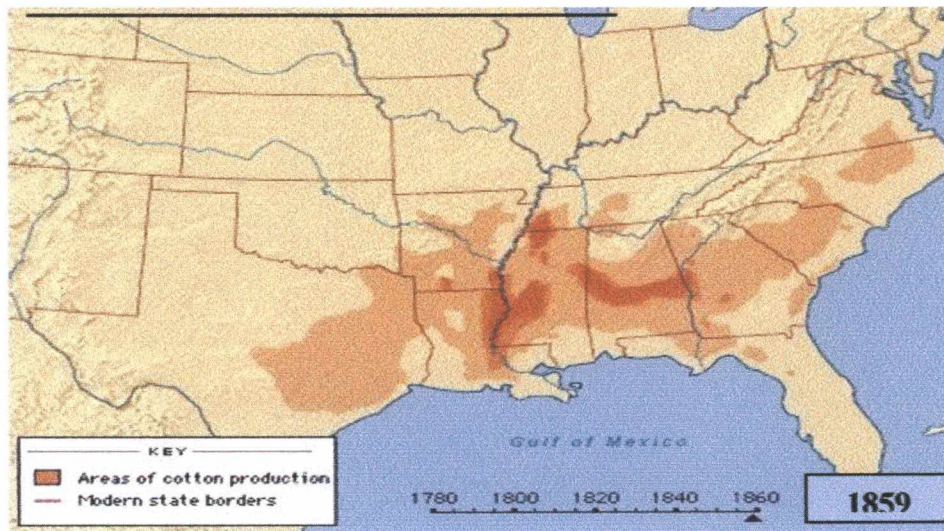
² N. Bacharan, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

Map three: Cotton Production in the South (1821).



Source: M. B. Norton et al., *op. cit.*, p. 300.

Map four: Cotton Production in the South (1859).



Source: M. B. Norton et al., *op. cit.*, p. 300.

slaves were, thus, imported to work on the cotton fields¹ but with the blacks' insurrections as the ones that happened in Haiti during the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Southerners realized that the importation of slaves became a risky business, and though they were tempted to import slaves, they were, nevertheless, afraid of blacks' agitation. But as the world demand in cotton became increasingly great, the laws were not respected and slaves were still being brought.

While the business of the slave trade was flourishing in the South, militant abolitionism intensified in the North by the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century with the emergence of humanitarian and religious movements like the Quakers who carried on their abolitionist activities and the Baptists² and the Methodists³ who preached against the evils of human bondage, and welcomed black members in their churches⁴. The members of these movements believed that slavery was against Christianity and its principles of brotherhood and equality. Slavery was also opposed to the American beliefs of freedom and human natural rights. They wrote books and pamphlets in which they expressed their opposition to slavery. John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892) was an American writer who expressed his hatred to the evils of slavery. He is referred to as "the Quaker poet". He devoted his efforts for the abolitionist cause as a journalist and a pamphleteer. He wrote ninety poems against slavery and its role in the separation of Black families⁵. The American novelist, Harriet Beacher Stowe (1811-1896), also

1 L. E. Lomax, op. cit., p. 26.

2 The Baptists are historically regarded as Protestants. They work in favour of religious freedom. www.wikipedia.org (accessed in September 2008).

3 Methodism is a group of Protestant Christianity which came to birth in Britain in the eighteenth century. The Methodists were very active in Britain, America, and elsewhere in the world. They believe that the Christ's salvation is destined to all humankind. This is why they appealed to all social classes including the slaves. www.wikipedia.org (accessed in September 2008).

4 L. H. JR. Fishel and B. Quarles, op. cit., p. 42.

5 Ibid., p. 176.

reacted against slavery. She was hostile to slavery and wanted to write something to show the Americans the harshness of the institution in America. Her famous novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, published in 1852, is a revelation of the true nature of slavery in the South¹. The novel is an analysis of whites' cruelty and a description of the slaves' sorrows under the oppression of bondage. The abolitionists were also very active in the establishment of anti-slavery societies like the American Colonization Society, organized on January 1, 1816² under the leadership of Henry Clay (1777–1852), John Marshal (1775–1835), and James Madison (1751–1836). The members of the society aimed at re-settling the free blacks somewhere on the coasts of West Africa³. The project was already suggested by prominent American leaders like the Quaker William Thornton, and Rev. Samuel Hopkins who proposed the emancipation of the blacks and their settlement in Africa, the land of their fathers. A similar project was proposed by Thomas Jefferson who was interested in Sierra Leone as a suitable settlement for the African-American blacks⁴. Race problems between blacks and whites, Jefferson pointed out, could be solved only through the physical separation of the two races by repatriating the blacks to Africa. He said:

The African colonization of the people of color... is, indeed, a fine one and will do much good... the establishment of a colony on the coasts of Africa... may make to them [the blacks] some retribution for the long course of injuries we have been committing on their population The most interesting to us, as coming home to our ...

1 F. L. Schoell, op. cit., p. 62.

2 Ibid., p. 53.

3 S. M. Elkins, op. cit., p. 178.

4 T. G. Bilbo, *Take Your Choice: Separation or Mongrelization*, USA, 1970, p.1.

happiness and safety is to provide an asylum to ... send the whole of that [black] population from among us and establish them, as a separate, free, and independent people...¹.

However, it was not until the formation of the American Colonization Society in 1816 that the Americans' schemes of colonization were seriously undertaken.

Attempts were made to re-settle the American blacks in Sierra Leone². Yet these attempts were opposed by some members of the American Colonization Society who wanted to acquire a settlement of their own. In 1820 the first eighty blacks were deported by the American Colonization Society to the Sherbro Island. However, the settlement did not flourish due to the diseases³. A number of the settlers died whereas others fled to Sierra Leone before Liberia was finally established in 1821, as a settlement for the African-American blacks.

About 16, 613 black Americans landed in Liberia from its establishment to 1882⁴. However, the project of carrying slaves did not function as it required great funds. In addition, some anti-slavery leaders like William Lloyd Garrison (1805–1879), who favoured the idea in its first stages, turned to regard it as a means to get rid of the free blacks who constituted a threat for the blacks still in bondage. The interaction between the blacks, slave and free, could have an impact on the slaves who would also claim their liberty.⁵ Instead, Garrison started to work for the emancipation of the blacks and their integration in the American society. With the

1 Ibid., p.2.

2 J. D. Hargreaves, "The African Colonization in the Nineteenth Century, Liberia and Sierra Leone", *Sierra Leone Studies*, June, 1962, n° 13, p.190.

3 I. Geiss, op. cit., p. 81.

4 J. D. Hargreaves, "The African Colonization in the Nineteenth Century, Liberia and Sierra Leone" op. cit., p. 194.

5 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., pp. 239-40.

collaboration of his colleague Benjamin Lundy, they formed their journal *The Genius of Universal Emancipation* in 1828 essentially concerned with the blacks. However in their crusade against slavery, Garrison and Lundy did not share the same views. While Lundy opted for a moderate and progressive end of black slavery, Garrison insisted on a more radical approach, asking for the immediate abolition of slavery. Garrison created his own journal *The Liberator* in 1831. He denounced the abuses of slavery and he contributed to the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833 with Tappan Brothers. In addition, Garrison also worked for women's rights.

The blacks themselves reacted against the society. The free blacks showed a sentiment of solidarity with the black slaves. They declared: "[We cannot] separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population in this country...and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them" ¹.

More violent denunciations against the institution of black slavery in America were expressed in the form of insurrections and revolts on the part of white abolitionists. One of the most popular insurrections took place at Harper's Ferry, Virginia on October 16, 1859 under the leadership of the white abolitionist, John Brown,² who devoted a great part of his life for the abolitionist cause. He was radical and aimed at the immediate emancipation of the blacks in America. He travelled throughout the North to raise money and together with a number of black and white abolitionists they could help in the organization of an insurrection. Brown's ultimate aim was to free the black slaves by attacking their masters. Many blacks sided with Brown in his crusade against slavery, among them: Levis Sheridan Leary, Dangerfield Newly, John Anthony Copeland, Shields Green, Osborn Perry Anderson and many others. On October 16, 1859, they seized the Federal arsenal at Harper Ferry to secure arms and ammunition sufficient enough to attack the Virginian slave holders. However, the attempt was a failure. Brown and his followers

¹ A. Meier and E. Rudwick, op. cit., p. 123.

² A. Bourrier, op. cit., p. 165.

were arrested and condemned. Brown was hanged on December 02, 1859, Leary and Newly were murdered; and Copeland and Green were hanged. Anderson was the only black who could escape. Before his condemnation, Brown declared:

I pity the poor in bondage that I have none to help them; that is why I am here; not to gratify my personal animosity, revenge or vindictive spirit. It is my sympathy with the oppressed and wronged, that are as good as you and as precious in the sight of God... this question is still to be settled -the negro question - the end of that is not yet ¹.

Then he added:

Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel and unjust enactments, I say, let it be done ².

The break between the Northerners and the Southerners was so intense that it resulted in a Civil War (1861 – 1865). While the Northerners stood against slavery as an evil that was opposed to the American principles, the Southerners, however, tried to strengthen it as a means for the South's prosperity. Nonetheless, when the war broke out on April 12, 1861, slavery was not the paramount aim of the war. The restoration of the union was, indeed, the major goal ³. Abraham Lincoln ⁴

1 J. H. Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

2 *Ibid.*

3 N. Bacharan, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

4 A. Lincoln was an eminent American spokesman. He was born in Kentucky. He was elected for the presidency in the US in 1860 and 1864. He was assassinated in 1865. www.britanica.com (accessed in September 2008).

(1809–1865) who was elected president of the United States on November 06, 1860, declared:

My paramount object in this struggle is to save the union, and it is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the coloured race, I do because I believe it helps to save the union ¹.

However, after the issue of the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863 which gave freedom to all the slaves in the rebelling states ², the aim of the war was no longer the restoration of the union but a crusade for human liberty, in President Lincoln's words: "the war had not become an effort to restore the union as it was, but a crusade to reconstitute America on a broadened base of human liberty" ³.

President Lincoln was not only concerned with the emancipation of the black slaves as a war measure, but was equally interested in their repatriation outside the United States ⁴. In more than one occasion, he advocated the physical separation of the black and white races and asserted to the blacks that they could never achieve equality and justice if they remained in the United States. He said:

You and we are different races ... this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both ... your race suffers very greatly, many of

1 O. P. Chitwood, *The American People, A History*, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, vol.1, 1962, p. 597.

2 The rebelling states were Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia. L.H. Fishel and B. Quarles, op. cit., p. 226.

3 Ibid., p. 215.

4 T. G. Bilbo, op. cit., p. 8.

them by living among us, while ours suffer from your presence. In a word, we suffer on each side. If this is admitted, it affords a reason why we should be separated ... You are cut off from many advantages which the other race enjoys. The aspiration of men is to enjoy equality with the best when free, but on this broad continent not a single man of your race is made the equal of a single man of ours. Go where you are treated best...¹.

Indeed, the blacks were not treated on an equal basis with the whites. During their participation in the Civil War, the blacks were discriminated against and were sometimes denied enlistment in the army services. On April 23, 1861, a free black in Washington asked for recruitment. However, his enlistment was rejected. The war department declared that it had "No intention to call into the service of the government any coloured soldiers"². The blacks were not recruited in the army because the federals thought that they were not apt for fighting³. The federals also believed that the blacks' enlistment would be a proof of white soldiers' incompetence in the service. In addition, there was a belief that a participation in the war would lead to a change in the blacks' position⁴.

Incapable of achieving service in the army, the blacks petitioned legislatures in Massachusetts and elsewhere. They asked for recruitment and for a permission to form a company for coloured troops⁵. Another group of blacks met in Boston on April 24, 1861 to ask the government to allow their enlistment. They wrote: "our feelings urge us to say to our countrymen that we are ready to stand

1 Ibid., p. 10.

2 J. P. Davis, op. cit., p. 600.

3 A. Meier and E. Rudwick, op. cit., p. 162.

4 L. Fishel and B. Quarles, op. cit., p. 216.

5 J. P. Davis, op. cit., p. 600.

by and defend our government as the equals of its white defenders; to do so with "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour"...¹.

Despite their exclusion, the blacks fled the South as early as May 1861, to reach the union armies. The attitude towards their enlistment started to change throughout the second year of the war as the number of the white volunteers decreased. Moreover, a number of white soldiers resigned, refusing to serve in a war whose aim was to liberate black slaves². The blacks were, thus, recruited and plans for a gradual emancipation started to be adopted³. By the end of the war about 180,000 coloured men offered services in the army⁴. They served as arms-bearers, spies, and scouts⁵. They were also labourers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, carpenters, wheelwrights and miners⁶. Their enlistment was characterized by a special discrimination in terms of salary, medical care, and the use of weapons. In addition, the black soldiers did not hold important positions in the army⁷, and their period of service was longer than that of the white soldiers. Despite these discriminatory evidences, the blacks offered their services to the army because they believed in the war's aim.

The end of the Civil War on April 09, 1865 was also the end of black bondage which lasted for about three centuries. With the establishment of the thirteenth amendment of the constitution in 1865 which states that: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to

1 J. H. Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

2 N. Bacharan, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

3 *Ibid.*

4 A. Meier and E. Rudwick, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 156.

6 L. H. Fishell and B. Quarles, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

7 A. Meier and E. Rudwick, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

their jurisdiction”¹, the blacks secured their freedom. However, a new form of servitude in the form of racial discrimination emerged to replace the old one. Since the blacks were no longer the property of slave holders, legal and illegal means were adopted by the white Americans to keep the blacks in a position of inferiority and dependency.

V- THE JIM CROW ERA OF SEGREGATION:

The blacks' constitutional rights in America were strengthened through the adoption of the thirteenth amendment in 1865 which called for the abolition of slavery, and the fourteenth amendment in 1868² which provided the blacks with the American citizenship³. Though law was for the protection of blacks' rights, practice was, however, against it. The whites were still carrying the heritage of slavery. They believed in the blacks' inferiority and backwardness, and were not ready to accept them as equals. As Lord Bryce pointed out : “...law could but little save in the way of expressing the view of the state takes of how its members should behave to one another. Good feeling and good manners cannot be imposed by statute”⁴. Thus the blacks were excluded from the American way of life and were being segregated against politically, socially, and economically.

The blacks' right to vote was guaranteed by the establishment of the fifteenth amendment in 1870 which states that the right of franchise was “not [to] be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, colour,

1 J. Allen et al., *The Problems and Promise of American Democracy*, USA: MC Grow-Hill, Inc., 1964, p. 511.

2 The fourteenth amendment provided that: “All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States ...”. J. Allen. Et al., op. cit., p. 511.

3 J. Grant, op. cit., p. 107.

4 M. Gunnar, *An American Dilemma: the Negro and Modern Democracy*, New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1944, p. 574.

or previous conditions of servitude”¹. Nevertheless, legal and illegal means were adopted by several states and private groups to restrict the blacks’ right of franchise.

The Poll Tax, an old technique used to stand for ownership as a condition for suffrage, had been revived by several Southern states by the 1890’s as a discriminatory device to prevent the blacks from voting. Throughout the years, however, the use of this technique declined and the whites shifted to other means. Literacy tests – state laws requiring the voter to be able to read and write – had been adopted by several states since the beginning of the twentieth century as a condition for suffrage. In some Southern states, these laws also required the voters to be able to read and to explain an article of the constitution². Additional segregationist laws had been adopted to prevent the blacks from the right of voting. They included Gerrymandering – “the act of altering political boundaries in order to give an unfair advantage to one political party or group of people”³, and the Grand Father Clause. Adopted between 1895 and 1915, the clause required that people should have the right to vote only if themselves or their ancestors had been enfranchised before the establishment of the fifteenth amendment in 1870, or through the application of literacy tests. In addition, secret organizations like: the Klu Klux Klan, the Pale Faces of Tennessee, the Constitutional Guards and the White Brotherhood of North Carolina⁴ were used to intimidate, threaten and terrorize the blacks to prevent them from voting. The number of black voters was, therefore, very limited. Statistics show that out of 130, 344 black males of voting age in Louisiana in 1900, only 5,320 registered. Similarly, of 181, 471 black males in Alabama during the same year only

1 J. Allen et al., op. cit., p. 512.

2 K. L. Karst, *Civil Rights and Equality*, New York: Mac Milan Publishing Company, 1989, p. 148.

3 C. Cobuild, *English Language Dictionary*, London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1993, p. 605.

4 M. Gunnar, op. cit., p. 449.

3, 000 blacks were on the registration Alabama books¹. The same pattern occurred everywhere in the South. Poverty, apathy and political unconsciousness were additional obstacles which deprived the blacks of their voting rights.

Social inequality was a feature that developed with the system of slavery and continued to exist even after its abolition. It was strengthened through “the Jim Crow laws”, a series of regulations established in the South by the 1870’s which provided separate but “equal” commodities for the blacks and the whites. The origins of the word “Jim Crow” are traced back to 1832. Jim Crow was the name of a coloured soldier who performed spectacles to represent the typical Southern black and his daily life in the Southern society. Through time, the word “Jim Crow” or “Jim-Crowism” started to be used to refer to segregation.

The first Jim Crow laws were related to interracial marriages. The fear of racial mixture led every Southern state to pass laws for the prohibition of inter-marriage between blacks and whites². One such law was passed in Tennessee in 1870. Similar segregationist laws were being adopted throughout the South during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Such laws included the separation of the races in public transportation as happened in Florida in 1887 and Louisiana in 1890. The law provided that : “All railway companies carrying passengers ... in this state shall provide separate but equal accommodations for the white and coloured races”³.

The constitutionality of Louisiana’s law paved the way for the establishment of similar Jim Crow laws. These included, “separate telephone booths for blacks in Oklahoma; separate storage for text books used by black children in North Carolina and Florida schools, separate elevators for blacks in Atlanta; separate

1 J. H. Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 342.

3 L. H. Fishel and B. Quarles, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

bibles for swearing black witnesses in Georgia courts..."¹. For the whites, the Jim Crow laws did not violate the thirteenth and the fourteenth amendments as long as the facilities provided were equal for both races. But if separate and equal was the law, separate and unequal was, in fact, the practice².

With regard to housing, the blacks tended to live in separate places from the whites, because of the segregationist laws adopted and also as a result of the blacks' poverty which allowed them to pay but the cheapest rents. Different means were adopted to strengthen the practice of keeping the white residences separate from the blacks'. They consisted of the enactment of ordinances known as: the Local Zoning Ordinances. One of the most important of these ordinances was adopted in Baltimore, Maryland in 1910, and was followed by several other states. As the courts declared these ordinances illegal, the whites shifted to another segregationist technique by asking the white landowners not to hire or sell their properties to the coloured people. They also used to destroy, burn, and bomb the blacks' houses through the help of organizations like: The Washington Park and The Court Improvement Association in Chicago.

Segregation was also established in the educational field. Separate institutions were established for the blacks and others for the whites³. Although the Morrill Act passed in 1890 provided for equal funds for the separated institutions, the blacks did not benefit from the same facilities as the whites. Their schools were much poorer and inferior in terms of programmes, material, funds and even construction⁴. As the states' support to black education was not effective, the blacks received material aid from the black church and white Northern philanthropists like Andrew Carnegie who invested millions of dollars in the establishment of libraries

1 K. L. Karst, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

2 J. Allen. Et al., *op. cit.*, p. 472.

3 J. Grant, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

4 M. M. Smythe, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

for black schools and colleges. Other important funds were organized by John F. Slater fund in 1882 with 1, 000, 000 \$, and Anna T. James fund in 1905, to build rural schools for black pupils.

The whites aimed at excluding the blacks from the American principles through the establishment of segregation laws. Even when these laws were absent, the whites expressed their racial attitudes through violent manifestations. Lynching was one of the more brutal practices which spread in the American society, especially in the post Civil War era. It was, in fact, in the South that the practice was more widespread. After the abolition of slavery in 1863-5, lynching replaced the old institution as a means of exercising control over the blacks and keeping them in a position of inferiority and dependency ¹. Over 1,500 lynchings were reported between 1884 and 1900; 900 between 1900 and 1910 and about 1, 100 prior to World War I ². One of the most spectacular lynching took place in Mississippi in 1914. A black man was lynched by a mob of whites who wanted to revenge the murder of a white sheriff. Another famous lynching took place in 1919. About 76 blacks were lynched.

For the whites, lynching was a system of punishment. The blacks were lynched on the pretext that they raped or attempted to rape a white woman; for homicide; robbery; insulting or beating the whites ³ or for no other reason except that they were black. The blacks, on the other hand, regarded lynching as the country's failure to provide protection for its citizens.

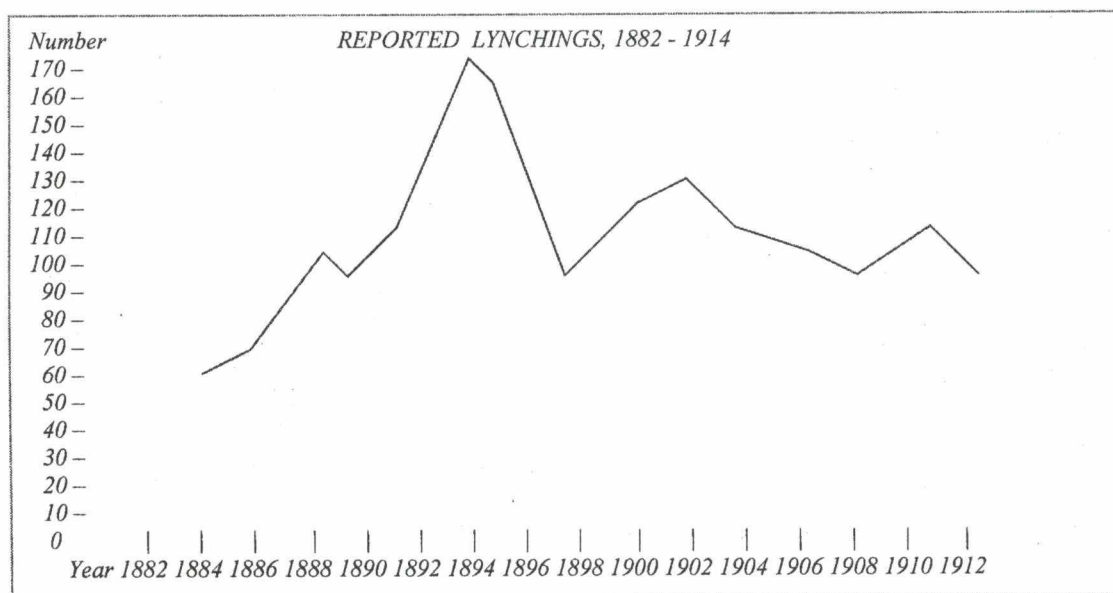
1 Alphonso Pinkney, *Red, Black, and Green: Black Nationalism in the United States*, Cambridge University Press, 1976, pp.37-8.

2 L. H. Fishel & B. Quarles, op. cit., p. 358.

3 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p. 440.

To flee these conditions of anxiety and violence, some blacks moved to the North in the effort of achieving peace and promoting their economic conditions. About one million blacks left the rural South during the second half of the twentieth century. However, they were faced with similar violence expressed in the form of race riots. The most popular race riot took place in Spring-Field, Illinois in 1908. George Richardson, a black man, was accused of having raped a white woman. In the court, the woman declared that she had been attacked by a white man and that Richardson had nothing to do with the incident. The black man was then transported to another town, so the whites who were waiting outside the court were very angry. In the streets, they burnt black business shops and homes, and drove the blacks out of their homes. In addition, a black man of eighty-four years old was lynched for no other reason except that he was the husband of a white woman. It was only through the efforts of more than 5, 000 militia men that the riot could be stopped. Graph one below shows estimated lynchings reported between 1882 and 1914.

Graph one: Reported Lynchings [in the United States](1882-1914).



Source: L. H. Fishel and B. Quarles, op. cit., p. 376.

The feelings of degradation, oppression, and dependency the black Americans were subjected to under slavery and racial discrimination urged them to react against their status. They decided not to remain subordinate to the white domination whatever its form. Not only did they revolt to improve their own conditions in America, but they were also constantly linking their fate with the blacks of the African continent. The diasporan blacks, in fact, believed in the common history of degradation and humiliation among the Africans and the African-Americans. The blacks on both sides of the Atlantic had, therefore, to struggle together to retrieve the lost dignity, equality, and respect of the blacks worldwide. Not only unity, but also pride in the black heritage was encouraged for the attainment of the blacks' objectives. "Unity" and Black pride" were the early expressions of a pan-Negro movement known in history as Pan-Africanism. What is Pan-Africanism? Why did it emerge? In what way did it develop? And how could Pan-Africanism reach Africa? All these questions and others will find answers in the following chapter.

Chapter Two

The Rise of Pan-Africanism and its Impact on African-Americans’ Consciousness.

(Up to the end of the nineteenth century)

African-Americans’ interest in Africa and Pan-Africanism originated basically out of their struggle to be assimilated, on equal basis, in the American society and their permanent subjugation and rejection by the society’s white members. Crushed by the hostility of slavery and the brutality of segregation and racial discrimination, some black Americans yearned for their ancestral homeland “Africa” for the achievement of dignity and self-respect and were historically referred to as “the emigrationists”. Nonetheless, others strove to challenge the whites’ beliefs of the white race superiority and the black race inferiority by remaining in America, the land where they were born. This latter group was called “the integrationists”.

It is worth noting that in their fight for the achievement of equality, dignity, and respect world-wide, both the assimilationists and the emigrationists turned their attention upon Africa as the best means for them to promote their own status all over the world.

The black integrationists refused to be physically assimilated to Africa. However, they sought to make cultural, economic, and political ties with Africa¹ and the Africans². They sought solidarity among the blacks all over the world, particularly in Africa to reject the stigma of the blacks' inferiority and backwardness imposed by the whites and encouraged by slavery and segregation, and later perpetuated by colonialism. The black American integrationists evoked the greatness of the African civilisations and Africa's historical past as a proof of Africa's historical glories.

African-American leaders regarded the promotion of the blacks in the African continent as a means by which the African-Americans could improve their own conditions in America³. If Africa could progress, the black Americans could no longer be regarded as inferior beings and would, therefore, gain respect and equality. Other black American leaders like Du Bois believed that there was a relationship between both the Africans and the African-Americans. Both peoples, Du Bois asserted, were under a white domination. A sense of solidarity and unity, therefore, developed and the African-Americans felt the need to fight not only for their own rights, but also for the promotion of the black race worldwide.

