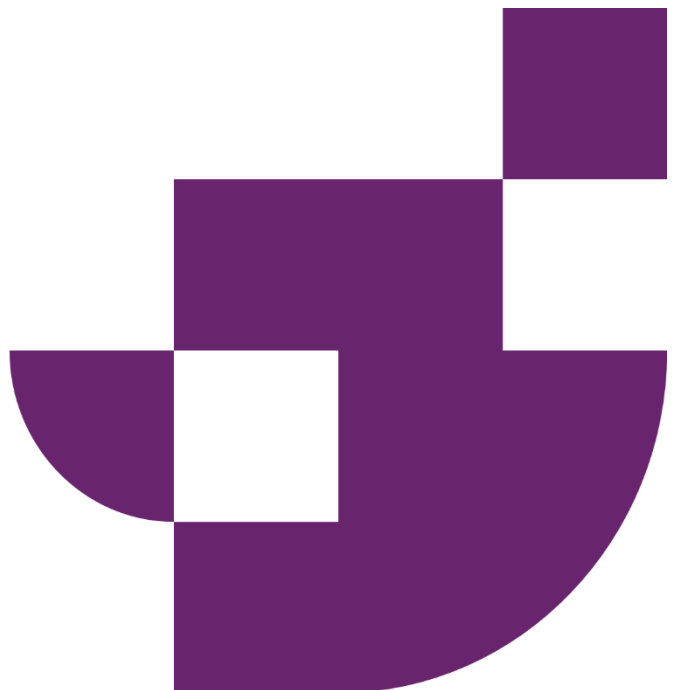


Legacies of Colonialism and Slavery at Durham University

Final Report

Dr. Jonathan Bush
University Archivist



Executive Summary

As it approaches its bicentenary in 2032, Durham University has commissioned a new history of the University, with the aim of creating a broad understanding of its evolution from its origins as an Anglican establishment to a modern secular institution with global reach and influence.

As part of the University's Race Equality Charter Action Plan, the University also commissioned a factual report examining how the University may have been associated with, or benefitted from, the historical proceeds of slavery and colonialism in the years between its foundation and the 1960s. The report explores Durham University's formal affiliations with educational institutions in Sierra Leone and Barbados. The report may also provide a foundation for further, more detailed analytical research.

The report identified associations which are varied in nature and extent. It is rare that definitive sums of money can be identified which directly benefitted the University.

Sources include Durham University and Durham Cathedral records, online documents and discussions with both internal and external academic subject matter specialists. Several organisations featured in the report reviewed an earlier draft, with feedback invited, considered and acted upon. Those conversations continue.

Durham University was founded in 1832, two years before the abolition of slavery in the UK. The University has always had close connections with the Church of England, which is exploring its own past connections with slavery and colonialism, and with Durham Cathedral.

The report's key findings include:

- Like many historic organisations and universities, Durham University and its Newcastle colleges* received donations, bequests and scholarship funding from individuals and companies with connections to slavery or colonialism. The full extent of any financial benefit to the University would require further research.
- Some individuals connected with the University or Cathedral had direct or family links to slave ownership or compensation payments through the Slavery Compensation Act. Individuals associated with the University also participated in the anti-slavery movement regionally and globally.
- A few senior officials who governed Durham University and its Newcastle Colleges* in the twentieth century had direct links to colonialism, having been employed in the Colonial Service.

- Links were identified with Christian overseas mission agencies, such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the Universities' Mission to Central Africa.
- The University had a formal affiliation with and was influential in the development of Codrington College, Barbados, and Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone. This included overseeing academic programmes and influencing strategic direction. It formed partnerships with associate colleges in the UK and overseas, such as St Andrew's College in Oyo, Nigeria.

** From the mid-nineteenth century, Durham University expanded into Newcastle. The Newcastle division became a separate institution, Newcastle University, in 1963.*

Jonathan Bush as author of the Report, and Noa Mensch and Avarna Ojha as contributors, are acknowledged in compliance with the University's Authorship and Acknowledgement guidance.

This report is dedicated to the late Sean Creighton (17 July 1947-15 May 2024), an independent historian who worked extensively on Black British History and the history of slavery and abolition in the North East of England, including working closely with colleagues in the Department of Anthropology to deliver a local slavery walking tour. This pioneering work and his valuable insights were of immense value to the author of this report.

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1. Project Objectives

1.1 Durham University is a Russell Group university with a reputation as a globally outstanding centre of teaching and research excellence with a strong collegiate community. Like many organisations with a long history, it is seeking to better understand and engage with its past and to recognise the extent to which it has benefitted from the historical proceeds of slavery and colonialism, and how this has helped to embed structural inequalities within the organisation that are still evident today.

1.2 In summer 2022, following an extensive self-assessment and consultation process, Durham University received confirmation of its Bronze Race Equality Charter (REC) award, granted to those institutions who have submitted an effective action plan to promote racial equality.¹ As part of this action plan (Action 1.10), the Durham University Library and Collections department undertook two projects. These were:

- Action 1.10A: 'Legacies of Slavery and Colonialism at Durham University', is the focus of this report. It will 'enhance understanding of Durham University's involvement with colonialism, and historical slavery or income derived from historical slavery by undertaking research using the University's institutional archives and other external archives and datasets.'
- The success criteria and outcome for Action 1.10A were: that an interim report be produced and circulated for feedback; that a final report be published providing the University with an understanding of past involvement in, or links with, colonialism and historical slavery; and that recommendations be reviewed and next steps actively considered.
- Action 1.10B: This project has been the subject of a separate report. It was more collections focused, to 'enhance understanding of Durham University's involvement with colonialism as a custodian of museum, archive and special library collections of international origin.' Its objectives were to 'assess historic and current custodial and curatorial practice (collections management, interpretation and access).' It also sought to 'collaborate with stakeholders across the institution and externally to recommend actions in response to the findings and develop policies (including statements relating to repatriation and restitution) in line with emerging best practice in the sector.'

1.3 A University History Working Group was established to support the University Archivist in fulfilling the REC Action 1.10A. A corresponding Collections Strategy and Practice (CSP) Working Group was also established to support Action 1.10B. Both Working Groups reported to the University Steering Group: Collections Strategy and Practice, the purpose of which was to oversee actions under the Race Equality Charter Action Plan and to report progress to UEC through the University Library and Collections Committee.

- 1.4 This report presents the findings of the ‘Legacies of Slavery and Colonialism at Durham University’ project. Although informed by academic historiography and primary research, the structure of the report is a hybrid between a formal report and a research paper. The project (including information gathering, investigation, and report writing) was undertaken by the University Archivist and has involved consulting records available within Durham University and Durham Cathedral, as well as accessible online sources. The findings in this report are therefore only the first stage in a longer process and may be subject to change once further research has been carried out on sources held outside the University.
- 1.5 The report focuses on the period 1832-1967, i.e., from the foundation of the University to the official cessation of its affiliation with Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone. The key objective of the project was to signpost sources and identify areas for further, more detailed, research by academic specialists, although some research activity on specific case studies has been undertaken and headline findings provided for further investigation. All research was carried out in accordance with the University Research Integrity Policy and Code of Good Practice. An application to this effect was submitted to the University’s Ethics Advisory Committee and considered by the Committee on 25 May 2023.²
- 1.6 The history of Durham University is closely linked to those of two other institutions who are also investigating their past links with slavery and colonialism: the Church of England and Newcastle University.

¹ Equality, Diversity and Inclusion, Durham University, ‘Durham University Race Equality Action Plan’, [DU-REC-Action-Plan-MASTER-Nov2022.pdf \(durham.ac.uk\)](https://www.durham.ac.uk/du-rec-action-plan-master-nov2022.pdf) [accessed 6 August 2024].

² The Committee concluded that the work did not qualify for consideration through the ethical approval process for research activities.

2. Durham University: Historical Background

Further information on names and subjects highlighted in bold throughout this report can be found in Appendix 4.

- 2.1 The University of Durham is the third oldest university in England.¹ Founded by the University of Durham Act (1832), it has maintained a close connection with the Church of England throughout its history. This is particularly the case in its early days, when Archdeacon **Charles Thorp** and Bishop **William van Mildert** arranged for the **Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral** to appropriate rental income from Church property in South Shields and Sunderland for the purposes of establishing a University.² One-fifth of the income of the Deanery of Durham and the **Cathedral Stalls** was allocated to the University, and £1,800 donated annually by the Chapter. The Dean offered the revenue of three Cathedral stalls to the officers of the University and an annual contribution of £1,000, increased to £2,000 in 1834, as well as the use of a number of buildings on Palace Green, including Cosin's Hall and Cosin's Library. The context of the establishment was concern by the Church that its funds may be appropriated for secular purposes. By divesting some of its assets towards an institution of higher learning, it was hoped that this would pre-empt any attempt by the government to appropriate these funds. It would also divert criticism away from the wealth of the diocese, at this time one of the richest in England. Such an establishment would, at the outset, be grounded in the beliefs and practices of the Anglican faith.
- 2.2 From 1832 until the **University of Durham Act in 1908**, the Dean and Chapter governed and financed the University, led by the Warden, who was the executive head. Degrees were only open to baptised Anglicans. The institution was officially recognised through an Act of Parliament which received royal assent on 4 July 1832, but it was not able to award degrees until the passing of a **Royal Charter** in 1837. The five-year delay was partly a result of the then Home Secretary, Lord John Russell, refusing to countenance the idea of an institution, founded for 'the advancement of learning, solely awarding public degrees to Anglicans. In their defence, the Dean and Chapter, in an address to the clergy of the diocese, argued that although:
- you laudably wish to extend the means of promoting the best interests of piety and religion, still, nevertheless, those funds, which stand specially appropriated to the established Church of this Kingdom, ought not to be alienated save in favour of an institution directly connected with and decidedly friendly to that Church.³
- 2.3 In the event, **Edward Maltby**, the Bishop of Durham from 1836, managed to persuade Russell to issue the Charter.
- 2.4 Durham adopted a collegiate system, with seventeen colleges founded throughout its history, the earliest being University College (1837) and the most recent, South College (2020). Two colleges, **St Chad's College** (1904) and **St John's College** (1909), were founded as independent Anglican foundations, and both remain legally independent although attached to the

University. From the mid-nineteenth century, the University expanded into Newcastle, taking over the medical college (later **Durham College of Medicine**) in 1851, followed by the establishment of the **College of Physical Sciences** in 1870. The **Newcastle Division** became a separate institution, Newcastle University, in 1963.

- 2.5 From the late nineteenth century, Durham University developed links with many external institutions. A number of these institutions became associated colleges of the University, with students taking a Durham Licentiate in Theology qualification. These included eighteen in the UK, as well as five institutions overseas in Australia, New Zealand, Jamaica, Nigeria and Canada. Others were attached as affiliate colleges of the University. As well as local colleges in the North-East of England, these also included **Codrington College** in Barbados and **Fourah Bay College** in Sierra Leone, allowing the students at these colleges to sit examinations for and receive Durham degrees. The affiliate arrangement continued until both Codrington and Fourah Bay became affiliated to the University of the West Indies and the University of Sierra Leone respectively in the mid-1960s, although in the case of Codrington College, the Durham affiliation remained on the University statutes until 2011. These two institutions have important connections to the history of slavery and colonialism and so Durham University's involvement is of particular research interest.
- 2.6 Prior to 1945, the University had a comparatively small enrolment in contrast to other universities of its time. Starting with only 43 students in 1833, the number had only increased to a few hundred by the onset of World War II. Following the war there was a concentrated effort to expand, and this was largely successful, with numbers continuing to rise throughout the second half of the twentieth century, despite the separation of Newcastle University in 1963. The addition of extra colleges contributed to a significant increase in student numbers, reaching over 10,000 by 1995. In 2022, the University's student population stood at approximately 20,000.

¹ There had been several attempts to establish a university in Durham prior to 1832, notably in 1657 when the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, issued letters patent to incorporate Durham College but his son and successor, Richard, withdrew support for the plan following opposition to it by Quakers. C. E. Whiting, *The University of Durham 1832-1932* (London: The Sheldon Press, 1932), Chapter 1.

² Elizabeth A. Varley, *The last of the Prince Bishops: William van Mildert and the High Church movement of the early nineteenth-century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

³ 'UND/AB1/4, *Address of clergy of the Diocese of Durham to the Dean and Chapter* ([June 1832]).

3. Wider context: Universities Researching Slavery and Colonialism

3.1 Several UK universities have recently undertaken, or are in the process of undertaking, research into their institutional history and their past links with slavery and colonialism, forming part of a wider response to issues of equality, diversity and inclusion. Research within these institutions is, for the most part, ongoing, and so any conclusions drawn should only be considered provisional, although a number have published findings on their websites, or in separate reports, providing a useful methodological framework for other university researchers to follow when interrogating primary sources.

3.2 The following provides summary conclusions from the findings of these projects, which explains the importance of local contexts in researching universities and their links with slavery and colonialism.

- Cities such as Bristol and Glasgow have long-established and recognised connections to the slave trade, so it is perhaps unsurprising that their respective institutions have benefitted from significant donations by individuals connected in some way to the slave trade and slave-ownership.
- Given their long history in providing higher education for the elite, and their close proximity to the metropole of the British Empire, it is also not unexpected that Cambridge University and St John's College, Oxford, have connections to slavery and, in the case of the latter, benefitted substantially from its role in the British Empire.
- Similarly, Imperial College in London has uncovered benefactors with links to colonialism, some of whom have College buildings and wings named after them, and, in some cases (at the time of writing) are still living.
- Other universities, notably Manchester and Dundee, have also discovered that they benefitted financially from slavery based on their connections to local industries (cotton and jute respectively).
- Particularly in the case of Cambridge and Glasgow, many institutions have highlighted the roles they played in local/national anti-slavery movements, although support for anti-slavery is often intertwined with colonialism in a number of ways.
- A concurrent research project highlighting the Newcastle Colleges of Durham University, and their possible links with slavery and colonialism, has been undertaken by Newcastle University, the findings of which have fed into this project.

3.3 Many universities have established programmes of engagement, collaboration and recognition and policy review in response to international debates relating to the legacies of slavery and colonialism. The following are some significant or relevant examples.

- Universities (for example Glasgow and Cambridge) have established or are establishing research centres and/or professorships or other research posts relating to enslavement, colonialism and their legacies.

- Imperial College London has established governance structures for next steps, including engagement; and for review and future decision-making relating to honorific naming and other recognition.
- The University of Manchester has placed interpretation boards around the campus and its postgraduate students have also organised a free public exhibition on the University's historic links with slavery.
- In 2017, All Souls College at Oxford launched an annual scholarship for Caribbean students and paid a £100,000 grant to a college in Barbados, in recognition of its funding from Christopher Codrington, a wealthy slave owner who bequeathed £10,000 in 1710 to build a library that bears his name. All Souls also developed installations in the Library to contextualise the Codrington's history and the origins of his legacy.¹
- Glasgow University and the University of the West Indies have signed a Memorandum of Understanding to establish collaborative working, including research and teaching programmes relating to reparatory justice.
- The University of the West Indies, to which Codrington College is now affiliated, plays a central and leading role in the context of broader responses to the legacies of enslavement and colonialism, and in discussions relating to global reparations. UWI's Vice-Chancellor, Sir Hilary Beckles, is Chair of Caribbean Community [CARICOM], Commission on Reparation and Social Justice. The Principal of Codrington College is a member of the Church Commissioners of England's Oversight Group to advise on the response to historic links to transatlantic slavery.
- Codrington Trust and the United Society Partners in the Gospel are working in partnership on a 10-15 year, £7m Renewal and Reconciliation project.²

¹ All Souls College, University of Oxford, 'The Codrington Legacy', [The Codrington Legacy | All Souls College \(ox.ac.uk\)](https://www.allsouls.ox.ac.uk/codrington-legacy), [last accessed 1 August 2024].

² United Society Partners in the Gospel, 'Renewal and Reconciliation: The Codrington Reparations Project', [United Society Partners in the Gospel | Renewal and Reconciliation: The Codrington Reparations Project \(uspg.org.uk\)](https://uspg.org.uk/renewal-and-reconciliation-the-codrington-reparations-project), [last accessed 1 August 2024].

4. Internal Context: Consultation and Collaboration

The research process involved consultation and collaboration with various stakeholders from the outset to help better inform the parameters of the project and incorporate the views of a range of different communities, institutions and individuals. For a more detailed breakdown of stakeholders consulted, see Appendix 6.

4.1 Consultation with specialist academics and communities:

- Meetings were held with relevant Durham University academic and support staff, as well as independent researchers, specialising in the history of slavery and colonialism, including academics from the Departments of History, Anthropology and Archaeology, to discuss the project and suggested recommendations for research areas to include within its scope.
- Face to-face and virtual meetings were carried out with academics from other universities who have led projects to research institutional histories and their links with slavery and colonialism, in order to learn from their experiences and understand the challenges and opportunities of undertaking comparable research.
- Meetings were held with key members of relevant Durham University associations and networks, including the Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) Staff Network and the Durham People of Colour Association (DPOCA) to listen and, where appropriate, incorporate any suggestions on topics to include in the report.

4.2 Related activity within Durham University

There has been a range of activities across Durham University, during the period of research represented by this report, some also pre-dating it, and in most cases continuing. Much of this activity has been strategic, including initiatives within the Race Equality Charter Action Plan, or part of academic-led research strands. Much of it has been organic, some instigated, co-created or developed in consultation with the student body.

4.2.1 Across faculties

The 'Decolonising the Curriculum' project, which launched in Michaelmas 2020, seeks to strengthen and deepen Durham's commitment to the creation of a diverse and inclusive educational community. This project, which is a partnership between the Education Division, Faculties and the Student Union, aims to explore decolonising the curriculum in each programme of study. Decolonisation work from stakeholder groups and some academic departments preceded this project.

Since 2021 the University has funded student interns within both faculties and departments to embed decolonial thinking into the curriculum. One relevant example of the outcomes of this programme is the Department of History, where interns have produced a paper on Decolonising Language in History, and a guide for students and lecturers wishing to explore ways to decolonise the curriculum.¹

In Anthropology, the department issued a statement on Decolonising Anthropology in 2020 and in October 2021 began teaching a third-year module in Anthropology 'Decolonising Anthropology'.²

In 2023, the combined honours module 'Decolonising knowledge and power' was launched in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Health as part of the Combined honours in Social Sciences.

4.2.2 Institute of Advanced Studies

2022-ongoing: Professor Nayanika Mookerjee (Anthropology), Dr Liam Liburd (History) and Dr Sol Gamsu (Sociology) are the principal investigators in 'Absence/presence of Durham's Black History: exploration of institutions, archives, students and pedagogies'.³ This has included a series of workshops seeking to build on existing synergies emerging from discussion within the BAME network on the absence/presence of Durham's Black History, and to contribute to decolonisation debates. The project has explored institutions, archives, black students in Durham's history and the impact of these findings on pedagogies and curriculums within the University. Workshops brought together researchers, and external partners (including strong links with Durham Cathedral), non-academic stakeholders, research grant advisors, and guest speakers to develop an interdisciplinary focus for research funding priorities.⁴ Following these workshops, grant proposals have been submitted for a walking tour of Durham, exploring the city's built environment as repositories of black histories, and an app to engage the public in the work.