Unlike the integrationists, the emigrationists opted for a physical repatriation to Africa as the only solution to their racial problems in America. They were, in fact, highly interested in the Sierra Leone colony as a base for their emigration and colonisation schemes. Its settlers were among the most educated groups in all Africa and were protected by the British Crown against local attacks.

1 Not all the black assimilationists sought to relate themselves with Africa. Some believed that Africa was responsible for their low status in America. They, in fact, believed in Africa's backwardness. J. A. Langley, *Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa (1900-1945)*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973, p. 18.

2 I. Geiss, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 172.

Therefore, as early as 1787 Samuel Hopkins, a white Congregationalist minister from New Port, Rhode Island, sent a delegate to Freetown, Sierra Leone, to explore the conditions and to look for emigration and educational possibilities there. Nonetheless, it was not until the wake of the nineteenth century with the formation of a "Creole society"¹, that Sierra Leone came to be regarded as a cradle of missions for British as well as for American missionaries.

The British showed a special interest in the Sierra Leone colony which came to be regarded as the best means for the advancement of western civilisation, Christianity, and legitimate commerce to the British own benefit. Sierra Leone was, hence, a suitable settlement from which Christianity would be preached throughout West Africa. Its settlers were already Christians and the liberated Africans who were brought to the colony from 1808 onwards were cut off from their traditions and were, therefore, ready to acquire the principles of the Christian faith.

Through the acquisition of religious as well as western educational principles, the Creoles in Sierra Leone were being introduced to a modern² world. They were well aware of the European culture and civilisation. They adopted a European dressing style and possessed European names. They strongly believed in the supremacy of the white race and the backwardness of the darker races. They identified themselves as British subjects, but they were not treated as such by the British colonial government. Gradually, the Creoles in Sierra Leone, especially the highly educated ones broke away from the Christian framework as a result of

The word "Creole" here is used to refer to all the descendents of the Africans who had been liberated by the British navy since 1808. J. Peterson, *Province of Freedom: A History of Sierra Leone (1787-1870)*, London: Faber and Faber, 1969, p. 14.

² Modernity in Sierra Leone during the nineteenth century was associated with the acquisition of western education and Christian principles in opposition to the Africans' tribal beliefs. I. Geiss, op. cit., p. 16.

the inequality and the humiliations they received on the part of the colonial authorities. Their attitudes had been profoundly influenced by the Pan-Africanist principles of "race pride" and "African independence" expressed through the slogan "Africa for the Africans", and unity among all blacks of African descent for the achievement of equality and respect of the blacks worldwide. The Sierra Leoneans, hence, imbibed new ideas which were to contribute to the evolution of Pan-Africanism in West Africa.

This chapter will go through the different factors which paved the way for the development of Pan-Africanism in the Diaspora tracing its origins to the earliest forms of protest on the part of the black Americans. It also deals with the African-Americans' early interest in Sierra Leone as a colony for their repatriation schemes. The present chapter will also be an answer to other different questions. What led the Creoles, especially the educated ones, to change their attitudes towards the British with whom they had been in harmony for almost a century? What were the real factors which led the Creole educated people to change their beliefs about the supremacy of the white race and the inferiority of the darker races? What role did the African-Americans play in Sierra Leone to change the Creoles' mind about their race? And in what way could contact be possible between the African-Americans and the Sierra Leoneans?

I- The Historical Development of Pan-Africanism:

Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the transportation of African slaves across the Atlantic for sale in America represented a profitable trade by which England, France, Holland, as well as other European powers were gaining wealth and strength. By the end of the century, however, the attitude towards the slave trade tended to change and attempts were made to suppress it.

The blacks themselves reacted against enslavement and fought to get their own liberty and rights.

1- Early forms of black protest:

The earliest pioneers of Pan-Africanism were slaves who rebelled against their enslavement. The black slaves showed overt resistance. It was only through the efforts of armed guards that control could be secured. On shipboard, the slaves often jumped overboard to escape their enslavement. As historian J. H. Franklin pointed out:

... The Negroes were so wilful and loath to leave their own country that they have often leaped out of the canoes, boat and ship, into the sea, and kept under water till they were drowned. They preferred watery grave or to be devoured by sharks to enslavement in some faraway land¹.

It was, in fact, during the long voyage to the Americas that slave reactions were more frequent. To get rid of the chains they were held with, the slaves very often mutilated themselves². In addition, hunger strikes and suicide were also very common on the ships. More violent protests were expressed by the slaves in terms of revolts by attacking the guards.

On the American plantations, slaves' protests varied widely from passive resistance to active revolts. Slave strikes and the running away of slaves

1 J. P. Davis, op. cit., p. 5.

2 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p. 58.

were the best known practices. The slaves usually escaped to avoid the lash:

[The slaves] often run away after they have been whipped or something else happened to make them angry. They hide in the swamp and come into the cabins at night to get food. They seldom remain away more than a fortnight and when they come in they are whipped¹.

Malingering was also widely practised among the slaves as a way to prevent themselves from working or to avoid being sold to a cruel master. Some pretended hysteria; others either mutilated themselves², or cut off one of their organs, while women pretended to be pregnant to benefit from extra food and rest. In some cases where life was desperate, the slaves went further by killing themselves and their children to prevent them from growing up in bondage.

Rituals and songs were other forms of slaves' resistance. To cope with the oppression and brutality they were subjected to, the black slaves used to sing in the fields, hoping for a better world where all their burdens would be relieved "Go down, Moses, way down in Egypt's land and tell old pharaoh to let my people go..."³: that was the cry of the blacks in a desperate world.

More violent reactions on the part of the blacks were expressed in terms of revolts and insurrections. Violence was a form of social protest by which the slaves expressed their hatred to the horrors of slavery. The slaves usually rebelled to show their discontent with the existing conditions. Indeed, "Rebellion and conspiracy to rebel reflect the highest forms of protest and they reflect deep

1 J. Grant, op. cit., p. 48.

2 N. Bacharan, op. cit., p. 33.

3 Hughes Dodd Langston, *Famous American Negroes*, New York: Mead and Company, 1961, p. 14.

and widespread unrest”¹. Black revolts emerged with the development of the institution of slavery and continued to exist until slavery was finally abolished in the nineteenth century. It is estimated that about 250 revolts took place in America between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries². They took place both in the North and in the South. They tended, for the most part, to happen in the areas where there were great numbers of slaves: in South Carolina in 1720 and 1738, Georgia in 1738 and Virginia in 1831. The slaves savagely murdered the whites and fired out their houses and plantations. The best known slave rebellion in the history of America was organised by Nat Turner (1800-1831), in Southampton County, Virginia in 1831. Turner was born in Virginia in 1800. He was a slave preacher who believed since his childhood to be a messenger sent by God to help his black fellows to secure freedom³. On August 21, 1831, Turner’s insurrection took place. With the help of his black companions, Turner moved from one plantation to the other firing out white men, women and even children. Within twenty four hours about 60 whites had been murdered⁴. Turner’s group started to grow stronger and stronger as he found allies on the neighbouring plantations⁵. Nevertheless, they were crushed by the militia. Great numbers of slaves were killed or hanged. Turner escaped, but he was captured on October 30, 1831 and executed on November 11 of the same year⁶.

The whites reacted violently against such revolts by murdering and hanging the blacks or burning them alive. In addition, they also strengthened their legislatures by restricting the blacks’ movements and limiting the number of slaves’ importations.

1 H. Hill, et al., *Race in America: the Struggle For Equality*, Wisconsin: the University of Wisconsin Press, 1993, p. 34.

2 N. Bacharan, op. cit., p. 34.

3 E. Foner and J. A. Garraty, *The Reader’s Companion to American History*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1991, p. 996.

4 F. L. Schoell, op. cit., p. 47.

5 J. Grant, op. cit., p. 55.

6 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p. 213.

Prior to the American Revolution, the blacks' efforts to end slavery were desperate and almost suicidal. It was not until the revolutionary period that organised protest movements started to emerge. The liberal ideas of "freedom and human natural rights" that swept America during the revolutionary period contributed to a great extent to changing the blacks' views vis- à- vis slavery. When the Americans took up arms against the mother country England, to secure their liberty, they stimulated the blacks' desire for freedom. The blacks realised that they had to do the same to obtain their own liberty. They drafted petitions to the state and federal governments asking them to outlaw the slave trade and to grant them freedom as their inalienable right according to the principles of the Declaration of Independence which states that: " all men were created equal and were endowed with certain inalienable Rights...Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness" ¹. In 1773, a group of black people in Boston wrote a petition in which they condemned slavery ². Similar petitions were written throughout the North and the South during the revolutionary period as a protest against slavery.

"The Underground Railroad" was among the most organised forms of black protest. It was "a secret network of routes, stretching northward from the Border States and the Appalachian country into Canada through which slaves escaped to freedom" ³. The existence of the Underground Railroad is probably traced back to the eighteenth century after the spread of railroads.⁴ Several interpretations had been given concerning its nomination. The most popular one told that the railroad received its name when a slave ran away and could not be found by his master despite his efforts. The latter who was astonished believed that "the slave must have gone off on an underground road"⁵.

1 J. Allen et al., op. cit., p. 498.

2 L. H. JR. Fishel and B. Quarles, op. cit., pp. 44-45.

3 H. Hill, op. cit., p. 34.

4 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p. 254.

5 Ibid., p. 255.

The Underground Railroad required great funds. Food, clothing, health services, and stations where the fugitive slaves could rest before they reached the North were necessary. Money was raised through the help of white philanthropists and abolitionists like W. Lloyd Garrison, John Fairfield and many others. Religious groups like the Quakers, the Methodists, the Baptists, and anti-slavery leaders also played a paramount role as agents and money suppliers¹.

In addition to money, the Underground Railroad also required operators or “conductors” as they were known in history. Their duty was to transport the fugitives of the Southern areas to the North. Black and white conductors provided help for the fugitives. The best known ones were: Levin Coffin, the president of the Underground Railroad; the white philanthropist Calvin Fairbanks; the black Jane Lewis; and John Parker Isiah Henson.

The best known conductor ever known in the history of the Underground Railroad was Harriet Tubman (1823-1913). Her real name was Araminta Ross. Harriet was born a slave about 1823 in Maryland, in a family composed of eleven sons and daughters. She received no education except the lash². She worked as a servant since her early childhood, and then she was ordered to the fields. In 1844 she married a black man called Tubman. She had been working on the plantations for many years. When her master died in 1849, Harriet and two of her brothers were sold to another planter. Refusing to belong to another master, Harriet decided to run away to the North to achieve freedom. She could reach Philadelphia and started to work there. She wanted to secure money in order to deliver her family from slavery in the South.³

1 A. Bourrier, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

2 H. D. Langston, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

3 *Ibid.*, p.36.

It was during her voyage to the North that Harriet heard about the Underground Railroad. She became a "conductor" and helped great numbers of people, including members of her family, to escape from the South to the North where freedom could be achieved. Harriet led about nineteen expeditions to the South and all of them were successful¹. Because she could save about 300 slaves from bondage², she had been given the name of "Moses". "No fugitive" the black historian William Wells Brown wrote in 1854 "was ever captured who had Moses for a leader"³. Harriet had always been praised among the blacks for her courage and the devotion of her life for the cause of freedom. In a letter addressed to her, Frederick Douglass (1817-1895) maintained:

The difference between us is very marked. Most that I have done and suffered in the service of our cause has been in public, and I have received much encouragement at every step of the way. You on the other hand, have laboured in a private way. I have wrought in the day- you in the night. I have had the applause of the crowd and the satisfaction that comes of being approved..., while the most that you have done has been witnessed by a few trembling, scared and footsore bondsmen and women..., God bless you, has been the only reward. The midnight sky and the silent stars have been the witnesses of your devotion to freedom and of your heroism⁴.

The black abolitionists were also very active in the publication of anti-slavery papers. In 1827 two black leaders-Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm- as well as a number of blacks from New York founded the first black newspaper

1 N. Bacharan, op. cit., p. 33.

2 F. L. Schoell, op. cit., p. 63.

3 H. D. Langston, op. cit., p. 40.

4 Ibid., p. 41.

Freedom's Journal. The editions of this Journal expressed their grim dissatisfaction against the abuses of blacks' conditions in the American society. They also reacted against the colonizationists. They believed that the true aim of the Colonization Society is not the blacks' welfare. By repatriating the blacks outside America, the colonizationists were getting rid of the unwanted blacks¹.

Similar newspapers emerged to react against slavery and to fight for the promotion of the blacks' consciousness². In 1829 Cornish published his second paper *Rights of All*, and in 1836 he circulated the *Weekly Advocate*. *The Mystery* in Pittsburgh was published in 1843, *The Coloured Man's Journal* was edited in New York in 1851, *The Mirror of the Times* in San Francisco and *The Anglo-African* in New York were published in 1859.

Other forms of written protest were expressed through the publication of anti-slavery books and pamphlets. *Walker's Appeal* is a well known anti-slavery pamphlet published in 1829 by a free born black from North Carolina: David Walker (1785-1830). Walker settled down in Boston and worked as a second hand clothes store³. His anger against slavery and its evils urged him to write a pamphlet in which he called the coloured people for violence and physical force against bondage. He wrote:

Are we men!! I ask you...are we men? Did our creator make us to be slaves to dust and ashes like ourselves?...How we could be so submissive....America is more our country than it is the whites-we have enriched it with our blood and tears. The greatest riches in

1 A. Meier and E. Rudwick, op. cit., p. 107.

2 H. Hill, op. cit., p. 31.

3 L. H. JR. Fishel and B. Quarles, op. cit., p. 148.

all America have arisen from our blood and tears...they will drive us from our property...we have earned with our blood.¹

Similar anti-slavery papers had been written down by black authors against the hated institution of slavery. In 1829 Robert. A. Young published his *Ethiopian Manifesto, Issued in Defence of the Black Man's Rights, in the Scale of Universal Freedom* in which he profoundly believed that: "from the Negroes there would arise a messiah with the strength to liberate his people"². During the same year the black George Moses Horton from North Carolina expressed his reactions against slavery in his *Hope of Liberty* He wrote: "bid slavery hide her haggard face, and Barbarism fly: I scorn to see the said disgrace in which enslaved I lie"³.

The pamphlets which were illegally distributed in the South caused much alarm to the Southerners⁴ who prohibited the circulation of anti-slavery literature through the imposition of severe penalties upon the distributors⁵.

The black abolitionists also used the spoken word as a weapon of social protest. Frederick Douglass, a fugitive slave from Maryland, became a well known anti-slavery leader through his oratory talents. With his melodious voice, he denounced the idea that the blacks belong to an inferior race. He also protested against the belief that the blacks were happy to be slaves⁶. In addition to his oratory skills, Douglass founded a journal, *the North Star*, in 1847 and wrote books and autobiographies which narrate his own experience in bondage. He published his autobiographies: *the Narrative of Frederick Douglass* in 1845,

1J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p. 243.

2 Ibid., p. 250.

3 Ibid.

4 F. L. Schoell, op. cit., p. 65.

5 J. Grant, op. cit., p. 65.

6 N. Bacharan, op. cit., p. 38.

My Bondage and my Freedom in 1855, and *the Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* in 1881.

Women, too, participated in the struggle for liberty and the blacks' human rights as orators, writers, and agents in the organisation of the Underground Railroad. The best remembered figures were Sojourner Truth who with her oratory talents could impress the audience with her speech¹. Between 1830 and 1860, Truth travelled from New York to New England and over the West to denounce slavery and its abuses. Jane Lewis and Harriet Tubman are also remembered as the most popular conductors of the Underground Railroad. They helped great numbers of black fugitives in the South to escape northward to secure freedom². Finally, Frances Harper was the writer of *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects* in 1854. Frances Harper's poems were mainly concerned with the blacks' status in bondage, the harshness of the institution of slavery, and liberty.

Religion was also another form of protest by which the blacks could react against their conditions and cope with the oppression they were subjected to in the American white society. The Black American Church is one of the earliest manifestations of Black Nationalism in America. It emerged as a reaction to the whites' abuses in the churches³ and was regarded as one of the best organised institutions that played a prominent role in the promotion of unity and solidarity among the black people.

1 F. L. Schoell, op. cit., p. 65.

2 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p. 258

3 C. Legum, *Pan-Africanism: A Short Political Guide*, New York: Preager, 1962, p. 28.

2-The Emergence of Black American Church as an early Expression of Pan-Africanism:

Controversial ideas over the origins of religion in black America arose among different scholars and anthropologists. Some of them believed that African-Americans' religions and other aspects of their lives in the New World had been, to a certain extent, influenced by the West African heritage¹. On the other hand, another group of anthropologists formerly contended that no substantial elements of Africa could affect any aspect of the blacks in America.

Historians and Africanists like Melville Herskovits and Carter G. Woodson insisted on demonstrating the way African survivals could shape the life of the blacks in many aspects. African languages, kinship groups, folk tales, African religions, musical and dance forms had been preserved and adjusted according to African-Americans' needs in slavery. In language for instance, words like yam, goober, canoe... and banjo are probably derived from an African background². The use of folk tales among blacks and later by white writers is also an evidence of Africanism. And in religion many divinations and cult practices such as "possession"³ have their roots in Africa.

According to historian J. H. Franklin, the transplantation and the preservation of African survivals in America are probably due to the blacks' exclusion from the white community⁴. The black man was compelled to live in a world apart from the dominant class. These conditions encouraged him to shape a culture of his own. In fact, the black African in the New World was exposed to two

1 A. Meier and E. Rudwick, op. cit., p. 18.

2 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p. 41.

3 It is a religious phenomenon in which the enthusiast feels united with a deity. Ibid.

4 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p. 41.

environments: on the one hand, the blacks came to America from different African backgrounds with different languages, cultures, religions, and traditions. They melt with other blacks on the plantation. The interaction between people created different sets of customs. On the other hand, the blacks interacted with white Americans, which led automatically, to a change in cultural patterns¹.

Historian Peter Kolchin also reacted against the authors who refused to link the blacks' American culture with Africa. He wrote:

Historians....performed an extremely valuable service in destroying the myth that slaves were depersonalised samboes and in focusing on slaves as actors who helped shape their own world. In doing so, however, they tended increasingly toward celebration and even mystification of slave life. There consequently appears to be a real danger that in rejecting old myths we are in the process of embracing a new one: that of the utopian slave community².

Scholars like Frazier, however, were against the belief that black Americans could be influenced by any aspect of the African heritage on any side. As far as religion is concerned, Frazier and his followers claimed that the blacks were Methodists and Baptists for the simple reason that Methodist and Baptist churches were among the fewer white denominations to welcome the blacks in their congregations. Besides, the decentralization and the congregation autonomy of these bodies enabled the blacks to be members in these white churches. In addition, religion represented for the blacks a means by which they could cope with oppression and the cruel conditions they were subjected to. White evangelical

1 Ibid., p.40.

2 M. M. Smith op. cit., p. 48.

Christians- Baptists and Methodists- preached against the evils of human bondage. They freed black slaves and refused to be slave holders¹. In 1784 the Methodists declared that "slavery was a violent deprecation of the rights of nature..."².

Both Methodists and Baptists succeeded in converting large numbers of blacks, slave and free, and welcomed them as members in their churches. Nonetheless, the blacks were unable to achieve positions of true leadership within the white dominated churches³. They were segregated against in communions and baptisms; they were provided with separate Sunday school classes ⁴ and were allowed to sit in the rear of the galleries only or what has historically been called "Nigger pews" or "African corners". Besides, by the 1790's overt discrimination became embedded in the white churches. The whites realised that the Church was responsible for blacks' gatherings which would lead to their unity. This would, subsequently, lead to the loss of control on the plantations ⁵.

The African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church came to birth as a reaction against the white abuses in the churches. The blacks understood that they could never achieve equality with the whites in their churches and decided to found churches of their own. The origins of the AME Church go back to 1787 under the leadership of Richard Allen (1760 -1831). Allen was born a slave in Philadelphia about 1760. During his childhood, he was sold to a planter in Delaware. When he became a young man, R. Allen was converted to Methodism and became a Methodist preacher. With the permission of his master, R. Allen was allowed to

1 J. P. Davis, op. cit., p. 399.

2 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p. 161.

3 H. Hill, op. cit., p. 30.

4 A. Meier and E. Rudwick, op. cit., p. 84.

5 H. D. Langston, op. cit., p. 13.

organize prayer meetings on the plantation where he used to live. In 1776 he went back to Philadelphia¹ where he could attend the St George's Methodist Church². He gathered money and could secure his freedom in 1777. On some occasions, he was allowed to organize prayer meetings for the blacks but as the number of the blacks in the Church started to grow in number, some of the white officials opposed R. Allen's preaching and others refused the attendance of the blacks altogether. When one day Allen and his two friends Absolom Jones (1746-1818) and William White were pulled from their knees during prayer at the St George Church, they understood that the blacks should have a place of worship of their own. With the co-operation of Absolom Jones, Richard Allen founded "The Free-African Society" on 12 May 1787³, a mutual aid society with religious purposes- which was a preliminary step to the formation of "The Bethel Methodist Episcopal Church" in Philadelphia in 1794. With the formation of a black church, Allen and his followers believed that "the slaves did not simply become Christian; they creatively fashioned a Christian tradition to fit their own peculiar experience of enslavement in America"⁴. They had their own preaching and expressed their common sorrows through "Negro Spirituals"⁵, religious singings performed by the blacks in the churches as a medium to flee the existing conditions of bondage. "Dere's a great camp meetin' in de promised land, look away in de heaven, Lord ... fo' my soul's goin' to heaven jes' sho's you born... Heaven, Heaven, everybody talkin' about Heaven ain't goin' there'...⁶ such was the cry of the blacks in the churches.

R. Allen also struggled for the education of the blacks. He contributed to the establishment of a number of black schools and churches. He asked for

1 Ibid., p. 11.

2 L. H. Fishel and B. Quarles, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

3 I. Geiss, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

4 H. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

5 F. L. Schoell, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

6 J. H. Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

freedom for the blacks still in bondage and full citizenship for the free blacks. His aim was the full integration of the blacks to the American society and objected to all schemes of colonisation and repatriation of the blacks, particularly in Africa¹. When the members of the American Colonisation Society aimed at repatriating the free coloured people back to Africa as an ultimate solution to race problems in America, Allen and three thousand blacks met in Philadelphia in 1817 to oppose such schemes². The blacks, Allen believed, had their place in America where they were born, not in Africa. In 1830, the first coloured convention was founded in Philadelphia with R. Allen as president, and James Forton, John B. Vashon, John T. Hilton, and Samuel Cornish among its prominent members. The convention was attended by delegates from New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. The members of this Coloured Convention defended the rights of the blacks in America and opposed the principles of the American Colonization Society altogether. They proclaimed that: “[the convention] would devise and pursue all legal means for the speedy elevation of ourselves and brethren to the scale and standing of men”³.

The Convention’s members also pleaded that it was their right to enjoy the privileges of the American society on the ground that their ancestors participated in the early undertakings of America as explorers, servants, and slaves. They stated:

in past wars, black people had ceased to remember their wrongs and rallied around the standard of their country...whereas our [black] ancestors were the first successful cultivators of the

1 H. D. Langston, op. cit., p. 15.

2 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p. 240.

3 H. D. Langston, op. cit., p. 15.

wilds of America, and we [blacks] their descendents feel ourselves entitled to participate in the blessings of her luxuriant soil, which their blood and sweat manure; and that any measure or system of measures having a tendency to banish us from her bosom, would not only be cruel, but in direct violation of those principles...¹.

Other meetings of the National Negro Convention were held in Philadelphia in 1831, Tory in 1847, Rochester in 1853, and many other cities. The members of the Convention resolved to oppose the American Colonization Society's schemes of repatriating the blacks to Africa. They also worked for the promotion of the blacks' education by raising funds for that purpose² and reacted against all forms of oppression of any kind on the part of the white Americans. These conventions were supported by prominent white leaders like: Arthur Tappan, John Rankin, and William Llyod Garrison who expressed their hostility to the principles of the American Colonization Society. "The Colonization Society", Garrison declared, "[seeks] to convince the nation that the Negroes were too degenerate to profit from the American civilization"³.

The blacks expressed their gratitude to the whites' assistance. Nevertheless, on one occasion in 1837 Rev. Charles Gardner, a Presbyterian minister from Philadelphia, claimed that the coloured people vigorously resisted the compulsory deportation of the blacks propagated by the American Colonisation Society long before the emergence of Garrison. In his own words: "free people of color had held numerous meetings opposing the American Colonization Society when Garrison was still a school boy"⁴.

1 A. Meier and E. Rudwick, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

2 J. H. Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

3 A. Meier and E. Rudwick, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 109.

Similar reactions against the repatriation of blacks outside America had been undertaken in Baltimore, Boston, New York, Hartford, New Heaven and Pittsburgh during the same period by black leaders and churchmen who referred to the colonization scheme as “one of the wildest projects ever patronized by enlightened men”¹.

In 1816 the first independent African-American denomination came to birth with the formation of the AME Church in Philadelphia under the leadership of Bishop Richard Allen, followed in 1820 by the foundation of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (AMEZ)² in New York with Absalom Jones as the first bishop to hold office³. The two bishops could no longer agree on doctrinal matters and each one of them decided to found a church of his own⁴. However, despite their differences concerning religious matters, their churches fought for the same objectives. They were hostile to the whites' attempts of repatriating the blacks to Liberia and fought for the full integration of the blacks in the American society. By the mid-nineteenth century, they launched missionary activities in Africa. The proclaimed purpose was “to civilize” and to Christianize the African blacks⁵. In fact, the black American missionaries sought to play a dual role in Africa. They aimed at Christianising and educating the African “heathens”. At the same time, they wanted the American blacks to become aware of their African heritage. They played a pivotal role in Africa through their missionary endeavours. The black American missionaries were highly interested

1 J. H. Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

2 The main difference between the A. M. E. Church and the A. M. E. Z. Church was the addition of the word “Zion”. It was added to the name of the church for the sake of emphasising upon the independence of the church. Furthermore, the great rivalry for leadership between Allen and Jones prevented the formation of a united denomination. I. Geiss, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

3 *Ibid.*,

4 A. Meier and E. Rudwick, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

5 J. P. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 669.

in the Sierra Leone colony. Its settlers were among the most modernised groups in all Africa during the 1800's and could ,therefore, help the black American missionaries in their educating and "civilising" missions throughout the African continent. Daniel Coker, a former slave and a founding member of the A. M. E. Church helped eighty eight black Americans to set foot in Liberia and himself settled in Sierra Leone during the 1820's. During the same period, Lott Carey, another black American missionary, sailed to Sierra Leone under the auspices of the Richmond African Baptist Missionary Society and the General Baptist Missionary Convention to accomplish religious "civilising" missions. Why were the black Americans interested in Sierra Leone more particularly in the accomplishment of their missionary activities? What did Sierra Leone represent to the black Americans? And how could contact be possible between the black Americans and the Sierra Leoneans?

II- The Development of the Sierra Leone Colony:

In 1787, the Sierra Leone colony was founded as a "province of freedom" by British philanthropists and abolitionists to settle down former slaves from England, in addition to a number of African-American blacks who fought on the British side in the American War for Independence. The first settlers were joined by the 1790's by new African-American settlers, Nova Scotians and Maroons, as well as freed slaves who had been liberated by the British navy since 1808. The Sierra Leone colony became therefore, a centre for the suppression of the slave trade. British abolitionists under the leadership of Granville Sharp regarded the introduction of western education and Christianity throughout

the colony as the best means to help campaigning against the business of the trade in men.

On January 01, 1808 Sierra Leone was declared a crown colony. The colony which was established as a base to get rid of the unwanted blacks came to represent in the British eyes the best means for the advancement of western civilisation, Christianity, and legitimate commerce to their own benefit. To have their objectives attained, the British provided the Creoles in the Sierra Leone colony with western education and possibilities of trade in addition to other privileges.

The introduction of western education in the Sierra Leone colony led to the formation of a new class of people known in the Sierra Leone society as "the educated elite" or "the westernised elite". The Sierra Leonean educated elite were well aware of the European culture and civilisation. They adopted a European dressing style and possessed European names. Furthermore, the education they had acquired helped them to understand and cope with the changes colonial government brought about in the colony.

1 – THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SIERRA LEONE COLONY:

After the acquisition of a colony on the watering grounds of Sierra Leone through a treaty negotiated with a Temne chief, King Tom, the first settlers landed in Sierra Leone in May 1787¹. The settlers whose number was about four thousand and fifty¹ were left in "the province of freedom" and were to govern themselves according to a constitution drawn up by the British abolitionist,

¹ Robert Cornevin, *Histoire de l'Afrique: L'Afrique Pré-coloniale (1500 – 1900)*, Paris : Payot, Vol II, 1976, pp. 297 – 298.

Granville Sharp. However, the first years of the settlement proved to be very difficult. The settlers reached Sierra Leone at a time when there were heavy rainfalls so there was no possibility for them to build houses or to initiate farming.² A number of them died as a result of the diseases caused by the bad climate. Those who survived found that the land was not suitable for farming. Some of them sought refuge in the neighbouring tribes where they sacrificed themselves as slaves. Others worked as clerks for the slave "factories"³.

After the death of King Tom in 1788, a new treaty regarding the settlement had to be negotiated with his successor according to the conventional procedures usually established between the African chiefs and the Europeans. The treaty as well as the customs imposed upon the land were negotiated with the governor and had to be renewed after the governor's death. A new treaty was, therefore, negotiated with Naimbana, the Regent of the Koya Temne in 1788. Naimbana had no knowledge of English. The new treaty he negotiated with the European strangers differed widely from the old treaties established with the previous governors. Without being aware of his act, Naimbana sold a portion of his land to the Europeans. He, therefore, renounced sovereignty over the land acquired by the Europeans.⁴

The acquired land, however, did not prosper very long. On December 06, 1789 it was attacked and burnt by the Temne people. Some of the settlers fled to the neighbouring villages whereas others returned to England.

The British abolitionist and the initiator of the Sierra Leone's settlement, G. Sharp wanted to maintain the colony. Unlike the British

1 Ibid., p. 298.

2 J. D. Fage, *A History of West Africa*, op. cit., p. 119.

3 A. P. Kup, *Sierra Leone: A Concise History*, London: David et Charles, 1975, p. 117.

4 J. F. A. Ajayi and M. Crowder, op. cit., p. 38.

government which wanted to get rid of the blacks, G. Sharp aimed at the protection of the blacks' liberty through the establishment of "the province of freedom". When the settlement was ruined, Sharp who did not have money to restore the colony, looked for the support of his fellow British abolitionists. In 1791, the Sierra Leone Company was founded to take over and to develop Sierra Leone. The Company was ruled by a board of directors including Henry Thornton, a rich banker and a Member of Parliament as the chairman of the company and G. Sharp, William Wilberforce, and Thomas Clarkson as the other board members¹.

The Company's employees were concerned with the initiation of legitimate commerce with the natives. They were denied the right to trade in slaves and were asked to spread the Christian religion and to educate the African heathens according to the principles of the European civilization², a policy which may be traced back to the beginnings of the British anti-slavery movement, supported by Sharp and his followers who called for: "Christianity, commerce and colonization"³.

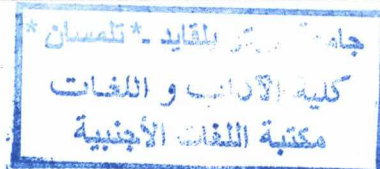
On March 06, 1792 a new group of settlers from Nova Scotia landed on the peninsula of Freetown in Sierra Leone. The blacks who were denied land grants in Nova Scotia asked for repatriation to Sierra Leone. Thomas Peters, a representative of the blacks in Nova Scotia went to London in 1791 and presented a memorial to the Secretary of State to protest against the bad conditions the blacks were undergoing⁴. His claims were answered positively by the British

1 Henri Brunschwig, *L'avènement de l'Afrique Noire du XIX siècle à Nos Jours*, Paris : Librairie Armond Colin, 1963, p. 24.

2 J. F. Ajayi and M. Crowder, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

3 J. D. Fage, *A History of West Africa*, op. cit., p. 116.

4 C. H. Fyfe, "Thomas Peters: History and Legend", *Sierra Leone Studies*, Dec. 1953, N°1, p. 6.



government and the Sierra Leone Company¹. The directors of the Company who were looking for new settlers to people the acquired land in Sierra Leone welcomed the Nova-Scotians. Their appreciation was expressed in a handbill issued on August 2, 1791. It declared: "every free black ... shall have a grant of not less than twenty acres of land for himself, ten for his wife, and five for every child"².

Lieutenant John Clarkson (1764- 1828)³, the brother of the British anti-slavery leader Thomas Clarkson, was responsible for the embarkation of the Nova Scotian volunteers to the Sierra Leone colony. Upon his arrival on the Nova Scotian soil on October 7, 1791, Lieutenant Clarkson realized that the number of the blacks who wished to go to Sierra Leone was great. In December, 1791 their number was estimated at about 1, 000 blacks⁴. Many ships were, therefore, required. An advertisement published on November 22, 1791 on a Nova Scotian paper called *The Royal Gazette*, confirmed such claims. It advertised:

To convey the Blacks from hence to Sierra Leone on the Coast of Africa, upwards of one thousand tone of shipping. Any person or persons willing to engage in this undertaking will give in their proposals without loss of time to the Secretary of the province⁵.

1 G. Haliburton, "The Nova Scotia Settlers of 1792", *Sierra Leone Studies*, Dec. 1957, N°9, p. 16.

2 Anthony Kirk-Greene, "Davis George: The Nova Scotia Experience", *Sierra Leone Studies*, Dec. 1960, N° 14, p. 107.

3 John Clarkson was an agent for the Sierra Leone Company. He became a Lieutenant of the Royal Navy in 1783. Throughout his initial service in the Caribbean, he noticed the hostility of slavery the blacks were subjected to. He, therefore, provided help for the establishment of Freetown in 1787 as a settlement for the freed slaves with his brother Thomas. He died on April 02, 1828. www.britanica.com (accessed in February 2004).

4 Anthony Kirk-Greene, op. cit., p. 111.

5 Ibid., pp. 109 – 110.

About fifteen ships were gathered in order to embark the Nova Scotians to Sierra Leone. The number of the volunteers, the name of the captains who transported them, as well as the names of the ships, are given in table four.

TABLE FOUR: the details of the Sierra Leone Bound fleet (1792).

Ship	Captain	Men	Women	Aged 10-16	Children under 10	Total passengers	Tonnage
1- Eleanor	Redman	53	47	15	55	170	227,50
2- Sierra-L	Tufton	48	39	9	44	140	231,50
3- Venus	Evans	44	37	6	35	122	206,00
4- Pan	Kelly	32	35	6	23	96	166,00
5- Mary	Mattacks	34	30	4	28	96	162,00
6- Somerset	Brown	21	19	2	28	61	102,00
7- Mary	Barnard	21	19	2	19	61	102,00
8- Two Brothers	Smith	17	18	6	19	56	94,00
9- Lucretia	Coffin	20	20	1	15	65	105,50
10- Morning Star	Fullerton	17	20	6	24	80	120,00
11- Catherisie	Nicholas	19	15	4	37	54	90,00
12- Betsey	Ray	15	11	3	16	51	78,50
13- Felicity	Wikham	15	15	4	22	51	83,00
14- Prince William Henry	Coffin	15	13	2	17	43	72,00
15- Beaver	Rundle	18	14	-	13	50	82,00
Total		385	349	73	383	1 196	1 960,50

Source: A. Kirck- Greene, op. cit., p. 112.

The Nova Scotian settlers reached Sierra Leone on March 06, 1792 and J. Clarkson was selected as their governor¹. Like the first settlers of 1787, the Nova Scotians reached Sierra Leone in a rainy season so it was difficult for them to build houses or to perform agricultural tasks. A number of them fell sick

1 The Sierra Leone Company's charter provided for a government with a council composed of eight members of equal power. Since 1792, however, a new form of governorship was established. It included a governor and a council composed of two members. J. Peterson, op. cit., 29.

whereas others died. Gradually, however, the conditions started to stabilize. Some settlers became interested in agriculture. Others, however, turned to trade with the neighbouring tribes¹.

When the settlement started to prosper, J. Clarkson decided to make his way back to England. Before his departure, he wanted to make sure that control could be secured. He, therefore, divided the settlement into tithings that is districts composed of ten families, and was succeeded in September 1792 by William Dawes (1792 – 1794)², as the second colony governor.

After the departure of J. Clarkson in 1792, dissatisfaction and unrest intensified among the Nova Scotian settlers. With the acquisition of boats, the Nova Scotians in Freetown wanted to trade on the waterside. However, they were denied access to the shore since the waterside was restricted to the Sierra Leone Company's agents and offices according to the 1791 Company's regulations³. J. Clarkson who was the colony's governor until September 1792 gave the Nova Scotian settlers a promise of equal use of the shores. After he left, however, the waterside was again restricted to the Company only.

Further conflicts between the Nova Scotian settlers and the Company were related to the land grants. The settlers claimed that the Company did not respect its promises since they were not granted the twenty acres promised to them in Nova Scotia⁴. They protested in June 1793 by sending two representatives, Cato Perkins and Isaac Anderson, to London to present a petition to the directors of the Sierra Leone Company. They asked for land grants and refused to be governed by the company's agents. They wrote:

1 J. F. Ajayi and M. Crowder, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

2 A. P. Kup, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 130.

4 The Nova Scotian settlers in Sierra Leone were provided with about five acres per person. J. Peterson, *op. cit.*, 30.

We will not be governed by your present agents in Africa ... we want nothing but justice ...we have been so often deceived by white people, that we are jealous when they make any promises, and uneasily wait till we see what they will come to ¹.

In addition, the petitioners also stated that they were not protected by law. They wrote: "We are certainly not protected by the laws of Great Britain, having neither courts of justice, nor officers appointed by the authority of this government" ². Nevertheless, their claims were ignored.

The Nova Scotians' hostility towards the Sierra Leone Company increased when they came back home in 1794. They realized that the prices of the Company's stores had raised. Furthermore, the colony was attacked and destroyed by the French in September 1794, so the Company imposed quit rents³ over the settlers to raise revenue for the re-establishment of the settlement and as a compensation for the war losses.

Despite government's insistence, the Nova Scotian settlers refused to pay taxes on a land supposed to be "free of expense" ⁴. The Company's directors, therefore, realized that the governorship in Freetown needed to be strengthened. They asked the Crown for additional powers and by July 1799, the government in

1 A. P. Kup, op. cit., p. 132.

2 Ibid., pp. 132 – 133.

3 In September 1794 Freetown was attacked by the French who caused a lot of trouble in the colony. The Company's building was destroyed, the settlers' houses were burnt, and the animals were killed. Even the settlers who could flee to the surrounding areas died of starvation. After the end of the attack in October 1794, the governors sought to impose taxes over the lands in order to pay for the war expenses. Apart of the tax was also expected to contribute in the re-building of what had been damaged during the war. J. Peterson, op. cit., p. 31.

4 J. F. Ajayi and M. Crowder, op. cit., p. 40.

Sierra Leone was provided with judicial and administrative powers. Nevertheless, the settlers' hostility persisted and an armed rebellion took place in 1800. It was only after the arrival of about 550 Maroons from Jamaica, together with the royal troops that control could be secured.

Another rebellion broke out the following year. The Nova Scotians sided with the Temne King, Pa Kokelly, the successor of King Jimmy. After the death of the latter, Pa Kokelly or King Tom as he was called, asked the Company's officials to make a new treaty with him. The officials who were not aware of the usual procedures between the African chiefs and the Europeans refused to establish a treaty or to grant the king any money being the owners of the settlement after its acquisition from the previous ruler. Believing that the Europeans wanted to take over their land, the Temne people attacked Freetown in November 1801. However, they were defeated ¹. Assisted by the Nova Scotian settlers, they came back to Freetown some months later and were once again crushed. The territories on the western side of Freetown were ceded to the Company and the Maroons were provided with parcels of the acquired land ².

By the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the financial difficulties of the Sierra Leone Company deteriorated. The Company could not make commercial profits. Agriculture did not flourish and a profitable trade from which to get profits was not found. The slave trade was lucrative in West Africa at that time. Yet, the Company was denied this trade ³. In addition, the expenses of the French War as well as the Temne and the Nova Scotian rebellions also weakened the Company's strength. The directors of the Sierra Leone Company appealed to the British government for help. They were granted money. Nevertheless, these grants were still not

¹ Ibid., p. 42.

² A P. Kup, op. cit., p. 149.

³ J. D. Fage, *A History of West Africa*, op. cit., p. 120.

enough and the Company's directors became aware that the Company could not flourish. A bill was passed in 1806 by which the Company's directors requested the British government to take over Sierra Leone. The bill was approved in August 1807 and Sierra Leone was declared a crown colony on January 01, 1808¹.

In addition to its role as a naval base for the protection of the British ships, Freetown was also used by 1808 to stop the slave shippers who still traded in slaves after the abolition of the slave trade by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The "recaptives" or "the liberated Africans" as the Africans who were freed by the British navy were called, constituted a problem for the British who did not know where to settle them. The liberated Africans who came from areas stretching from Senegal to the Congo or East Africa² could not be sent back home since there was a fear of re-enslavement. Sierra Leone proved, once again, a suitable settlement for the recaptives. However, the number of the liberated Africans tended to increase throughout the years³ and problems as how to deal with them emerged. Different policies were adopted by the different crown colony governors in Sierra Leone with regard to the liberated Africans.

Thomas Perronet Thompson (1808 – 1810)⁴, the first governor of Sierra Leone settled the liberated Africans in the nearby villages surrounding the colony. Leicester and Wilberforce which were founded respectively in 1809 and 1810 were among the first recognized villages⁵. Through the establishment of

1 H. Brunschwig, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

2 J. F. Ajayi and M. Crowder, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

3 About 50 000 recaptives landed in Sierra Leone from 1808 to 1863. I. Geiss, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

4 T. P. Thompson was the son of a Hull banker. He was educated at Cambridge. He initiated his career in banking, and then he served in the British navy and army before he became the first Crown Colony Governor of Sierra Leone in July 1808. J. Peterson, *op. cit.*, p.48.

5 Similar rural communities were established between 1809 and 1819. They included Regent (1812), Wellington, Hastings and York (1819). A. P. Kup, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

these rural communities, Governor Thompson wanted to make the colony an agricultural enterprise. In addition, the villages would prevent external attacks and would work for the spread of the western civilization throughout the interior¹.

E. H. Columbine (1810 – 1811)² the second governor of the colony, as well as his successor Charles William Maxwell (1811 – 1814)³, opted for the apprenticeship and the enlistment of the liberated Africans in the army according to the provisions of the Slave Trade Abolition Act (25 March 1807). However, their plans failed because the number of the liberated Africans tended to increase and the governors' plans could not concern all the recaptives whose majority fled to the surrounding villages to join their fellows.

Lieutenant Colonel Charles Mac Carthy⁴ who governed the colony of Sierra Leone for a period extending from 1814 to 1824, came with new policies. He proposed that the government would work in co-operation with the missionaries. Furthermore, he suggested the division of the colony into parishes with a clergyman in every parish⁵. The clergyman's duty would not only be educative but administrative, too. In 1816, he declared: "I am thoroughly convinced that in order to civilize the captured Negroes and to induce [them] ... to apply to agriculture it would be desirable to divide the peninsula into parishes,

1 Ibid.

2 E. H. Columbine was a naval captain. He arrived in Sierra Leone in February 1810. He suffered from malaria and fever and died at sea in June 1811. J. Peterson, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

3 C. W. Maxwell was a military commandant before he took the governorship of the Sierra Leone colony on 1 July 1811. Ibid., p. 57.

4 Mac Carthy was a military commander. He was the son of a French father and an Irish mother. He had been brought up in France. When he was 18, Mac Carthy served in the French army. He then moved to Ireland and could secure a commission in the British army. In 1795 was sent to the West Indies and stayed there until he was asked to control the Sierra Leone colony in 1814. Ibid., pp. 81-82.

5 J. Peterson, op. cit., p. 79.

settling a clergyman in each..."¹. Through a technical training provided by the missionaries, Mac Carthy pointed out, the liberated Africans would be self-sufficient since they would become carpenters, masons and the like.

Mac Carthy's plans were approved by the government and grants for the realization of the schemes were granted. These grants were used for the most part in the construction of churches and schools, as well as other government buildings in which Mac Carthy's plans could operate. However, the death of Mac Carthy by the Ashanti people of the Gold Coast in 1824², put an end to his schemes. In fact, before Mac Carthy's death, his relationship with the missionaries had declined. He was provided with inadequate agents who were more interested in the conversion of the Susu Tribes in the north. Moreover, the diseases caused by the climate led to the extinction of a great number of them. Mac Carthy's failure was also due to his incapability to be omni-present in the colony because of his responsibilities as the administrator in chief of the West African settlements.

Owing to the death of Governor Mac Carthy in 1824 and the great expenditure his plans required, the governors who succeeded him became more and more interested in lessening the colony's expenses and less involved in the liberated Africans' affairs. After some months of apprenticeship in Freetown, the newly liberated Africans were then sent to the rural villages where they worked for the established recaptives before having their own businesses and labourers. Some remained in the agricultural villages whereas the majority moved by the 1830's to Freetown to prosper in trade. They traded not only in the colony but also in its hinterlands and along the coast.

1 Ibid., p. 79.

2 J. D. Fage, *A History of Africa*, op. cit., p. 340.

In addition, the liberated Africans became also involved in politics. As early as 1844, the first governor of African descent, Governor William Ferguson (1818-1865) was appointed¹, followed a year later by John Ezzidio (1810- 1872)² as a mayor of the municipal council³. Furthermore, the Sierra Leoneans were also appointed as unofficial nominated members in the Legislative Council since its establishment in 1863. John Ezzidio was among the first unofficial members of African descent who sat in the Legislative Council in the 1860's. He was followed in the 1870's by other nominated members like William Grant, Henry Lumpkin and Syble Boyle. Other nominated members of African descent sat in the Legislative Council in a period extending from 1882 to the 1920's. They included: Samuel Lewis (1895-1899)⁴, Abraham Spencer Hebron (1899-1900)⁵, S. J. S. Barlatt (1900-1902)⁶, Claude E. Wright (1903-1904)⁷, John Henry Malamah Thomas (1904-1906)⁸ and T. J. Shorunkeh Sawyer⁹. Through their involvement in politics, the liberated Africans and the Creoles in general, achieved a certain autonomy and became concerned with their own affairs. This independence was also achieved through the work of the Christian missionaries.

1 A. P. Kup, op. cit., p. 196.

2 John Ezzidio was a liberated slave from Nigeria. He received his education in Freetown. After being a mayor of Freetown, Ezzidio became a member of the Colonial Governor's Legislative Council. www.sierra-leone.org/heroes (accessed in December 2005).

3 The 1799 Royal Charter provided for a municipal council composed of a mayor and aldermen who were appointed by the governor and council. By the 1850's the municipal council lost its importance, but it was revived in 1893 with an elected majority. A. P. Kup, op. cit., pp 196-197.

4 In Public Record Office, C.O. 267/452, n° 7938.

5 The Sierra Leone National Archives, Colonial Secretary Office, Minute Paper, n° 662 of 1901. Also found in Public Record Office, C.O. 267/457, n° 82120.

6 The Sierra Leone National Archives, Colonial Secretary Office, Minute Paper, n° 1030 of 1903.

7 The Sierra Leone National Archives, Colonial Secretary Office, Minute Paper, n°633 of 1905.

8 The Sierra Leone National Archives, Colonial Secretary Office, Minute Paper, n°732 of 1907. Also found in Public Record Office, C.O. 267/483, n° 6327.

9 A. T. Porter "The Social Background of Political Decision Makers in Sierra Leone", *Sierra Leone Studies*, June 1960, N°13, p. 7.

2) -THE INTRODUCTION OF WESTERN EDUCATION IN SIERRA LEONE AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE EDUCATED ELITE:

The presence of the Christian missionaries in West Africa is traced back to the fifteenth century with the Europeans' exploration of the West African Coasts. The Papal Bulls of 1454 gave the Portuguese exclusive rights over the discovered coasts of West Africa and the right to transport the African slaves if the latter were converted to Christianity. For this reason, Portuguese merchants transported in their ships chaplains to convert the slaves before their transportation to Europe¹. Portuguese claims over West Africa were strengthened through another bull in 1458 and the foundation of a company for "the Propagation of Faith" which kept control over West Africa until 1622.² However, these early mission activities did not have a great influence. It was not until the late eighteenth century with the revival of the evangelical³ movement in Europe that mission activities in West Africa started to be seriously undertaken.

Through the introduction of Christianity in Sierra Leone, the Christian missions wanted to put an end to slavery and the slave trade⁴. In addition, they wanted to convert and educate the blacks. Above all, the introduction of Christianity in West Africa in general, and Sierra Leone in particular, was regarded as a means by which the Europeans wanted to apologize for the harm done to the Africans through the slave trade. The Europeans claimed that the Africans had seen much of the bad side of the western civilization, so it was time to provide them with a good knowledge of the European culture.

1 I. Geiss, op. cit., pp. 46 – 47.

2 J. Iliffe, *Les Africains: Histoire D'un Continent*, France: Flammarion, 1997, p.220.

3 Evangelism is truly associated with the Bible and Jesus Christ. www.britanica.com (accessed in June 2005).

4 J. D. Fage, *A History of Africa*, op. cit., p. 344

The presence of religious missionaries in the Sierra Leone colony is traced back to its establishment. The first settlers who landed in the colony in 1787 were accompanied by a chaplain,¹ and the Nova Scotians, the African-Americans and Maroons who joined the colony after the 1790's were already Baptists or Methodists. In 1797, Melville Horne, an Anglican pastor, followed to accomplish religious "civilising missions" in the colony². The first Christian missionaries of the London Missionary Society (1795) landed in Sierra Leone in 1797 with the aim of converting the Susu tribes, and the Protestants³ followed in 1800.⁴ However, these early missions were not successful due to the diseases and the societies' members were discouraged to send further missions to Africa⁵. It was only after the organization of the Church of the England Missionary Society or the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.)⁶ as the society is known in history, under the leadership of W. Wilberforce, Thornton and T. Clarkson, that the idea of mission activities in Africa was revived. Nevertheless, after the failure of the London Missionary Society, the clergymen refused to go to Sierra Leone, for this reason, the C.M.S. appealed to the services of German missionaries like J. F. Schön, S. Wkoelle and J. L. Krapf⁷. Between 1804 and 1816, about twenty- six

1 Catherine. C. Vidrovitch, *L'Afrique et Les Africains au XIXe Siècles : Mutations, Révolutions, Crises*, Paris : Armand Colin, 1999, p. 213.

2 C. C. Vidrovitch, op. cit., p. 213.

3 Protestantism is one of the three main divisions of Christianity. It emerged in the sixteenth century as a movement for the reformation of the Western Christian Church. The Protestants reacted against the Pope's authority in the Church in favour of the Bible's authority. www.wikipedia.org (accessed in Mars 2006).

4 J. Iliffe, op. cit., p. 221.

5 I. Geiss, op. cit., p. 47.

6 The C. M. S. originally known as "The Society for Missions to Africa and the East" was organised in England in 1799, with the aim of educating the Africans and converting them into Christianity. Daniel J. Paracka, Jr., "The Athens of West Africa: International Education at Fourah Bay College, 1854-2002", *SERSAS*, 2001, p. 1.

7 J. D. Fage, *A History of Africa*, op. cit., p. 344.

German missionaries were sent to Sierra Leone by the C.M.S., the majority of whom had been trained in the Lutheran Missionary Seminary, a school for missionary training in Berlin¹.

The first missionaries of the C.M.S. reached Sierra Leone in 1804 followed by the Wesleyans² in 1811. Both missions established schools and churches in which their task of converting and educating the Africans could operate. In fact, educational institutions had been established in the colony since its beginnings by the Sierra Leone Company according to its charter. In addition, upon his arrival in England, Zachary Macaulay, a former governor who governed the Sierra Leone colony for a period extending from 1794 to 1799³, founded *the African Academy*, a school directed by W. Wilberforce, G. Sharp, as well as Rev. J. Venn, for the education of a number of Sierra Leonean children, brought by Z. Macaulay.⁴

When Sierra Leone was declared a crown colony in 1808 and villages were being established between 1809 and 1819 to re-settle the liberated Africans who were captured by the British navy, schools were set up in almost all the rural villages, especially during Mac Carthy's governorship between 1814 and 1824. As a governor, Mac Carthy worked for a co-operation between the government and the Church. For his plans to be effective, he set up schools, churches, as well as other government constructions in which his plans could operate. In Leicester, one of the receptive villages, the Christian Institution, a school for practical training of the African children was built in 1816. The Christian

1 I. Geiss, op. cit., p. 47.

2 The word is used to refer to John Wesley (1703-1791), an early leader of the Methodist movement. Wesley promoted what he referred to as the Christian perfection. According to him, the love of God must be the supreme love in one's heart. Methodists under Wesley's leadership supported abolitionism and the exploitation of human beings. www.wikipedia.org (accessed in Mars 2006).