2023-ongoing: Dr Alice Finden, School of Government and International Affairs, Dr Kavi Joseph Abraham, School of Government and International Affairs and Professor Christina Riggs, Department of History, are the principal investigators in 'Archives and Decolonial Pedagogy: Unearthing Narratives, Transforming Education'.⁵ This project investigates the potential of archives to decolonise teaching & learning within the university. It advances ongoing work conducted by Alice Finden & Kavi Abraham, who have focused on the emotional role that archival trips play in decolonising International Relations and Politics classrooms. The project seeks to further this work by convening interdisciplinary conversations around university archives and how they may serve a pedagogical function in decolonising teaching and learning in different disciplines. A two-day workshop was held in March 2024.

4.2.3 Department of Archaeology

2023: Dr Rui Gomes Coelho (Archaeology) visited Sierra Leone and Guinea in November/December of 2023 for the purpose of establishing connections with educational and heritage organisations; and meeting academics and researchers interested or working on the broader histories of slavery and colonialism in West Africa. These objectives align with the Department of Archaeology's commitment to diversify its international institutional partners and research prospects. From a personal perspective, the trip was part of a wider research program that tackles the environmental and social impacts of slavery and colonialism in the Atlantic world since the 1500s, and a commitment to the co-production of research and

educational programs with the academic communities of the regions where he works. The trip was partially funded by a Durham Global Engagement Grant. Following this trip, Dr Coelho has shared some proposals which included reestablishing connections with Fourah Bay College.

4.2.4 St. Chad's College

In academic year 2022/23 St. Chad's ran an initiative called 'Complex Legacies: St Chad's and the legacy of Douglas Horsfall'. The initiative involved meetings of the College's Governors and two College Conversations to discuss the legacy of Chad's major founding benefactor and his family's links to the business of slavery (see 6.2). The outcome of the initiative included the reconfiguration of artwork in the Mouldsdale Hall, the contextualisation of portraits of Horsfall, updating the College's history webpage to reflect Horsfall's legacy, and the renaming of the Horsfall room in Ramsey House. The College also renewed its commitment to anti-racism education and expressed a desire to explore the College's historic relationships with parishes in Liverpool and with Codrington College in Barbados.

4.3 Collaborative initiatives:

- A collaborative relationship was developed with the principal investigators of the Institute of Advanced Study research project 'Absence/presence of Durham's Black History: Exploration of institutions, archives, students and pedagogies' to share resources and findings. This included giving presentations to IAS events on findings.
- This project helped to facilitate Durham University's incorporation into the Universities Studying Slavery consortium, established by the University of Virginia, to raise awareness of Durham University's involvement in researching its own institutional history in this area.
- Contact was made (including correspondence and virtual meetings) with representatives from the libraries at Codrington College, Barbados, and Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone to discuss sources held relating to the affiliation period. Online demonstrations were given on how online researchers can access relevant digitised collections and catalogues for Palace Green Library.

4.4 Engagement and Outreach

- A presentation was given to the Centre for Visual Arts and Cultures 'Collecting, Colonialism and Empire' symposium.
- An online presentation was given to the Black History Conversations group, which included an overview of the aims and outcomes of the project, answering questions and concerns, and listening to suggestions for inclusion.

- Verbal updates were regularly provided on the progress of the project to the Race Equality Charter Action Plan (RECAP) Delivery Group.

4.5 Support and Funding

- Funding was secured from the University's EDI Fund to appoint two student researchers to assist with more in-depth investigation into the university's historic links with slavery and colonialism. This included identifying relevant sources, training, regular discussions, publishing blogs on the investigation process, and incorporation of research findings into this report with due acknowledgement.

¹ Department of History, Durham University, 'Student Decolonising Work', [Student Decolonising Work - Durham University](#), [last accessed 1 August 2024].

² Department of Anthropology, Durham University, 'Decolonising the Curriculum', [Decolonising the Curriculum - Durham University](#), [last accessed 1 August 2024].

³ Institute of Advanced Study, Durham University 'Absence/presence of Durham's Black History: Exploration of institutions, archives, students and pedagogies', [Absence/presence of Durham's black history: Exploration of institutions, archives, students and pedagogies - Durham University](#), [last accessed 1 August 2024].

⁴ This project included a paper given by Dr Jo Sadgrove, Research and Learning Advisor, United Society Partners in the Gospel (USPG). The paper was entitled 'Mission and Power Across time: 'Decolonising' the Church's slave plantation?'.

⁵ Institute of Advanced Study, Durham University, [Archives and Decolonial Pedagogy: Unearthing Narratives, Transforming Education - Durham University](#), [last accessed 1 August 2024].

5. Questions and Methodology

5.1 As stated above, the themes under consideration (colonialism, historical slavery, income derived from historical slavery) are very broad. It has not been possible to cover all areas of the potential interest, or to pursue questions to a significant level of detail, within the scope of the project. Overarching questions guiding this report included:

- To what extent did individuals or institutions contribute to the founding or development of Durham University through funding or governance? Did these individuals or institutions have links or involvement with colonialism or historical slavery, or income derived from historical slavery?
- What was the role of Durham University as a corporate institution, and of university staff as individuals, in missionary organisations, such as the Universities' Mission to Central Africa and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts?
- To what extent were individuals connected to Durham University in its early days involved in debates about historical slavery?
- What was the University's relationship with its affiliated colleges (Codrington, Fourah Bay)?

5.2 One key method undertaken as part of this project has involved identifying donors and other benefactors of the University and searching the Legacies of British Slavery database to determine if they participated in the slavery process or received income from the Slavery Compensation Act of 1837. This is not without its challenges of methodology and interpretation.¹ An important consideration were the degrees of connection to slavery, for example in terms of generations and inheritance, or of investment and income.

5.3 It was beyond the scope of this project to assess precisely the extent to which an individual connected to the University contributed financially to the institution. In any case, this information may not be available without further, more detailed, research. Unless there is an obvious causal link, the findings from this project simply highlight the evidence and signpost those individuals who were involved in the early years of the university and who received compensation from the Slavery Compensation Act. It offers only findings of fact rather than making judgements on the ethical considerations which may arise for the University today.

5.4 Discerning the *attitudes* of those connected to the university towards the enslaved more generally is a complex issue. This could include membership of a particular organisation with links to slavery/anti-slavery, or outspoken views on the institution of slavery itself. Such attitudes were more nuanced than might first appear, particularly with an individual's membership of anti-slavery organisations and their involvement in debates over the future of slavery in the British Empire. Again, this project highlights such links but leaves further judgements to more specialist researchers.

5.5 The methodology involved in discovering how institutions benefited from colonialism is also complex, although a similar approach to links with slavery

has been adopted. This has included identifying, where possible, links to colonialism, either through donations from individuals connected in some way to colonialism, or through other manifestations of coloniality, without reaching definitive conclusions. To this end, Durham University's affiliations with missionary and educational work, notably with Codrington College in Barbados and Fourah Bay in Sierra Leone, have proved to be useful avenues of exploration.

- 5.6 While the intention of this project was to highlight key headline findings, it has also been possible to undertake more granular investigations. A successful application was submitted to the University's EDI fund to employ two Durham student interns, Noa Mensch and Avarna Ojha, who have carried out more detailed investigations into the origins of donations, bequests and scholarships and links with slavery and colonialism. Their findings have been incorporated into Section 7. The raw data they have compiled, which includes hundreds of names of individuals and organisations with connections to the University, will also be made available for future researchers to consult.

¹ For example, as discussed in M. Buncombe and J. Prest, 'Making "slave ownership" visible in the archival catalogue: findings from a pilot project', *Archives and Records: The Journal of the Archives and Records Association*, 42, 3 (2021), pp. 228-47.

6. Literature Review

- 6.1 In contrast to other universities (particularly Oxford and Cambridge), there has been little historiography generally about Durham University. The earliest book-length studies by Joseph Fowler and Charles Whiting focus on the major personalities and their relationship to the governance of the University at the top-down level.¹ Whiting's book provides a detailed, if dry, institutional history of the University. More recent monographs on the university's history, written by Nigel Watson and Martin Roberts were published for a more popular audience but, like their predecessors, lack critical analysis.² There have only been a small number of studies produced by academic researchers, most recently by Matthew Andrews, that have begun to explore the early years of the University and its location within a wider political context.³ The investigations undertaken as part of this project will therefore feed into this broader understanding of Durham's own institutional history and its relationship with the wider world.
- 6.2 As a result of the lack of attention paid to it by historians generally, no direct research has yet been carried out into Durham University's potential links with slavery, either from the perspective of income derived from it, or individuals with connections to slavery and/or the anti-slavery movement. The institutional histories mentioned above, alongside biographies of notable individuals, however, do provide detailed information on the activities of prominent individuals connected to the institution and how they helped to shape it. The founder of the University, Charles Thorp, and the first professor of chemistry, **James F. W. Johnston**, are anecdotally recognised as anti-slavery campaigners, although little empirical research has been published to illustrate the extent of their involvement.⁴ Similarly, **Henry Phillpotts**, Bishop of Exeter and Canon of Durham Cathedral has a reputation for outspoken views in favour of slavery and had family connections to slave-ownership. However, except for one online article,⁵ official biographies and other scholarly research on Phillpotts's life and wider role within the Church of England make no reference to his views on, or links to, slavery.⁶ There is emerging research into the slavery links of specific colleges of the University, notably unpublished research into **Howard Douglas Horsfall**, a founding benefactor of St Chad's College, some of whose family income is likely to have derived from his grandfather (Charles Horsfall's) ownership of slavery plantations in the Caribbean and his subsequent investment of this money in the stock market.⁷
- 6.3 Durham University's connections with slavery may have been obscured by the widespread historiographical view that the North East of England as a whole had little involvement in the slave trade. This is largely due to structural factors, including its geographical location close to the east coast of England and, as a result, its lack of connection with traditional slave trading networks. This contrasts starkly with London (the political and business hub of the British Empire), or Liverpool, Bristol and Glasgow, i.e. cities with dedicated merchant houses connected closely with the slave trade. Emphasis on these Atlantic port cities, however, obscures the embedded links (material, financial, cultural) that the North East would have had, in a similar way to other parts of the British Isles, with colonialism and the slave trade. Indeed, more recent research on

the North East, undertaken by John Charlton and Sean Creighton, is beginning to confirm this thesis.⁸ Charlton, for example, has suggested that the North East of England should instead be recognised as ‘a fully paid up member of the imperial mission’, with the region ‘to some extent’ involved in the slave trade and the consumption of its products. Charlton posits that such involvement was largely forgotten because ‘all the chains were hidden’ with ‘no known slave traders, slave ships, or shackled slaves in town [Newcastle] to trouble the conscience.’⁹ This historical amnesia, wilful or otherwise, has also affected the historiography of abolition in the region. This is rather more surprising, given that, according to Charlton, ‘the North East of England proved to be one of the strongest areas in the struggle against the slave trade and subsequently the institution of slavery itself’¹⁰ and so it would be expected that such a ‘positive’ aspect of regional history may have been picked up by previous historians. During the campaign for the abolition of slavery in the 1820s, for example, civic organisers in the towns and villages of the North East arranged many well-attended public meetings and sent hundreds of petitions to Parliament calling for the abolition of slavery, albeit there was some debate, as there was elsewhere, as to whether this should be immediate or gradual.¹¹ Research into the history of Durham University, with its central importance in the educational history of the North East in the nineteenth century, will undoubtedly feed into the growing body of research on the region’s links with slavery.

- 6.4 What Durham University’s early foundation may have lacked in rich industrial benefactors, it made up for in its close connection to the Church of England. Unlike other universities (Bristol and Manchester for example) the early benefactors of Durham University were not merchants or traders but the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral, augmented by one of the richest dioceses in England. The Church of England’s role in the transatlantic slave trade and slave-ownership has been recognised by the institution itself.¹² It has recently published a report on its historic links to transatlantic chattel slavery focusing on benefactions to its endowment fund, the **Queen Anne’s Bounty**.¹³ There was, however, no evidence found during the investigations for this report to suggest that the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral were involved in these activities.
- 6.5 Other secondary works have focused on the missionary activity of the Church of England, specifically the role of the **Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts** (SPG). The SPG was an organisation that had, it has been argued, embodied the ‘colonial mindset’ of the Anglican clergy since the early eighteenth century. Through Christopher Codrington’s bequest, it owned two estates in Barbados, including two plantations worked by enslaved people until emancipation. The estate was connected with the establishment and support of Codrington College, although the College itself was only part of the much larger estate. As Travis Glasson points out, the Church traditionally accepted slavery as ‘sanctioned by both the Bible and human law’, stressing the legality and morality of slaveholding, as well as the beneficial effects of Christianity on the enslaved themselves.¹⁴ By the time of the University’s foundation in 1832, there were clear links between the Church of England and involvement with slavery plantations, with nearly 100 clergymen

receiving compensation following the **Slavery Compensation Act (1837)**.¹⁵ In the local context, Nayanika Mookherjee has also demonstrated the strong links between the Bishops of Durham and the SPG, before and after the abolition of slavery in 1833.¹⁶ Membership of the SPG did not necessarily imply sympathy towards the institution of slavery. The SPG had a much wider missionary appeal than ministering to the enslaved in the West Indies. Many religious ministers saw missionary work, through 'Christianisation' and education, as a necessary step towards preparing the enslaved for emancipation. Whatever the motivations, however, commentators have argued that the SPG and its members were, by definition, implicated in systems of slavery and/or imperialism despite their stated objectives. Indeed, many Anglican clergy in the SPG may have viewed the Society as the 'innocent partaker of the fruits of this iniquitous traffic'¹⁷ but the Society willingly held onto the enslaved population of these plantations until abolition.

- 6.6 As Durham University expanded its operations into Newcastle from the 1850s, the nature of courses offered there, particularly science and engineering, opened it up to potential philanthropic benefaction from industrialists, some of whom have problematic historical legacies.¹⁸ Findings from this project will contribute towards detailed research currently being undertaken by researchers at Newcastle University.
- 6.7 The role that Durham University played in colonialism more specifically appears to have been a very focused one. Unlike Oxford and Cambridge, Durham University had few graduates wishing to pursue a career in the colonial service. As the historian Kirk-Green demonstrates, there was no postgraduate training programme offered at Durham and no graduates were employed in either the Sudan Political Service or the Indian Colonial Service. The exception was the Colonial Administrative Service but even here, Durham supplied only 11 recruits in contrast to 643 for Oxford and 568 for Cambridge.¹⁹ Durham did have one Colonial Secretary as an alumnus, **Henry Holland, 1st Viscount of Knutsford**, who was in office between 1887 and 1892, and who was responsible for granting a royal charter to Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company. Although he received the Durham prize for Latin verse as an undergraduate, he left the university shortly afterwards, moving to Trinity College, Cambridge, to complete his degree.²⁰ As highlighted in Section 7, there were also a number of donors to the University who had links with colonialism and at least two former Vice-Chancellors who served in the colonial service.
- 6.8 The colonial link was also apparent in missionary work, beginning in 1860 with the involvement of Durham University, alongside Oxford, Cambridge and Dublin, in the **Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA)**. Very little research has been undertaken on the UMCA, excepting a couple of institutional histories by existing members of the organisation.²¹ In both cases, Durham University's involvement is limited to a brief mention of joining the organisation but their role in governance and day to day operations will require further research.

- 6.9 Durham University played a particularly prominent role in colonial education from the 1870s to the 1960s, providing affiliated degrees to Codrington College in Barbados and Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone. In both cases, assessments of Durham University's role in these institutions have fallen broadly into two camps. The first, generally written from the perspective of an institutional history, has highlighted the 'positive' aspects of Durham University's involvement. Codrington, for example, was the first overseas institution to have the right to grant a prestigious degree of liberal education from a British university, and both Codrington College and Fourah Bay College offered degree courses for the first time to indigenous populations, helping many West Indians and Africans to pursue careers, not simply as Anglican missionaries but also in other professions (lawyers, teachers, doctors etc).²² The second camp considers Codrington College and Fourah Bay College as very much 'colonial' institutions. They highlight that such degrees were essentially manifestations of colonialism, reflecting the transplantation of indigenous culture with a conservative and unquestioning conformity, based on the culture of the parent institution.²³ According to Simmons, such conservatism at Codrington was a direct result of affiliation, in which the 'affiliated institution obviously cannot have its primary service to the local community, but rather has to consider the satisfying of external examiners and conditions often alien to the immediate needs.'²⁴ A number of historians have shown that in Sierra Leone, the educational debate was more heated in the years prior to affiliation. Some African reformers, including **James Africanus Horton**, were persuaded that a Western-style education, albeit tailored towards African circumstances, was the key to success, while others including **Rev James Johnson** and **Edward Wilmot Blyden**, opted for an educational programme dominated by African history, languages and customs. The affiliation was essentially a compromise, offering a degree from a British university but without oversight by an African faculty capable of addressing and embracing West African language, tradition, and culture.²⁵ Both Simmons and Paracka have also noted the lack of interest that Durham showed towards Codrington and Fourah Bay respectively, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s, when such institutions were becoming more autonomous.²⁶
- 6.10 A Durham University Laidlaw scholar, Penny Zacharatou, has written a research essay summarising the key historiographical debates surrounding the University's relationship with Codrington and Fourah Bay.²⁷ A number of historians have also examined the role of education and colonial colleges more widely, particularly the work of various committees in the 1940s and 1950s which sought to address this issue.²⁸ **Sir James Fitzjames Duff**, the Vice-Chancellor of Durham University from 1937-1960, was a member of a number of these committees.²⁹ Some primary sources survive within the University Archive relating to Durham's affiliation with these colleges, mostly from the latter period, where the papers of Sir James Fitzjames Duff and other series of University administrative colonial records are rich in evidence relating to the occasionally fractious relationship between Durham and its overseas colleges. The report has therefore focused mostly on this period.
- 6.11 Running parallel to this project was a Durham University Institute of Advanced Study research project 'Absence/presence of Durham's Black History:

Exploration of institutions, archives, students and pedagogies' seeking to 'contribute to the debates on decolonising by exploring institutions, archives, black students in Durham's history and explore the impact of these findings on pedagogies and curriculums within the University.'³⁰ This development project has obvious parallels and connections with the 'Legacies of Slavery and Colonialism at Durham University' project, so a collaborative research approach between the two projects was essential. Understanding the experience of black students at Durham University helps to illustrate the structural inequalities embedded within the university, as a result of historic attitudes to slavery and colonialism, and how this affected the lived experience of black students. The black experience in Britain has been a growth topic of research in both popular and academic publishing.³¹ Although not generally recognised as an ethnically diverse region, a number of studies have shown that there has been a noticeable black presence in the North East throughout history.³² Numbers of black students at Durham University have remained small relative to other institutions, so historical analysis has tended to be limited to specific colleges or biographies of notable graduates.³³ The history of Durham University's black students still needs to be written. This project researching into Durham University's links with slavery and colonialism helped to inform, and were informed by, the Institute of Advanced Study project.