3 Robert O. Collins, *African History*, New York: Random House, 1971, p. 138.

4 I. Geiss, op. cit., pp. 47-48.

Institution was then transferred to Regent, another rural village in which it operated until 1823. In 1827, the Institution was finally moved to Fourah Bay where it became known as Fourah Bay College, a secondary school for boys only, founded to train the Africans in theology¹. The students in Fourah Bay College studied to become priests and catechists, and played a prominent role in spreading Christianity throughout West Africa.

Fourah Bay College was historically referred to as the “Athens of West Africa”. It was called as such because of the strong emphasis on the instruction of Greek and Latin, and particularly thanks to the successes of its graduates at national and international levels. Being a European institution, the teaching in Fourah Bay College focused mainly on Western traditional principles and Christian beliefs. Therefore, the students became more aware of Western civilisations and cultures rather than the history and traditions of the indigenous ethnic groups in Sierra Leone or elsewhere in West Africa.

The college did not receive Sierra Leoneans only, but students from different areas in West Africa. The majority of the students came from the Gold Coast, Nigeria, and the Gambia². Statistics show that about 353 students were admitted to Fourah Bay College from its beginnings in 1827 until about the end of the nineteenth century.

Other secondary schools were also built during the following years, the most important of which were the C.M.S. Grammar School, for boys and the Female Institution for girls, set up in Freetown in 1845 and 1849 respectively³.

1 R. O. Collins, op. cit., p. 143.

2 P. E. H. Hair, “An Analysis of the Register of Fourah Bay College, 1827 – 1950”, *Sierra Leone Studies*, Dec. 1956, N^o7, p. 157.

3 J. F. A. Ajayi and M. Crowder, op. cit., p. 50.

Like Fourah Bay College, the C.M.S. Grammar school was attended by students from different horizons including Sierra Leone. The students came from Liberia, the Gambia, Fernando Po, the Gold Coast, Nigeria, East and South Africa, the Cameroon, Zanzibar and the West Indies¹.

After finishing their studies in the C.M.S Grammar school or Fourah Bay College, the sons of wealthy men were sent to Durham or another English University to further their studies and to obtain English degrees. By 1876, however, the C.M.S associated with Durham University in England and the students did not need to travel abroad since the English University degrees could be awarded in Sierra Leone². Among the prominent Sierra Leoneans who were awarded degrees there were Samuel Ajayi Crowder (1806 –1891), the first graduate of Fourah Bay College who became the first African bishop; Samuel Lewis (1843 – 1903), a barrister; and Isaac Benjamin Pratt who became a member of the Legislative Council³.

Not all the liberated Africans responded positively to the Christian faith and the western civilization. Some believed in Islam⁴ and others preserved their rites. Those who favoured the Christian religion did not adopt Christianity in its purest sense but tried to adapt it to their own beliefs and traditions⁵. This was

1 I. Geiss, op. cit., p. 49.

2 J. Peterson, op. cit., p. 285.

3 Peter Judd, *African Independence*, New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc, 1962, p. 164.

4 The existence of the Muslims in Sierra Leone is traced back to the fifteenth century. The Muslims, in fact, had commercial interests in the area and its surroundings. When Freetown was founded in 1787 to settle down the liberated Africans after the abolition of the slave trade, trading Muslims from the interior settled down in the capital's surroundings mainly in Fourah Bay and Foulah Town. They were not accepted by the colony governors as well as the Christian missionaries as they constituted a threat to the advancement of Christianity. They, therefore, developed separately and it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that they began to integrate themselves into the mainstream of Freetown society. J. Peterson, op. cit., pp. 239-40.

5 J. F. A. Ajayi and M. Crowder, op. cit., p. 49.

clearly seen through the preservation of the use of talismans and libations to protect people from evil and bad luck, and the practice of wakes and mourning celebrations known as “*awujo*”, at a person’s death. In addition, Krio, a mixture of Vernacular, English, Spanish, French, and Portuguese languages, was used by the Creoles as a means of communication¹.

To provide the blacks of the other parts of the continent with Christianity and the western civilization they had themselves acquired, many liberated Africans, the majority of whom were Yoruba people taken as victims of the 1820’s civil wars, wanted by the 1830’s to go back to their homelands. In 1839, they asked the government for help. When their claims were denied, the recaptives acted on their own. They bought ships and sailed to Nigeria, mainly to Lagos, Ibadan, Ilorin, Abeokuta, and Badagry².

Upon their arrival, the Sierra Leonean emigrants, or “the Saros” as the recaptives who went back home were called³, appealed to the C.M.S. missionaries for the conversion and the education of the people⁴. Rev. T. B Freeman was the first Christian missionary to land in Badagry and Abeokuta in 1842. In Abeokuta he found the Saros very interested in the conversion of the people. As he put it: “After a long absence from their fatherland, they had returned, bringing the grace of God in their hearts, and had for some time been anxiously looking for a visit from a Christian missionary”⁵.

1 Paul Fordham, *The Geography of African Affairs*, Great Britain: Fourth Edition, 1974, p. 126.

2 I. Geiss, op. cit., p. 53.

3 K. J. Herskovits, “Preface to Modern Nigeria: the Sierra Leoneans in Yoruba, 1830 – 1890”, *Sierra Leone Studies*, Jan. 1966, N°18, p. 17.

4 J. F. A. Ajayi and M. Crowder, op. cit., p. 51.

5 I. Geiss, op. cit., p. 54.

The Saros themselves participated in the conversion and the education of the Nigerians as pastors, teachers and catechists. Among the best known Sierra Leonean figures that played a prominent role in Christianizing Nigeria there were Samuel Crowder who worked as a C.M.S missionary in Abeokuta in 1846 and as a bishop of the Niger mission in 1864 and James Johnson (1836-1917)¹. Together with the C.M.S. missionaries, the Sierra Leoneans in Nigeria not only provided the natives with Christianity, but also modernized them through the establishment of new architectural building styles. In addition, they also set up a printing press and provided the Nigerians with medical knowledge².

Until about the middle of the nineteenth century, western education in Sierra Leone was largely undertaken by the Christian missions; then for administrative needs, the colonial government decided to take some control on education from the missionaries. In fact, the colonial authorities in Sierra Leone had a dual aim in developing education in the colony. On the one hand, the British strove to fill clerical needs for the different colonial posts and the training provided by the missionaries did not fit their demands. In addition, the European staff turned to be very expensive and hard to obtain³. Above all, the British were afraid of the non-controlled education provided by the missionaries which might have an influence on the natives' mind. The colonial authorities wished to form efficient and law obedient people to maintain law and order in the colony. Their ultimate goal was the formation of literate Africans that would be able to work in

1 He was born in Sierra Leone in 1836. He received his early education in the Grammar School, and then in the Fourah Bay School. He was the first African to be ordained an Anglican Bishop. He fought for the establishment of independent African churches. Eighth Annual Report of Pastorate Auxiliary in June 1870, C. M. S., C, A1/09/6.

2 I. Geiss, *op. cit.*, p. 56

3 Bringing a European staff from abroad to fill the different clerical functions in the colony cost a lot of money to the colonial government. The imported staff asked for high salaries. In addition, the government was to afford them housing and free travel expenses. R. Oliver and A. Atmore, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

low-level clerical positions. They insisted on the instruction of Christianity and western oriented education as the basis for the colonial administration's survival. They feared the formation of an educated elite that would challenge colonial authorities.

Initially, colonial education was restricted to the area of Freetown and its surroundings. However, after the expansion of the British influence over the interior, administrative needs increased and the colonial government was compelled to expand its educational policies over the protectorate as well.

For the maintenance of the British administration in the protectorate, colonial education was not afforded to all people in the first stages of the colonial education's development. By and large, the pupils were selected by the chiefs and included primarily chiefs' sons of local dignitaries. In fact, colonial authorities intended to form future chiefs that would serve for the preservation of colonial development programs in the protectorate¹. To keep them in a position of ignorance, the pupils were instructed in their rural villages and were dressed in an African traditional style. The kind of instruction they received was a mix of academic subjects and practical skills that would later form future literate candidates who would serve as interpreters, clerks, supervisors, teachers, and missions for the different clerical needs. Po School and Koyeima School in the Bo District of Sierra Leone were among the best known schools set up for the colonial intended goals.²

The introduction of Christianity and western education in Sierra Leone paved the way for the emergence of a new class of the educated people by the end of the nineteenth century known in the history of the colony as the educated elite

1 rsmag.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/06/schoolsout_200802.htm

2 Ibid.

or the Westernised elite. The term elite is used to describe a group of people whose attainments are the best in society. These people claim their superiority over the masses and tend to have their principles accepted by the society's other members. Subsequently, the word elite can be defined as "a stratum of population which for whatever reason can claim a position of superiority and hence a corresponding measure of influence over the fate of a community".¹

In Sierra Leone, "westernised elite" was used to describe European oriented young Africans who acquired modern western education and the principles of the European culture and values, and came to claim their superiority over the rest of the Africans. At this level, however, a distinction must be made between those who were highly educated mainly in Fourah Bay College or British universities, and those whose education had been restricted to primary trainings in the different local institutions. Historian M. Kilson referred to the first group of the educated elite, namely the highly educated ones, as the upper-echelon elite and higher middle class. These people, Kilson claimed, were to become professional men. Among the elite, one can distinguish the lawyers, the doctors, the journalists, and the churchmen. On the other hand, the second group of the educated elite included primary school teachers, the clerks, and the skilled workers² and were referred to as the sub-elite or lower middle class.³

Through the development of western education in the Sierra Leone colony, the British strove to exploit the westernised educated elite in opening the African interior for European trade. The British early moral campaign to end the slave trade through the Christianisation and the education of the African

1 M. Crowder, *West Africa under Colonial Rule*, Evanston: Evanston University Press, 1968, p. 384.

2 L. H. Gann and P. Duignan, *Colonialism in Africa: (1870-1960)*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982, p. 355.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 441.

“heathens” found support in emerging economic interests that offered greater profitability of legitimate labour over slave labour. The British saw in the Creoles potentially valuable allies and middlemen making possible the trade between the coast and the African interior. Did the British succeed in forming an elite able to stimulate the local Africans for their own benefit? Did the Sierra Leonean educated elite succeed in accomplishing the roles intended for them by the British?

3- The Sierra Leonean Elite's Changing Attitudes towards the British:

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the British did their best to develop the Sierra Leone colony as a base for the advancement of the British civilisation, Christianity, western education, trade and commerce for their own benefit. The introduction of western cultural and religious principles in the colony did not represent merely the spread of Christianity, but rather a weapon by which the British could further their influence throughout the African interior. Sierra Leone was, therefore, regarded as a suitable settlement from which western principles and Christianity would be preached throughout West Africa. Its early settlers were already Christians and the liberated Africans who were brought to Sierra Leone from 1808 onwards were exposed to a western milieu and were ready to acquire the principles of the Christian faith. Therefore, Christianity, western education, and possibilities of trade were all offered to the Sierra Leonean Creoles who also enjoyed the protection of Britain against local attacks.

With the acquisition of western culture, the possession of European names, and the adoption of a European dressing style, the Creoles in Sierra Leone

started to feel themselves superior in comparison to the rest of the Africans of the other parts of the continent. Their sense of superiority was further strengthened by an act passed in 1853 by which the liberated Africans became British subjects.¹

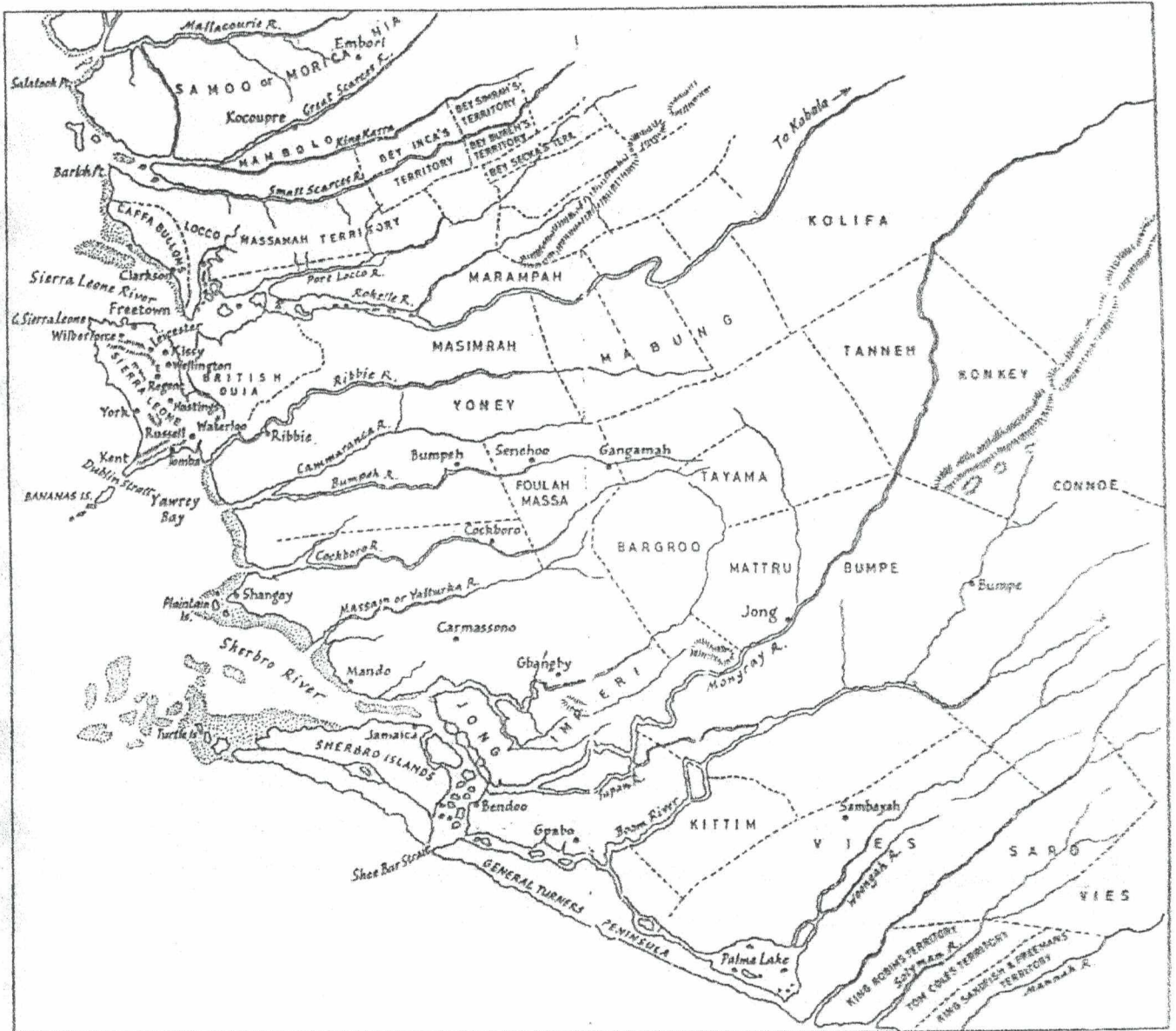
The Sierra Leonean settlers did not remain in the colony and its surroundings (see map five) but tried to further their influence throughout the West African coasts and along the African interior. Their purpose was, in fact, to stamp out African local traditions which degraded them and allowed their enslavement. Above all, the Sierra Leoneans had important commercial interests beyond the colony and its surroundings.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Sierra Leonean traders, teachers, priests, doctors, lawyers, and administrators from Freetown started to widen their sphere of influence throughout the West African coasts and along the interior competing in this way with the British ambitious interests. On the coasts, the Sierra Leoneans' influence was basically centred upon the coast around the Sherbo estuary and Gallinas, and the Northern Rivers² where the British provided cloth, rum, and guns to meet the demands of local tribes and rulers of the African interior for European products. Furthermore, the Sierra Leoneans also moved eastward throughout the Gold Coast and Southern Yoruba-land and could trade with Yoruba ports like Badagri and Lagos. Thus, by the mid 1850's Sierra Leonean traders were able to underbid the European merchants on the West African coasts, and could eventually prosper in trade by establishing themselves in the interior villages.

1 J. Peterson, op. cit., p. 151.

2 J. D. Hargreaves, *West Africa Partitioned, the Loaded Pause (1885-89)*, London: MC Milan Press, 1974, p.171.

Map Five: Sierra Leone (1870)



Source: J. Peterson, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

It is worth noting that the Sierra Leoneans' prosperity in trade goes back to their prior experience in the field, especially the liberated Africans from Yoruba¹, Dahomey, Benin, and Ibo.² These people had been brought up in areas of highly developed commerce long before their arrival in Sierra Leone. Their past experience could but contribute significantly to the economic development of the Sierra Leone colony.

The Sierra Leoneans' interests in the interior were challenged by the authority of local chiefs and rulers who became real competitors with the Sierra Leonean traders. Local chiefs and rulers realised that the Creole traders could accumulate money through their role as middlemen supplying the interior people with European goods, and meeting the Europeans' demand on the coasts for local produce like palm oil and palm-kernels. Therefore, the local rulers who were the suppliers of the Sierra Leonean traders for local produce wanted to enter the trade for their own benefit. This situation generated conflicts between the local rulers of the interior and the Creole traders, which ultimately led to an armed struggle during the 1880's known in history as the Trade Wars ³. In order to protect their commercial interests, the Creoles of Sierra Leone constantly asked the colonial government to grant them the permission to control the hinterland on the ground that they were British subjects and they, therefore, had the right to direct these people. In 1892, Earnest Parks, a Secretary of Native Affairs of a Creole origin, issued a plan of administration in which he proclaimed that it was the Creoles' duty, especially the educated ones, to supervise the local chiefs by being district commissioners.⁴ Earnest Parks' plan was eventually ignored by the Colonial Office. The British officials claimed that the Creoles had no right

1 More than a third of the liberated Africans' population in Sierra Leone was from a Yoruba origin. These settlers were captured from slaving ships by the British navy since 1808. P. Curtin, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

2 J. Peterson, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

3 M. Crowder, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 154.

to control the hinterland and that it was the duty of Britain to assume its protection. The interior people, they stated, were to be ruled by the British through their local and traditional rulers.

The Sierra Leoneans' political ambitions and their commercial interests came to an end when Britain declared the hinterland a protectorate in 1896. In fact, Britain did not wish to bear responsibilities over new territories. Her ultimate aim in the interior was rather the establishment of an informal influence based on legal commerce. However, the Sierra Leoneans' attitudes spoiled her schemes¹. Through the development of the Sierra Leone colony, the British wanted to implement a province that would stimulate local Africans for their own salvation.² The Sierra Leoneans were, therefore, expected to exercise an influence over the indigenous people of the interior through the western principles they could acquire in the colony. Yet, the Creoles showed a sense of hostility and superiority over the interior people who were themselves reluctant to accept foreign principles and favoured to preserve their traditions. These differences were further reinforced with economic competition for wealth.

The declaration of the protectorate in 1896 was a turning point in the history of the Sierra Leone colony. The Sierra Leoneans, especially the educated class, understood that they were not treated in the same way as the British, although they were British subjects. The educated elite were convinced that the

1 The Sierra Leonean ambitious traders were not the only competitors of the British traders. Indeed, The British commercial interests in the interior were also threatened by the presence of the French who occupied the surrounding areas and wanted to widen their sphere of influence over the Temné and Loko in the North. The British had, therefore to react and keep the French beyond their sphere. They started during the 1890's, with signing treaties with the interior rulers asking them not to deal with the other European powers, before the hinterland was officially declared a protectorate in 1896. J. D. Hargreaves, , *West Africa Partitioned, the Loaded Pause 1885-89*, op. cit., p. 187.

2 P. Judd, op. cit., p. 143.

British rejected them from the administration of the protectorate simply because of the black colour of their skin. The Sierra Leonean elite, therefore, felt humiliated and frustrated. Although they adopted European values and principles, they were still regarded as inferior beings like their fellows in the remaining parts of Africa. Even the highly educated ones who received their education in Britain or the United States were not often given the status merited by their qualifications. These discriminatory practices over the educated elite paved the way for general dissatisfaction with the way the Sierra Leone colony was governed. The educated people realised that they needed to defend their aspirations in opposition to the British government which degraded them. It was, in fact, a sort of challenge against the colonisers who believed that the African elites were not able to rule their own affairs. The educated elite eventually realised they belonged to a different race dominated by an alien rule. Their nationalist consciousness was later strengthened through the African-Americans' Pan-African principles of the African identity, pride in the African heritage, and unity among all blacks in the African continent and throughout the Diaspora.

III- African-Americans' Early Interest in the Sierra Leone Colony:

By the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, black missionaries in America believed in the theory of "Providential Design"¹. They claimed that God sent them to America to be enslaved and to get educated in order to go back later to Africa, their mother land, "to civilize" and to Christianize the African "heathens". The theory of

1 J. P. Davis, op. cit., p. 669.

“Providential Design” spread more especially in the post Civil War era. It led to the organization of educational institutions for the blacks throughout the South. Their purpose was the promotion of the blacks in America and the salvation of the Africans in Africa¹. The missionaries conceived the idea that students from Africa would be educated in these institutions and would go back to Africa to establish similar organisations. At the same time, the black Americans themselves would travel to the black continent as volunteers to teach and to evangelize its people. It was only until 1792 and 1799 that the first black Americans settled in Africa, with Sierra Leone as the leading place for the emigrationist projects². Bishop Henry MC Neal Turner, Paul Cuffee, Martin R. Delany, and Alexander Crummell were among the most outstanding African-American leaders to play an effective work in Sierra Leone through their repatriation and educational schemes.

A- Bishop Henry MC Neal Turner and his “home to Africa”:

Bishop Henry MC Neal Turner was among the outstanding missionaries who played a prominent role in Africa. He was born in South Carolina in 1834. He was the first American black to be appointed chaplain during the 1860's³. Turner became a minister in the A. M. E. Church and started to show his interest in the colonization schemes. According to him, the blacks had no future in America. He became a vice president in the American Colonization Society and provided help for the establishment of A. M. E. churches in Sierra Leone⁴.

1 Ibid.,

2 I. Geiss, op. cit., p. 84.

3 J. A. Langley, op cit., p. 24.

4 M. M. Smythe, op. cit., p. 652.

His slogan was "Africa for the Africans"¹. He was a strong believer in the theory of "Providential Design". In an article of his journal, *Voice of the People*, published in May, 1901, Turner wrote:

... The Negro was brought here [the United States] in the providence of God to learn obedience, to work, to sing, to pray, to preach, acquire education, deal with mathematical abstraction and imbibe the principles of civilization as a whole, and then to return to Africa, the land of his fathers ...².

In 1895, Turner attended a conference organized by the Gammon Theological Seminary. The conference which was held in Atlanta, Georgia, was primarily concerned with Africa. It was attended by assimilationist leaders like T. Thomas Fortune, the editor of *The New York Age* and *New York World*, who formally rejected the theory of "Providential Design". Instead, T. Fortune defended the cause of Americans' integration to the American society as their absolute right. He stated:

The talk about the black people being brought to this country to prepare themselves to evangelize Africa is so much religious nonsense boiled down to a sycophantic platitude . The Lord, who is eminently just had no hand in their forcible coming here... Africa will have to be evangelized from within, not from without. The Colonization Society has spent mints of money and tons of human blood in the selfish attempt to plant an Anglo-African colony on the West coast of West Africa. The money has been

1 The expression was coined in Nyasaland and South Africa by a Baptist missionary called Joseph Booth, born in 1851.C. Legum, op. cit., p. 22.

2 J. P. Davis, op. cit., p. 674.

thrown away and the human lives... sacrificed in vain. The black people of this country [U.S.A] are Americans; not Africans; and any wholesale expatriation of them is altogether out of the question"...¹

Prominent emigrationist advocates also attended the conference to express their Pan-African ideas. Alexander Crummell from the United States and Rev. Orishatuke Faduma² from Sierra Leone repeatedly stressed the need of sending religious missions to Africa for the Christianization of the native people there. It was during that conference that Bishop Henry M.C Neal Turner expressed his Pan-Negro Nationalism and showed his interest in the African colonization schemes. He asserted: "There is no manhood future in the United States for the Negro. He may eke out an existence for generations to come, but he can never be a man..."³.

B- Paul Cuffee : 'Back to the Fatherland':

With his religious beliefs as a Quaker, Paul Cuffee also aimed at Christianizing the African people. Cuffee was born on an Island near Massachusetts in 1759. He was the son of an African slave and an Indian woman. Since his early childhood, Cuffee reacted for the achievement of equality. During the Revolutionary War, he refused to pay taxes. He petitioned the Massachusetts's legislation claiming that: "taxation and the whole rights of citizenship were united"⁴. Accordingly, a law was legislated providing the free African-

1 J. A. Langley, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

2 Further details about the leader will be given in chapter three.

3 Ibid., p. 26.

4 H. Aptheker, *Afro-American History: The Modern Era*, New Jersey: The Citadel Press, 1971, p. 19.

Americans with the same rights of citizenship as the whites. Failing to achieve equality in education as well, Cuffee established a school for the blacks in New Bedford as early as 1797 ¹. As a minister in the Society of Friends, Cuffee also sought to promote the blacks' education in America and Africa as well.

The blacks in America, Cuffee asserted, could hardly achieve equal status with the whites. This is why he opted for the repatriation of the blacks in Africa, the ancestral land of blacks. In fact, Cuffee had a dual aim. He strove to open a trade with West Africa. At the same time, Cuffee aimed at Christianizing the African people of the African continent. As a sailor and shipbuilder, he sailed to Sierra-Leone as early as 1810 to look for the possibility of the repatriation of black Americans there ². In Sierra Leone Cuffee met with the governor in addition to a number of other officials to discuss the conditions there and to find a way to resettle some other black Americans there.

Another journey took place a year later in 1811 and stimulated the foundation of a trade organization known as "The Friendly Society of Sierra Leone" ³ for the repatriation and the promotion of the blacks' education in Sierra Leone⁴.

In 1814 Cuffee presented a petition to the American president and the House of Representatives. In doing so, Cuffee solicited the official support of the American government for the expatriation of blacks. The petition:

1 Ibid.

2 J. H. Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

3 I. Geiss, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

4 J. A. Langley, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

solicits... aid so far as to grant permission that a vessel may be employed... between this country and Sierra Leone, to transport such persons and families as may be inclined to go....Your petitioner, therefore, craves the attention of Congress to...creatures who have been long excluded from the common advantages of civilized life, and prays that they will afford him and his friends such aid as they in their wisdom may think best ¹.