¹ J. T. Fowler, *College histories: Durham University – earlier foundations and present colleges* (London, 1904); Whiting, *University of Durham*.

² Nigel Watson, *The Durham difference: The story of Durham University* (London: James & James, 2007); Martin Roberts, *The buildings and landscapes of Durham University* (London: Third Millennium, 2013).

³ Alan Heesom, *The founding of the University of Durham*, Lecture delivered in Elvet Riverside, Durham, 11 March 1982 (Durham, 1982); and Matthew Andrews, *Universities in the Age of Reform, 1800-1870: Durham, London and King's College* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2018).

⁴ Anne Orde, 'William Van Mildert, Charles Thorp, and the diocese of Durham', *Northern History*, 40, 1 (2003), pp. 147-166; and Newcastle Daily Journal, *A short sketch of the life of the Venerable Charles Thorp, Archdeacon of Durham* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Printed at the Daily Journal Office, by A. and J. M. Carr, 1862). Biographies of Johnston, including his Dictionary of National Biography entry by David Knight, <https://doi-org.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/14942> (last accessed 28 February 2023), and G. R. Batho, 'A man of science: James Finlay Weir Johnston (1796-1855)', *The Johnstonian*, 27 (1976), do not mention his views.

⁵ Peter Wingfield-Digby, 'Which Phillpotts was the slave-owner?', transcript of a paper presented at the Workshop on Slavery, Slave-ownership and Devon and Cornwall, held at the Exeter Community Centre, 14 November 2015, as part of the University College London project on the *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership*, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/media-new/pdfs/phillpottsslaveowner.pdf> (last accessed 28 February 2023).

⁶ See, for example, G. C. B. Davies, *Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter* (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1954).

⁷ Mark R. Roberts, 'St Chad's College and the legacy of slavery and the slave trade', unpublished research paper (2021).

⁸ John Charlton, *Hidden chains: The slavery business and North East England 1600-1865* (Newcastle: Tyne Bridge Publishing, 2008). Sean Creighton was the Archive and Mapping Officer for the 'Remembering Slavery Archive and Mapping Project' and is the author of many unpublished papers on the subject. Several of the project's volunteers published their research on the response of some North East towns to the anti-slavery movement in *North East History*, 39 (North East Labour History Society, 2008).

⁹ Charlton, *Hidden chains*, p. 140.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 17.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 49.

¹² See British Broadcasting Corporation, 'Church apologises for slave trade', [BBC NEWS | UK | Church apologises for slave trade](#) (accessed 28 February 2023).

¹³ Church Commissioners for England, *Church Commissioners' research into historic links to transatlantic chattel slavery* (London: The Church Commissioners for England, 2023). Available at [Church Commissioners for England - Research into historic links to transatlantic chattel slavery - report.pdf \(churchofengland.org\)](#) (last accessed 28 February 2023).

¹⁴ See, for example, Travis Glasson, *Mastering Christianity: missionary Anglicanism and slavery in the Atlantic world* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022). For the link between Anglicanism and colonialism more generally, see Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire, c.1700-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

¹⁵ Nicholas Draper, *The price of emancipation: slave-ownership, compensation and British society at the end of slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹⁶ N. Mookherjee, 'Irreconcilable times', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 28 (April 2022), pp. 153-178.

¹⁷ Strong, *Anglicanism*, p. 97.

¹⁸ For example, note the publicity at Newcastle University about the Newcastle industrialist, Lord William Armstrong. *The Courier*, 'Students to vote on renaming Armstrong Building' [Students to vote on renaming Armstrong Building - The Courier Online](#) (last accessed 28 February 2023).

¹⁹ These numbers, however, should consider the relative sizes of these universities. At this time, Durham had only several hundred students enrolled, while both Oxford and Cambridge had several thousand each. Anthony Kirk-Greene, Anthony, *Britain's imperial administrators, 1858-1996* (London: MacMillan, 2000).

²⁰ B. Holland & H. Matthew, *Holland, Henry Thurstan, first Viscount Knutsford* (1825-1914), politician. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. <https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-33940> (last accessed 28 February 2023).

²¹ See, for example, George Herbert Wilson, *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa* (London, 1936).

²² T. Herbert Bindley, *Annals of Codrington College, Barbados, 1710-1910* (London: West India Committee, 1911); John W. Holder, *Codrington College: a brief history* (Bridgetown, Barbados, 1988); Anthony Karim Kamara, *A concise history of Fourah Bay College: The origins, challenges and development of West Africa's first university college 1827-2003* (Canada: Art Bookbindery, 2011); T. J. Thompson, *The jubilee and centenary volume of Fourah Bay College, Freetown, Sierra Leone* (Freetown: Elsiemay Printing Works, 1930); P. E. H. Hair, 'An analysis of the register of Fourah Bay College 1827-1950', *Sierra Leone Studies* (Dec 1956).

²³ George C. Simmons, 'West Indian higher education - the story of Codrington College', *Caribbean Quarterly*, 18, 3 (1972), pp. 51-72; Michael Crowder, *West Africa under colonial rule* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1968).

²⁴ Simmons, *Codrington College*, p. 55.

²⁵ Toyin Falola, *Nationalism and African intellectuals* (New York: University of Rochester, 2004); Apollos O. Nwauwa, *Imperialism, academe, and nationalism: Britain and university education for Africans, 1860-1960* (London: Frank Cass & Co, 1997); Apollos O. Nwauwa, 'Far ahead of his time: James Africanus Horton's initiatives for a West African University and his frustrations, 1862-1871 (James Africanus Horton: un précurseur malheureux du projet de création d'une université ouest-africaine, 1862-1871)', *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 39, 153 (1999), pp. 107-121; Robert W. July, *An African voice the role of the humanities in African independence* (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 1987), pp. 157-176.

²⁶ Simmons, *Codrington College*, pp. 56-64; Daniel J. Paracka, Jr., *The Athens of West Africa: a history of international education at Fourah Bay College, Freetown, Sierra Leone* (New York and London, Routledge, 2003), p. 155.

²⁷ Penny Zacharatou, 'The absence/presence of Durham's black history: a literature review of Durham's colonial legacy', unpublished research essay (2023).

²⁸ There is an extensive historiography on the subject. See as examples, Martin Kolinsky, 'The demise of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas: a chapter in the history of the idea of the University', *Minerva*, 21, 1 (1983), pp. 37-80; Charles Peter Emudong, 'The Gold Coast nationalist reaction to the controversy over higher education in Anglophone West Africa and its impact on decision-making in the Colonial Office, 1945-47.' *The Journal of Negro Education*, 66, 2 (1997), pp. 137-146; and Timothy Livsey, 'Imagining an imperial modernity: universities and the West African

roots of colonial development', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 44, 6 (2016), pp. 952-975.

²⁹ Rakesh Ankit, 'J F Duff and the University Education Commission of India, 1948-49', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 50, 33 (2015), pp. 67-71.

³⁰ 'Absence/presence of Durham's black history', <https://www.iasdurham.org/project/absence-presence-of-durhams-black-history/> (last accessed 28 February 2023).

³¹ The historiography of Black British history is growing, with recent publications including David Olusoga, *Black and British: a forgotten history* (London: Picador, 2021) and the Black British Histories special issue of the *History Workshop Journal*, vol. 94 (Autumn, 2022).

³² See for example, David Renton, *Colour blind?: race and migration in North East England since 1945* (Sunderland: University of Sunderland Press, 2008); Nigel Todd, 'Black on Tyne: the black presence of Tyneside in the 1860s', *Bulletin of the North East Labour History Society*, 21 (1987), pp. 17-35; Sean Creighton, 'Black people and the North East', *North East History*, 39 (2008), pp. 11-24.

³³ A number of black students attended St John's College in the early twentieth century, for example. Amabel Craig, *Fides Nostra Victoria: a portrait of St John's College, Durham* (Third Millennium Publishing, 2008), p. 6. For an example of a notable black graduate, see George Coleridge-Taylor, *Transformation in transition: George Coleridge-Taylor: a memoir* (Freetown, Sierra Leone: Osman Sankoh, 2016) and C. Searle, 'Excellence in the ordinary: the poetry of Peter Blackman', *Race & Class*, 55, 1 (2013), pp. 46-59.

7. Headline Findings

As described in Section 5, above, the investigation set out to identify any links to or involvement with colonialism or historical slavery on the part of individuals or institutions which contributed to the founding or development of Durham University. These links are very varied, in nature and extent and all have been recorded here. It is rare that definitive sums of money can be identified which directly benefitted Durham University. Rather, these findings demonstrate the extent to which the profits of slavery and colonialism multiplied, dispersed and became embedded within the finances of families and organisations. They also illustrate the range of connections – there is no intention here of making judgements as to their relative significance.

Those findings marked with an asterisk were discovered as part of the internship project (see Section 4.5).

For a detailed list of primary sources consulted and the methods applied to each, see Appendix 1.

- 7.1 Durham University was founded, governed, and financed by the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral, an ecclesiastical governing body, legally separate but connected to the Church of England. The Church of England has recently recognised its own significant links with the institution of slavery from the early eighteenth century up to, and immediately after, the foundation of the University in 1832. However, there was no direct evidence found during the investigations for this report that Durham Cathedral, as an institution, was involved in this activity. There were some notable individuals involved in the early days of the University, many of whom were ordained ministers of the Church of England and members of the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral, who had links to slavery in some form. The extent to which the University benefitted in any way from these connections will require further research.
- 7.2 Individuals connected to the University, or to Durham Cathedral and thus indirectly to the University, illustrate the complex attitudes towards, and relationships with, slavery within the Church and wider society. These included individuals who owned or co-owned plantations or received payments under the Slavery Compensation Act:
 - **Henry Phillpotts (Canon of Durham Cathedral):** Henry was a co-executor and co-trustee (along with three others) of the will of John William Ward, 1st Earl of Dudley, who owned three plantations in Jamaica. Henry's brother Thomas was an owner of enslaved individuals. He (Henry) also harboured strident pro-slavery views, as is evident in correspondence with the Darlington Anti-Slavery Society, published in the *Newcastle Courant* in 1824.¹ It should be noted that, although Phillpotts retained his canonry at Durham Cathedral following his appointment as Bishop of Exeter in 1828, his involvement in the Cathedral is likely to have been minimal, although further research is required to establish the extent of this.

- **James Ellice (Member of the Boards):** listed in the 1833 *University Calendar* as a 'Member of the Boards', so influential in the early days of the University. Ellice was awarded compensation of £6,388 9s 10d with Vere Fane and the Rev. Henry Chaplin as mortgagees of Clark's Court in Grenada. He was also an unsuccessful claimant as a mortgagee for a plantation in British Guiana.²
- *John Henry Leacock bequeathed £1,000 on his death in 1884 to found scholarships in Codrington College.³ He is the recorded owner of Crab Hill in Barbados in 1826, although he was not awarded any claim in 1836.⁴
- **Samuel Smith (Chaplain to the House of Commons and Dean of Christ Church Oxford in 1803):** listed as a prebendary in the 1833 *University Calendar*. His wife had previously owned five enslaved people on Arcadia in Trelawney, whom she sold on in 1825 to the Hankeys (London bankers).⁵
- **William Smoult Temple (Minor Canon of Durham Cathedral):** He shared a compensation award of £1192. 0s. 2d with Thomas Wilkinson as trustees of the estate of the late Robert Henry McDonald (d. 1831). McDonald was a mortgagee of the Clermont Estate in Trelawney, Jamaica.⁶

7.3 Some individuals with connections to the University or Durham Cathedral (and by association with the University) had relatives or antecedents who received compensation from the Slavery Compensation Act:

- **Edward Maltby (Bishop of Durham and Significant Donor):** The cousin of Rowland Maltby who owned a plantation in Grenada. Edward Maltby donated significant sums to the university, used investment interest to fund a scholarship named after him, and donated his library to the university on his death, with a declaration of trust to fund a librarian.⁷
- Francis Frederick Walrond: Walrond received the University Scholarship in 1849 and 1850.⁸ He was the grandson of Main Swete Walrond of Antigua, nephew of Joseph Lyons Walrond, brother of Charles Sandberg Walrond and most likely brother of Eliza Montrichard, born Elizabeth Walrond, all of whom received compensation as owners of enslaved individuals for a plantation in Antigua.⁹
- ***George Horsfall Frodsham:** The Bishop Frodsham Scholarship (Armstrong College) was founded in 1941 by George Horsfall Frodsham who was the former Bishop of North Queensland, Australia. A 1903 *Brisbane Telegraph* article mentions his work to improve life conditions for Aboriginal people but there is a potential link to slavery through his mother, Jane Horsfall, who may have been linked to Charles Horsfall (see below).¹⁰
- **George Macauley Trevelyan (Chancellor of Durham University, 1950-1957):** George Macauley Trevelyan was the grandson of Sir Charles Trevelyan who, along with other members of the Trevelyan family, received

the equivalent of £3 million (in today's money) from the Slavery Compensation Act for plantations in Grenada. Trevelyan College, founded in 1966, was named after him.¹¹ There is no evidence that the Trevelyan family contributed financially to the establishment of the college.

- ***Henry Capel-Cure:** Henry was the grandson of Alfred Capel-Cure (Capel-Cure II), who was the beneficiary of an award of £6,708 2s 11d, and also the great grandson of Capel-Cure I executor and trustee of John Cope Freeman on the Belvidere Estate in Jamaica which held 328 enslaved people.¹² The Capel Cure Prize was founded in 1906 in memory of Henry, who also attended University College as a student.¹³
- **Howard Douglas Horsfall (Significant Donor to St Chad's College):** His grandfather, Charles, received £11,702 (between £800,000 and £1,000,000 today) in compensation for 440 enslaved individuals on five estates (and an unsuccessful claim for £3,138 14s for 1 estate), with some of this money passed down to Douglas. Douglas transferred £7000 4% debenture stock for the permanent endowment of St Chad's College and made various donations to the college throughout his lifetime. St Chad's College established a scholarship in his name in 1938.¹⁴
- ***William Ewart Gladstone (British Prime Minister):** The Gladstone Memorial Prize was first awarded in 1901 in the College of Science, Newcastle-Upon-Tyne.¹⁵ This prize honoured Gladstone, a learned author as well as four times Prime Minister who enjoyed personal popularity in the later nineteenth century as an advocate of religious liberty and lower taxes on the poor. As is well known, he began his parliamentary career by supporting compensation for owners of enslaved people and the system of apprenticeship. Gladstone was closely involved in his father's claim, John Gladstone, who claimed around £120,380, is associated with 13 estates and a total of 3,277 enslaved people.¹⁶

7.4 There were also prominent individuals with connections to Durham University who had links to the anti-slavery movement of the North East and internationally. As historians have argued, opposition to slavery took many forms and could be combined with projects of colonisation or imperial reform, as well as condemnation of exploitation and cruelty. These individuals include:

- **Charles Thorp (Founder and first Warden of Durham University, 1832-1862):** The vice president, one of the original founders and subscribers, of the **Newcastle upon Tyne Society for Promoting the Gradual Abolition of Slavery** in 1823, although there is no evidence of his involvement with the Church Missionary Society in setting up Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone in 1827.¹⁷
- **James Finlay Weir Johnston (Reader/Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy, 1833-1855):** Johnston is listed as an attendee of the **World Anti-Slavery Conference** in 1840, as well as expressing clear anti-slavery views and displaying sympathy for the way that black individuals are treated in America in his book *Notes on North America* published in 1851.¹⁸

- **Thomas Masterman Winterbottom (Significant Donor):** Winterbottom was on the committee of both the Newcastle upon Tyne Society for Promoting the Gradual Abolition of Slavery in 1823 and the **Newcastle upon Tyne Society for Abolishing Slavery all over the World** in 1836. He donated his library of 5,147 books to the University on his death in 1859.¹⁹

7.5 Durham University and its Newcastle Colleges received donations from individuals and companies who were linked with slavery and colonialism in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries:

- ***2nd Earl Grey:** The Earl Grey Memorial Fellowship and Scholarship was founded in 1919 by the Earl Grey Memorial Foundation and awarded to students in Armstrong College.²⁰ The 2nd Earl Grey was prime minister from 1830 to 1834, overseeing the abolition of slavery as well as parliamentary reform and the foundation of Durham University. He also devised plans to create a new colony in South Australia and his father, **Charles**, participated in the French Revolutionary Wars of 1793, successfully capturing Martinique and Guadeloupe and, as a result, raised to the peerage as the 1st Earl Grey.²¹ Subscribers to the fund for this memorial included the Rhodes Trust and the British South Africa Company who both contributed £500 in 1913.²²
- ***Ford Motor Company Scholarships:** These scholarships were awarded to students at Armstrong College) from 1947.²³ Ford's subsidiaries in Germany and France ran using forced labour during the Second World War and Ford also used imported rubber from King Leopold's Congo.²⁴
- **Leopold II, King of the Belgians:** King Leopold II donated £500 for the building of two wings of the Durham College of Science in Newcastle, opened in 1892.²⁵
- **Lord William Armstrong:** Armstrong became a prominent engineer and industrialist who founded the Armstrong Whitworth company, producing armaments which were sold around the world. Armstrong was also a significant philanthropist. He was involved in the foundation of the Durham College of Physical Science in Newcastle in 1871 (renamed Armstrong College in his honour in 1906). During the American Civil War, Armstrong sold arms to both the Union and Confederate sides.
- ***Shell Scholarships:** These scholarships were founded in 1948 by the Shell Petroleum Company with an award of £100 to eligible Geology students in the Durham Colleges.²⁶ Historians have shown how Shell was built on the extraction of petroleum resources in colonised countries and some research highlights the resistance of local workers and the use of debt-bondage by the company.²⁷
- ***Shipbuilding scholarships:** In 1922, Armstrong College was also presented with a significant number of scholarships funded by various

shipbuilding companies, whose clients had a history of directly using these ships for purposes linked with slavery and colonialism. These included, for example, the Cammell Laird Scholarship, funded by Cammell Laird who built the *Ma Roberts* for Dr Livingstone's Zambezi expedition, and the CSS *Alabama* built in 1862 for the Confederate States of America; the John Samuel White Scholarship, funded by J Samuel White and Co., who were renowned for building the *West Indiamen* (merchantman sailing ships journeying between the United States to the West Indies; and the Yarrow Scholarship, funded by Yarrow Shipbuilders, who built merchant ships that specialised particularly in riverboat vessels for the rivers and lakes of Burma, India, Africa, and South America.²⁸

- *William J. Noble: Noble presented £2,850 in 1919 to Armstrong College to establish the William Black Memorial Fund, in honour of his son who died during the First World War.²⁹ William Noble, 1st Baron Kirkley, was a shipowner who led the British Economic Mission to South Africa.³⁰
- *William Sinclair Marris (Principal of Armstrong College and Vice-Chancellor of Durham University): Educated in New Zealand, Marris had a distinguished career in the British Raj during the 1920s, as Governor of Assam, Governor of the United Provinces, and Member of the Council of India, before taking on his University role. Following his death, Marris bequeathed £2,000 to King's College and the Sir William Marris Travelling Studentships were established and awarded to Classics students as a result.³¹