However, Cuffee did not benefit from any assistance on the part of the American government and it was not until 1815 that the first group of thirty eight blacks was transported to Africa at Cuffee's own expense and on his own ship *The Traveller*.

Cuffee did not have the opportunity to undertake other expeditions. His death in 1817 caused the disappointment of about 2, 000 African-Americans who were waiting for help to go to Africa.² Some months before his death, Cuffee made an address entitled "To My Scattered Brethren and Fellow Countrymen at Sierra Leone", in which he stressed the role the African-Americans could do in the Christianisation and the education of the blacks in Sierra Leone. He also invited the Sierra Leoneans to cooperate with the African-Americans for the salvation of Africa. He asserted:

I earnestly recommend to you the propriety of assembling yourselves together for the purpose of worshipping the Lord God. ...come, my African brethren and fellow countrymen, let us work together in the light of the Lord- that pure light which brings the salvation into the world...³

1 H. Aptheker, *Afro-American History: The Modern Era*, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

2 I. Geiss, op. cit., p. 85.

3 M. M. Smythe, op. cit., pp. 651-652.

C- Martin R. Delany: "A Nation in Africa":

M. R. Delany (1812-1885) was another advocate of the colonisation and emigration schemes. He was born in Charleston, Virginia in 1812. Early in his childhood, Delany went with his family to Pennsylvania. When he was nineteen, he moved to Pittsburgh for school attendance. At Harvard University, Delany studied medicine and then became interested in journalism. He worked as a co-editor in *The North Star* newspaper with Frederick Douglass in 1846 after he had founded his own journal *The Mystery* in 1843 ¹.

Delany was not ashamed of his blackness and opposed the belief of the blacks' inferiority ². He claimed that equality could never be achieved in the American society. In Delany's own words: "we love our country [the United States], dearly we love her, but she doesn't love us- she despises us, and bids us be gone, driving us from her embraces" ³, and in a letter addressed to the white abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison, he wrote:

I am not in favor of caste, nor separation of the brotherhood of mankind and would as willingly live among white men as black, if I had an equal possession and enjoyment of privileges; but shall never be reconciled to live among them, subservient to their will-existing by mere sufferance, as we , the colored people, do, in this country.⁴

Delany's emigrationist tendencies were reflected through his writings. His famous book *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration and Destiny of the*

1 H. Aptheker, *Afro-American History: The Modern Era*, op. cit., p. 23.

2 I. Geiss, op. cit., p. 87.

3 H. Aptheker, *Afro-American History: The Modern Era*, op. cit., p. 24.

4 Ibid.

Colored People of the United States was published in 1852, and his novel, entitled *Blake: or, the Huts of America*, in addition to his book on theology *Principia of Theology: The Origin of Races and Color, with an Archaeological Compendium of Ethiopian and Egyptian Civilization* were published some years later.

Although Delany was in favour of the emigration and the colonization of the blacks, he did not approve the principles of the American Colonization Society and its schemes of settling the Negro blacks in Monrovia, Liberia. He asserted that:

the main motive of colonization was to eliminate Negroes from the United States, and for that purpose a government had been set up in Africa which was “ not independent- but a poor miserable mockery- a burlesque on a government” ...¹

Prior to the 1850's, Delany was interested in re-settling the black Americans in America not in Africa. He was convinced that a land in the Americas would be the most suitable place for the blacks' settlement.² He stated: “our common land is the United States. We are Americans and we have civic rights by virtue of our birth... we are determined to remain on this continent in spite of all difficulties”.³ Later on, however, convinced that equality could never be achieved if the blacks remained in America, Delany turned his attention to Africa, “the fatherland”, as he named it in favour of the establishment of a “Negro Nation” in East Africa.⁴

1 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p. 240.

2 J. A. Langley, op. cit., p. 20.

3 I. Geiss, op. cit., p. 88.

4 J. A. Langley, op. cit., p. 20.

From 24 to 26 August 1854, Delany was the chairman of a convention referred to as "the National Emigration Convention of Coloured Men" in Cleveland, Ohio. The members of this organisation were in favour of colonization and emigration schemes. Later, Delany became an important member of the Convention and was sent as a commissioner to West Africa to look for the possibility to re-settle African-Americans there. It was not until 1859 that Delany could land in the Niger Valley area in Nigeria to negotiate treaties for the acquisition of a settlement for black Americans there. However, his colonization plans were not successful due to his failure to achieve support.¹

It is worth noting that Delany together with another member of the Convention could sign an agreement with the king of Abeokuta, giving them the permission to re-settle black Americans on the Egba land. Nonetheless, no black could set foot there. When Delany went back to the USA in 1861 the Civil War had already broken out. Delany was compelled to abandon his emigrationist schemes to concentrate his energies on the status of the blacks during the war. The king of Abeokuta himself, under the influence of the British missions², changed his mind and denied any agreement with Delany for fear of African-Americans' influence on the mainland.

D- Rev. Alexander Crummell: "Sierra Leone: A Cradle of Civilisation":

Rev. Alexander Crummell, an Episcopal clergyman, sailed to West Africa in 1853. He was a strong believer in the theory of "Providential Design". He supported the schemes of repatriation and the colonisation of the blacks in Africa. The colonisation and the emigration of the black Americans to Africa,

1 M. M. Smythe, op. cit, p. 655.

2 I. Geiss, op., cit., p. 90.

Crummell believed, would stimulate the education and the Christianisation of the African people.¹ In his *The Relation and Duties of the Free Colored Men in America to Africa* edited in 1861, he strongly defended the colonisation and the repatriation schemes. He was aware of the role the African- Americans could play on behalf of Africa and the Africans in terms of religion and education. He asserted: “without doubt God designs great things for Africa and ... black men themselves are without doubt to be the chief instruments”.²

Crummell was interested in Sierra Leone. He referred to the colony as: “the cradle of missions, the mother of churches, the parent of colonies ... to send skilled colonists to the West African coast contained the germs of a new African nationality of a civilised and Christian type”³

In 1895, Crummell attended a congress at the Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta, Georgia. The meeting was attended by prominent black missionaries and bishops like John Smyth, Bishop Henry MC Neal Turner, and E. W. S. Hammond. Crummell among other leaders encouraged the establishment of black American churches in Sierra Leone and Liberia.⁴ They also insisted on the need to send African- American missionaries to Africa for the education and the Christianisation of the Africans.⁵ In a paper entitled *Africa and its Relation to Christian Civilisation* Hammond stated:

I hazard nothing when I say that Africa is now the most practical enterprise open to Christian civilisation The Christian world owes to Africa its highest and best forms and types of Christian

1 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p. 241.

2 J. A. Langley, op. cit., p. 22.

3 Ibid., p.23.

4 M. M. Smythe, op. cit., p. 652.

5 Ibid., p. 650.

civilisation In my humble judgement, our native land is providentially prepared to play a most conspicuous part in the redemption of Africa.¹

At the time when the missionary zeal provided the most important source of awareness in Sierra Leone through its educating and religious enterprises, the black American abolitionists did much to change the Sierra Leonean Creoles' bogus ideas about their race through the glorification of the African past and history. Interestingly, the circulation of New World anti-slavery literature during the nineteenth century could in one way or another influence the thinking and the attitudes of Sierra Leonean writers and leaders. The impact of the black American abolitionist literature on the Sierra Leonean elite was for instance resented in the writings of the Sierra Leonean Dr James Africanus Horton in his *Political Economy of British West Africa* (1865) and *West African Countries and People: A Vindication of the African Race* (1868)². James Davies was another Sierra Leonean who had been influenced by the anti-slavery literature about the "Noble Savage" and "African Heritage". The first signs of his influence were clearly seen through the changing of his western name to an African name "Orishatuké Faduma".³

The role played by the American universities and colleges in the education of the Sierra Leoneans cannot be overlooked⁴. Not only did American

1 Ibid.

2 R. July, "Africanus Horton and the Idea of Independence in West Africa", *Sierra Leone Studies*, 1966, N°18, p. 2.

3 J. A. Langley, op. cit., p. 35.

4 Lincoln, Wilberforce, Howard, Tuskegee, Morehouse, ... and Fisk participated in the formation of future Sierra Leonean leaders. Sierra Leonean political leaders like O. Faduma, Adelaide Casely Hayford (1868-1960), Abayomi Cole (1848-1943), as well as public health officials, and a number of college and university teachers from Sierra Leone received trainings and were awarded degrees from American universities. M. M. Smythe, op. cit., pp.655-56.

educational institutions represent for the Creoles a school of thought, they were also their source of inspiration. The Sierra Leoneans in America were provided with formal education and technical assistance, and their constant confrontation with racial discrimination on the part of the society's white members opened up their views and they became aware of the wider views about the world. The Sierra Leoneans' awareness was further strengthened by the end of the nineteenth century through the African-American leaders' activities both at national and Pan-African levels with regard to race problems not only in America, but world-wide.

The following chapter will be an answer to the following questions: What influence did the African-Americans have on the educated elite in Sierra Leone? How did the West African intellectuals in general and the Sierra Leonean intellectuals in particular respond to the Pan-African ideas? How could the Pan-African movement have an impact on the rise of nationalism in West Africa and Sierra Leone more particularly? And to what extent could Pan-Africanism influence the Sierra Leoneans' nationalist ideologies?

Chapter three:

The Impact of the African-American Ideas on the Sierra Leonean Elite up to 1945.

African-American and West Indian leaders glorified the black race which had been degraded by the white Americans and the Europeans for many generations. With their principles of the “African unity”, “Africa for the Africans”, and “race pride” they contributed, to a great extent, to changing the blacks’ beliefs worldwide about their race and helped them to re-construct a positive vision about Africa’s place in the world.

In Sierra Leone, the Creoles’ response to the Pan-African ideas was very slow at first. The Creoles had been in contact with the Europeans for many centuries and they enjoyed the privileges of western education and other aspects of the European civilisation for many generations. Within little more than a generation, the Europeans in and around Freetown, could form a European oriented society which strongly believed in the superiority of the white race and the inferiority and backwardness of the darker races. The Creoles in Sierra Leone were, in fact, inculcated with the belief that “all that was black was evil, terrifying, and primitive”.¹

¹ C. Legum, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

Through the adoption of the European culture and values, and the acquisition of modern western education the Creoles, especially the highly educated ones, considered that their high position in society allowed them to emerge from the rest of the people. They, therefore, sought to appoint themselves as the mouthpiece of the natives by sharing with the British the administration of the colony and its surroundings. However, the colonial authorities remained hostile to them. Out of the increased colonial domination and racial prejudice, emerged a more general dissatisfaction with the way the Sierra Leonean educated elite were treated. These changing attitudes towards the British with whom the Creoles had been in harmony for many decades, were later strengthened through the influence of African-American and West Indian leaders like Edward Blyden, Booker. T. Washington, W. E. Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey¹ who stressed the prominence of the black race worldwide and urged the blacks to develop their own African identity and personality and to overcome the feeling of degradation and inferiority imposed by the Europeans and the white Americans.

I- Edward Wilmot Blyden and the Notion of "The African Personality":

Edward Blyden is remembered as a West African nationalist and a race leader. He is the father of the philosophy of "the African personality" and "African unity". With his principles of a re-creation of an African nation for the achievement of a black unity, and his insistence on a return to Africa to personify the African identity, Blyden could seed the black consciousness throughout the world. Blyden was born in St Thomas, the West Indies in 1832. He sailed to West Africa when he was eighteen. Being denied admission to a United States theological college because of his race, Blyden emigrated to Liberia in 1851 to attend Alexander High School in

¹ R. Oliver and A. Atmore, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

Monrovia. He lectured at Liberia College from 1862 to 1871 and then he became the college president from 1880 to 1884. Through his lectures Blyden strove to demonstrate to the white people that the Africans are as equal as the white Americans and are keen on learning when offered the opportunity to do so. In addition, Blyden also served three terms (1864-1871) as Secretary of State of Liberia and later on three postings as Ambassador of the Court of St James (Great Britain) in 1877, 1879, and 1892-94. Furthermore, Blyden was employed by the British as agent to the Sierra Leone interior from 1872 to 1895.¹ It was during his Christianising missions throughout the Sierra Leonean interior that Blyden found the deepest sources of his inspirations for his ideas². The missions that were commissioned by the British Crown offered him the opportunity to get into contact with black Muslim thinkers who helped him to construct a vision about Africa's place in the world. His exposure to African religious, cultural, and political backgrounds changed his image about the western milieu. Through his discussions with the black Muslims, Blyden realised the influence and the role of Islam in the society. This helped him to break away from Christianity for a more African oriented belief. Blyden was also fascinated by the Africans' social values³. He was proud of the community life among the African people and the African system of communal ownership which in its turn strengthened solidarity among its people. This, Blyden asserted, is not found in the western capitalistic societies. "If we are to make an independent nation- a strong nation" Blyden wrote " we must listen to the songs of our unsophisticated brethren as they sing their history, as they tell of their traditions, of the wonderful mysterious events of their tribal or national life, of the achievement of what we call their superstitions..."⁴

1 Assata Shakur Forums, "*On the Shoulders of our Freedom Fighters*", Jelsoft Enterprises Ltd, 2000-2008, Assata Shakur.org (accessed in January 2009).

2 E. W. Blyden, *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 3rd Edition, 1967 [first edition 1887], p. xiv.

3 Ibid., p. 7.

4 C. Legum, op. cit., p. 21.

Blyden was also a journalist. He was the publisher of *the Liberia Herald* from 1855 to 1856 and the Sierra Leonean newspaper *The Negro* from 1872 to 1873. Blyden also edited a number of articles following the expeditions he had undertaken throughout the Sierra Leonean interior.¹ Among the best known articles were *Mohammedanism in West Africa* and *Mohammedanism and the Negro Race*. "Negro" is a term that Blyden had used with pride rather than with prejudice.

Since he set foot on the African soil, Blyden sought to promote the black race. The humiliations he himself and the blacks in general had undergone in the Americas urged him to help the blacks understand the prominence of the black race and to work for its progress and development. During the 1860's Blyden travelled to the United States to address the black people. His sermons and speeches were basically concerned with the blacks' return to Africa. He believed that the black Americans were wasting their energies in America and asked them to go to Africa on behalf of the Liberian government. In one of his addresses called: "The Call of Providence in the Descendants of Africa in America", Blyden stressed the role the African-Americans could play in the promotion of the African continent. The African-Americans, Blyden pointed out, contributed to a high extent in the making of modern United States. They may, accordingly, be useful in "the modernisation" of Africa. Blyden tried to persuade the African-Americans to leave America for a better status in Africa. He believed that the blacks in America could achieve neither equality nor respect.

Blyden also protested against the Europeans and the Americans who implemented the idea of the blacks' inferiority and backwardness. He asserted that

1 A. Rashad, Some Early Pan-African Nationalists, Raceandhistory.com (accessed in November 2007).

Africa was not a *tabula rasa*¹. The Africans were not inferior to the whites but distinct from them². To strengthen his belief of the Negroes' equality, Blyden evoked the greatness of the African civilisations. He gave the examples of the great empires of Ghana and Mali in the Middle Ages as a proof of the Africans' historical glories. Blyden also spoke of Cairo University which was about 300 years older than Oxford University as another proof of Africa's glorious historical past.

Blyden also asked the blacks for unity³ and the development of their own identity instead of imitating the Westerners. In Blyden's words:

The African must advance by methods of his own. He must possess a power distinct from that of the European ... we must show that we are able to go alone, to carve out our way. We must not be satisfied that, in this nation, European influence shapes our polity, makes our laws, rules in our tribunals and impregnates our social atmosphere⁴

He was convinced of the role that might be performed by the black educated elite in the development of "the African personality". For this reason, he appealed to them and the Africans in general to teach the African culture so that native people become aware of the greatness and the prominence of the black civilisation. He called for the establishment of a West African university in which

¹ *Tabula rasa* is an expression that is derived from Latin to refer to "blank slate". It is used to describe the mind in its early stages. According to some scientists, the minds of human beings are born "blank" and that their knowledge is gradually acquired through experience. During the colonial era, the Europeans used the expression to refer to the Africans as having the mind of a newly born with featureless mind and in need to start from the right beginning. www.wikipedia.org (accessed in August 2009).

² E. W. Blyden, *African Life and Customs*, Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1994 [first edition 1908], p. 8.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁴ C. Legum, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-4.

Arabic and Islam would be taught, an idea that was later exploited by the West African leader Casely Hayford (1866 - 1930) ¹. Nevertheless, Blyden criticised the educated people who were ashamed of their identity and the ones who believed in the superiority of the western culture. He wrote:

It is sad to think that these same Africans, especially among these who have enjoyed the advantages of foreign training, who are blind to the racial facts of humanity as to say let us do away with our African personality, be lost, if possible in another race. This is as wise or as philosophical as to say let us do away with gravitation, with heat, and cold and sun and rain. Of course, the other race in which these persons would be absorbed is the dominant race. Some are really in earnest, honestly thinking that by such means they will raise to the cloudless elevation ... but the verdict of spectators is that they qualify themselves as Bedlam.²

Blyden also reacted against the Christian missionaries who, according to him, were a vehicle for the advancement of the Western identity to the detriment of the "African personality". Furthermore, the missionaries with their claims of civilising the Africans had implemented the belief of the blacks' inferiority and backwardness.

Although Blyden believed in the preservation of the African culture, encouraged blacks' unity and focused on the African personality, he was not entirely against the European civilisation. He claimed that Africa needed some advantageous

¹Caseley Hayford was born in Cape Coast Colony in the Gold Coast in 1866. He was a prominent journalist, barrister, educator, politician, and a Pan-African nationalist. www.britanica.com (accessed in May 2007).

² Quoted in B. Lahouel, *The Origins of Nationalism in Algeria, the Gold Coast and South Africa, With Special Reference to the Period (1919-1937)*, The University of Aberdeen, 1984, p.13

aspects of the western culture such as technology and industry. A co-operation between the two cultures, African and European, was, therefore, necessary for the promotion of the black race. According to Blyden: "... [the African] knows how to take advantage of European culture and that he can be benefited by it".¹

Blyden's principles of "the African unity" and "the African personality" were not easily accepted by the westernised Africans in general and the Sierra Leonean elite more particularly. This latter group of the educated elite was cut off from the African traditions and identified itself in British terms as a result of the acquisition of western education, and the adoption of European names and dressing styles. However, the colonial frustration, the educated elite were constantly exposed to, changed their beliefs and they started gradually to become aware of their African personality. James Africanus Horton, Orishatukeh Faduma, and Abayomi Cole were among the most prominent educated Sierra Leoneans to be influenced by Blyden's principles of "the African unity" and "the African Personality".

James Africanus Beale Horton of Sierra Leone and Blyden's friend was among the earliest Sierra Leoneans to be affected by Blyden's ideas. Horton was born in 1835. In his childhood, he had been trained in missionary schools and moved to Fourah Bay College in 1853. When he was twenty, Horton travelled to England to study medicine and came back to West Africa in 1859, where he was appointed to important positions as a staff assistant surgeon, and a military commandant and worked for fourteen years in the medical department of the imperial service².

As stated by Blyden, Horton also reacted against blacks' inferiority and believed in the equality of all races. In his book, *West African Countries and Peoples*, published in 1868, Horton wrote: "I claim the existence of the attribute of

1 C. Legum, op. cit., p. 263.

2 B. Lahouel, op. cit., p. 135.

a common humanity in the African or Negro race...there exist no radical distinctions between him and his more civilized *confrère* ..." ¹. When provided with equal facilities, Horton claimed, all the races, including the black race, were able to make great achievements. Like the western world, Horton pointed out, Africa could also rise from darkness to enlightenment. As he put it:

The proudest kingdom in Europe was once in a state of barbarism perhaps worse than now exists amongst the tribes chiefly inhabiting the West Coast of Africa; and it is an incontrovertible axiom that what has been done can again be done. If Europe ... has been raised to her present pitch of civilization by progressive advancement, Africa, too, with a guarantee of the civilization of the north, will rise into equal importance ...we may well say that the present state of Western Africa is in fact, the history of the world repeating itself².

Horton also called for independence and self government³. Like Blyden, he insisted on education as the best means to achieve his goals. He proposed the establishment of a medical school in Sierra Leone which would be directed by African doctors. Through this school, Horton believed, the West African medical centres would be supervised by African doctors⁴ and in this way West Africa would achieve its independence. Furthermore, Horton called for the foundation of a West African University which would be built in Sierra Leone. The university would provide for the instruction of English and Hebrew languages, as well as history, literature, philosophy, physics, and mathematics.

1 Robert July, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

3 J. A. Langley, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

4 R. July, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

Orishatukeh Faduma was another Sierra Leonean who greatly contributed to the religious, educational, and political reforms of Sierra Leone and West Africa as a whole. Much of O. Faduma's inspiration derived from the activities of African-American and West Indian leaders, particularly Blyden. Indeed, O. Faduma realised that the Creoles' racial prejudices with regard to the inferiority and the backwardness of the African originated from the missionary traditional education provided by the European Christian missionaries and later perpetuated by the Creoles themselves.¹ He referred to such an education as "a defective training" intended to support the advancement of the western culture to the detriment of the African cultures. In his own words: "[missionary education] makes men content to be made tools for the destruction of others ... parasites, incapable of ameliorating their own unfavourable environments and those of their neighbors, incapable of working out the salvation of their race, and resigned to an invisible and invincible fate".² O. Faduma believed that a Pan-African ideology was needed in order to raise the Sierra Leoneans' awareness about their African heritage and to change the indoctrinated ideas they had about the supremacy of the white culture and the backwardness of the African cultures. Like Blyden, he insisted on the common ties that linked the blacks in the Diaspora with those in Africa. He also shared Blyden's view about the role the African-Americans could do on behalf of Africa and the Africans. Therefore, as early as 1888, he became a member of the A. M. E. Church in Sierra Leone and joined *The African Methodist Episcopal (A. M. E.) Church Review*. To promote co-operation between the Sierra Leoneans and the African-Americans, O. Faduma proceeded to the United States in 1891 where he became a teacher at an A. M. E. Church school in Philadelphia and participated in the church's annual conventions which stressed racial pride and ecclesiastical independence. In the same year, he was sent by the A. M. E. Church to lecture at Kittrell Normal Institute in North Carolina and soon

1 M. Moore, *Orishatukeh Faduma, Liberal Theology and Evangelical Pan-Africanism (1857-1946)*, Maryland: Scare Crow Press, Inc., 1996, p. 48.

2 *Ibid.*,

became the institute Assistant Principal. He then joined the Yale Divinity School where he graduated in 1894.¹ In 1895, O. Faduma was ordained as a Congregationalist minister and served as an African missionary in the American missionary Association. His ultimate goal was to provide the Africans of the homeland with the Pan-African ideals he had himself acquired in the Americas. In order to promote the exchange of ideas between the Diasporan communities of the United States and West Africa, Faduma went on a tour between the United States and West Africa. At the United Native African Church's Congress on Africa, held in Atlanta, Georgia in 1895, Faduma stated: "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".²

O. Faduma returned to Sierra Leone in 1915 and took an appointment as Principal of the United Methodist Church Collegiate School. He was against missionary education there and insisted that teaching had to be relatively free from Western influences. For this to be achieved, the teaching had to be undertaken by African teachers and ought to be related to the African context. According to him:

The only true interpreter of the man African must be an African, one like himself with similar yearnings, hopes, and aspirations ... for the African to be self-conscious and race conscious, it is important for him to know the new sciences of "Negrology. The curriculum should focus on African environment to ground the student in his own culture and history before turning to Europe."³

1 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. Downen (ed.) Miami: Mnemosyne Publishing, 1969 [1895], p. 28.

2 Principal O. Faduma, B. D., *The Sierra Leone Weekly News* (June 13, 1908), p. 5.

3 M. Moore, op. cit., p. 49.

He, therefore, introduced the instruction of vernacular languages, science, African history, Arabic, and African folklore.

Abayomi Cole¹ was another Sierra Leonean who had been greatly influenced by Blyden's principles of "the African unity" and "the African personality". The first signs of his influence were reflected through the organisation of the Muslim-Christian Association in 1889. The Muslim-Christian Association was a socio-religious organisation which brought together the Christian Creoles of Freetown with the Muslim liberated Africans of the colony's surroundings. Cole claimed that the association's chief aim was: "to reinstitute the communication between the liberated African and Creole community on one hand and the government on the other".² Cole and his followers, in fact, realised that the natives' local claims in the colony were utterly ignored by the colonial authorities. To catch the government's attention, Cole was convinced that the Creoles and the liberated Africans had to unite under one force in order to be heard. Both the Christians and the Muslims had to set aside their religious differences for the protection of the settlers' common interests. In Cole's words: "the redemption of Africa depends on all irrespective of religion ... [and that] all minor differences should sink to dust ... and all should unite for the salvation of Africa and leave the event of God who has made all men of one blood".³

The association's first meeting was attended by different Muslim and Christian Sierra Leoneans including Mohammed Sanusi and Imam Almami Amara, two prominent Muslim leaders from Foulah Town, and the Christians J. B. M'Carthy and James Taylor. M. Sanusi praised Blyden's contributions in making Islam

1 John Augustus Abayomi-Cole was born in 1848. He received his primary education in Freetown, and then he moved to the United States to further his studies. During the 1890's, he worked in connection with the American Wesleyan Movement. He died in 1943. J. Peterson, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 248.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 247-248.

known to the Christians and Christianity known to the Muslims¹. He further stressed Blyden's ideals of Africans' unity declaring that "both the Mohammedans and the Christians of this country [Sierra Leone] are of one race ..."². J. B. M'Carthy further supported M. Sanusi's statements by describing the meeting as a good initiative which would stimulate the beginning of a strained alliance between the Christian Creoles and the liberated Africans of the Sierra Leone colony.

Further associations and trade unions were being founded by the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century to contest colonial government's decisions. Among the best known of these associations there was the Carpenters Defensive Union (1895) founded by the skilled artisans of Freetown who protested against the low wages and the government's delayed payments. In 1907, the clerks organised the Sierra Leone Civil Servants Association as:

A medium where by representation can be made to government on all matters affecting the interests of the African staff To make collective representations constitutionally to the Head of the Executive and ... the Secretary of State for Colonies when necessary ... and to ensure that mutual improvement and support of its members are maintained .³

Again, in 1909 the Rate Payers' Association was formed to contest elections to the Municipal Council.⁴ Other groups followed on the footsteps of these early organisations. These included the Sierra Leone Bar Association (1919), the African Progress Union (1919), the Sierra Leone Railway Skilled Workmen Mutual Aid

1J. Peterson, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

2 *Ibid.*

3 L. H. Gann and P. Duignan, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

4 A. P. Kup, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

Union (1919), the Sierra Leone branch of the U. N. I. A. (1920), and the Sierra Leone branch of the National Congress of British West Africa (N. C. B. W. A.).