7.6 A number of senior officials who governed Durham University and its Newcastle Colleges in the twentieth century also had direct links to colonialism, having been employed in various capacities in the Colonial Service:

- James Fitzjames Duff (Warden of Durham University, 1937-1961): see *Section 7.9*
- **Lawrence Roger Lumley, Earl of Scarborough (Chancellor of Durham University, 1958-1969):** Lawrence Roger Lumley was Governor of Bombay from 1937 to 1943, when he was appointed Knight Grand Commander of the Order of the Star of India. Lumley was also, for a brief period in 1945, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India and Burma.³²
- **Theodore Morison (Principal of Armstrong College 1919-1929, Vice-Chancellor of Durham University 1924-1926):** Sir Theodore Morison was the principal of Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College between 1899 and 1905, as well as member of the Council of India from 1906, and a notable advocate for Muslim claims in Indian government matters.³³

7.7 Individuals connected with Durham University had links with missionary societies whose remit included ministering to the enslaved, for example as members and subscribers to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts which owned two slave plantations in Codrington College,

Barbados until 1833.³⁴ Membership of, or subscription to these societies does not demonstrate endorsement of slavery or support for the activities described. Further research is needed to understand why these individuals, some of whom had anti-slavery connections, chose to join or support the SPG. These individuals included:

- The majority of the members of the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral in 1832.
- The majority of the Anglican clergy listed as part of the Governing Body of the University in the 1833 Calendar.
- Three Anglican bishops who were part of the Governing Body in 1833 also delivered the annual lecture of the Society: William van Mildert in 1822 (then Bishop of Llandaff), J. B. Jenkinson in 1828 (then Bishop of St David's), and Robert Gray in 1830 (Bishop of Bristol).³⁵

This Anglican/University connection at Durham continued throughout the nineteenth century, as the SPG widened its missionary scope to encompass territories acquired as part of the burgeoning British Empire and beyond.³⁶ In March 1891, the University established its own undergraduate branch of the SPG, whose aim was 'not so much to aid the Society's funds as to increase the present interest in Foreign Missions'.³⁷

7.8 More directly, Durham University's missionary links were evident in its involvement with the **Universities' Mission to Central Africa** (UMCA):

- A Branch Association of the Mission was established in Durham in 1876 which included prominent University members.³⁸ The *University Journal* reported on meetings held by, and acted as a voice for, the UMCA, regularly appealing for graduates to take on missionary work and bemoaning the lack of interest amongst undergraduates in such work.³⁹
- Rev. L. J. Proctor and Dr John Dickenson, the latter a graduate of the College of Medicine, were the first Durham graduates to join the Mission. In 1896, three further graduates of the University (H. J. Hancock, Rev F. J. Evans and E. A. Gee, all of Hatfield) were accepted for mission work, with the University hosting farewell events before their departure to Zanzibar.⁴⁰ Reports from these missionaries were regularly published in the *University Journal*.⁴¹
- Dickenson and Hancock both died on the mission and subsequent attempts were made by the University to memorialise them. In 1868, the University established a scholarship in Dickenson's name (Dickenson Memorial Scholarship), to be awarded to any student at the College of Medicine who passed the intermediate examination.⁴² Hancock's death was described by the *University Journal* as, 'laying down his life upon the battlefield in ready obedience to his Master's call', drawing comparisons with the military victories of the British Empire:

At a time when we are honouring the heroes of other African battlefields, who have given their lives for Queen and Empire, shall we suffer the brave soldier of Christ to be forgotten? He will not be forgotten by those who were privileged to know him, but there should be some permanent and visible record of his self-sacrifice for the instruction and inspiration of future generations of Durham men.⁴³

- Services of intercession were also regularly held in the University College chapel and Durham Cathedral on behalf of the UMCA and its missionaries.⁴⁴
- In 1920, £90 16s 2d was raised by the University for the UMCA, with St Chad's College designating their contribution towards the maintenance of an indigenous priest from Zanzibar.⁴⁵
- In May 1932, a missionary exhibition was held for four days in the Town Hall, Durham, to raise money for the UMCA. Stewards and helpers were arranged from the University colleges, as well as local schools and parishes. Missionary plays were performed and the daughter of David Livingstone, Mrs Livingstone-Wilson attended, displaying several of her father's 'relics'.⁴⁶

7.9 Durham University's links with colonialism can also be observed in their formal affiliation with Codrington College in Barbados and Fourah Bay in Sierra Leone:

Background and Affiliation with Durham

- The affiliation arrangement at both Fourah Bay and Codrington allowed students at these colleges to obtain a 'Durham degree' in the same subjects being taught at the parent institution with the syllabus and examination papers set by, and for the most part, identical to Durham. According to the regulations, the students at affiliated colleges 'shall enjoy such privileges in the University and be admitted to degrees upon such terms and conditions as Senate may from time to time by regulation determine'.⁴⁷ This relationship was unique to Durham; other UK universities had 'special relationship' links to overseas colleges during this period, which enabled them to set their own syllabus but without the award of an affiliated degree. During the affiliation period, both Codrington and Fourah Bay were governed and funded by Anglican missionary societies, with the University controlling the academic programmes. The control of Codrington by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts stretched back to its ownership of slave plantations in the eighteenth century, and continued until 1956, when the management of the College was transferred to the **Community of the Resurrection**. Fourah Bay was initially established by the **Church Missionary Society (CMS)** as an Anglican missionary college in 1827, with the CMS continuing its management of the College (along with the Wesleyan Missionary Society from 1918) throughout the affiliation period.

University's Attitude and Recognition

- The motivations behind the affiliation with both Fourah Bay and Codrington linked colonialism and missionary Christianity, with religious commentators

seeing the benefit of affiliation in being able to train Africans and West Indians to carry out missionary work on their own soil.⁴⁸ For example, at a meeting of the granting of degree graces earned by students of Fourah Bay College in 1878, Canon Farrar, the sub-warden of Durham University, commented: 'These students were pure Negroes, and this would be the first instance of their having obtained actual degrees in any of the universities, and he could not help but feel that this spoke well for civilisation and Christianity in Central Africa'. Three years later, the Church Missionary Society argued in the Madeira Deputation report that 'the affiliation of Fourah Bay with Durham University has given decided stimulus to the desire for higher education on the West Coast, and that African Christians will be prepared in due time to take the responsibility of providing higher education.'⁴⁹

- The original impetus for the affiliation of the University with Codrington College in 1875 was **John Mitchinson**, Bishop of Barbados, who proposed the scheme to the University Senate in February 1874.⁵⁰ Mitchinson caused controversy by expressing views which were critical of the state of education in the West Indies.⁵¹ He also supported Confederation in the West Indies, which sought the reduction of the autonomy of the individual countries within the West Indies.⁵² One of the early principals of the newly-affiliated Codrington College was **Alfred Caldecott**. He wrote a treatise entitled *English Colonization and Empire* in 1891 in which he expressed disparaging views of the African race.⁵³
- The attitude of the University towards the affiliation with both colleges was, at least officially, a positive one, taking pride in their role as harbingers of 'race equality'. The *Durham University Journal* in July 1896, for example, celebrated the 'proud distinction of Codrington that no difference of race, or colour, or Christian denomination have ever interfered with the perfect amity and equality of all who have the privilege of calling her their alma mater'.⁵⁴ The University also regularly took the opportunity to award honorary degrees to graduates of these institutions, particularly Fourah Bay.⁵⁵
- Until the 1940s however, there appears to have been little interest shown by the University in Codrington and Fourah Bay. With the onset of decolonisation,⁵⁶ these colleges and others became central to the debate surrounding colonial education and the need to educate an indigenous leadership.⁵⁷ There was nevertheless quite a clear divide in the way in which the University showed notably more interest in Fourah Bay than Codrington in these later years. At a meeting of the Colonial Colleges Advisory Committee in October 1954, for example, the Registrar complained that 'the University had no information about Codrington College except the number of candidates who presented themselves for examination and communication with Barbados was erratic and slow'. Visits from University officials to Codrington were rare in comparison to Fourah Bay. The Vice-Chancellor noted in a letter to the Principal of Codrington College in 1960 that 'it seems ridiculous that I could have visited Fourah Bay six times, and Codrington never', and Canon H. E. W. Turner (Van Mildert Professor of Divinity) noted in his report following a visit to Codrington a year earlier that

his visit was the first from the University since affiliation began. Indeed, when the Community of the Resurrection took over the management of Codrington from the SPG, the University only discovered this from a press release.⁵⁸

- Until the Second World War, Fourah Bay College was the only institution offering university degree courses throughout British West Africa.⁵⁹ From the late 1940s, the future of Fourah Bay College as a degree-awarding college was cast into doubt by the establishment of universities in Nigeria and the Gold Coast. **The Elliot Commission on Higher Education in West Africa** recommended that Fourah Bay should not be elevated to the status of a university. It instead proposed the establishment of a polytechnic college in Sierra Leone, which caused huge opposition from Sierra Leoneans who valued the historic status of Fourah Bay and its links with the University.⁶⁰
- The attitude of affiliated colleges towards the University was, at least on official occasions, respectful and appreciative towards its parent institution for the raising of academic standards.⁶¹ It is also worth noting that these warm words towards the affiliation with Durham continued well after the arrangement had ended.⁶² However, there were occasions when the relationship was strained, particularly in Codrington in the later years of the affiliation.⁶³

Financing and Scholarships

- The University provided no direct financial assistance to the running of their affiliated colleges, although they did provide scholarships and fellowships for Fourah Bay and Codrington students to study at Durham University. The awarding of these fellowships to colonial colleges was not always without controversy, particularly amongst the Durham students who felt they were being unfairly disadvantaged. One Codrington student, E. Joad, won a University fellowship, having obtained 'as high honours as has ever been taken at the University', in achieving two firsts in two different schools (Classics and Mathematics) in 1882. This caused a backlash from certain home students who questioned why Codrington students were able to take this combination of Classics and Mathematics whereas home students were denied this possibility. Other students complained that the awarding of the fellowship to a Codrington student was a 'discredit on Dunelmian members of the University', given that the tuition they receive 'cannot, from the nature of the case, be as good as ours', while another suggested that this award was disproportionate to the small number of Codrington students taking degrees there. Some home students wrote in to defend Joad, and Mitchinson himself, speaking at the University Association, saw Joad's fellowship as evidence of the 'very respectable crop of young graduates and honour men' in Codrington, although he 'wished he could say the same with respect to the other college [Fourah Bay] the University took under its wing'.⁶⁴ Offering scholarships to colonial colleges did on occasion lead to criticism from Durham students who felt that the money could be better spent elsewhere. One student writing to the *Durham University Journal*, for example, suggested that appeals for scholarships for such a small college

was 'rather a farce' and that a 'more profitable method' would be to present funds to the 'Athletic Fund of the University'.⁶⁵

- Scholarships in Codrington and Fourah Bay were often poorly funded and regularly required appeal campaigns to help raise funds for them.⁶⁶ *Bequests were also given by successful alumni of the colleges. For example, Bishop James Johnson's bequest to Fourah Bay included £5,000 to found a Chair of Science, £1,000 to fund scholarships, as well as a donation of 24 volumes of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* to the college library.⁶⁷
- In the 1960s, the University began working closely with British-owned companies in Sierra Leone, such as the **Sierra Leone Development Company**, to fund scholarships for Fourah Bay students to study at Durham or to take post-graduate degrees in more technical subjects.⁶⁸ *Both the Sierra Leone Development Company and the **United Africa Company** also donated money towards the building of science and engineering laboratories.⁶⁹
- In the later period, Fourah Bay College was successful in applying for grants from the **Advisory Committee on Colonial Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology**, as a result of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. For example, the College was able to secure a grant of £9,500 to fund an adequate water supply in January 1953, as well as other grants to fund recurrent costs.⁷⁰

Academic Development and Student Life

- Colonial college students wishing to apply for certain Honours courses could only do so by applying to study these in Durham. In this, they were required to compete with home students, who took priority in being offered places in Durham and Newcastle-based colleges. Students from Fourah Bay and Codrington were forced to rely on any spaces left over in these colleges, which was not always forthcoming. The General Regulations to the University were also amended in 1954 to prevent students from affiliated colleges enrolling in Durham if they had failed their examinations (although Sunderland Technical College, the only British institution affiliated to Durham University, was exempt).⁷¹
- The syllabus offered by Durham University was that of a typical English university, aimed primarily at English students. For example, the Registrar of the University, W. G. Angus admitted to the Principal of Fourah Bay College in 1949 that the course on Modern Political Institutions 'presupposes a knowledge of the British system of government' and the reading list for the exam paper on the 'History of the British West Indies to 1947', included books on British colonial history (for example, *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, *The Buccaneers in the West Indies in the Seventeenth Century*) as well as works on the British role in the abolition of slavery (*The British Anti-Slavery Movement*, *British Slavery and its Abolition*, *Wilberforce*). Rather unusually, it also featured Eric William's *Capitalism and Slavery*, now considered to be a classic critique of slavery

and colonialism.⁷² Prizes were also offered to students who wrote essays on the British Empire. For example, a Codrington student, Mr D. S. Payne, won the Coleridge Prize in 1900 for an essay on 'English Colonization since A. D. 1700'.⁷³

- The learning of languages by colonial students presented difficulties, particularly around the primacy of English. A memorandum on the subject by the college itself pointed out that even the teaching of English in African schools is problematic, given that Africans tended to converse in their own language and that they only learn English by rote as a means of passing exams. This led to a general lack of interest in English Literature for its own sake. Duff also wrote about this issue from the university's perspective in a note entitled 'English as an International Language'. Other languages also presented problems too, particularly as Durham's matriculation requirements for Codrington also included, Latin, Greek and Religious Knowledge, with Latin being regularly questioned and discussed.⁷⁴
- Attempts were also made to broaden the syllabus in certain subjects to make them more suitable to indigenous students in both Fourah Bay and Codrington. For example, in the early 1950s, subject leads in History, Geography and Modern Languages at Durham were requested to make changes to their syllabus to make them more suitable to West African students and their context, with mixed success.⁷⁵ Similarly in Codrington, a request was made by the Principal for a student to present a dissertation on a subject of Barbadian history, arguing that 'the building up of a local historical tradition is an essential part of the future of the West Indies' and suggesting that 'the lack of any historical perspective even among educated people in this part of the world is an evil which ought to be remedied'. However, this request was rejected by the University because of the need to involve a local historian who was not affiliated to the College.⁷⁶ Senate did, however, approve a request from the Principal of Fourah Bay to offer different examination questions on the subject of hygiene for the BEd degree.⁷⁷
- While Codrington remained a predominantly Theology-focused institution, Fourah Bay developed courses in science from the 1950s, working closely with the Durham and Newcastle Divisions of the University in developing these courses.⁷⁸
- Extra-mural lecturers from Durham University were appointed to teach courses to ordinary Sierra Leoneans. This was considered vital to create well-educated and responsible citizens if, as one report suggested, 'the people of Sierra Leone are one day to make democracy work'.⁷⁹
- Student life at the two colonial colleges, often consciously, mirrored the cultural life and traditions of Durham. This included debating and other sporting societies. In Fourah Bay College, there was also a missionary parliament, indicative of the role of the Church Missionary Society in the running of the college.⁸⁰

Autonomy in Affiliated Colleges

- The later years witnessed attempts by the colonial colleges to increase their autonomy to manage their own affairs. In Fourah Bay, this included the establishment of a College Council in 1950, whose membership comprised of religious representatives, the Freetown City Council, the Protectorate Assembly, the Principal and the Director of Education. Although a representative from the University was encouraged to attend, because of the prohibitive costs of travel, this was not always possible.⁸¹
- For most of the 1940s and 1950s, Durham University never felt that the colonial colleges were in a strong enough position to separate from the parent institution and to be run as independent entities. A report to the Colonial Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology (CAST) by Professor E. J. R. Eaglesham in 1951, for example, suggested that a significant proportion of the University Department lecturers at FBC 'are not competent to teach at University level' and that Durham University needed to pay more attention to the welfare of Fourah Bay.⁸² This apprehension was shared by the academic members of the Fourah Bay College Council. In a discussion at a 1961 Council meeting on the possibility of Fourah Bay becoming an independent University by 1966, there was 'considerable hesitation' among them 'as to whether teaching within the College would have developed sufficiently by that date to justify independent University status'.⁸³ The inferior status of the college was one recognised by the University itself. In a letter in 1954, Duff argued that 'there is no financial possibility, nor enough qualified students forthcoming, to enlarge Fourah Bay to the full status of a University College; that may be possible one day, but it is a long way off.' By 1958, he was still adamant that Sierra Leone was 'not likely to have an independent Univ. ever in the visible future'.⁸⁴
- While Durham University did not directly influence the appointment of staff at these colleges,⁸⁵ they often sent a representative to sit on college recruitment panels for the appointment of staff and also received further particulars from interested candidates. This was particularly the case with a new College Principal, who was formally appointed by the Colonial Government. The appointment of a new Principal was not always without controversy. For example, Fourah Bay College was initially opposed to the appointment of Dain as Principal in 1949.⁸⁶ When Dain resigned five years later, Duff was determined to 'resist at all costs', the appointment of the Sierra Leonean, Canon H. Sawyer, as Principal, threatening that Durham would end the affiliation should this occur.⁸⁷ The University was also influential in making its opinion known, particularly with Duff's representation on the Advisory Committee on Colonial Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology, whose remit included the selection of staff in colonial colleges. In a letter from the Registrar of Durham University to H. M. Collins (Secretary of the Advisory Committee on Colonial Colleges of Arts, Sciences and Technology), for example, Angus argued that 'they consider that the staffing of the University Department of the College with men and women properly qualified for university teaching is not only a matter of first importance to that Department, but is also a matter affecting the interests of the University to

which the College is affiliated'.⁸⁸ A proposal to allow Fourah Bay lecturers to be recognised on the same terms as Durham staff, however, was rejected.⁸⁹

The role of Sir James Fitzjames Duff, Warden of Durham University (1937-1961)

- Duff was a member of a number of different committees tasked with the development of colonial education in Africa, including the **Asquith Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies**, the Elliot Commission on Higher Education in West Africa, the **University Education Committee of India**, the **Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas**, and the Advisory Committee of Arts, Science and Technology.⁹⁰ In many of these committees he represented the interests of Durham University, particularly in relation to obtaining grants from the latter, as well as assisting the wider colonial educational policy of the British government in other countries. The Inter-University Council regularly gave grants and assisted in the selection of staff to colonial universities throughout the British Empire.⁹¹
- Duff heavily promoted the University's interests in Sierra Leone, often at the expense of alienating other British educational officials.⁹² Even within the University, Duff was more enthusiastic towards Fourah Bay than many other senior University officials. In a letter to the Colonial Office in 1850, he even suggested that the position with Fourah Bay would become precarious 'if I myself disappeared from Durham' and that there may be serious trouble in Sierra Leone if the University pulled out of the affiliation.⁹³ This contrasts starkly with Codrington, in which, by his own admission, he seems to have had little interest. For example, he argued privately that if the Asquith Commission plan for a West Indian University is accepted, we should have to give notice to Codrington that we mean to terminate the affiliation'.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, Duff felt that Durham's early role in colonial higher education with its affiliated colleges did not get the credit that it deserved from the Asquith Commission.⁹⁵ He was also a staunch supporter of the academic integrity of a Fourah Bay degree.⁹⁶
- Duff's views towards Fourah Bay, however, often appeared contradictory and on occasion he expressed his frustration towards and embarrassment of, the college, which occasionally involved the use of problematic language. For example, in a letter to Professor H. J. Channon of Liverpool University in 1943, he complained that Fourah Bay College 'means absolutely nothing to this University and those of us who ever think of the matter are probably agreed in doubting the wisdom of West African students taking examinations intended for students in Durham and Newcastle'. In a further letter to H. J. Boyden, Director of Extra-Mural Studies, he argued that extra-mural work in West African is 'not everyone's climate, and the work would need a man of considerable initiative and patience in dealing with the often rather childish Africans.' Similarly, in a further letter in 1950 to the newly appointed Chancellor of the University, G. M. Trevelyan he described Fourah Bay College 'as a rather pathetic and struggling little community'.⁹⁷

Notable Alumni

Both Fourah Bay College and Codrington College produced large numbers of graduates who went on to pursue successful careers as missionaries, teachers, lawyers, doctors and other professions. Of note, however, were those alumni from Fourah Bay College who were important thinkers in the development of indigenous education and nationalism in Sierra Leone. These included:

- Harry Alphonso Eburn Sawyerr (1909-1986)
- Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832-1912)
- Edward Wilmot Blyden III (1918-2010)
- James Africanus Beale Horton (1835-1883)
- James 'Holy' Johnson (c. 1836-1917)
- Robert Kweku Atta Gardiner (1914-1994)

For more in-depth biographies of these individuals, see Appendix 5.

7.10 Durham University also formed partnerships with associate colleges in the UK and overseas (for example, **St Andrew's College in Oyo, Nigeria**). This allowed the associate college to take a Licence in Theology, although not a full degree. The relationship with these colleges was not a close one, and there is very little correspondence in the archive with and about these colleges.⁹⁸

¹ Legacies of British Slavery Database, 'Rt Rev. Henry Phillpotts', [Summary of Individual | Legacies of British Slavery \(ucl.ac.uk\)](#) [last accessed 4 April 2024]; Wingfield-Digby, 'Which Phillpotts was the slave-owner?', *Newcastle Courant*, 15 May 1824.

² Legacies of British Slavery Database, 'Rev James Ellice', [Summary of Individual | Legacies of British Slavery \(ucl.ac.uk\)](#) [last accessed 4 April 2023]. *Durham University Calendar*, 1833, p. 8 [Durham University Calendar 1833](#) [last accessed 4 April 2023].

³ *Durham University Journal*, 13 December 1884, p. 102.

⁴ Legacies of British Slavery Database, 'John Henry Leacock', [Summary of Individual | Legacies of British Slavery \(ucl.ac.uk\)](#) [last accessed 31 October 2023].

⁵ Sean Creighton, 'Revisiting County Durham's links to the slavery business', unpublished transcript of a talk for Durham University's Black History Month Programme, 20 October 2020, p. 15.

⁶ Legacies of British Slavery Database, 'Rev. William Smoult Temple', 23 June 1846, [Summary of Individual | Legacies of British Slavery \(ucl.ac.uk\)](#) [last accessed 4 April 2023]. MAW 3/33e(iii). Mawson Papers, Release as trustee of the estate of Robert Henry McDonald, 1833 & 1836.

⁷ Legacies of British Slavery Database, 'Rowland Maltby', [Summary of Individual | Legacies of British Slavery \(ucl.ac.uk\)](#) [last accessed 4 April 2023]. UND/CG7/AC15, Scholarship indenture, 23 June 1846; UND/EA1/GA5, Photocopies of the Maltby Library Declaration of Trust, 1855.

⁸ *Durham University Calendar*, 1849-1850, p. 30.

⁹ Legacies of British Slavery Database, 'Antigua 79 (Lower Walrond & Upper Walrond Estates)' <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/498> [last accessed 3 October 2023].

¹⁰ Further research needs to be done on whether there is a link between Jane Horsfall and Charles Horsfall.

¹¹ A press release issued for the official opening of the College in March 1968 included the following comments on Trevelyan's life:

He was throughout his life a champion of freedom. In the thirties, with Rutherford, he initiated a scheme whereby some 600 academics from the Continent, refugees from Hitler, secured a career appropriate to their ability in this country. He concerned himself with the preservation of the academic freedom of Universities and with the admission of women to degrees. It is therefore entirely appropriate that this new women's College of Durham University should be named after him.

¹² Legacies of British Slavery Database, 'Capel Cure I', <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146650903> and Capel Cure II, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/12051> [last accessed 3 October 2023]

- ¹³ *Durham University Calendar*, 1912-1913, p. 240.
- ¹⁴ Legacies of British Slavery Database, 'Charles Horsfall', [Summary of Individual | Legacies of British Slavery \(ucl.ac.uk\)](https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146630326) [last accessed 4 April 2023]. Roberts, 'St Chad's College and the legacy of slavery'. UND/F3/C3/C1, Declaration of Trust for the endowment of St Chad's College, 2 July 1923. For his various donations see, for example, *Durham University Journal*, v. 18 (1908-1909), p. 129. For information on the Horsfall Scholarship, see *Durham University Calendar*, 1938-1939, p. 376 and UND/CC2/392, Horsfall Scholarship, 1938-1948.
- ¹⁵ *Durham University Calendar*, 1903-1904, p. 270.
- ¹⁶ Legacies of British Slavery Database, 'William Ewart Gladstone', <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146630326> [last accessed 3 October 2023].
- ¹⁷ Society for Promoting the Gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions (Newcastle-upon-Tyne), *Declaration of the objects of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Society for promoting the gradual abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1823), pp. [3] & 10. Thorpe's Wikipedia entry references a transcript of a speech by the Rector of the Holy Cross, Ryton, delivered to local schoolchildren in 2011, with an erroneous claim that Thorpe was the founder of Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone in 1827, Tom Jamieson, 'Charles Thorpe – and the comprehensive school', [Holy Cross Church Ryton - Charles Thorp \(holycrossryton.org.uk\)](https://holycrossryton.org.uk) (last accessed 28 February 2023).
- ¹⁸ British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society Convention, *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society: Convention, June 12th, 1840* <https://www.jstor.org/stable/60228328> [accessed 6 April 2023], p. 2 (listed no. 118). For his anti-slavery views, see J. F. W. Johnston, *Notes on North America: agricultural, economical and social*, I, p. 7; II, pp. 276, 277, 315, 451, and 486. British views of American slavery were complex, not least because such views were not fixed and changed over time, as is evident in the contrasting attitudes towards the impact of the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to the anti-slavery movement in the early 1850s, and the ambiguous response to American slavery during the American Civil War a decade later. See Richard Huzzey, *Freedom Burning: Anti-Slavery and Empire in Victorian Britain* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2012), chapter 2.
- ¹⁹ *Declaration of the objects of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Society for Promoting the Gradual Abolition of Slavery*, p. 3. *Declaration of the objects of the Newcastle upon Tyne Society for Abolishing Slavery all over the World* (Newcastle, 1836), p. 3.
- ²⁰ *Durham University Calendar* 1919-1920, pp. 334-335. It is not clear from the description in the Calendar as to why Grey was being honoured in this way.
- ²¹ E. Smith, 'Grey, Charles, second Earl Grey (1764-1845), prime minister.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-11526> [accessed 3 October 2023]. R. Cornish, 'Grey, Charles, first Earl Grey (1729-1807), army officer.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 3 Oct. 2023, from <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-11525> [last accessed 3 October 2023].
- ²² *Durham University Journal*, June 1918, p. 450.
- ²³ *Durham University Calendar*, 1947-1948, p. 452.
- ²⁴ R. Billstein, K. Fings, A. Kugler, & N. Levis, *Working for the enemy: Ford, General Motors, and forced labor in Germany during the Second World War* (New York: Berghan Books, 2004).
- ²⁵ *Durham University Journal*, 26 October 1889, p. 210 & 24 November 1894, pp. 90-91. Charles Whiting refers to a £900 donation but there is no cited evidence of this.
- ²⁶ *Durham University Calendar*, 1949-1950, p. 465.
- ²⁷ See, for example, J. Jonker, and J. van Zanden, J., *A history of Royal Dutch Shell* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- ²⁸ *Durham University Calendar*, 1924-1925, p. 567. Cammell Laird, 'Our History' <https://www.cammell-laird.co.uk/our-history> [last accessed 3 October 2023]. J. J. Colledge, *Ships of the Royal Navy* (London: Chatcham, 2010). BAE Systems, 'Yarrow & Company (London Years)' <https://www.baesystems.com/en-uk/heritage/yarrow---company--london-years-> [last accessed 3 October 2023].
- ²⁹ *Durham University Calendar*, 1919-1920, p. 356.
- ³⁰ William Noble obituary in *The Times*, 12 September 1935. There appears to be no wider information on the purpose of the British Economic Mission to South Africa, but the name alone suggests colonial links.

³¹ B. C. Pandley, *Narrative of an ex-British governor: Sir W. S. Marris* (Lucknow, India, 2011). *Durham University Journal*, November 1946, Supplement.

³² R. L. T. 'Obituary: Lawrence Roger Lumley, 11th Earl of Scarbrough, K. G., P. C., G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E., G. C. V. O., 27 July 1896-29 June 1969.' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, 32, 3 (1969) pp. 686-689. JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/612577> [accessed 20 Nov. 2023].

³³ G. R. Batho, 'Morison, Sir Theodore (1863-1936), educationist and writer.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-35108> [accessed 3 October 2023].

³⁴ In 1832, *Carpenter's Monthly Political Magazine* claimed that this plantation 'exhibits the least improvement among its slaves of any portion of our tropical colonies' and that 'Drunkenness, fornication, and all other deadly sin' were said to be abundant. *Carpenter's Monthly Political Magazine*, 1-2. (1831-2) (Greenwood Reprint Corp, New York. 1968), p. 370. The author is grateful to the late Sean Creighton for providing this reference.

³⁵ List of the Cathedral Church of Durham members in *Report of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for the Year 1832* (London, 1833), pp. 58-60. *Durham University Calendar*, 1833, pp. 4-11, listed on page xii of the report.

³⁶ See, for example, the list of Durham clergy in Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. *Report of the Year 1901*. p. 34. For the Durham connection, the *Durham University Journal* reported in its edition of 16 March 1896 (p. 114) that Rev G. H. Frodsham, a graduate of University College in 1888, had volunteered for services in the colonies and would be shortly proceeding to Australia in connection with this Society.

³⁷ *Durham University Journal*, 21 March 1891, p. 155.

³⁸ This was reported in the *Durham University Journal*, 1 July 1876, p. 6. The first committee included: Mr A. Anderton (University College, Chairman), Mr Brown (Hatfield Hall, Secretary), Mr S. Reed (University College, Treasurer), Mr Nedwell (University College), Mr Samler (Hatfield Hall), Mr J. Trevaskis (Unattached).

³⁹ *Durham University Journal*, 6 June 1896, p. 102, and 19 May 1904, p. 41.

⁴⁰ *Durham University Journal*, 20 March 1897, p. 287.

⁴¹ *Durham University Journal*, 6 November 1897, pp. 398-399 and 9 February 1901, p. 6.

⁴² *Durham University Calendar*, 1914-1915, p. 268.

⁴³ *Durham University Journal*, 24 November 1900, p. 137. The *Journal* reported in its 19 May 1904 issue (p. 41) that a brass plate, paid for by subscription, had been placed in Hatfield Chapel in memory of Hancock and Gee. It included an inscription, headed by a floriated cross with the figures of the four Evangelists. This plate no longer survives.

⁴⁴ *Durham University Journal*, 9 February 1906, p.4 and March 1920, p. 154.

⁴⁵ *Durham University Journal*, July 1921, p. 301.

⁴⁶ *Durham University Journal*, June 1932, p. 389-390.

⁴⁷ UND/AB2/1, 'Draft Proposed Statutes for the University of Durham' *University of Durham Act* (1908).

⁴⁸ It has been suggested that affiliation had both religious and political motivations in blocking the development of a non-Anglican, African-led university. S. Gamsu, L. Liburd, N. Nayanika, P. Zacharatou, 'From the affiliated colleges of Fourah Bay and Codrington College to the history of Black students at Durham.' Black History Month, Durham University, 30 October 2023, (Durham: Department of Sociology).

⁴⁹ *Durham University Journal*, 21 December 1878, p. 13; *Durham University Journal*, 28 December 1881, p. 140.

⁵⁰ UND/BA1/5, Senate Minutes, 3 February 1874. Discussions continued in Senate and Convocation meetings until June 1875, the date by which Codrington College was officially affiliated. UND/BA2/3 Convocation Minutes, 8 June 1875.

⁵¹ In a speech during an honorary graduation ceremony to celebrate the affiliation in 1875, in which he was highly critical of the state of education and lack of culture amongst the Barbadians, comparing them to 'the white snails of Hans Christian Anderson, who, living under burdock leaves upon which the rain-drops pattered, flattered themselves that the world consisted of white snails and that they were the world'. John Gilmour, *The toiler of the sees: a life of John Mitchinson Bishop of Barbados* (Barbados: Barbados National Trust, 1987), p. 60.

⁵² Ibid, p. 61. He was close friends with John Pope Hennessey, the Governor General of Barbados and the Windward Islands, and Sir Graham Briggs, a Barbadian baronet, who both supported Confederation. It was suggested that he took this view to secure funding for a proposed new Cathedral.

⁵³ Caldecott described Africans as 'inferior', unable to rule themselves and required the guidance of white British leaders who 'can respond to the call out of isolation, and can fit into the world-wide scheme, live on and prosper'. This would ensure that the colonies of British West Africa could develop into 'something more important' than is currently characterised by 'the second-hand character of the civilization acquired by the natives'. Alfred Caldecott, *English Colonization and Empire* (New York, 1891).

⁵⁴ *Durham University Journal*, 18 May 1910, p. 41.

⁵⁵ James Fitzjames Duff, 'Three Months in British West Africa', *Durham University Journal*, December 1944, p. 1.

⁵⁶ The term here denotes its original use in describing the process of withdrawal by a colonising state from its colonies.

⁵⁷ UND/CC2/30a, 'Speech by His Excellency the Governor at the Annual Meeting held at Fourah Bay College on Tuesday 13th March, 1952'.

⁵⁸ UND/CC2/473, Letter from Duff to the Principal of Codrington College, 12 Jan 1960; UND/CC2/473, Report on H. E. W. Turner's visit to Codrington (29 Dec 1959); UND/CB1/C22b, Draft letter to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, December 1954.

⁵⁹ UND/CK2/C1B, Press Release – Fourah Bay College, 22 March 1967.

⁶⁰ UND/CB1/C22b, Report of the Colonial Colleges Advisory Committee, 19 March 1948.

⁶¹ UND/CC2/30a, 'Address delivered to Sir James Duff, Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University of Durham and Warden of the Durham Colleges, by the students of Fourah Bay College on the occasion of his visit to the College in January 1953'; and UND/CC2/180, 'Transcript of a speech given by the Principal of FBC at the annual meeting at Mount Aursol', January 1958.

⁶² See, for example, the newly installed Chancellor of the University of Sierra Leone's defence of the Western education system, UND/CB1/F4, 'The place of the University in Sierra Leone', inaugural Chancellor's lecture, 12 January 1973.

⁶³ The Principal's letter in the *Codrington Review* in July 1961, for example, complained that the abolition of the Licentiate in Theology had resulted in few candidates being able to take the Honours in Theology and that this had caused the relationship to 'wear a little thin', particularly now 'the University cannot take any new steps to help us.' *Codrington Review* (Summer 1961), pp. 9-10. Simmons also notes that Codrington regularly complained about routine correspondence to the University not being answered. Simmons, 'West Indian Higher Education', p. 52.

⁶⁴ *Durham University Journal*, 18 February 1882, p. 9; 11 November 1882, p. 55; 16 December 1882, p. 70, 17 February 1883, p. 79; and 26 May 1883, p. 112.

⁶⁵ *Durham University Journal*, 23 March 1895, p. 192.

⁶⁶ See for example, UND/CC2/29a, *Fourah Bay Scholarship Fund Appeal*, February 1950.

⁶⁷ *Durham University Journal*, December 1918, p. 6.

⁶⁸ UND/CC3/F2/1, Correspondence with the Sierra Leone Development Company, 1960-61.

⁶⁹ *Durham University Gazette*, volume 4 (1957).

⁷⁰ UND/CC2/113b, Application for a CAST Grant, 26 January 1953.

⁷¹ UND/CB1/F4, Letter from the Registrar of King's College to H. A. Murray, Joint Acting Registrar, University of Durham, 25 October 1944. The regulations were amended to 'A student of an affiliated College may not without the permission of Senate present himself for examination elsewhere than at that affiliated college.' UND/CB1/F4, Correspondence between the Registrar and Fourah Bay College, 28 October 1953-12 November 1954.

⁷² UND/CB1/C7, Letter from W. G. Angus to the Principal of Codrington College, 17 October 1949 with reading list for the exam paper on the 'History of the British West Indies to 1947'. See also, UND/CB1/F4, two letters from Angus to the Principal of Fourah Bay College, the first dated 3 November 1947, with the Politics syllabus for the Second Year General Examination, and the second dated 1 December 1947.

⁷³ *Durham University Journal*, 3 November 1900, p. 125.

⁷⁴ UND/CB1/F4, Letter from the Acting Registrar to Rev Dr H. G. Pace, 16 December 1942; UND/CC2/30b, Report on the visit of the Head of the University Department to Durham and London – January 28th to February 22nd 1952, 'A memorandum of the Head of the University Department,

Fourah Bay College, for discussion with the University of Durham Colonial Colleges Advisory Committee'. For Duff's note see UND/CC2/249b, 'English as an international language'.

⁷⁵ UND/CC2/113b, Advisory Committee on Colonial Colleges of Arts, Science & Technology, Fourah Bay College Sub-Committee, 'Fourah Bay College Development Plan 1951-1955'. UND/CC2/29a, Letter from Duff to Hilliard, 10 March 1950. UND/BB12/1 'Memorandum of the Head of the University Department, Fourah Bay College, for discussion with the University of Durham Colonial Colleges Advisory Committee', February 1952.

⁷⁶ UND/CB1/C7, Letter from W. Angus (Registrar) to the Principal of Codrington College, 25 January 1947.