The N. C. B. W. A. was founded in 1920 by a group of the educated elite under the leadership of the Ghanaian lawyer J. Casely Hayford to broaden the concept of nationalism and to oppose the British colonial policies.¹ However, the idea of a West African conference was discussed in Sierra Leone three years before its establishment among West African leaders including J. Casely Hayford from the Gold Coast, E. J. P. Brown from Cape Coast, and W. F. Dove (1880-1949) from Sierra Leone.

The origins of the idea stemmed basically from the influence of Blyden's and Horton's principles of West African unity. Therefore, in April 1918 Creole educated elite from different educational ranks assembled in the Wilberforce Memorial Hall in London to discuss the importance of the establishment of a West African congress. According to Beaku Betts (1895-1957)², one of the most important leading figures of the Sierra Leone branch of the N. C. B. W. A., the idea of a West African congress was a means by which the Creole educated elite could prove their political abilities to the colonial authorities³. Another Sierra Leonean delegate, Hon. J. H. Thomas, believed that the West African leaders had to learn from the African-Americans' professional organisation and the effectiveness of their strategy and tactics if they wanted their congress to be a success.

1 The N. C. B. W. A. brought together Sierra Leone, Liberia, Nigeria, and Ghana. The congress's most prominent delegates were Dr F. V. Nanka-Bruce and L. E. V. M'Carthy from Sierra Leone, A. B. Quartey-Papafio and H. Van Hein from the Gold Coast, Y. G. Gampbell from Nigeria, and E. F. Small from Gambia. I. Geiss, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

2 Betts was an eminent Sierra Leonean lawyer. He was the mayor of Freetown in 1925. He was also a member of the Legislative Council. www.britanica.com (accessed in May 2007).

3 L. H. Gann and P. Duignan, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

Three delegates from Sierra Leone were represented in the first meeting of the N. C. B. W. A. which was held in Accra in 1920. The delegates' resolutions were primarily concerned with the promotion of education, and they asked for participation in the government.¹ In addition, the delegates also denounced the colonial racial and discriminatory practices against the African educated elite in the administration and asked for equal economic opportunities for the blacks.

The second meeting of the N. C. B. W. A. was held in Freetown from January to February 1920. During this meeting the delegates ratified the congress' constitution and set the future duties of the congress' president as well as the other members.²

In September 1920 a delegation of the N. C. B. W. A. was sent to London to address a petition to the British King George VI (1895 - 1952). The London delegation of the N. C. B. W. A. which was composed of nine delegates including the Sierra Leoneans Dr B. Bright (1883-1958) and F. W. Dove asked for political reforms. They demanded the transfer of power to the Africans as it had been claimed by the Select Committee's principles (1865).³ In addition, the delegates also wished to get in touch with international bodies like the League of Nations, members of the British Parliament, and famous newspapers like *The African World*.⁴ These bodies, the London delegation members believed, would help them to pursue a policy of cooperation with the Colonial Office to obtain African participation in the colonial government.

Through the efforts of the N. C. B. W. A's members in local and international levels, the Congress was able to achieve constitutional reforms through

1 R. Oliver and A. Atmore, op. cit., p. 160.

2 J. A. Langley, op. cit., p. 161.

3 I. Geiss, op. cit., p. 287.

4 J. A. Langley, op. cit., p. 161.

the adoption of an elective representation in the government of the four British West African colonies during the 1920's. Sierra Leone was the last British West African colony to be granted an elective representation in the 1924 Constitution. It was the first time Sierra Leonean Africans became elected to the Legislative Council.¹

Other successive meetings of the N. C. B. W. A. were held respectively in the Gambia in 1926 and Lagos, Nigeria's capital in 1929. However, unlike the two preceding meetings not all the delegates attended the two conferences. The Gambia Conference, for instance, witnessed the absence of the Nigerian delegation. Most important of all, Sierra Leonean and West African students and activists were themselves very active in London and the United States, and their individual grievances turned into a radical nationalist movement through their contacts with African and African-American leaders. They realised that their political activities at a local level had little influence upon the colonial governments. They, therefore, strove to organise widespread support among the people. Through their constant exposure with African-American and West Indian Pan-Negroist activists, the Sierra Leonean elite developed a growing African consciousness of a wider racial unity and awareness of Pan-African thinking. How did Afro-American thinking influence the Sierra Leonean Pan-African consciousness? What were the Sierra Leoneans' early signs of Pan-African awareness? What were the Sierra Leonean early Pan-African activities in Britain and the United States?

II)- Basic Schools of Pan-Africanism:

Booker. T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, and M. Garvey had been historically regarded as the giants of Pan-Africanism. They advocated pride in the African heritage and fought for the promotion of the black race in Africa and throughout the Diaspora. They were well aware of the blacks' conditions on both

¹ A. P. Kup, op. cit., pp 202-203.

sides of the Atlantic and linked the struggle of the blacks in America with the fight of the non whites throughout the world, particularly in Africa.

1- Booker. T. Washington:

The end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century witnessed the emergence of Booker T Washington's leadership on the African-American scene. With his philosophies of accommodationism¹ and moderation, Washington sought to improve the conditions of his race. He overlooked social and political equality and insisted upon industrial education as the basis for the blacks' advancement worldwide.

Booker Taliferro Washington was born in about 1858 on a small farm in Virginia. He was the son of a slave woman who served as a cook and an unknown white man. Washington spent his early childhood in slavery. After the end of the Civil War in 1865, he moved with his family to Malden in West Virginia and worked at a salt furnace. He was largely self-educated. He attended night schools for some time, but for financial problems, he left school to work in the salt and coal mines to earn money for his family's survival². It was in these mines that Washington heard about the existence of a school in Virginia in which the blacks had the possibility to get educated. Washington wanted to acquire knowledge. He saved money and went to Virginia in 1872.

The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Virginia, was founded in 1868 by General Samuel Chapman Armstrong. Washington was largely

1 The word means that the African-Americans had to adjust to the American white society. L. Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

2 *Ibid.*

influenced by the ideas and principles of his teacher, Armstrong, who regarded vocations and skills as the basis of the people's progress¹. According to him, "labour was a spiritual force, ...physical work not only increased wage-earning capacity but promoted fidelity, accuracy, honesty, persistence and intelligence"². When Washington graduated, he tried to apply his teacher's principles on the black race. He believed that if the Negro wanted to achieve success and respect, he had to perform physical tasks required in the world. He did not ask for social equality nor political integration, but demanded "industrial" or "vocational" education for the blacks³. He tried to train the blacks to become farmers, mechanics and labourers.

After his graduation in 1875, Washington returned to Malden and devoted his time to the instruction of the blacks there⁴. Then he came back to Hampton and worked as a teacher from 1878 to 1881. In 1881, Washington was invited in Tuskegee, Alabama, to establish a black school. Failing to receive support, Washington with the co-operation of black students decided to rely on themselves by raising money for the establishment of a school-house.

The Tuskegee Institute was founded in 1882. It was "a black school in Alabama devoted to industrial and moral education and to the training of public school teachers"⁵. Through this school, B. T. Washington sought to promote "industrial" or "vocational" education for the blacks⁶. He was in favour of industrial

1 L. E. Lomax, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

2 J. H. Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 390.

3 A Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

4 L. Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

5 E. Foner and J. A. Garraty, *op. cit.*, p. 1132.

6 A Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

progress¹ as the basis of the blacks' advancement. At the opening of "the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition" at Atlanta, Georgia, in 1895, Washington apologized:

ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we began at the top instead of at the bottom, that a seat in congress was more sought than real estate or industrial skill; that the political convention of stump speaking had more attractions than starting a dairy farm or truck garden.²

He added: "... No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin and not at the top".³

Booker T. Washington and his vocational programmes were not restricted to black America only, but the blacks worldwide. He believed that since the Tuskegee Institute was successful in the South, it would also be useful for the Africans as well. He, therefore, aimed at extending his "vocational education" in Africa. As early as 1900, a group of Tuskegee graduates who were invited by the German governor went to Togo land in Africa to teach the Africans how to grow cotton⁴. Another mission from Tuskegee took place six years later to Liberia and Sierra Leone. Tuskegee missions played a relatively important role as teachers and technical assistants for the education of the natives there.

1 F. L. Schoell, op. cit., pp. 117-118.

2 B. T. Washington, *Up From Slavery: An Autobiography*, New York: Doubleday, 1901, in www.kessinger.net, p. 111. (Accessed in August 2009).

3 R. Kluger, *Simple Justice: the History of Brown v Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality*, (New York: Vintage Books, a Division of Random House, 1975), p. 70.

4 M. M. Smythe, op. cit., p. 656.

In 1910, Washington travelled to Europe¹ to speak about the problems of his race. In 1911 he returned to America for the organization of an interracial conference to discuss the black race's problems. On April 17, 18 and 19, 1912 "the International Conference on the Negro" was held in Tuskegee. The conference was attended by a hundred delegates, from national and international grounds. Among them there were representatives of missionary societies, American intellectuals, as well as African leaders like Edward Blyden and Rev. Mark Casely Hayford. Members of the Ethiopian Separatist Churches in South Africa were also invited to take part in the meeting, but they did not come².

In this conference, Washington spoke about the prominent role performed by the Tuskegee Institute in the education of the Africans. He also stressed the efforts the African-American missions might play in Africa as teachers and technical assistants. Another conference was to take place during the following years. However, the beginning of World War I in 1914, and Washington's death the following year spoiled such plans.

Inspired by B. T. Washington's programmes of vocational education, the Sierra Leonean educationist Adelaide Casely Hayford³ intended to establish a vocational school in Sierra Leone. Like B. T. Washington, she believed that vocational training would show Africans' capacities and would reflect Africa's genuine artworks. In 1920, Adelaide Casely Hayford went to the United States to study educational programmes for industrial education. She also raised funds for the establishment of her educational project. In 1923, the Girls Vocational School

1 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p. 448.

2 J. P. Davis, op. cit., p. 683.

3 Adelaide Casely Hayford was born in Freetown, Sierra Leone in 1868. She was a cultural feminist nationalist, educationist, and short story writer. One of her most popular short stories was *Mister Courifer*. www.wikipedia.org (accessed in February 2008).

opened its doors in Freetown. In addition to the teaching of crafts, Adelaide Casely Hayford also insisted on the teaching of African history, folklore, literature, songs and traditional dances. She also encouraged her pupils to wear African costumes as a sign of pride in the African heritage.

Lamina Sankoh (1884-1964) ¹ was another Sierra Leonean who had been influenced by B. T. Washington's vocational programmes. In 1928 he proceeded to the United States where he became a teacher at Tuskegee Institute at Alabama. L. Sankoh valued the institute's emphasis upon the liberal arts as the basis for the achievement of the blacks' progress and respect ². He also favoured the practical application of learning advocated by B. T. Washington and cherished the relationship between education and work force preparation of the blacks in the sciences, professions, and technical fields.

B. T. Washington's philosophies of accommodationism and vocational training were contrasted by the emergence of new ideologies under the leadership of Dr Du Bois who insisted on the importance of education as the best means for the blacks to achieve progress.

2 - W.E. B. Du Bois:

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois was born on February 23, 1868 in Great Barrington, a small village in the South Western corner of Massachusetts. He was educated at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, from 1885 to 1888. In 1888, he went to Harvard University where he graduated with a B. A. Through a

¹ He was born in Freetown on 28 June 1884. He is remembered as an outstanding Sierra Leonean pre-independence politician, churchman, analyst, and educator. www.britanica.com (accessed in February 2008).

² www.sierra-leone.org/heroes (accessed in December 2005).

grant provided by the Slater Fund, Du Bois moved to the University of Berlin in 1892 for a year of study. He learnt about prominent scholars and widened his views about the world¹. Two years later, Du Bois came back to Harvard. He was the first Negro to be awarded a Ph. D from that university in 1896². His doctoral dissertation was about the African slave trade. It was entitled *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade in the United States*. He, then, went to Wilberforce University in Ohio and the Atlanta University where he took professorial posts.

Du Bois's interest in Africa and the Africans goes as far back as the 1890's. Soon after his post-graduate studies in Germany where he could probably acquire Pan- German race theories, Du Bois expressed his interest in what he had described as "the greater fatherland"³

Du Bois was against black Americans' repatriation to Africa. He asserted that:

It was absurd to talk of a return to Africa merely because that was our home 300 years ago, as it would be to expect the members of the Caucasian race to return to the vastness of the Caucasus Mountains from which, it is reputed, they sprang.⁴

Nonetheless, Du Bois insisted on the role African- Americans could play on behalf of the Africans of the black continent. He stated that: "the American Negro, rising steadily in education and attainment despite all obstacles, had to speak for the more slowly awakening masses of Africa"⁵.

1 R. Kluger, op. cit., p. 92.

2 L. H. Fishel, op. cit., p. 350.

3 J. A. Langley, op. cit., p. 59.

4 M. M. Smythe, op. cit., p. 663.

5 Ibid.

Indeed, Du Bois always believed in the strong relationship that existed between the blacks throughout the Diaspora and those who were in the fatherland "Africa". Both people, Du Bois claimed, were facing the humiliation of degradation and persecution. He said:

As I face Africa I ask myself: what is between us that constitutes a tie that I can feel better than I can explain? Africa is of course my fatherland. Yet neither my father nor my father's father ever saw Africa...but the physical bond is least and the badge of colour relatively unimportant save as a badge; the real essence of this kinship is its social heritage of slavery, the discrimination and insult,... It is this unity that draws me to Africa.¹

Because of the close relationship between the blacks on both sides of the Atlantic, Du Bois's programs were concerned with the promotion of the blacks not only in America but everywhere throughout the world. Therefore, as early as 1905, Du Bois called for the formulation of a program "to oppose firmly the present methods of strangling honest criticism; to organize intelligent and honest Negroes; and to support organs of new and public opinion"². About twenty nine black leaders answered positively Du Bois's call which was to lead to the formation of the Niagara Movement, an organized action for the promotion of the black race³. Du Bois intended to organize an association with different branches in the United States to denounce the blacks' status and to ask for full freedom and rights. The delegates met at Fort Erie, Canada, on July 11, 12, and 13, 1905. They represented 16 states in addition to the District of Columbia. Among the most prominent figures of the movement there were: Dr H. S. Bailey (district of Columbia), C. E. Bentley

1 C. Legum, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

2 L. H. Fishel and B. Quarles, *op. cit.*, pp. 357-358.

3 J. P. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 464.

(Illinois), B. S. Smith (Kansas), Rev. G. R. Waller (Maryland), Dr Geo. F. Grant and Rev. W H. Scott (Massachusetts), Mr W. L. Mc Chee (Minnesota), and Rev. Geo. F. Miller (New York) ¹. The Niagara Movement leaders held a second meeting at Harper Ferry in 1906 in which the blacks' grievances were written by Du Bois. Among the resolutions they asked for: the franchise, respect, full education, and the end of segregation. As Du Bois pointed out: "we want full manhood suffrage and we want it now ... we want discrimination in public accommodation to cease ... we want the constitution of the country enforced ... we want our children educated ... we are men! We will be treated as men. And we shall win!" ². The Niagara Movement members held other meetings the following years in Boston, Oberlin, Sea Isle City, and New Jersey. They worked in co-operation with other black associations and leagues such as: the Milholland's Constitution League, the Negro Academy, the Afro-American Council, the National Association of Colored Women, and the Bishops' Council of the A. M. E. Church, the A.M.E.Z. Church ³ and the Equal Suffrage League of College and High School Students. However, the movement was weakened by the emergence of other important associations like the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (N. A. A. C. P.).

The N. A. A. C. P. was formed out of an article published in *the Independent*, a monthly magazine⁴, on September 03, 1908, by a Southern journalist called William English Walling. In his article, entitled *the Race War in the North*, Walling reported the violent race riot which took place in Lincoln's hometown of Springfield, Illinois, in August 1908. Mary White Ovington, a wealthy humanitarian woman and a supporter of the blacks in New York City for many years, was alarmed with what happened. Impressed by the published article, she sent a letter to Walling

1 H. Aptheker, *Afro-American History: the Modern Era*, op. cit., pp. 154-5.

2 J. P. Davis, op. cit., p. 465.

3 H. Aptheker, *Afro-American History : the Modern Era*, op. cit., p. 155.

4 R. Kluger, op. cit., p. 96.

to show him her appreciation and responded to his call for the blacks' aid. After discussing the sorrowful conditions of lynching and race riots, Walling, Ovington, as well as Dr Henry Moskowitz, a Jewish worker, decided to send out a call for a conference which would be held on February 12, 1909, the 100th anniversary of Lincoln's birth¹. Part of the call is summarized in the following lines:

The celebration of the centennial of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, ... will fail to justify itself if it takes no note of and makes no recognition of the colored men and women for whom the Great Emancipator labored to assure freedom... . In many states Lincoln would see the black men and women, for whose freedom a hundred thousand soldiers gave their lives, set part in trains ... Added to this, the spread of lawless attacks upon the Negro Silence under these conditions means tacit approval ... Hence we call upon all the believers in democracy to join in a National Conference for the discussion of present evils, the voicing of protests, and the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty².

Sixty black and white leaders signed this document. Among the best recognized figures there were : Alexander Walters, a Bishop of the A.M.E.Z. church; James Addams, a social worker; Rev. John Haynes Holmes; Oswald Garrison Villard; the writer William Dean Howells; the philosopher, John Dervy; Rev. Francis J. Grimke and Dr Du Bois.

The conference was held on May 30, 1909 at Cooper Union in New York under the name of the National Negro Committee. A year later, the name of the

1 J. Grant, op. cit., p. 211.

2 Ibid.

organization was changed to the N. A. A. C. P.¹. Moorefield Storey was the president of the organization; W. E. Walling was the chairman of the executive committee and Dr Du Bois was the director of publicity and research². The N. A. A. C. P. had a bi-racial membership of over 500, 000 and had 1, 600 local branches, spread over the regional areas of the United States³. The members of this association called for equal education, the franchise and the reinforcement of the fourteenth and the fifteenth amendments.⁴ In addition, through a constant insistence on the part of Du Bois, the N. A. A. C. P. introduced an interest in Africa as one of the organisation's chief objectives.⁵

In 1919, the members of the N. A. A. C. P. convened a Carnegie Hall meeting entitled "Africa and World Democracy" to discuss "the development of the people in middle Africa"⁶ and asked world's organisations to be more attentive to the preoccupations of the blacks in the Dark Continent. In addition, thanks to the N. A. A. C. P.'s financial contributions, Du Bois could finance an important part of the 1919 and the 1921 Pan-African congresses.

The N. A. A. C. P.'s programs were largely propagated by means of the press. *The Crisis Magazine*, the official organ of the association, was a prominent tool of propaganda. Published from 1911 to 1933, *The Crisis* was mainly concerned with raising the Afro- Americans' consciousness. It wrote about the N. A. A. C. P.'s activities, and segregation. It also advertised prominent black leaders and published their articles, poems and stories⁷. About 100, 000 copies of the magazine were sold

1 R. Kluger, op. cit., p. 98.

2 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p. 447.

3 J. P. Davis, op. cit., p. 465

4 L. E. Lomax, op. cit., p. 118.

5 M. M. Smythe, op. cit., p. 666.

6 Ibid.

7 J. Grant, op. cit., p. 213.

by 1918.¹ Furthermore, *The Crisis* played a pivotal role in providing information about Africa and the Africans. Between 1918 and 1927, *The Crisis* published interesting editorials about Pan-Africanism. *The Crisis'* printings were basically related to:

the facts of African history, geography, religion, art, literature, labor, and tribal life. It raised a voice of indignation at colonial exploitation while making its readers aware of the grinding misery and the persecution hidden behind the facades of the "white man's burden" and *la mission civilatrice*.²

By the turn of the century, Du Bois envisaged the formation of a group of African-Americans and West Indians for the development of the African continent.³ He was permanently in contact with the Belgian Consul General in the United States to negotiate the possibility of developing programs in the Congo.

By 1918 Du Bois thought about the creation of "a great free African state", regrouping both the German East Africa and the Belgian Congo. Through the formation of this state, Du Bois sought to prove the blacks' race consciousness and their ability for self-government. "The Pan-African State" Du Bois believed:

[was] a socialized 'industrial democracy' run by black American intellectuals, yet it welcomed white capital and took for granted the unanimous adherence of the latter to his ideas. Whatever the

1 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p 447.

2 M. M. Smythe, op. cit., p. 667.

3 J. A. Langley, op. cit., p. 59.

precise nature of this utopia, it would still be led by the elite, both American and African (the thinking classes of the future Negro world).¹

Nonetheless, Du Bois's scheme was only a myth. He gave no idea concerning the organization or the administration of the supposed "Free State", and did not know whether the colonial governments were to welcome or to reject his projects.

Du Bois's interest in Africa was also reflected through the writing of a collection of books and pamphlets, the most important of which were *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade in the United States of America, 1638-1870* (1896), *The Negro* (1915), *Africa, Its Geography, People and Products* (1930), *Africa, Its Place in Modern History* (1930), *the World and Africa* (1947), and *Africa in Battle against Colonialism, Racism, Imperialism* (1960).

By 1915, Du Bois's writings focused mainly on Pan- Africanism and the role it might play in the promotion of the blacks' consciousness worldwide. Yet, at that time Pan- Africanism, Du Bois asserted, was only propaganda with:

no great single centralisation of thought or unification of opinion, but there are centres which are growing larger and larger and touching edges. The most significant centres of this new thinking are, perhaps naturally, outside Africa and in America: in the United States and in the West Indies; this is followed by South Africa and West Africa...²

The Pan-African movement Du Bois sought to conceive had to be based on racial unification and solidarity among all blacks. In his book entitled *The Negro*

1 Ibid., p. 60.

2 J. A. Langley, op. cit., p. 62.

(1915), Du Bois wrote:

The Pan-African movement when it comes will not, however, be merely a narrow racial propaganda. Already the more farseeing Negroes sense the coming unities... . In a conscious sense of unity among coloured races there is today only a growing interest. There is slowly arising not only a curiously strong brotherhood of Negro blood throughout the world, but the common cause of the darker races against the intolerable assumptions and insults of Europeans has already found an expression¹

Du Bois's Pan-African writings had a great impact on African leaders like the Sierra Leonean composer Samuel Coleridge Taylor (1875-1912)² who was impressed by the works of Du Bois. In more than one occasion he stated that his early interest in Pan-Africanism emerged when he first read Du Bois's *Souls of Black Folk*. In an excerpt written to Mr Andrew F. Hilyer, treasurer of the Coleridge-Taylor Society, who had sent him a copy of Du Bois's *Souls of Black Folk*, Samuel Coleridge Taylor wrote: "this is only to thank you over and over again for so kindly sending me the book by Mr Du Bois. It is about the finest book I have ever read by a coloured man and one of the best by any author, white and black"³.

Above all, Du Bois' interest in Africa and the Africans was notably reflected through the different Pan-African congresses held periodically between

1 W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Negro*, London, 1916, [first edition, New York: Holt, 1915] pp. 241-2.

2 Samuel Coleridge Taylor was born in London in August 1875. He was the son of a Sierra Leonean father who came to London to study medicine and an English mother. He was a leading exponent of Pan-Africanism. However, He is remembered as being a famous composer. His best known compositions were *Hiawatha's wedding Feast* (1898), and *Twenty-four Negro Melodies* written by B. T. Washington in 1904. www.cambridgechorus.org (accessed in August 2009).

3Ibid.

1900 and 1945 to promote unity, solidarity, and race consciousness among the blacks of the African continent and throughout the Diaspora.

2.1-The Pan-African Conferences (1900-1945):

Du Bois is referred to as the father of Pan-Africanism.¹ His first experience with Pan-Africanism goes back to 1900 with the organisation of the first Pan-African conference led by the Trinidadian barrister, Henry Sylvester Williams. Nevertheless, Du Bois believed since 1897 that: “if the Negro were to be a factor in the world’s history it would be through a Pan- Negro movement”.² After the death of H. Sylvester Williams in 1911, Du Bois organised five Pan-African congresses between 1919 and 1945. These meetings had been attended by increasing numbers of black and white representatives from the United States, the West Indies, Europe, and Africa to discuss the problems of the blacks worldwide and to raise the blacks’ feeling of unity, solidarity, and consciousness. The different Pan-African conclaves were characterised by a wide representation from West Africa notably from Sierra Leone. Young Sierra Leonean Africans took an active role in different Pan-African congresses as participants and could broaden their intellectual and political visions through their interaction with African-American and West Indian leaders.

2.1.1- First Pan-African Congress (1900):

The first Pan-African Conference was convened in Westminster Town Hall, London from July 23rd to the 25th, 1900 under the leadership of the Trinidadian barrister Henry Sylvester Williams. Williams was born in Arouca in 1869. He was

1 P. Decraene, *Le Panafricanisme*, Paris: Le Point des Connaissances Actuelles, 1964, p. 12.

2 C. Legum, op. cit., p. 24.

first educated in the Arouca School. At the age of 17 he became a teacher, and in 1887 he was posted to the government school in San Fernando. In 1890 he founded a union for teachers named 'The Trinidad Elementary Teachers'. Nonetheless, he soon gave up his teaching career and left Trinidad to further his education abroad. He first moved to New York, then Canada, and in 1893 he went to Dalhousie University, in Halifax, Nova Scotia. He was not awarded degrees there. Racial and financial difficulties thwarted his aims. In 1895, he moved to England. He could earn money through lecturing for the Church of England Temperance Society and succeeded his entrance in King's College of London University, and then in 1897 he studied law at Grays's Inn where barristers were trained. In the United Kingdom, H. S. Williams could eventually interact with Africans¹, African-Americans, and West Indian blacks who were there for a visit or to further their studies. The black intellectuals and students entered in a lengthy dialogue. They were very critical and vocal about the subjugation of the black race globally, colonial oppression, and the mistreatment of the blacks in the British Empire. The most influential blacks who participated in this struggle were F. E. R. Johnson, an ex-Attorney General of Liberia; Ms. E. V. Kinloch, a black South African activist; Benito Sylvain, a Haitian leader; Bishop Alexander Walters of the A. M. E. Z. Church and the president of the National American Council²; Henry. F. Downing, an ex-U. S. Consul of Luanda in Angola; Bishop James Johnson, an eminent Sierra Leonean clergyman; and Henry Sylvester Williams of Trinidad. These leaders reacted against the blacks' status worldwide through public speeches, and the publication of newspapers that were circulated in the United Kingdom, the United States, the West Indies, West Africa and elsewhere in the world.

1 P. Decraene, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

2 J. A. Langley, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

The efforts of these minds resulted in the formation of the African Association in 1897¹. The chairmanship was given to Rev. H. Mason Joseph from Antigua (the West Indies); his deputy was T. J. Thompson from Sierra Leone. A. C. Durham was the assistant secretary, and H. S. Williams was the Association's honorary secretary². The association's prominent goal was "to encourage a feeling of unity, to facilitate friendly intercourse among Africans in general; to promote and protect the interest of all subjects claiming African descent, wholly or in part..."³. On one occasion, Williams stated that the association's primary aim was "to secure throughout the world the same facilities and privileges for the black man as the white man enjoys"⁴.

To achieve support for the association's projects on the part of black as well as white supporters, H. S. Williams travelled throughout the British Isles. The association also circulated a pamphlet in 1898 to call for a world conference. The meeting was addressed to all blacks of African descent worldwide to discuss the blacks' status globally:

...in the light of science and modern conscience the general relations subsisting between the people of the West and those of the East, between so-called white and so-called coloured people, with a view to encouraging between them a fuller understanding, the most friendly feelings, and the heartier co-operation⁵.

1 Clarence G. Contee, *Henry Sylvester Williams and Origins of Organisational Pan-Africanism: (1897-1902)*, Washington D. C.: Howard University Press, 1973, p.17.

2 I. Geiss, op. cit., p. 160.

3 J. A. Langley, op. cit., p. 27.

4 C. G. Contee, op. cit., p. 17.

5 J. A. Langley, op. cit., p.31.

The first Pan-African Conference was convened in Westminster Town Hall, London from July 23rd to the 25th, 1900. It was strategically timed to coincide with two important events: the Paris Exposition¹ and the World's Christian Endeavor Convention. The purpose was to extend the black and white membership in the conference and to allow visitors to attend these different events. The black representation in the conference was small but significantly international in tone. About 35 delegates from Sierra Leone, Liberia, South Africa, the United States, Canada, and the West Indies (Haiti, Jamaica, St Lucia, and Trinidad) attended the conference. The most influential figures were Samuel Coleridge Taylor², the Sierra Leonean composer who was in charge of the musical aspect of the programme³; James Johnson⁴, a Sierra Leonean bishop recently promoted to the rank of Anglican Assistant Bishop; and G. W. Dove, City Councillor in Freetown, Sierra Leone. Other prominent African leaders also attended the conference. These included Frederick Johnson from Liberia; Bishop Alexander Walters of the A. M. E. Church and Dr Du Bois from the United States; Benito Sylvain from Haiti; and Dr R. Akiwande Savage from the "Afro-West Indian Literary Society of Edinburgh".

The ceremonial address was presented by Bishop Alexander Walters who opened up the conference with congratulations to the Sierra Leonean James Johnson⁵

1 P. Decraene, op. cit., p. 10.

2 As a pan-Africanist leader, Samuel Coleridge Taylor also edited a Pan-African newspaper entitled *the African and Orient Review* which was circulated in London in the 1900's. www.cambridgechorus.org (accessed in March 2007).

3 I. Geiss, op. cit., p. 184.

4 James Johnson was described by the C. M. S. Secretary R. Lang as "a man of fine Character. A very remarkable man, peculiarly qualified in many respects to help forward the native church, a man of great spiritual strength and vigour, as well as of mental and intellectual capacity of courage and decision" R. Lang to K. Ingham, 29 July 1887, G3A3/L11.

5 James Johnson was regarded as being the best African candidate for the post. However, he was criticised by some European leaders who disregarded his abilities. In an interview with Sir Claude MacDonald, H. M. Consul General for the Oil Rivers in which the Delta was situated, declared to the C. M. S. secretaries that J. Johnson was rather a politician and could not, therefore, fit the clergy duties. Memorandum of interview of MacDonald with C. M. S. secretaries, 2 March 1893 G3A3/06.

for his promotion to the rank of Anglican Assistant Bishop for the Niger Delta. Different papers were discussed in the three day conference by different black leaders. Bishop Walters, the chairman of the conference, insisted on the establishment of a bureau in London. Its duty was to influence legislation affecting the black race.¹ In a paper entitled "The Necessary Concord to be Established Between Native Races and European Colonists", Benito Sylvain reacted against Britain's colonial policies and its military intervention in Africa during the last fifteen years He attested that:

Black men had everywhere proved themselves worthy of liberty and the question of the day was going to be whether Europe was prepared to come to an understanding with the black man, for "No human power could stop the African natives in their social and political development".²

The Sierra Leonean bishop James Johnson insisted on the promotion of unity and solidarity among all blacks of African descent worldwide. He believed that the 1900 Pan-African Conference was an initial step for the achievement of the blacks' unity. He stated:

The Pan-African Conference is the beginning of a union I long hoped for, and would to God be universal. As a people, recollect this: we are destined, despite the fallacies of many, to be recognised. Already we have morality, religion and perseverance on our balance sheet-government will come as we labour towards the end. Temper your deliberations with truth and God will do the rest³.

1 J. A. Langley, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Cited in I. Geiss, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

James Johnson further stated that the participation of young leaders in this Pan-African gathering could but help the blacks to attain their objectives of achieving equality, dignity, and respect. He said: "the fact that almost all those who are taking part in this wonderful movement are still young is encouraging"¹.

M. Meyer, Dr. R. Akiwande Savage, and D. Tobias from the West Indies presented a paper that focused on the greatness of the black civilisation. The paper which was entitled "Africa, the Sphinx of History" attested that the human civilisation had its origins in Africa. Henry Sylvester Williams, on the other hand, denounced racial discrimination in South Africa, and the Liberian Frederick Johnson insisted on the Liberians' ability for self-government. Du Bois was convinced that "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line- the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the Islands of the sea"².

After the end of the conference, the members decided to address a memorial to different political leaders and governments in the world, and also to Queen Victoria (1819-1901), denouncing colour and race prejudice and the exploitation of the blacks in general and the people of South Africa and Rhodesia more particularly. The "Address to the Nations of the World", authored by Walters, Brown, and Du Bois asked not to let:

...the cloak of Christian missionary enterprise be allowed in the future, as so often in the past, to hide the ruthless economic exploitation and political downfall of less developed nations

1 Ibid.

2 W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, London, 1905, [first edition, Chicago: A. C. Mc Clurg &co., 1903], p. 13.

whose chief fault has been reliance on the plighted troth of the Christian Church.¹

The memorial also asked for equality in the British non-white colonies (Africa and the West Indies' colonies) in the same way as in the British white colonies, and to respect the sovereignty of the black independent states.

The demands of the black leaders were largely ignored. The only positive acknowledgment on the part of the Colonial Office was the recognition of the sovereignty of Haiti, Liberia, and Abyssinia. In Joseph Chamberlain's words: "Her Majesty's Government will not overlook the interests and welfare of the native races".²

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the African Association became known as the Pan-African Association (P. A. A.). Bishop Alexander Walters was elected as the president of the P. P. A.; Rev. Henry B. Brown was its vice-president, Dr. R. J. Colenso was the general treasurer, Benito Sylvain was a general delegate for Africa, and H. S. Williams was the general secretary.

Headquarters in London and branches of the P. A. A. had been established in the United States, the West Indies, Abyssinia, Liberia, South Africa and Nigeria. Scholar W. E. Du Bois was the secretary of the U. S branch; R. Cagill, the Jamaican member of the Legislative Council, was the vice-president of the Jamaican branch; and Otonba Payne, a merchant and a newspaper proprietor from Lagos, was the vice-president of the Nigerian branch.

1 J. A. Langley, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

2 C. Legum, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

The members of the P. A. A. resolved to hold a conference every two years the first of which was to be held in the United States in 1902, followed two years later by another meeting in Haiti in 1904. Through these meetings, the members of the P. A. A. aimed at stimulating educational and industrial opportunities among all blacks of African descent, to circulate information among the blacks worldwide, to raise funds, and above all to struggle for the attainment of legislation for the achievement of civil and political rights for the blacks globally. The members of the P. A. A. also circulated *The Pan- African* in 1901, a paper that was edited by H. S. Williams. Nonetheless, neither the paper nor the different branches of the P. A. A. could prosper. Internal clashes among the members of the different branches, as well as financial problems led to the dissolution of the association in 1902.

In 1903, H. S. Williams travelled to South Africa to practise law. However, discriminatory practices thwarted his goals. He went back to England in 1905 and became involved in politics. By 1908, Williams moved to Sierra Leone to launch a political career, but he finally settled in Trinidad where he practised law until his death in 1911.

2.1.2- Second Pan-African Congress (1919):

In 1919, Du Bois called "the thinking classes of the Negro world" in Africa and throughout the Diaspora to a meeting. Du Bois's idea was strongly supported by Blaise Diagne from Senegal and M. E. F. Fredericks from Sierra Leone. The meeting was actually to take place to discuss the future of Germany's former African colonies, and the Africans' right to participate in the affairs of their respective governments.

The second Pan-African Congress was held from the 19th to the 21st February, 1919 in Paris in *Le Grand Hotel at Boulevard Des Capucines*.¹ The congress was attended by fifty seven delegates representing fifteen countries from the United States, the West Indies ², West Africa, and England. There were also delegates from the British, the French, the Portuguese, and the Spanish colonies, in addition to the participation of some other countries like Algeria, Egypt, the Belgian Congo and Abyssinia.³

The conference was presided by the Senegalese leader Blaise Diagne.⁴ Dr Du Bois of the United States was the secretary, and Mrs Ida Gibb Hunt was the assistant secretary. The 1919 Congress, Du Bois attested, was held "to have Africa in some way voice its complaints to the world..."⁵ A Delegate from British West Africa proclaimed that the 1919 Congress:

had done two things: it had brought representatives of fifteen African communities, including West Africa, onto a common platform, and had presented a 'united front' on race questions. Secondly, it had 'raised certain specific issues which the Peace Conference⁶ cannot possibly ignore and to which attention must be

1 J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p. 470.

2 P. Decraene, op. cit., p. 22.

3 The number of the delegates who came from America only was estimated at sixteen. There were thirteen delegates from the French colonies, seven from Haiti, seven from France, three from Liberia, two from the Spanish colonies, and one delegate from each of Portuguese colonies, San Domingo, England, British Africa, French Africa, Algeria, Egypt, Belgian Congo, and Abyssinia. J. H. Franklin, op. cit., p. 470.

4 M. M. Smythe, op. cit., p. 664.

5 C. Legum, op. cit., p. 28.

6 The Paris Peace Conference took place in Paris contemporaneously with the 1919 Conference. It was organised by the European powers to negotiate the aftermath of World War I (1914 – 1918), and more particularly the German lost colonies in Africa which had been captured by Britain and the other allied powers. www.wikipedia.org (accessed in July 2008).

given if all the talk about making the world safe for democracy is not mere vapour.¹

As in the preceding Pan-African Conference of 1900, the delegates of the 1919 gathering were basically concerned with the promotion of the black race worldwide. Nevertheless, specific interest was given to the blacks' right to education as the best means for them to improve their status. The delegates also insisted on the Africans' needs to participate in the affairs of their respective governments, and strove to end slavery and forced labour. Most important of all, the delegates resolved:²

That the allied and associated powers establish a code of law for the international protection of the natives of Africa.... That the 'League of Nations' establish a permanent bureau charged with the special duty of overseeing the application of these laws to the political, social, and economic welfare of the natives.³

Through these resolutions, Du Bois and the congress delegates wanted to make of the blacks' racial problems a universal problem. However, they could achieve but little, apart from attracting the League of Nations' attention concerning the protection of the rights of coloured labour. The blacks' claims were utterly denied by the European powers whose chief aim was to negotiate the partition of the German former colonies in Africa at the Paris Peace Conference (1919).

The blacks themselves criticised some aspects of the 1919 Congress. Some African-Americans attested that Du Bois's 1919 Congress represented but the

1 J. A. Langley, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

2 For a full text of the resolutions passed see Appendix one.

3 C. Legum, *op. cit.*, p.133.

black intellectual group. They also accused Du Bois of supporting "Americanism" rather than "Africanism".

On the other side of the Atlantic, the Africans were slightly critical. An article written in *The Sierra Leone Weekly News*, published on 12 June 1919, stated that:

Congresses are good, but their establishment is after all a small matter- comparatively. The Pan African Congress is a congress of living wills; but for years to come it shall have opposed to its interests living wills as formidable as Hell...the war to follow will be the war for the emancipation of the Negro race from European philosophizings about the Negro, and from the determination to poison Negro consciousness at the source? ¹

2.1.3- Third Pan-African Congress (1921):

The 1921 Pan-African Congress took place in London, Brussels, and Paris. It was attended by about 113 delegates from different backgrounds. Forty one of the delegates were Africans, thirty five were African-Americans, seven came from the West Indies, and twenty four black delegates were residents in Europe.²

The first session of the 1921 Pan-African Congress was held at Central Hall, Westminster in London on 27-29 August.³ The issues raised during this session were basically related to the problems of segregation, the equality between races, and aspects of the colonial policy in Africa. What characterised this Pan-African gathering was Africa's wide representation. Rev. W. B. Marke of Sierra

1 J. A. Langley, op. cit., p. 67.

2 M. M. Smythe, op. cit., p. 664.

3 P. Decraene, op. cit., p. 23.

Leone raised the problem of land policy in West Africa, and urged the Africans to react against colonial exploitation. He said: "if they [Africans] did not respect themselves none would respect them. God helped those who helped themselves".¹ Peter Thomas, a Lagos merchant and Dr. Ojo Olaribigbe from West Africa strongly denounced segregation and racial discrimination. Peter Thomas said "Segregation was a system which was usually justified in West Africa on the ground that it was a method of preventing malaria... . Let them [the whites] turn their attention to the mosquito and not the man".²

Mrs Jessie Fausset, an editor of *The Crisis*, spoke about the literary achievements of the black women and the works of Mrs Adelaide Casely Hayford of Sierra Leone more particularly.

Du Bois, a Pan-African leader representing the United States, evoked the history of Pan-Africanism. He traced back the beginnings of the first Pan-African conclaves to 1900. He then specified how a small group of intellectuals could make of the 1919 Pan-African Congress a Pan-African gathering. He believed that the congress represented:

folk who were not by any means fully conscious they were being represented, since the delegates were delegates of a small part of the organised and non organised part of the Negro world.... Throughout the world there had been opposition, a disposition not to treat civilised Negroes as civilised, a disposition to consider that Negro races existed ... for the benefit of white races.... All these things ... constituted a world problem.... They

1 J. A. Langley, op. cit., p. 74.

2 Ibid., p. 73.

had begun to see... there was in the world an international problem and they had got to talk about it.¹

To end up, Du Bois asked the delegates to make of the second session of the 1921 Pan-African Congress a universal and a permanent Pan-African movement.

Different topics were discussed on the second day of the London session. W. F. Hutchison from the Gold Coast and Rev. E. G. Granville Sutton formerly from Sierra Leone spoke about Africa's place in the world and asked the Africans to unite themselves under one political force. The speech given by L. B. Augusto from Lagos was among the most convincing speeches of the congress. Augusto believed that:

The black man was not humiliated, exploited, and discriminated against merely because of his colour; these things were done to black men because of the belief that as a race they were unable to hold their own in the civilised world.²

The London session of 1921 ended up with the delegates' resolutions under the title "The Declaration to the World", or as it became historically known as "The London Manifesto". The delegates asked for the blacks' right for self-government, education, religious freedom, Africans' right of land ownership according to African traditions, and the League of Nations' intervention in solving the black people's affairs.

The second session of the 1921 Pan-African Congress was held in Brussels in the *Palais Mondial* from 30 August to 2 September. Blaise Diagne was the chairman of this session. Eminent delegates from different backgrounds attended

1 J. A. Langley, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 47

the Brussels session of the 1921 Congress. Among the most outstanding figures, there were M. Barthelemy, a French deputy for Arras who insisted on medical and educational assistance the Africans should receive in the colonies; and Panda Farnana, a secretary of *L'union Congolaise* in Belgium stated that the whites' exploitation of the black men through the slave trade after the discovery of the New World made of the black race a backward race.

The last session of the 1921 Pan African Congress took place in the Hall of Civil Engineers in Paris. The session was once again presided by Blaise Diagne. The discussions of the Paris session centred basically on the European colonial policies and how to make of the 1921 Congress a permanent and an international movement.

The 1921 Pan-African Congress was followed by two more Pan- African gatherings. The first meeting was held in London and Lisbon in 1923. The delegates resolved to " ... ask in all the world, that black folk be treated as men. We [blacks] can see no other road to peace and progress".¹

Another Pan-African congress was held in New York in 1927. The number of the representatives was estimated at 208.² During this congress, the delegates discussed the problem of land ownership. They claimed for the Africans their absolute right on the African soil and its resources, the right for education, world disarmament, and Africans' participation in their governments.

The struggle to make of Pan-Africanism a world movement with a strong basis proved to be a very complicated task for Dr Du Bois who found his ambitions blocked by the existence of other movements like the Garvey movement

1 C. Legum, op. cit., p. 29.

2 P. Decraene, op. cit., p. 24.

and communist¹ organisations which denounced the Pan-African movement as a “petit- bourgeois black nationalism... blocking the dissemination of communist influence among the Negroes”.² Du Bois himself came to the conclusion that Pan-Africanism expressed ideas rather than facts. In his own words: “*le Pan Africanisme est une idée plus qu’un fait*”.³

It was not until the 1940’s with the organisation of the 1945 Congress that the Pan-African movement re-emerged on a strong basis to challenge colonialism. The Pan-African leaders’ ideologies were radical for the first time in the history of Pan-Africanism. The Pan-Africanists’ sole aim was the attainment of independence self-determination for all the African countries which were under the chains of colonialism.

2.1.4- Sixth Pan-African Congress (1945):

The sixth Pan-African conclave was held at Manchester, England in October 1945. It is historically regarded as the most significant Pan- African gathering compared to the preceding ones held between 1900 and 1927. The participation of eminent black leaders from different ranks (political, agricultural, and trade unions) made of the 1945 Pan-African Congress a mass movement.⁴

The congress was attended by about 200 delegates from different horizons. Dr Du Bois, the chairman of the meeting, represented the United States of

1 Communism is a socioeconomic system characterised by the absence of class-divisions. It is based on common property and collective ownership of the means of production. www.britanica.com (accessed in October 2008).

2 C. Legum, op. cit., p. 30.

3 P. Decraene, op. cit., p. 24.

4 M. M. Smythe, op. cit., pp. 664 - 665.

America; George Padmore (1902-1959)¹, C. L. R. James (1901-1989)², Dr Peter Milliard represented the West Indies; and Wallace Johnson, the chairman of the conference's resolutions committee, represented Sierra Leone³. The meeting was particularly marked by a wide representation from Africa. There were Kwame Nkrumah, an eminent political leader from the Gold Coast; Marcus Grant, trade union leader from Sierra Leone; Chief H. O. Davies from Nigeria; Edwin J. Du Plan, an eminent member of the Bureau of African Affairs in Accra; Dr Raphael Armattoo, a Togo poet; Peter Abrahams, a south African novelist and poet; and Magnus Williams who attended the congress to represent Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, a West African politician and a great contributor to the growth of Pan-Africanism in Africa during the 1940's.⁴ Leaders of Pan-African associations such as the Pan-African Students Union also attended the congress.

Until the 1940's, Pan-Africanism in Africa did not get much support. The only supporters of the Pan-African conclaves were students studying abroad. By 1945, however, African leaders who wanted to get rid of colonial rule understood that to achieve their objectives they had to extend their support worldwide to keep pressure on the colonial governments.

The African leaders who acquired Western education, particularly the Sierra Leonean Creoles, believed in the superiority of the European culture.

1 Padmore was born in Arouca, Trinidad in 1902. He started a career in journalism and then he studied medicine in American universities. In 1929, Padmore moved to the U. S. S. R. and became the leader of the Negro Bureau of the Communist International of Labour Unions. He was also the secretary of the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers. www.britanica.com (accessed in October 2008).

2 He is remembered as an eminent Afro-Trinidadian journalist, socialist theorist, and writer. He was very effective in Great Britain and the United States in different political parties which stood against colonialism. www.Wikipedia.org (accessed in October 2008).

3 H. Adi and M. Sherwood, *Pan-African History: Political Figures from Africa and the Diaspora since 1787*, New York: Rutledge, 2003, p. 183.

4 R. Oliver and A. Atmore, op. cit., pp. 160-161.

Gradually, however, they came to realise that they were not treated on equal basis with the whites and did not hold important positions in the government. The myth of the European culture started to lose its importance and the African intellectuals became aware of their African personality. Colonialism, the subjugation of the blacks throughout the African continent, and the economic exploitation of Africa's resources led the African leaders, especially the Creole educated leaders in Sierra Leone who had been in contact with the Europeans for many centuries, to believe in one radical change: self-determination and independence from the alien rule. Marcus Grant, a Sierra Leonean radical unionist, stated:

We are unwilling to starve any longer while doing the world's drudgery, in order to support, by our poverty and ignorance, a false aristocracy and a discredited imperialism... . We shall complain, appeal and arraign. We will fight in every way we can for freedom, democracy, and social betterment.¹

The blacks wrote and spoke in favour of freedom and democracy, and a participation in the 1945 Pan-African Congress was, therefore, a vehicle to make of their struggle a universal one. The delegates' resolutions were, therefore, radical². "We demand for Black Africa autonomy and independence, so far, and no further, than it is possible in this One World for groups and people to rule themselves subject to inevitable world unity and federation"³.

The delegates were determined to achieve their goals peacefully according to Gandhi's teachings or violently. They stated:

1BBC world service.com (accessed in March 2005).

2 For a text of the resolutions passed during the 1945 Congress, see Appendix two.

3 C. Legum, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

We are determined to be free.... If the Western world is still determined to rule mankind by force, then Africans, as a last resort, may have to appeal to force in the effort to achieve freedom, even if force destroys them and the world.¹

As a matter of fact, these radical resolutions of the diasporan and the African leaders could but strengthen nationalism in Sierra Leone particularly and West Africa more broadly. The African leaders came to the conclusion that “to keep pressure on the colonial government, it would be necessary to organise widespread support among the people”.² With the support of African- American leaders, African leaders, therefore, addressed a petition to the United Nations Conference in 1945 claiming “the principles for a free world order” to the colonised countries as laid down by F. Roosevelt (1882-1945) and W. Churchill (1874-1965) in the Atlantic Charter (1941)³.

Furthermore, it was during the 1945 conclave that African leaders resolved to organise the West African National Secretariat (W. A. N. S.), a regional committee designed to regroup together West African delegates to talk about the problems related to West Africa. Hence, a year later the West African leaders, met in London to discuss the idea of a West African Federation as an initial step that would lead to the formation of a united states of Africa.

Du Bois had been praised for the efforts he had made for Africa and the Africans by eminent African leaders like Wallace Johnson from Sierra Leone and

1 R. Oliver and A. Atmore, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 219.

3 The Atlantic Charter is a document negotiated at the Atlantic Conference on 14 August 1941 by the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill (1874-1965) and the U. S president F. D. Roosevelt (1882-1945). It set the objectives of post World War Two even before the United States' participation in the war. www.wikipedia.org (accessed in May 2009).

Kwam Nkrumah from the Gold Coast who believed that:

We [Africans] ... remember Dr Du Bois as a brilliant scholar, a great champion in the struggle for the rights of man, and an undaunted fighter against racial inequality, discrimination, and injustice.... He was not only a champion of the oppressed, but also a source of inspiration in our struggle for freedom and the right of the African to govern himself. ¹

They added:

Dr Du Bois was a pioneer reformer who dreamt dreams of a free Africa. His efforts from the beginnings of this century until his death in 1963 have distinguished him as a hero and prophet of his age. ...His founding of the Pan-African Congress in 1919, in Paris, was a signal for the heroic struggle by African nationalists which led ultimately to the political emancipation of this continent.²

However, some Africans criticised Du Bois claiming that his Pan-African ideologies did not appeal to all the blacks but sought the cooperation of the black educated class only. Instead, they favoured M. Garvey's Back to Africa Movement which, according to them, appealed to the black peoples of the world.

1 M. M. Smythe, *op. cit.*, p. 665.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 666.

and the like. More important, the hostel had become an important centre for political and intellectual activities and a clearinghouse for Pan-Africanist ideas. Indeed, the W. A. S. U. hosted eminent political figures from Britain, the United States, the West Indies, and Africa. Among the most prominent leaders who visited the hostel were Dr M. A. S. Margai, a well known Sierra Leonean politician, Marcus Garvey from Jamaica, Dr C. C. Aderiyi-Jones (member of the Legislative Council in Nigeria), Rev. A. G. Fraser (rector of Achimota College), Margery Perham (St Hugh College, Oxford), Professors B. Milinowski (London) and Macmillan (New York), and Lord Lloyd (Colonial Secretary)¹. Through their contacts with these Pan-African activists, the W. A. S. U. members became aware of wider views about the African race. They, therefore, espoused black pride by challenging racial injustice. They sought to affirm the integrity of the African civilisation, defending it against the bogus charges of African inferiority. More important, this kind of unions became direct instruments through which nationalist movements in West Africa could be related with their counterparts in an international level, by putting pressure on the colonial governments and attracting colonial officials' attention at home upon the nationalists' claims. Interestingly, several members of the W. A. S. U. were to become active participants in the political struggle for national emancipation. The Sierra Leoneans Laminah Sankoh and Constance Agatha Cummings, for instance, were to play an eminent role in pre-independence Sierra Leone as politicians and also as educators. The former lectured at the Extra-Mural Department of Fourah Bay College, and he was at one time president of the Freetown Adult Education Society. He further published his own newspaper *The African Vanguard* during the 1940's and was the founder of a cultural organisation known as the People's Forum. He also established an African church in which he expected the teaching to be free from Western influence². At a political level, he founded the Peoples Party by the end of

1 D. Killingray, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

2 www.sierra-leone.org/heroes (accessed in December 2005).

the 1940's which played a leading role in the struggle for self-government. On the other hand, the latter was appointed as Principal of the A. M. E. Girls' Vocational School during the 1930's and founded a school in which science was taught. It was, however, in national politics that Agatha Cummings made her most lasting impact through the organisation of the Sierra Leone Women's Movement¹ which became one of the most important political parties by the end of the 1940's to call for self-government and a complete eradication of colonial rule.