⁷⁷ UND/CB1/F4, Letter from Principal of FBC to the Registrar, 31 January 1940, with reply 9 February 1940.

⁷⁸ UND/CC2/179a-b, Report of the Principal to the Annual Meeting, 16 January 1956; Letter from Duff to Christopher Cox, Educational Advisor, Colonial Office, 15 November 1956: *Report by the Vice-Chancellor and Warden for the year 1957-58*.

⁷⁹ Fourah Bay College Annual Report for 1953 (UND/CC2/113b). See also UND/CC2/30b, Report on extra-mural activities of Mr Taylor, 15 February 1952.

⁸⁰ An interview between a Durham student and a Fourah Bay student was printed in volume 16 of the *Durham University Journal*, 17 February 1904, pp. 4-5. When asked what the object of the missionary parliament was, the FBC student responded that it was 'intended to stimulate interest in foreign missions, and also to teach men the need for such'. See also *Durham University Journal*, 18 May 1906, pp. 40-42.

⁸¹ UND/CB1/C22b, Letter from Angus to Hillard, Principal of Fourah Bay College, 12 February 1952.

⁸² UND/CC2/112a, 'Report to C.A.S.T. on Visit to Sierra Leone and Gold Coast: 25th January to 23rd February 1951 by Professor E. J. R. Eaglesham', 4 April 1951.

⁸³ UND/CC3/F2/1, Minutes of the meeting of the FBC University College Council, 15 February 1961.

⁸⁴ UND/CC2/114a, Letter from Duff to Principal J. C. Jones, 17 February 1954; Duff Papers, DUF/3B/162, Manuscript notes for a talk by J. F. Duff entitled 'Africa Council' (1958).

⁸⁵ UND/CB1/F4, Letter from W. Angus to Rev F. M. Shelgrove (Robertsbridge), 18 December 1946, commenting that 'the College authorities appoint the staff, and are under no obligation to seek the approval of the University for the appointments which they make'.

⁸⁶ UND/CC2/29a, Letter from L. H. Gorsuch of the Colonial Office to Duff, 24 August 1949.

⁸⁷ UND/CC2/178b, Letter from Duff to Sir David Keir, Master of Balliol College, 7 September 1954. Sawyerr, who later became Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sierra Leone, awarded an honorary Doctor of Science to Duff's successor. UND/CB1/F4. Letter from Chistopherson to Rev Canon H. Sawyerr, 7 December 1970.

⁸⁸ UND/CB1/C22b, Letter from W. H. Angus to H. M. Collins, 14 February 1952.

⁸⁹ UND/CB1/C22b, 10 February 1953.

⁹⁰ UND/CC1/C6, Papers of the Colonial Education Commission. UND/CC2/242a, Letter from Duff to the Secretary of State, Colonial Office, 13 November 1945, concerning his representation on the Inter-University Council.

⁹¹ UND/CC2/112a, Letter from C. W. M. Cox to Duff, 1 November 1949. For Duff's role in this, see correspondence in UND/CC2/242-249. See also UND/CC3/F2/1, Minutes of the meeting of the Fourah Bay University College Council, 15 February 1961.

⁹² DUF/3B/162. Manuscript notes of a talk by Duff entitled 'Africa Council' in 1958, in which he suggested that some of Elliot colleagues 'were determined to kill it (i.e. FBC)' and that its (the College's) attempts to welcome the Commission were 'jeered at'. Here, he also used the unfortunate metaphor of 'fighting Fourah Bay's battle on the Elliot Commission until I am black in the face'.

⁹³ UND/CC2/112a, Letter from Duff to A. Cohen (Colonial Office), 5 January 1950.

⁹⁴ UND/CC1/C6, Letter from Duff to Percy, 10 November 1944.

⁹⁵ UND/CC1/C6, 'General Points on February Draft' (enclosure to a letter from Duff to S. Robinson (Asquith Commission), 28 February 1945.

⁹⁶ UND/CC1/C6, Letter from Duff to G. E. Sinclair, 9 April 1945.

⁹⁷ UND/CC2/29b, Letter from Duff to Professor H. J. Channon of Liverpool University, 30 April 1943. UND/CC2/29a, Letter from Duff to H. J. Boyden, 17 May 1950; UND/CC2/29a, Letter from Duff to G. M. Trevelyan, 9 June 1950.

⁹⁸ UND/CB1/T1a is the only series in the University Archive relating to associate colleges.

8. Further Research Directions and Research Resources

8.1 *Potential Research Topics*

- 8.1.1 Individuals and organisations with direct and indirect connections to slavery and colonialism (highlighted in Section 7) require more in-depth research, particularly those individuals involved in the early years of the University. Sources within Durham University Archives and Special Collections have been analysed in detail as part of this project so additional research will need to be carried out on archive sources in other places, as listed below.
- 8.1.2 A more comprehensive study of Durham Cathedral (and Durham University's) links with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in the nineteenth century needs to be undertaken using the archival sources at the Bodleian Library which appear to be the most fruitful for further research into this area. The SPG is a key organisation for the university's links with slavery in its early years and its continued association with colonial mission as the nineteenth century progressed.
- 8.1.3 As shown in this report, Durham University played a key role in the Universities' Mission to Central Africa during the late nineteenth/early twentieth century, but no significant academic research has been undertaken on the organisation (its structure, governance, missionary records etc) as a whole. Because of the lack of sources in the University's institutional archive, much of this work could be carried out using the external archive sources listed below.
- 8.1.4 Further research needs to be carried out on the relationship with the University and its affiliated colonial colleges. The headline findings listed in Section 7.9 give an indication of specific areas to focus on, including origins, motivations and attitudes, finance, academic teaching, institutional autonomy, staffing and recruitment, and the role of DU officials. In particular, further research should be undertaken on the experience of the indigenous students themselves at these colleges, and their encounters with colonial institutions. Most of these research strands can be undertaken with a more detailed exploration of the University's institutional archive but additional research using external sources would also give a more comprehensive account of the affiliation relationship, particularly whether, and how far, this relationship changed over time.
- 8.1.5 This research should be informed by the work of Dr Alice Finden, School of Government and International Affairs, Dr Kavi Joseph Abraham, School of Government and International Affairs and Professor Christina Riggs, Department of History, within the project 'Archives and Decolonial Pedagogy: Unearthing Narratives, Transforming Education', described in 4.2.2 above.

8.2 Archival Sources

The following archive sources require further research in external repositories. This is not an extensive list but should point to the main series of records in each repository. References are noted where available:

8.2.1 Personal papers of individuals/organisations with links to slavery and colonialism with Durham University connections:

- BL Manuscript Collections: Charles Thorp correspondence with Sir Robert Peel (Add MS 40408-40582)
- Oxford University Balliol College Historic Collections: Charles Thorp letters to Henry Jenkyns (c55)
- Oxford University Balliol College Historic Collections: Edward Maltby letters to Henry Jenkyns (NRA 25537 Jenkyns)
- West Sussex Record Office: Edward Maltby correspondence, university notes and other papers; 31 letters from Edward Maltby to Samuel Parr (NRA 27226 Maltby)
- Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland Record Office: Edward Maltby Papers in the Halford MSS II Series (DG24/993)
- Exeter Cathedral Archives: Henry Phillpotts correspondence and miscellaneous papers (ED/11)

8.2.2 The main archive repositories for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts are Lambeth Palace Library and the Bodleian Library. The Lambeth Palace Library Archive only covers the period from the foundation of the Society in 1701 until the mid-nineteenth century. For the nineteenth century, the Papers of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, held in the Bodleian Library, are extensive and include its relationship with Codrington College and the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (CMD ID 4672).

8.2.3 Records relating to the Universities' Mission to Central Africa can be found in a number of places:

- Lambeth Palace Library: in the papers of Frederick Temple, Archibald Campbell Tait, Edward White Benson, and Geoffrey Francis Fisher (various)
- Royal Geographical Society correspondence (RGS/CB6/2237)
- Bodleian Library: station log books (Microfilm) and papers of Evelyn Mary Fox (7104), as well as CMD ID 4672 mentioned above.
- National Archives of England and Wales: Colonial Office Papers (CO 1015/1425 & CO 1045/631) and missionary photographs (INF 10)

8.2.4 After further investigation it is evident that Codrington College and Cave Hill campus, University of the West Indies, do not hold any significant archives relating to Codrington College. The National Archives in Barbados only hold microfilm copies of archives of originals held in the National Archives of England and Wales. The following include the major

series of records in English repositories which cover a wider period than those contained in the Durham University institutional archive:

- National Archives of England and Wales: Colonial Office Papers on various topics relating to Codrington College, including future expansion, grants, University of Durham statutes, correspondence with the SPG, training in tropical agriculture, college council, training of service men, scholarships and funds, pre-affiliation records etc, mostly 1870-1930 (CO 28, 318, 321, 323)
- Lambeth Palace Library: Letters on Codrington Colleges in the papers of Frederick Temple (Temple 20, 50, 59), Edward White Benson (Benson 29, 112), Davidson Papers (Davidson 59, 210), and CFS F/5
- Gloucestershire Archives: Letter book of Gerald Codrington, mostly on fundraising, 1880-1896 (D1610/C56b)

8.2.5 The archive of Fourah Bay College is predominantly held at the University of Sierra Leone. It has not been possible to obtain a full catalogue of the contents of the archive, although John Sannoh, archivist at Fourah Bay College, has helpfully provided certain lists of documents relating to Durham University. These documents, however, duplicate the records already in the institutional archive at Durham University. There are, nevertheless, records in the National Archives of England and Wales which cover a similar period to those contained in the Durham University institutional archive, including within the following series:

- Colonial Office Papers on various topics relating to Fourah Bay College, including finance, staff recruitment and pay, conditions during WW2, visitations, commissions of enquiry, charters and statutes, faculty of engineering, survey maps and plans, Advisory Committee on Colonial Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology/Inter-University Council grants, links with colonial business ventures, the Randle Bequest, University statutes, (CO 267, 554, 700/Sierra Leone) 859, 927, 995, 1045, 1069)
- Privy Council Office files on Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone, including surrendering of the charter in 1967 (PC 15/1799, 15/2016, 15/2017)
- Crown Agents for the Colonies general file on Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone (CAOG, 13/70)
- Lord Chancellor's Office file on the college seeking university status (LCO 6/2079)
- British Council papers on Fourah Bay College, including constitution, visitation, Inter-University Council grants, royal charter, development of the college, visits to colonial colleges, extra-mural studies, compensation claims by ex-staff, future role of the college, finance, commissions of enquiry (BW 90, 91)
- Technical Education and Training Organisation for Overseas Countries

- British Empire Photographs, including photographs of the college (INF 10/303, 10/310, 10/313)
- Commonwealth Relations Office and Commonwealth Office file on compensation claims by ex-staff, 1963-1966 (DO 166/87, 221/53)
- Ministry of Overseas Development papers on equipment for the Faculty of Engineering (OD 30/257)
- Office of Works file on a gift presented to Fourah Bay College in 1959 (WORK 65/222)

Appendix 1: List of Primary Sources Consulted

Notes: (1) Legacies of Slavery Database abbreviated as LoSD. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts abbreviated as SPG.

(2) All UND references are to the University Archives; all other references are to archives held by the university that have been created by other organisations/individuals.

* Those marked with an asterisk are part of Durham Cathedral Archives, currently stored and accessible in Palace Green Library.

Foundation and Governance of the University

Ref Number	Description	Research Potential	Investigation undertaken	Outcome
UND/AB1/16-18	Reports from the <i>London Gazette</i> , 1841, 1845	Information relating to the university's initial endowment	Analysed reports, focusing on references to key points of the endowment.	Describes how the University was endowed and gives details of the provision of payments for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to pay annual sums to the University.
UND/CG7/AA1	<i>Act to Enable the Dean and Chapter of Durham to Appropriate Part of the Property of their Church to the Establishment of a University in Connexion therewith, for the Advancement of Learning</i> (1832)	Text of the original act giving details about the foundation and endowment		
UND/AB1/21	Later statute relating to the transfer of Dean and Chapter lands in South Shields, 1871	Later statute demonstrating how the income from these lands was to be used by the university	Analysed statute, focusing on the terms of the statute.	Demonstrates the way in which rental income from Church lands was used to help to finance the University.
UND/BA1/1	Senate minutes, 1836-1841	References to the governance and financing of the University and the decisions made.	Analysed the senate minutes, focusing on the major decisions made by the University in its early years.	Useful in a broad sense explaining decision-making process in the early years.
THO/1-200	Charles Thorp Correspondence, 1831-1836	Papers relating to the foundation of the University and its early years.	Analysed letters, focusing on involvement in the early years of the University.	Useful in a broad sense explaining involvement and decision-making process in the early years.

*CVML/206-485	William van Mildert Letters, 1832-1836			
GRE/B12/10/1-15	Thorp Letters to 2 nd Earl Grey, 1830-1834			
GRE/B54/14/1-16	Van Mildert Letters to 2 nd Earl Grey, 1821-1840			
UND/K3	<i>Durham University Calendar</i> , 1833-1870	Lists of names of teaching staff and governing body.	Names cross-referenced with LoSD and also SPG membership/subscriber lists.	James Ellice listed on the University board in 1833 and received compensation from the Slavery Compensation Act.
*DCD/B/AA/13	Cathedral Act and minute books, 1829-1838	Copies of acts and minutes of meetings relating to the foundation of the university	Analysed minutes in 1832-1833	Nothing of relevance to this project.

Attitudes towards slavery/anti-slavery

Reference Number	Description	Research Potential	Investigation undertaken	Outcome
THO	Charles Thorp Correspondence, 1831-1862	Given Thorpe's anti-slavery reputation, there may be references to the slavery issue.	Used the online catalogue descriptions to search for links to slavery.	One letter from Van Mildert to Thorp expresses his attitude to discussions in Parliament on the Slavery Abolition Bill.
*VMP	Van Mildert Letters, 1826-1835	Van Mildert sat in the House of Lords so there may be references to the slavery issue.	Used the online catalogue descriptions to search for links to slavery.	No links found.
GRE/B82/11B/2	Letter from Edward Maltby to 1st Baron Denman, 1832	References a parliamentary bill, which could be the Slavery Abolition Bill.	Analysed the letter to determine which bill is being described.	Likely to be the Great Reform Bill so no links found.
DDR/BP/PER/3	Personal file of Maltby, 1836-1856	Maltby's family were owners of enslaved	Analysed letters to look for references to slavery.	No links found.
Add.MS. 1031/1-5	Letters from Maltby to various correspondents, 1799-1811			

GRE/B12/9/1-19	Letters from Maltby to 2 nd Earl Grey, 1831-1843	individuals so there may be references to slavery.		
GRE/C/78/1-28	Correspondence between Maltby and Rev Henry Percy, 1851			
CCOX 95	Letters from Maltby to Rev Richard Coxe, 1841-1856			
Add.MS. 1143	Satirical poem on Henry Phillpotts, [1829]	Given Philpott's attitude to slavery, this may be satirised in this poem.	Analysed poem for reference to slavery	No links found
GRE/B47/1/15/1-2; GRE/B14/4/1-5	Correspondence between Phillpotts and the 2 nd Earl Grey, 1819, 1830-1838	Given Philpott's attitude to slavery, there may be references to this in the correspondence.	Analysed letters looking for references to slavery.	No links found.
CCOX 115	Letters from Phillpotts to Rev Richard Coxe, 1850-1862			
Add.MS. 1498	Journal of James F. W. Johnston, 1838, 1850-1851	Given Johnston's anti-slavery attitude there may be references to this in his journal.	Analysed journal looking for references to his anti-slavery attitudes.	No links found, although there are some notes on his opinions of his humble background.
UND/DA1/G1	Biographical notes on James F. W. Johnston, [?1980]	Given Johnston's anti-slavery attitude there may be references to it in these notes.	Analysed this article for references to his anti-slavery attitudes.	No links found
British Library Newspaper Archive	<i>Newcastle Courant</i> , 15 May 1824	Controversy involving Phillpotts pro-slavery views.	Analysed online newspaper article to understand the context of the controversy and Philpott's attitude.	Gives a clear indication of Philpott's sympathy for slave traders and attitudes to the enslaved.
Online	<i>British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society: Convention, June 12th, 1840</i> (1841) https://www.jstor.org/stable/60228328	References to any Durham University individuals involved in the Convention	Analysed attendance list.	Lists 'Professor Johnston of Durham' as an attendee (no. 118)
SC 13971-13972	Johnston, James Finlay Weir, <i>Notes on North America: agricultural, economical and social</i> , vols I and II (1851)	May include references to his attitude towards American slavery.	Searched key terms 'slave', 'black', 'negro' etc.	Anti-slavery views evident on page 7 (Volume 1); pages 276, 277, 315, 451, and 486 (Volume 2)
Online	<i>Report of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in</i>	References to any individuals connected to Durham University or the	Searched individual names and compared them with the <i>University</i>	Lists of members of the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral, pp. 58-60

	<i>Foreign Parts, for the year 1832...</i> (1833) Report of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in ... - Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (Great Britain) - Google Books	Cathedral involved in the SPG	<i>Calendar</i> and Cathedral stall lists.	
Online	<i>Declaration of the objects of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Society for promoting the gradual abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions</i> (Newcastle, 1823) Declaration of the objects of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Society for promoting ... - Society for Promoting the gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions (NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE) - Google Books	References to any Durham University individuals involved in the Society	Analysed membership and subscriber lists.	Lists Thorp as vice-president and Winterbottom on the Committee (p. 3) and Thorp as a contributor (p. 10)
Online	<i>Declaration of the Objects of the Newcastle upon Tyne Society for Abolishing Slavery all over the World</i> (Newcastle, 1836) Declaration of the Objects - Newcastle upon Tyne Society for Abolishing Slavery all over the World - Google Books	References to any Durham University individuals involved in the Society	Analysed membership and subscriber lists.	Lists Winterbottom on the committee (p. 3)