Believing in the instrumental role of unions in bringing African nationalism known to the colonial authorities, West African leaders and activists maintained that unions had to be formed in different professional disciplines. Skilled artisans, carpenters, railway workers, teachers, doctors, and lawyers were all expected to organise themselves in terms of unions. I. T. A. Wallace Johnson (1895-1965), a Sierra Leonean nationalist, was among the most outstanding supporters of unionism by the end of the 1920's as a successful means for the achievement of the African natives' grievances.

Isaac Theophilus Akunna Wallace Johnson was born in Wilberforce Village, Sierra Leone, in 1895. He received his early education in missionary schools. When he was 18, Wallace Johnson worked as customs clerk in the government service, but he was soon dismissed because of his participation in the organisation of the first trade union in Sierra Leone² by the wake of the twentieth century. During World War I (1914-1918), Wallace Johnson served as a clerk for the Carrier Corps and could change his attitudes towards the inherent supremacy of the European civilisation. The glorified picture of the European culture started to lose its importance when the Europeans fought against each other as fierce enemies putting

¹ D. Killingray, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

² The British colonial authorities regarded Wallace Johnson as an agitator who threatened the stability of the colonies. In Public Record office, C. O., 267/666/32216/1938.

their civilisation behind. The consequences of World War I raised serious concerns among W. Johnson and his followers in West Africa. When Britain, France, and the other allied powers divided the former German colonies in Africa among themselves without the Africans' consent, the Africans understood that what the Europeans wanted in Africa was not the education and the Christianisation of the Africans, as it had been claimed, but rather the exploitation of Africa's natural and human resources.

W. Johnson's multiple voyages to Britain, the United States, and Moscow during the 1920's and the different contacts he could make with outstanding African, African-American, and West Indian students and activists helped him to broaden his intellectual and nationalist beliefs¹. As early as 1931 he went to Moscow to attend the International Labour Defence Congress², and then, he joined, for some time, the University of the Toilers of the East of the Soviet Union³ before he moved to Great Britain during the same year. In London he could get into contact with George Padmore and J. L. R. James, two eminent Pan-African activists from the West Indies who during the 1930's assisted those African students interested in political affairs.⁴ Together they organised The International Trade Union Conference of Negro Workers in Hamburg in 1931. The conference was presided by W. Johnson who also served on the editorial board of the conference's publication *The Negro Worker*.

1 W. Johnson was also very active in West Africa. In 1933, he travelled to Nigeria and became the publisher of *the Nigerian Daily Telegraph*. He then moved to the Gold Coast and served as a union organiser and a journalist writing for different local publications including *the Gold Coast Spectator*. H. Adi and M. Sherwood, op. cit., p. 181.

2 The International Labour Defence was a legal defence organisation founded in 1925 by the central committee of the Communist Party of the United States under the leadership of William. L. Patterson (1891-1980). It emerged to protect the strikers and the working class against labour injustices. It also defended the workers' civil rights and anti-lynching movements. www.answers.com (accessed in August 2007).

3 H. Adi and M. Sherwood, op. cit., p. 181.

4 D. Killingray, op. cit., p. 165.

Among other leaders, W. Johnson believed in the establishment of unions in the different intellectual disciplines as the best means for the achievement of the native Africans' claims. Unlike the educated movements of the 1920's who sought the support of the highly educated class, W. Johnson, on the other hand, appealed to all the intellectual categories including: the workers, the clerks, the doctors, and the lawyers. His ultimate aim was the establishment of a mass movement that would group together the educated elite from all walks of life, from the Sierra Leone colony as well as the protectorate. It was only through the unification of both sides, W. Johnson claimed, that the educated elite's voices would be heard by the colonial authorities.

Inspired by the International Trade Union Conference of Negro Workers and along with Nnamdi Azikiwe from Nigeria, W. Johnson founded the West African Youth League (W. A. Y. L.) in 1935 and became its organising secretary. The W. A. Y. L. was, in fact, a West African organisation which grouped together political leaders from the four British West African colonies in addition to the surrounding French and Portuguese colonies. The W. A. Y. L. members contested council elections and asked for a greater popular representation in the government. They also defended women's rights', and worked for the improvement of the workers' salaries and the promotion of unity among the Africans in the four British colonies. At a Pan-African level and as a reaction to the Italians' attack on Ethiopia in 1935¹, the W. A. Y. L.'s members under the leadership of W. Johnson boycotted the Italian commodities and services² and made a call at a W. A. Y. L.'s meeting in

1 The Italians under the leadership of Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) attacked Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in October 1935. In May 1936, they defeated the Abyssinians and captured Addis Ababa. [www. Wikipedia.org](http://www.Wikipedia.org) (accessed in April 2009).

2 R. A. Hill, *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, University of California Press Ltd, 2006, p. 609.

Accra for the formation of a regiment to fight in Ethiopia. In addition, they also embarked on a fund-raising campaign for the Ethiopian cause.¹

In the same year and in response to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, W. Johnson further collaborated with George Padmore and J. L. R. James through the organisation of the International Friends of Abyssinia in 1935, with the aim to rally the British around the Abyssinian cause. Other outstanding African and West Indian leaders participated in this Pan-African gathering including Amy Ashwood Garvey, wife of the Jamaican Pan-Africanist Marcus Garvey, the Trinidadian musician and journalist Sam Manning, Ras Makonnen from British Guinea, and the African leaders Jomo Kenyatta from Kenya and Constance Agatha Cummings from Sierra Leone².

In 1937, the International Friends of Abyssinia became known as the International African Service Bureau³. W. Johnson, along with the other leaders of this Pan-African organisation toiled for the promotion of unity and solidarity among the Africans throughout the African continent⁴. The right to independence and autonomy to all of the African colonised states was also one of the organisation's chief aims. In addition, the members of this Pan-African organisation also condemned racial discrimination and stressed cooperation among all the Africans for the attainment of their objectives. Under the editorship of W. Johnson, the International African Service Bureau also circulated a series of short lived but important journals including *Africa and the World* (July-September 1937), *African*

1 Ibid.

2 H. Adi and M. Sherwood, op. cit., p. 29.

3 E. T. Wilson, *Russia and Black Africa*, New York and London: Holmes and Meier, 1974, p. 229.

4 P. Decraene, op. cit., p. 26.

Sentinel (October 1937- April 1938), and *International African Opinion* (July 1938-March 1939). These publications were for the most part "devoted to the interest of Africans and peoples of African descent, all over the world"¹

W. Johnson went back to Sierra Leone in 1938 where he opened up the first branch of the W. A. Y. L. The branch was known in history as the Sierra Leone Youth League (S. L. Y. L.). The S. L. Y. L. attracted the local elite including the teachers, middle rank clerks, letter writers, traders, mine workers, lawyers, and doctors.² The S. L. Y. L. members claimed a representation in the government and fought for women's rights. They also struggled to promote cooperation between the Sierra Leoneans in the colony with those in the protectorate by sponsoring four candidates for local elections who in 1938 were all elected to the Freetown City Elections and in the Legislative Council elections the following year with Constance Agatha Cummings as the first woman elected to public office in British West Africa.

To represent the S. L. Y. L. in a Pan-African context, W. Johnson went during the 1940's on a tour throughout Europe and participated in different pan-African conferences and organisations in the name of the African workers and trade unionism. In 1944 his S. L. Y. L. became a founding member in the organisation of the Pan-African Federation for the promotion of unity and solidarity among the Africans throughout the African continent. The right to independence and autonomy to all of the African colonised states was also one of the federation's chief aims³. The members of the Pan-African Federation also condemned racial discrimination and insisted on cooperation among all the Africans for the attainment of their objectives⁴. On 6 February 1945, W. Johnson attended the founding conference of the World

1 Quoted in H. Adi and M. Sherwood, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

2 L. H. Gann and P. Duignan, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

3 D. Killingray, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

4 P. Decraene, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

Federation Trade Unions (W. F. T. U.) in London. The conference was international in tone. It was attended by 204 delegates from 53 organisations and trade unions from different geographical backgrounds representing 60 million workers throughout the world¹. Among the leading organisations were the British Trades Union Congress (TUC), the Congress of Industrial Organisations of the United States and All Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the Soviet Union. The conference's delegates sought to promote cooperation and unity among the workers of the world² and called for a world free from war and social injustices. W. Johnson, as an eminent delegate of the conference, reacted against colonialism by proposing a "Charter of Labour for the Colonies" on behalf of the colonial delegates and claimed self-government and independence for all countries under colonial rule³. When the first meeting of the W. F. T. U. was held in Paris on 3 October 1945 W. Johnson was elected to its executive committee. Back to London, he further participated in another Pan-African conclave- the Second Subject Peoples Conference- in October 1945. As in the Paris Conference he asked for the Africans' right to self-determination and insisted on unity among all the colonised people which would, according to him, ultimately lead to the unity of the workers of the various colonised countries. In his own words: "This unity among the coloured races the vast majority of whom are workers and peasants may yet lay the foundation for a wider unity among all workers and the exploited and the oppressed"⁴.

By the end of 1945 the Sierra Leonean educated elite began to think in terms of taking over the control of their own country through a complete eradication of colonial rule. Through their interaction with African-American and West Indian activists in a Pan-African context, the Sierra Leonean educated elite became aware of

1 www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/26/041.htm/ (accessed in February 2009).

2 Ibid.

3 H. Adi and M. Sherwood, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

4 Ibid.

broader views about the world and started to consider their colonial status from a different angle. The Pan-Africanists' persistence on unity, race pride, and the glorification of the African race could but stimulate the Sierra Leonean elite's struggle for independence from the chains of colonialism.

CONCLUSION

The business of the Atlantic slave trade and the institution of slavery degraded the Africans and their descendents in America and generated in them a feeling of inferiority and backwardness. For many centuries, the blacks believed in the inherent supremacy of the white race and the backwardness of the darker races. These ingrained ideas about the African race were further perpetuated by the white Americans through racial discrimination and the Europeans through colonialism.

Slavery, racial discrimination, and later colonialism were institutions Pan-Africanism emerged to combat. In fact, Pan-Africanism arose to regain the lost dignity of the blacks, equality and respect and to revive African values and customs. It gave the blacks the opportunity to discuss the conditions of their race around the world. The Pan-African leaders challenged the Europeans' and the white Americans' beliefs about the black race and succeeded in changing the image of the blacks from one of "heathens" and "barbarous" to the belief of Africans as the originators of civilisation and the leaders of glorious historical achievements.

It is not a coincidence that Pan-Africanism developed through a triangular route including the New World (America and the West Indies), western Europe (England in particular), and later West Africa, along the same triangular route of the slave trade. The same passage which used to carry cargoes of slaves across the Atlantic, served by the late eighteenth century to transport ideas and emotions of blacks. It has, in fact, become "The Atlantic Triangle of Influences".

All three angles of the triangle contributed to the evolution of what was later to be called Pan-Africanism. In America, the African-American scene witnessed the emergence of significant Pan-Africanists like B. T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, and M. Garvey who played a pivotal role in raising the blacks' consciousness about their race in Africa and throughout the Diaspora. They were well aware of the blacks' conditions on both sides of the Atlantic and linked the struggle of the blacks in America with the fight of the Africans throughout the world particularly colonialism in Africa. As a Pan-Africanist leader, B. T. Washington promoted "industrial" and "vocational" education. He overlooked social equality and political integration and promoted industrial progress as the basis for the blacks' advancement. His principles had been later inherited by educated Africans like the Sierra Leonean Adelaide Caseley Hayford who established the Girls Vocational School in Freetown, Sierra Leone, in 1923 which took after B. T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute. W. E. B. Du Bois and M. Garvey, on the other hand, were historically regarded as being the twin giants of Pan-Africanism. Nonetheless, their conceptions about the Pan-African movement were controversial. While Du Bois was constantly asking the blacks to struggle to achieve respect and dignity throughout the world through their integration into the white society, Garvey, however, categorically refused the idea of integration and asked the blacks throughout the Diaspora to go back to Africa, the land of the blacks' fathers and ancestors and to build up a nation of their own. Despite their differences, both leaders worked for the same objectives of promoting the African race and welcomed

the African blacks whether in Africa or the Diaspora in their different Pan-African activities in the United States and Great Britain.

The Sierra Leonean educated elite responded positively to the Pan-African principles of the African personality, unity, and race pride. The exclusion and the oppression the Creoles, especially the highly educated ones, were subjected to on the part of the British colonial administration stimulated their nationalist awareness and they became aware of their "African identity", a philosophy that was coined by the West Indian thinker Edward Blyden.

It is worth noting that the Creoles' response to the Pan-African ideas was very slow at first. The Creoles had been in contact with the Europeans for many generations. They adopted the European culture and values, and they acquired modern education. In fact, in the Sierra Leone colony the Europeans succeeded in forming a western oriented society whose members were convinced about the supremacy of the white race and the backwardness of the darker races. Nonetheless, when the Sierra Leonean educated elite had been excluded from the administration of the colony, they realised that they were not treated in the same way as the Europeans although they were British subjects. Subsequently, they felt humiliated and frustrated. They realised that they needed to defend their aspirations in opposition to the British government which degraded them. They, therefore, broke away from the Christian western framework for a more African oriented view.

The African-American and West Indian leaders' ideologies and their Pan-African activities in the United States and Great Britain profoundly influenced the political thinking and attitudes of the Sierra Leoneans who were there for a visit or to broaden their studies. Through their different contacts with the African-American activists, the Sierra Leonean elite developed a growing African consciousness and a wider racial unity and awareness of Pan-African thinking.

In Britain, the Creole educated elite organised themselves in terms of students' unions. Their purpose was the promotion of the black race and the glorification of the African history and civilisation. Among the earliest Pan-African organisations set up in England were the Students' union (1916) under the leadership of the Sierra Leonean leader Beaku Betts, and the West African Students' Union (1925) headed by Dr B. Bright. Furthermore, the Sierra Leoneans also took part in the different Pan-African conclaves held periodically between 1900 and 1945. They interacted with eminent Pan-Africanists from different geographical and intellectual backgrounds and became aware of wider views about the world in general and the blacks' status more particularly.

Back to Sierra Leone, the educated elite embarked on civic and political activities. Their political claims turned to be more radical calling for self-government and a complete eradication of colonial rule. They organised their political ideas in an intellectual way using newspapers which were distributed locally in West Africa and internationally in Great Britain and the United States. They pursued their political claims through the formation of political parties which were to play a leading role in the political struggle for national emancipation.

It was the colonial conditions and the Africans' exclusion from the administration of their own country which urged the Sierra Leoneans, especially the educated elite to react against the coloniser. Being humiliated and exploited, the Sierra Leonean educated elite began to think in terms of taking the control over their country. Their nationalist awareness was further strengthened by the principles of Pan-Africanism and African-Americans' ideas about race pride, black solidarity, and "the African personality". The Pan-Africanists' insistence on pride in the black heritage and the glorification of the African race could but accelerate the Sierra Leonean elite's subsequent quest of nationhood and stimulated their struggle for independence from the chains of colonialism.

APPENDICES

Appendix one: THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS, Paris, 1919

RESOLUTION

- (a) That the Allied and Associated Powers establish a code of law for the international protection of the natives of Africa, similar to the proposed international code for labour.
- (b) That the League of Nations establish a permanent Bureau charged with the special duty of overseeing the application of these laws to the political, social and economic welfare of the natives.
- (c) The Negroes of the world demand that hereafter the natives of Africa and the peoples of African descent be governed according to the following principles:
 - (i) The Land. The land and its natural resources shall be held in trust for the natives and at all times they shall have effective ownership of as much land as they can profitably develop.
 - (ii) Capital. The investment of capital and granting of concessions shall be so regulated as to prevent the exploitation of the natives and the exhaustion of the natural wealth of the country. Concessions shall always be limited in time and subject to State control. The growing social needs of the natives must be regarded and the profits taxed for social and material benefit of the natives.

(iii) Labour. Slavery and corporal punishment shall be abolished and forced labour except in punishment of crime, and the general conditions of labour shall be prescribed and regulated by the State.

(iv) Education. It shall be the right of every native child to learn to read and write his own language, and the language of the trustee nation, at public expense, and to be given technical instruction in some branch of industry. The State shall also educate as large a number of natives as possible in higher technical and cultural training and maintain a corps of native teachers.

(v) The State. The natives of Africa must have the right to participate in the Government as fast as their development permits, in conformity with the principle that the Government exists for the natives, and not the natives for the Government. They shall at once be allowed to participate in local and tribal government, according to ancient usage, and this participation shall gradually extend, as education and experience proceed, to the higher offices of states; to the end that, in time, Africa is ruled by consent of the Africans . . . whenever it is proven that African natives are not receiving just treatment at the hands of any State or that any State deliberately excludes its civilised citizens or subjects of Negro descent from its body politic and culture, it shall be the duty of the League of Nations to bring die matter to the notice of the civilised world.

Source: J. A. Langley, op. cit., pp. 133-134.

Appendix Two: THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS, Manchester, 1945

The following are some of the principal resolutions passed:

I

To secure equal opportunities for all colonial and coloured people in Great Britain, this Congress demands that discrimination on account of race, creed or colour be made a criminal offence by law.

That all employments and occupations shall be opened to all qualified Africans, and that to bar such applicants because of race, colour or creed shall be deemed an offence against the law.

In connection with the political situation, the Congress observed:

(a) That since the advent of British, French, Belgian and other Europeans in West Africa, there has been regression instead of progress as a result of systematic exploration by these alien imperialist Powers. The claims of "partnership", "Trusteeship", "guardianship", and the "mandate system", do not serve the political wishes of the people of West Africa.

(b) That the democratic nature of the indigenous institutions of the peoples of West Africa has been crushed by obnoxious and oppressive laws and regulations, and replaced by autocratic systems of government which are inimical to the wishes of the people of West Africa.

(c) That the introduction of pretentious constitutional reforms in West African territories are nothing but spurious attempts on the part of alien imperialist Powers to continue the political enslavement of the peoples.

(d) That the introduction of Indirect Rule is not only an instrument of oppression but also an encroachment on the right of the West African natural rulers.

(e) That the artificial divisions and territorial boundaries created by the imperialist Powers are; deliberate steps to obstruct the political unity of the West African peoples

II

Economic. As regards the West African economic set-up, the Resolution asserted:

(a) That: there has been a systematic exploitation of the economic resources of the West African territories by imperialist Powers to the detriment of the inhabitants.

(b) That the industrialization of West Africa by the indigenes has been discouraged and obstructed by the imperialist rulers, with the result that the standard of living has fallen below subsistence level.

(c) That the land, the rightful property of West Africans, is gradually passing into the hands of foreign Governments and other agencies through various devices and ordinances.

(d) That the workers and farmers of West Africa have not been allowed independent trade unions and co-operative movements without official interference.

(e) That the mining industries are in the hands of foreign monopolies of finance capital, with the result that wherever a mining industry has developed there has been a tendency to deprive the people of their land holdings (e.g. mineral rights in Nigeria and Sierra Leone now the property of the British Government).

(f) That the British Government in West Africa is virtually controlled by a merchant' united front, whose main objective is the exploitation of the people, thus rendering the indigenous population economically helpless.

(g) That when a country is compelled to rely on one crop (e.g. cocoa) for a single monopolist market, and is obliged to cultivate only for export while at the same time its farmers and workers find themselves in the grip of finance capital, then it is evident that the Government of that country is incompetent to assume responsibility for it.

Commenting on the social needs of the area, the Resolution said:

(a) That the democratic organisations and institutions of the West African peoples have been interfered with, that alien rule has not improved education, health or the nutrition of the West African peoples, but on the contrary

tolerates mass illiteracy, ill-health, malnutrition, prostitution, and many other social evils.

(b) That organised Christianity in West Africa is identified with the political and economic exploitation of the West African peoples by alien Powers.

III

1. The principles of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter be put into practice at once.

2. The abolition of land laws which allow Europeans to take land from the Africans. Immediate cessation of any further settlement by Europeans in Kenya or in any other territory in East Africa. All available land to be distributed to the landless Africans.

3- The right of Africans to develop the economic resources of their country without hindrance.

4. The immediate abolition of all racial and other discriminatory law at once (the Kipande system in particular) and the system of equal citizenship to be introduced forthwith.

5. Freedom of speech, Press, association and assembly.

6. Revision of the system of taxation and of the civil and criminal codes.

7. Compulsory free and uniform education for all children up to the age of sixteen, with free meals, free books and school equipment.

8. Granting of the franchise, i.e. the right of every man and woman over the age of twenty-one to elect and be elected to the Legislative Council, Provincial Council and all other Divisional and Municipal Councils.

9. A State medical, health and welfare service to be made available to all.

10 Abolition of forced labour, and the introduction of the principle of equal pay for equal work.

IV

DECLARATION TO THE COLONIAL POWERS

The delegates believe in peace. How could it be otherwise, when for centuries the African peoples have been the victims of violence and slavery? Yet if the Western world is still determined to rule mankind by force, then Africans, as a last resort, may have to appeal to force in the effort to achieve freedom, even if force destroys them and the world.

We are determined to be free. We want education. We want the right to earn a decent living; the right to express our thoughts and emotions, to adopt and create forms of beauty. We demand for Black Africa autonomy and independence, so far and no further than it is possible in this One World for groups and peoples to rule themselves subject to inevitable world unity and federation.

We are not ashamed to have been an age-long patient people. We continue willingly to sacrifice and strive. But we are unwilling to starve any longer while doing the world's drudgery, in order to support by our poverty and ignorance a false aristocracy and a discarded imperialism.

We condemn the monopoly of capital and the rule of private wealth and industry for private profit alone. We welcome economic democracy as the only real democracy.

Therefore, we shall complain, appeal and arraign. We will make the world listen to the facts of our condition. We will fight in every way we can for freedom, democracy and social betterment.

V

DECLARATION TO THE COLONIAL PEOPLES

We affirm the right of all colonial peoples to control their own destiny. All colonies must be free from foreign imperialist control, whether political or economic.

The peoples of the colonies must have the right to elect their own Governments, without restrictions from foreign Powers. We say to the peoples of the colonies that they must fight for these ends by all means at their disposal.

The object of imperialist Powers is to exploit. By granting the right to colonial peoples to govern themselves that object is defeated. Therefore, the struggle for political power by colonial and subject peoples is the first step towards, and the necessary prerequisite to, complete social, economic and political emancipation. The Fifth Pan-African Congress therefore calls on the workers and farmers of the Colonies to organise effectively. Colonial workers must be in the front of the battle against imperialism. Your weapons—the strike and the boycott—are invincible.

We also call upon the intellectuals and professional classes of the colonies to awaken to their responsibilities. By fighting for trade union rights, the right to form co-operatives, freedom of the Press, assembly, demonstration and strike, freedom to print and read the literature which is necessary for the education of the masses, you will be using the only means by which your liberties will be won and maintained. Today there is only one road to effective action—the organisation of the masses. And in that organisation the educated colonials must join. Colonial and subject peoples of the world, Unite!

Source: J. A. Langley, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-137.

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ملخص:

حركة عموم إفريقيا (Panafrikanism) هي حركة سياسية وثقافية ولدت في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية منذ القرن الثامن عشر نتيجة استعباد الأفارقة السود و النفوذ الاستعماري في ما بعد. تعتبر هذه الحركة إفريقيا و الأفارقة داخل القارة و خارجها و المنحدرين من أصل إفريقي كمجموعة واحدة لتجديد و توحيد إفريقيا و زرع روح التضامن بين شعوب العالم في إفريقيا. تمهد هذه الحركة إلى تأهيل السود مع المساواة في الحقوق مع البيض، و استرجاع حريتهم السياسية، الاقتصادية و الثقافية. تركت هذه الحركة أثرا إيجابيا في اتخاذ لغة السلاح كوسيلة للتحرير من الاستعمار البريطاني للسرياليون، حيث شارك العديد من المثقفين السرياليونيين في عدة تظاهرات سياسية و ثقافية، فتوسعت أفكارهم و صاروا ينددون بحقوقهم و أكدوا انتمائهم إلى إفريقيا.

الكلمات المفتاحية: عموم إفريقيا (Panafrikanism)، السرياليون، أثر، المثقفين.

Résumé:

Le Panafricanisme est un mouvement politique et culturel qui vise à rendre solidaire les africains et les descendants d'Afrique (la diaspora) comme un seul ensemble convoitant la régénération et l'unification de l'Afrique. Le Panafricanisme est né à la suite d'une longue confrontation opposant les blancs Américains et Britanniques aux noirs libres et esclaves. Le Panafricanisme a donc émergé pour combattre les forces esclavagistes et coloniales. Ses leaders ont élaboré des idéologies relatives à l'unification politique et culturelle de l'Afrique. De nombreux membres de la diaspora africaine ont donc soutenu activement le développement de leur pays d'origine comme le moyen le plus sûr d'atteindre leurs objectifs. Ils ont tenu à instaurer un dialogue entre les Africains vivant en Afrique et ceux de la diaspora au sujet de leurs liens communs. C'est en participant dans des débats panafricains que les intellectuels au Sierra Leone ont commencé à exprimer leur vif attachement à leur pays d'origine en s'identifiant désormais comme des africains prêts à tout faire pour libérer leur pays du colonialisme. Grâce aux différents contacts qu'ils ont eu avec des leaders panafricains en Grande Bretagne et aux Etats-Unis, les intellectuels Sierra Léonais se sont rendu compte au sujet de leur statut colonial.

Mots clés: Panafricanisme- Sierra Leone- influence- Intellectuels.

Summary:

Pan-Africanism is a protest movement based on the belief that all the blacks of African descent inside Africa and throughout the Diaspora must unite under a major and effective global force to achieve the lost dignity, equality, and self-respect worldwide. As a movement worthy of the name, Pan-Africanism emerged out of the blacks' feeling of humiliation and oppression generated by slavery and later perpetuated by colonialism. The educated elite in Sierra Leone responded positively to the Pan-African principles. In America and Great Britain and together with African-American and West Indian leaders, they took part in Pan-African conclaves held periodically between 1900 and 1945, and organized different Pan-African organizations with the intention of fostering greater understanding and cooperation across racial boundaries. Their political activities at a Pan-African level stimulated their nationalist consciousness. Through their different contacts with the African-American activists, the Sierra Leonean elite developed a growing African consciousness and a wider racial unity and awareness of Pan-African thinking.

Key words: Pan-Africanism- Impact- elite- Sierra Leone.