Income derived from slavery/colonialism

Reference Number	Description	Research Potential	Investigation undertaken	Outcome
UND/CF2/A1	Scholarship register, 1838-1898	Lists scholarships, named after specific individuals who may have links with slavery/colonialism.	Consulted the lists and cross-checked with scholarships listed in the <i>University Calendar</i>	Duplicates lists in <i>University Calendar</i> . Links found listed in Section 7.
UND/CG1/13/2	Scholarship fund ledger, 1869-1897	Lists scholarships, named after specific individuals		

		who may have links with slavery/colonialism.		
UND/F7/C2/A1	Bishop Hatfield's Hall account books, 1853-1902	Lists donations by individuals, who may have links with slavery/colonialism.	Systematically cross-checked all donors against the LoSD.	No links found
UND/F1/C2/A1	University College Cash books, 1833-1901			
UND/CF1/A2	Fellowships register, 1839-1909	Lists fellowships, named after specific individuals who may have links with slavery/colonialism.	Cross-checked lists with those in the <i>University Calendar</i>	Duplicates lists in <i>University Calendar</i> . Links found listed in Section 7.
UND/CG1/2/1-3	Treasurer's day books, 1834-1880	Lists donations by individuals, who may have links with slavery/colonialism	Systematically cross-checked all donors against the LoSD.	No concrete links found, although several names require further research.
UND/CG1/13/2A	University Estate (Order in Council) Account Book, 1877-1893	Lists donations by individuals, who may have links with slavery/colonialism	Systematically cross-checked all donors against the LoSD.	No links found.
UND/CG1/8/1	University property register, 1833-1891	Lists individuals renting property on the University estates, who may have links with slavery/colonialism	Systematically cross-checked all donors in index against the LoSD.	No concrete links found, although several names require further research.
UND/CG7/AC15	Indenture relating to the Maltby Scholarship, 1844	Maltby's cousin had connections to slavery.	Analysed indenture to determine amount donated by Maltby and the terms of the scholarship	Confirmation of Maltby's donation of £333 6s 8d to the University for this scholarship.
UND/EA1/GA5	Photocopies of the Maltby Library declaration of trust, 1855	Maltby's cousin had connections to slavery.	Analysed indenture to determine terms set out relating to the donation of the Maltby Library	Includes transfer of library and fund of £1,000, 3% Consolidated Bank Annuities for the payment of a Librarian
DPRI	Probate documents, 19 th century	Wills and probate documents may show donations to the University from individuals connected to slavery and colonialism	Analysed a number of wills and cross-checked with LoSD.	No links found

MAW 3/33e(iii):	Release by James Henry Dixon and Robert William Dixon of Thomas Wilkinson and Rev. William Smoult Temple from liability after receipt of sums due to them from the estate of Robert Henry McDonald, 1833 & 1836	Smoult Temple had slavery links.	Analysed document to determine the terms of this release, cross checking with the LoSD.	Confirmation of Smoult Temple's slavery link, although no indication that he donated any money to the University.
UND/F3/C3/C1	Declaration of Trust relating to the transfer of money and stock by Howard Douglas Horsfall to St Chad's College for its permanent endowment, 2 July 1923	Horsfall's grandfather had links to slavery	Analysed document to determine the terms of this endowment	Confirmation of the transfer of £7000 £4% debenture stock of the London Midland and Scottish Railway and £5650 £3% debenture stock of the London and North Eastern Railway to the College.
UND/CC2/392	Papers on the Horsfall Scholarship, 1938-1948	Horsfall's grandfather had links to slavery	Analysed papers to determine the terms of the scholarship	Confirmation of the terms of the scholarship and names of individuals who were awarded it.
DCD/H	Deanery and prebendal rentals and accounts, 19 th century	References to accounts of individual canons (Phillpotts, Smoult Temple) who had links with slavery.	After further investigation, there appear to be no prebendary accounts of Phillpotts or Smoult Temple in the Cathedral Archive	No links found
UND/K3	<i>Durham University Calendar</i> , 19 th /early 20 th century	Lists of scholarships, staff, governing body etc.	Analysed names and cross-referenced with LoSD and SPG lists	Some connections found. See Section 7.
UND/K2	Durham University Journal, late 19 th /early 20 th century	Lists significant donations made	Analysed names and cross-referenced with SPG lists.	Some connections found. See Section 7.

Colonial Colleges

Reference Number	Description	Research Potential	Investigation undertaken	Outcome
UND/BA1/5	Senate minutes, 1869-1878	Meetings discussing arrangements for affiliation with colonial colleges	Analysed Senate meetings 1874-1876	Confirms decision-making process and early arrangements for affiliations
UND/BA2/3	Convocation minute book, 1862-1886	Meetings discussing arrangements for affiliation with colonial colleges	Analysed Convocation meetings 1874-1876	Confirms decision-making process and early arrangements for affiliations
UND/CA1/6e	Copy statute to introduce certain additions to and modifications to the affiliation with Codrington and Fourah Bay, 1886	Could be useful for affiliation regulations.	Analysed statute, looking for information on the relationship between the University and its colonial colleges.	Sets out the regulations relating to the affiliation.
UND/CB1/F4	Fourah Bay College Papers including correspondence with principal and registrar, 1939-2006	Correspondence relates to the final period of the University's links with FBC but could be useful to highlight colonial links and the deterioration of the relationship	Analysed correspondence, looking for information on the relationship between the University and Fourah Bay College	Useful for a range of different aspects of the relationship, including Fourah Bay's opinion of the affiliation, changes to regulations, reading lists, recruitment of staff, and the Latin as a matriculation requirement.
UND/F17/G1	<i>Codrington Review</i> (Summer 1961)	Relates to the final period of the University's links with CC but could be useful to highlight colonial links and the deterioration of the relationship	Analysed articles, looking for information on the relationship between the University and its Codrington College	Useful for evidence of Codrington College's frustration with the University over the removal of the Licence in Theology degree programme.
UND/F18/G4	<i>The Fourah Bay</i> (1948), (1952)	Relates to the final period of the university's links with FBC but could be useful to highlight colonial links and the deterioration of the relationship	Analysed articles, looking for information on the relationship between the University and Fourah Bay College	No relevant articles.

UND/F18/G6	Fourah Bay Fund appeal brochures, 1957	Relates to the final period of the university's links with FBC but could be useful to highlight colonial links and the deterioration of the relationship	Analysed brochures, looking for information on the relationship between the University and Fourah Bay College	Useful as evidence of Fourah Bay's attitude towards the University affiliation.
UND/CB1/C7	Correspondence with Codrington College, 1937-2003	Correspondence relates to the final period of the university's links with CC but could be useful to highlight colonial links and the deterioration of the relationship	Analysed correspondence, looking for information on the relationship between the University and Codrington College.	Useful for evidence of reading lists and the attitude of Durham History professors towards attempts to modify the Fourah Bay curriculum.
UND/CC2/29-31	Affiliated Colleges correspondence, 1941-1955	Correspondence relates to the final period of the university's links with CC/FBC but could be useful to highlight colonial links and the deterioration of the relationship	Analysed correspondence, looking for information on the relationship between the University and its colonial colleges.	Useful for evidence of Fourah Bay's attitude towards Duff, and his contrasting opinion of the College, the University's willingness to assist with funding appeals, matriculation requirements, changes to the syllabus, extra-mural work carried out, Duff's opposition to Sawyerr as Principal,
UND/CC2/473	Theology Department, comprising correspondence (including the principal of Codrington College), 1952-1960	Correspondence relates to the final period of the university's links with CC but could be useful to highlight colonial links and the deterioration of the relationship	Analysed correspondence, looking for information on the relationship between the University and Codrington College.	Useful for evidence of the University's neglect of Codrington College
UND/CC3/A7	Affiliated Colleges, comprising correspondence (principally re Fourah Bay and Codrington Colleges), 1962-1963	Correspondence relates to the final period of the university's links with CC/FBC but could be useful to highlight colonial links and the deterioration of the relationship	Analysed correspondence, looking for information on the relationship between the University and its colonial colleges.	Useful as evidence for this relationship.

UND/CB1/C22b	Colonial Colleges Advisory Committee, 1948-1963	Papers relate to the final period of the university's links with CC/FBC but could be useful to highlight colonial links and the deterioration of the relationship, as well as showing how these colleges are being managed.	Analysed meeting papers, looking for information on the relationship between the University and its colonial colleges.	Useful for evidence of staff recruitment and employee rights at the College, the attitude of Sierra Leoneans towards Fourah Bay, the lack of communication between Codrington and the University, and involvement of University representatives on the Fourah Bay College Council.
UND/CB1/F4d	Fourah Bay Council meeting papers, 1953-1954	Papers relate to the final period of the university's links with FBC but could be useful to highlight colonial links and the deterioration of the relationship	Analysed meeting papers, looking for information on the relationship between the University and Fourah Bay College.	Duplicates meeting papers in UND/CB1/F4
UND/CB1/F4e	Future of Fourah Bay College, 1954	Relates to the final period of the university's links with FBC but could be useful to highlight colonial links and the deterioration of the relationship	Analysed papers, looking for information on the relationship between the University and Fourah Bay College.	Duplicates papers in UND/CB1/F4.
UND/CC1/C6	Colonial Education Commission, 1943-1947	Could be useful in describing James Fitzjames Duff's (VC) role in colonial education.	Analysed papers, looking for information on the relationship between the University and its colonial colleges, and Duff's role.	Useful as evidence of Duff's involvement on the Inter-University Council, Duff's opinion of Fourah Bay and Africans, and opposition to the Asquith Plan.
UND/CC2/112-118	Council of Arts, Science and Technology Committee including visits to Fourah Bay, 1949-1959	Could be useful in describing James Fitzjames Duff's (VC) role in colonial education.	Analysed papers, looking for information on the relationship between the University and its colonial colleges, and Duff's role.	Duff's role in grant funding for colonial universities, his personal attachment to Fourah Bay, and the perceived lack of readiness of Fourah Bay to teach at university level.

UND/CC2/177-185	Fourah Bay College, comprising agenda papers for meetings of the Council of the College and correspondence (of the warden Sir James Duff, etc.) with the principal of the college and others, 1952-1960	Relates to the final period of the university's links with FBC but could be useful to highlight colonial links and the deterioration of the relationship	Analysed papers, looking for information on the relationship between the University and its colonial colleges, and Duff's role.	Useful for evidence of the University and Duff's attitude towards Fourah Bay, and the development of science courses there.
UND/CC2/242-256	Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies/Overseas, 1945-1960	Could be useful in describing James Fitzjames Duff's (VC) role in colonial education.	Analysed papers, looking for information on the relationship between the University and its colonial colleges, and Duff's role.	Useful for evidence of Duff's involvement in the Inter-University Council
UND/CC2/358-359	References, comprising correspondence of Sir James Duff with and about persons (staff of the university including those at Fourah Bay College, 1955-1960	Could be useful in describing James Fitzjames Duff's (VC) role in colonial education.	Analysed references and correspondence, looking for information on the relationship between the University and its colonial colleges, and Duff's role.	Useful for evidence of recruitment practice at Fourah Bay and Duff's opinion of certain candidates.
UND/CC3/F2	Fourah Bay College, comprising agendas of the college's Council and of the selection committee for the post of assistant registrar, 1960-1963	Could be useful to see what involvement the University had in the decision-making process	Analysed papers, looking for information on the relationship between the University and Fourah Bay College and its involvement in staff recruitment.	Useful for evidence of commercial grants being offered to Fourah Bay, Duff's involvement with colonial education grant funding, and the attitude towards Fourah Bay receiving university status.
UND/CK2/C1B	Press release: Fourah Bay College, 1967	End of the University's relationship with FBC.	Analysed press release, looking for information on the	Useful as evidence of Fourah Bay's attitude towards the University.

			opinion of Fourah Bay towards the University.	
UND/BB12/1	Colonial Colleges Advisory Committee minute book, 1950-1957	Useful for the University's management of their colonial colleges.	Analysed minutes, looking for information on the relationship between the University and its colonial colleges.	Useful for various aspects of the affiliation relationship, in particular the lack of communication with Codrington.
UND/DA1/SC22	Colonial Colleges Advisory Committee, 1949-1959	Useful for the University's management of their colonial colleges.	Analysed papers, looking for information on the relationship between the University and its colonial colleges.	As above
UND/AB2/1	Draft proposed Statutes for the University of Durham, 1908	Statutes relating to the affiliated colleges (107-114)	Analysed statutes, focusing on relationship with the University	Sets out the terms and conditions colleges to apply for affiliation.
UND/CB1/T1a	Correspondence with the principals of theological colleges associated with Durham University, 1940-1963	Useful for the relationship between Durham University and its overseas associate colleges	Analysed correspondence 1940-1963	Mostly relating to individual students. Very little correspondence relates to the overseas colleges.

Colonialism and Individuals

Reference Number	Description	Research Potential	Investigation undertaken	Outcome
UND/K2	<i>Durham University Journal</i> , 25 October 1889 & 24 November 1894	References to King Leopold II's donation to Durham University	Analysed reports	Evidence of donations to two new wings of the Durham College of Science by Leopold II
GRE/B188/7	Notes by Grey from letter Loch to Knutsford, 25 July 1892	Knutsford's involvement with South Africa		Knutsford's link to the University is too tenuous so no further research required.

GRE/B188/10	White Paper: South Africa and correspondence, 1891-1893	Knutsford's involvement with South Africa		Knutsford's link to the university is too tenuous so no further research required.
GRE/B90/6/100-103, 108-116	Typed copies of letters Hon. Cecil Holland to his father, 1st Viscount Knutsford, 1891	Knutsford's involvement with South Africa		Knutsford's link to the university is too tenuous so no further research required.
Add.MSS 834/21	Letter from Henry Holland's father to C.T.W., Durham College, 10 November 1842	Henry Holland attended Durham University for one term	Analysed letter	Confirms his intention to send his son to Durham

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Appendix 3: Select Chronology

Date	University History	Black British History
1807		The passing of the Slave Trade Abolition Act which abolished the slave trade in the British Empire.
1832	The passing of the University of Durham Act founding the university and authorising income from part of the property of Durham Cathedral to support the University.	
1832	University College, the foundation College of Durham University, was established.	
1833		The passing of the Slavery Abolition Act which provided for the gradual abolition of slavery in most parts of the British Empire.
1837	Royal Charter granted to the University to enable it to award degrees.	The passing of the Slave Compensation Act which compensated owners of enslaved individuals in the British colonies to the amount of £20 million.
1846	Bishop Hatfield's Hall (later Hatfield College) was founded to provide cheaper accommodation for students.	
1852	The College of Medicine and Surgery became the 'Newcastle upon Tyne College of Medicine, in connection with the University of Durham'.	
1857		Mary Seacole publishes her autobiography, the first written by a black woman in Britain.
1871	College of Physical Sciences established in Newcastle and formally incorporated into the University of Durham three years later, with the lecture and laboratory courses open to women.	
1875	Affiliate relationship established with Codrington College in Barbados, granting the College degree awarding powers in Classics and Theology.	
1876	Affiliate relationship established with Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone, granting the College degree awarding powers.	
1895	Durham University awarded a supplementary charter to allow it to	

	grant degrees to women in all subjects (with the exception of theology). Ella Bryant became the first woman to receive a degree (BSc) from the University.	
1904	St Chad's College was founded as an independent college of the University.	
1908	The University of Durham Act was passed which reorganised the governance of the University into a federal system.	
1909	St John's College was founded as the second independent college of the University.	
1913		John Archer becomes the first black mayor of London.
1914-1918		People from across the British Empire – including the Caribbean and India – arrived in Britain and Europe more widely as soldiers, sailors, and workers in the munitions industry.
1939-1945		People from the Caribbean and West Africa arrive as wartime workers and servicemen in the army, navy and air force.
1950s-1960s		Significant migration of people from all over the Caribbean to work in hospitals and on transport and railway networks.
1961		Sierra Leone granted independence from the British Empire on 27 April 1961. Barbados achieves full internal self-governance in the same year, briefly joining the West Indies Federation before gaining full independence on 30 November 1966.
1962		Commonwealth Immigrants Act restricts entry of people of colour to the UK.
1963	The passing of the Universities of Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne Act, establishing the Newcastle Division as a separate university.	
1965	Codrington College became affiliated with the University of the West Indies.	

1965		The passing of the Race Relations Act which banned racial discrimination in public places, making the promotion of hatred on the grounds of 'colour, race, or ethnic or national origins' an offence.
1966		Barbadians achieve full independence.
1967	Ending of Durham's affiliation with Fourah Bay College.	

Appendix 4: Glossary of Names and Subjects

Advisory Committee on Colonial Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology (ACCAST): Established in 1949, the purpose of ACCAST was to advise the Secretary of State for the Colonies and other officials in the colonies on the development of Colonial Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology. The Committee later changed its name to the Council for Overseas Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology, whose purpose was not only to advise on technical education but also to visit Colleges overseas and to serve on their Councils.

Armstrong, William George, 1st Baron Armstrong (1810-1900): William Armstrong was born in Newcastle upon Tyne. He was educated at the Royal Grammar School in Newcastle and Bishop Auckland Grammar School. He spent five years studying law, becoming a partner in Donkin, Stable and Armstrong, but resigned in 1847 to pursue a business venture in crane and hydraulic manufacturing. In the early 1850s, he designed the 'Armstrong Gun', surrendering the patent to the British Government and, as a result, was knighted. From the 1860s, he began designing warships in the Elswick and Walker areas of Newcastle. In later life, he served as the High Sheriff of Northumberland, president of the North of England Institute of Mining and Mechanical Engineers, and president of the Institution of Civil Engineers. In 1887, he was raised to the peerage. He was a significant benefactor of engineering education and helped to fund the Durham College of Science, later renamed Armstrong College after his death.

Asquith Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies: This commission was founded in 1943 and was similar in scope to the Elliot Commission, although it considered the role of higher education throughout the British Empire. One of its key recommendations was to establish the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas.

Caldecott, Alfred (1850-1936): Caldecott was born in Chester and educated at the King's School in the city and read the Moral Science Tripos at St John's, Cambridge. He became the Principal of Codrington College between 1884 and 1886. After taking holy orders, he became rector of North and South Topham in Norfolk from 1895-1898, as well as joining the staff of King's College, London, from 1891, becoming its first Chair of Logic and Moral Philosophy. He was Dean of King's College from 1913-1917; and Prebendary of St Paul's from 1915 to 1935. He wrote several books on religious subjects and worked on a translation of *Aesop's Fables*. He died in 1935 in Malvern.

Cathedral Stalls: At Durham, prebendaries were canons who, together with the Dean, formed the Cathedral's governing chapter. Each held a prebend, an endowed office providing income from designated cathedral estates. Each was assigned to a seat, or 'stall', in the cathedral choir; the term 'stall' was therefore used to refer both to the physical seat and to the office associated with it.

Church Missionary Society: The Church Missionary Society was founded in 1799 as a British missionary society working with Christians across the world. Its original founders included William Wilberforce and other notable anti-slavery campaigners, who set up the Sierra Leone Company and the Society for the Education of Africans. In 1827, it established Fourah Bay College in Freetown, initially intended as a training institution for Africans, and continued its involvement with the college until the 1960s.

In 1995, the Church Missionary Society changed its name to the Church Mission Society and is still active today.

Codrington College: Codrington College was established through Christopher Codrington's bequest, which also encompassed the much larger Codrington Estate on which the College was located. The estate included two plantations in the parish of St John, known as the Upper (or Society) and Lower (or Consett) Plantations. In his will of 1702, Codrington bequeathed both plantations to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), with instructions to establish an institution for the study of divinity and surgery. Codrington College was subsequently established on the Lower Plantation, alongside a grammar school that later became The Lodge School. Under the guidance of the Bishop of Barbados and the Windward Islands, Bishop William Coleridge, it was elevated to the status of an Anglican seminary in 1830, when it became one of the first theological colleges of the Anglican Church. The SPG continued to retain ownership and the College's missionary status continued to grow throughout the nineteenth century. In 1875, it became affiliated to Durham University, allowing graduates of Codrington to receive a Durham degree in Classics or Theology. This arrangement included the provision of Durham teaching staff at the College, as well as the setting of examination, marking and the awarding of degrees. In 1965, the college affiliated to the University of West Indies, Cave Hill, although Durham's affiliation remained on the statutes until 2011.

College of Physical Sciences, Newcastle: Founded in 1871, this became the College of Science in 1884 and then Armstrong College in 1904. It offered a wide range of pure and applied science as well as a growing number of arts courses. It merged with the College of Medicine in 1937 and was renamed King's College. In 1963, it finally became part of the independent Newcastle University.

Community of the Resurrection: The Community of the Resurrection is an Anglican religious community established in Oxford in 1892. Moving to Mirfield in West Yorkshire, they opened a theological college in Leeds in 1902, specifically for the working classes. In the early twentieth century, it expanded its missionary activity overseas and accepted an invitation to run Codrington College from 1956 to 1969. The Community is still active today, albeit on a much-reduced scale.

Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral: the Dean and Chapter are the governing body of the cathedral.

Duff, James Fitzjames (1898-1970), Warden 1937-1960: James Duff was educated at Winchester College then Trinity College, Cambridge. In the 1920s, alongside Godfrey Thomson, he pioneered research into IQ and social class which is now considered controversial. In 1932, he became professor of Education at the University of Manchester, before taking up the post of Warden of Durham University from 1937 until his retirement in 1960. Duff was a member of several commissions on colonial education.

Durham College of Medicine: The Durham College of Medicine had its origins in the establishment of a medical school in Newcastle in 1834. In June 1851, the medical school split into the Newcastle upon Tyne College of Medicine and Surgery, and the Newcastle upon Tyne College of Medicine and Practical Sciences. Six months later, the College of Medicine and Surgery became the 'Newcastle upon Tyne College of Medicine, in connection with the University of Durham'. In 1870, this became an official college of the University known as the Durham University College of Medicine. The

College of Medicine became the first mixed medical school in England in 1900, allowing women to study medicine here or at the London School of Medicine for Women which was affiliated to Durham the following year. It merged with Armstrong College in 1937 and was renamed King's College. In 1963, it finally became part of the independent Newcastle University.

Ellice, James (active 1814-1833), member of the University Boards, 1833: James Ellice was ordained in 1814, serving as rector of Watton at Stone and Clothall. He is listed on the Durham University Boards in the 1833 *University Calendar*.

Elliot Commission on Higher Education in West Africa: The Elliot Commission, comprised of British and African members, was established in 1943 to report into the role of colonial education and development. It included a three-month tour of the four British West African colonies: Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia, collecting petitions, holding public meetings and publishing a report in June 1945. It recommended well-resourced institutions that, controversially, would award University of London degrees.

Frodsham, George Horsfall (1863-1937): Frodsham was born in Sale Moor, Cheshire, in 1863. He was educated at Birkenhead School and University College, Dublin. He was ordained following training at St Aidan's College, Birkenhead, in 1889. After curacies in England, he transferred to Australia, where he was Rector of St Thomas in Toowong, Brisbane, before becoming the Bishop of North Queensland in 1902, serving until 1913. He returned to England in 1920, becoming vicar of Halifax in West Yorkshire, a position he held until his death.

Fourah Bay College: This College was founded in Freetown, Sierra Leone, as an Anglican missionary school in 1827 by the Church Missionary Society. As well as attracting Sierra Leoneans, the College soon became a magnet for Africans from other countries, including Nigeria, Ghana and the Ivory Coast. It became affiliated to Durham from 1876, under the same arrangements as Codrington, until 1967.

Gladstone, William Ewart (1809-1898): Gladstone was born in Liverpool and educated at Eton College and Christ Church, Oxford, where he achieved a double first-class degree in Classics and Mathematics. He entered Parliament in 1832 as a High Tory (which later became the Conservative Party) but joined the breakaway Peelite faction in 1849 which eventually became the Liberal Party. He served in several positions, including Prime Minister four times.

Grey, Charles, 1st Earl Grey (1729-1807): Grey was born in Howick Hall, Northumberland. Unlike his two elder brothers, he embarked on a military career, with his first involvement including the suppression of the Jacobite Rising in 1745. He served in various regiments, including seeing action in the Seven Years War, the American War of Independence and the French Revolutionary Wars. In acknowledgement of his service, he was awarded a peerage.

Grey, Charles, 2nd Earl Grey (1764-1845): Grey was born in Howick Hall, Northumberland, and was educated at Richmond School, followed by Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. He was elected to Parliament for the Northumberland constituency in 1786, soon becoming one of the major leaders of the Whig Party. As Prime Minister from 1830 to 1834, Grey was largely responsible for the passing of the Great Reform Act (1832) and the Slavery Abolition Act (1833).

Holland, Henry Thurston, 1st Viscount of Knutsford (1825-1914): Henry Holland was educated at Harrow School, briefly at Durham University (receiving the Durham prize for Latin verse as an undergraduate) and Trinity College, Cambridge, receiving his degree in 1847. After a career in law, he was elected to the House of Commons in 1873. After a number of cabinet appointments, he became the Colonial Secretary in 1887. In the same year, Holland was responsible for granting the charter for Cecil Rhodes's British South African Company. He remained Colonial Secretary until 1892. He died in London in 1914.

Horsfall, Howard Douglas (1856-1936), significant donor of St Chad's College: Howard Douglas Horsfall was the founder of St Chad's College in Durham. He was born in Liverpool, studied at Eton College, and had a successful career as a stockbroker. He helped to finance the building of a number of Anglo-Catholic churches in the Liverpool area.

Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas: Originally established as the Inter-University Council in 1946, following the recommendation of the Asquith Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies, its aim was to promote co-operation between universities in the United Kingdom and the colonies. In 1955, it changed its name to the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas, comprising of members from British universities. In 1981, it was amalgamated with the British Council.

Johnston, James Finlay Weir (1796-1855), Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy 1833-1855: James F. W. Johnston was educated at the University of Glasgow where he graduated with an MA in Theology. He founded a grammar school in Durham in 1825 and devoted himself to the study of chemistry, co-founding the British Association for the Advancement of Science. He was appointed reader in Chemistry and Mineralogy in Durham University in 1833. He travelled through Canada and America in the late 1840s, surveying the soil and reporting on potential development, and publishing his findings in *Notes on North America* in 1851. He died in Durham in September 1855.

Legacies of British Slavery Database: The Legacies of British Slavery Database was compiled by the Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery (formerly the Study of the Legacies of British Slave-ownership), a research centre of University College, London. The database aims to record all those individuals who were recompensed by the British state at the abolition of slavery in 1833.

Leopold II, king of the Belgians (1835-1909): Leopold II was the second king of the Belgians, reigning from 1865 until 1908. He was the founder of the Congo Free State from 1885-1908. He is popularly known as the Builder King in recognition of a number of buildings and urban projects he commissioned. Leopold, however, is perhaps best known for his use of forced labour, from the indigenous population of the Congo, to extract ivory and natural rubber in the 1880s and 1890s. Leopold's brutal treatment of his workers forced the Belgian Government to take over the administration of the Congo from Leopold in 1908, with the Congo Free State being reconstituted as a new territory, the Belgian Congo, following as a result.

Lumley, Lawrence Roger, 11th Earl of Scarborough (1896-1969), Chancellor of Durham University, 1958-1969: Lawrence Roger Lumley was the son of Brigadier General Osbert Lumley. He attended Eton College and Magdalene College, Oxford, before undertaking training at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. He served in

France during the First World War and became a MP for Kingston upon Hull East from 1922-1929, then York 1931-1937, serving as Parliamentary Private Secretary to William Ormsby-Gore, Sir Austen Chamberlain and, later, to Anthony Eden. He was appointed Governor of Bombay from 1937 to 1943 and served as Major-General in India during the Second World War. He succeeded to the Earldom of Scarborough following the death of his uncle in 1945. He served as Lord Chamberlain from 1952 to 1963 and Chancellor of the University of Durham from 1958 until his death in 1969.

Maltby, Edward (1770-1859), Bishop of Durham 1837-1856: Maltby was educated at Norwich Grammar School and Winchester College. He was ordained at Cambridge University and held two vicarages in Buckden (Huntingdonshire) and Holbeach (Lincolnshire). For political reasons, he was not appointed to an episcopal position until 1830, where he became Bishop of Chichester. Seven years later, he was appointed Bishop of Durham. As well as a negotiator for the University's royal charter, Maltby had substantial personal wealth and donated significant sums of money to the university. Unusually for a bishop, he retired in 1855, before dying four years later.

Mitchinson, John (1833-1918), Bishop of Barbados 1873-1877: Mitchenson was born in Durham and educated at Durham School and Pembroke College, Oxford. Ordained in 1860, he initially worked for Warwick Reed Wroth in St Phillip's Church, Clerkenwell, before his appointment as Bishop of Barbados (later Barbados and the Windward Islands) in 1873. He was the main instigator behind Durham University's affiliation with Codrington College. In 1881, he returned to England and acted as Assistant Bishop of Peterborough and Archdeacon of Leicester until 1900. In 1899, he was appointed Master of his old college, Pembroke, where he remained until his death in 1918.

Morison, Theodore (1863-1936): Morison was born in Malta in 1863. Educated at Westminster School, he was Westminster scholar at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took a second class in the classical tripos. He initially went to India in 1886 as a tutor to the young maharajas of Chhaturpur and Chakhari but was then appointed professor of English and later principal of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. In 1905, he returned to England for family reasons but was exceptionally appointed to the Council of India in 1906, a position he held for 10 years. In 1919, he became Principal of Armstrong College and between 1924 and 1926 was the Vice-Chancellor of Durham University.

Newcastle Division: This was the umbrella name for the Newcastle Colleges of the University of Durham, following federalisation in 1908. The Newcastle Division separated from the University of Durham in 1963.

Newcastle upon Tyne Society for Abolishing Slavery all over the World: Developing out of the Newcastle Anti-Slavery Society, this was a society unique to Newcastle-upon-Tyne and there appear to have been no comparable provincial societies in other parts of the country. Its efforts were mainly focused on the abolition of slavery in America.

Newcastle upon Tyne Society for Promoting the Gradual Abolition of Slavery: This Society was an auxiliary of a national body, the Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery Throughout the British Dominions (more commonly referred to as the Anti-Slavery Society). Its purpose was to abolish slavery in the British colonies, but through a gradual process, rather than immediate abolition, which was felt to be too dangerous to implement. The Society was founded on Christian precepts

and many of its members were Anglicans and Nonconformists. The national body ceased to function once its objectives were fully achieved in 1838.

Phillpotts, Henry (1778-1869), canon of Durham Cathedral: Henry Phillpotts was born in Bridgwater, Somerset, and educated at the Gloucester Cathedral School. At the age of 13, he took his BA at Corpus Christi, Oxford, and his MA at Magdalene College five years later. After a brief spell as a curate in Kilmersdon, Bath, he was appointed as rector of Bishop Middleham in County Durham and chaplain to the Bishop of Durham, Shute Barrington. In 1808, he was collated to Gateshead and the following year offered the ninth prebendary stall in Durham Cathedral. In 1810, he took over the chapelry of St Margaret's in Durham and was offered the more lucrative second canonry of Durham Cathedral in 1815. He was rector of Stanhope from 1820 until 1828 when he was consecrated Bishop of Exeter. Throughout his life until his death in 1869, he earned a reputation as a controversialist, expressing opinions often at odds with the prevailing attitudes of his time.

Queen Anne's Bounty: This was a scheme established in 1704 to supplement the incomes of the poorer clergy of the Church of England. Significant sums of money were invested in the South Sea Company which transported 34,000 of the enslaved to the Spanish Americas in the 18th century and many benefactions were given to the Bounty by individuals with direct links to slavery.

Royal Charter (1837): The Royal Charter of 1 June 1837 was granted by King William IV to the University of Durham. This confirmed the institution's status as a university and allowed it to confer degrees.

Sierra Leone Development Company: The privately owned Sierra Leone Development Company mined iron ore at Marampa from 1933 to 1975.

Slavery Compensation Act (1837): This Act authorised the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt to compensate owners of enslaved individuals in the British colonies of Mauritius, the Cape of Good Hope and the Caribbean to the amount of £20 million (£17 billion today). A research centre at University College London, the Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery, set up the Legacies of British Slavery database to list all claims (successful and unsuccessful) made to the Commission ([Legacies of British Slavery \(ucl.ac.uk\)](https://legaciesofbritishslavery.ucl.ac.uk/))

Smoult Temple, William (1788-1859), minor canon of Durham Cathedral 1821-1831: William Smoult Temple was ordained in 1815, serving as rector of Meldon (1820-1822), vicar of Dalton-le-Dale (1822-1832) and Aycliffe (1831-1835), and rector of Dalton (1835). He was also a minor canon of Durham Cathedral from 1821 to 1831.

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: This society was founded in 1701 to minister to British Christians in overseas territories and to evangelise to non-Christian races. Its activities initially centred on America, but it extended its field of operations to other areas of the British Empire, including Africa, Canada, Australia, India and the West Indies. The latter connection came about because of a bequest by the Barbadian planter and colonial administrator, Christopher Codrington, who left the Society two slavery plantations on the Codrington Estate on his death in 1710. The Society retained these until abolition in 1833. In 1965 the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was formed when the SPG merged with the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, with the Cambridge Mission to Delhi joining USPG in 1968.

St Andrew's College, Oyo, Nigeria: St Andrew's College was founded in 1853 by the Church Missionary Society as a CMS training institution. Originally located in Abeokuta, it was transferred to Lagos in 1867, before its move to Oyo in 1896. Following independence, it was renamed several times and is now known as the Emmanuel Alayande College of Education.

St Chad's College, Durham University: St Chad's College was founded as an independent college of Durham University in 1904. It was established as an Anglican hall for the training of Church of England clergy. Like its sister hostel in Hooten Pagnell near Doncaster, it placed particular emphasis on supporting men with limited financial means. The main benefactor in its early days was the Liverpool stockbroker, Howard Douglas Horsfall. Students of St Chad's were, and still are, permitted to matriculate through the college and then to sit Durham examinations, with the college remaining financially and constitutionally separate from the University.

St John's College, Durham University: St John's College was founded as a Church of England theological college in 1909, becoming an independent college of Durham University in 1919. In 1958, the College was divided into two halls: St John's Hall for undergraduate and postgraduate students studying university courses and Cranmer Hall training men (and later women) for the Anglican orders. Students of St John's were, and still are, permitted to matriculate through the college and then to sit Durham examinations, with the college remaining financially and constitutionally separate from the University.

Thorp, Charles (1783-1862), founder and first Warden of Durham University, 1832-1862: Born in Gateshead and educated at the Royal Grammar School in Newcastle and the Durham School, he graduated from University College, Oxford, and was ordained a priest in 1807. He became the Rector of Ryton from 1811 and then Archdeacon of Durham in 1831. He helped to found the University of Durham and became its first Warden the following year, as well as the first Master of University College.

Trevelyan, George Macauley (1876-1962), Chancellor of Durham University, 1950-1957: George Macauley Trevelyan was born in Stratford-on-Avon. He attended Harrow School and then Trinity College, Cambridge. Trevelyan lectured in History at Cambridge until 1903, at which point he became a full-time writer. Following the publication of his seminal work, *History of England*, he returned to Cambridge in 1927 as Regius Professor of Modern History. In 1950, he accepted the chancellorship of Durham University, a post he held for seven years. Trevelyan College, founded in 1966, is named after him.

United Africa Company: The United Africa Company was a British company trading in palm oil in West Africa. It was founded in 1929 as a result of the merger of the Niger Company and the African and Eastern Trade Corporation. It was taken over by Unilever in the 1930s and became a subsidiary of that company until 1987, when it was absorbed by the parent company.

University Education Committee of India: The University Education Committee of India was set up following independence in 1948, under the Chairmanship of Dr. S Radhakrishnan 'to report on Indian university education and suggest improvements and extensions that might be desirable to suit the present and future needs and aspirations of the country'.

Universities' Mission to Central Africa: The Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) was an Anglican missionary society established in 1859 following an appeal made by David Livingstone at Cambridge in 1857. Supported initially by Oxford and Cambridge and subsequently by Dublin and Durham, it worked to establish an Anglican presence in Central and East Africa. Its mission moved to Zanzibar in 1864 and subsequently developed work elsewhere in the region, including the training of African clergy. The UMCA merged with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1965.

University of Durham Act (1832): The *Act to enable the Dean and Chapter of Durham to appropriate part of the property of their church to the establishment of a University in connection therewith* established the University of Durham as a charitable trust under the control of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, who acted as governors and trustees. It allowed part of the property of the cathedral to support the University. The bill was passed on 4 July 1832, which is taken as the University's foundation date.

University of Durham Act (1908): Following the Durham University Act (1908), the University adopted a more federal system of government. The establishment of the roles of Chancellor (the formal head) and Vice-Chancellor (executive head of the administration and assisted by pro-Vice-Chancellors) in this year replaced the Warden, although the post of Warden was revived in 1937 and was subsumed into the Vice-Chancellor's title in 1963. Other senior roles included the Registrar (responsible for student management) and the Treasurer (responsible for the University's financial administration). Decisions were made by committees, chief of which was Senate (established in 1835), Convocation which, at least initially, was responsible for accepting or rejecting Senate's actions, and (after 1909), Council. Senate and Council continued as the main governing and executive bodies throughout much of the University's history, joined by the University Executive Committee in the 1990s to manage the day-to-day university business.

Van Mildert, William (1765-1836), founder of Durham University and Bishop of Durham 1826-1836: Van Mildert was educated at St Saviour's Grammar School, Merchant Taylor's School and then Queen's College, Oxford. He became rector of the church of St Mary-le-Bow in London and Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, before being appointed Bishop of Llandaff in 1819. He was translated to Durham in 1826, helping to found the University of Durham by donating money, as well as several buildings on Palace Green, to the University. He was the last Palatinate Prince Bishop of Durham until his death in 1836.

Winterbottom, Thomas Masterman (1766-1859): Thomas Winterbottom was born in South Shields and studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh. He was appointed as a physician to the Sierra Leone Company, taking in John Macaulay Wilson who became one of the first European-trained African medical staff in Africa. He also carried out research into the identification of symptoms of African trypanosomiasis (sleeping sickness). He returned to England in 1803, settling in Westoe and running a general practice for 30 years.

World Anti-Slavery Conference: The World Anti-Slavery Convention was organised by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and held at Exeter Hall in London on 12-23 June 1840. Over 200 of the official delegates were British, 50 from America, and smaller numbers of delegates from other nations. The Conference caused controversy by refusing to admit women and prevented those who did attend from

speaking. As a result of the Conference, a new society was formed whose aims included 'The universal extinction of slavery and the slave trade and the protection of the rights and interests of the enfranchised population in the British possessions and of all persons captured as slaves', although little else has been recorded of its subsequent activities.

Appendix 5: Biographies of Notable Alumni/Staff of Fourah Bay College

The biographies in this appendix have been compiled by Noa Mensch as part of a programme of work undertaken during her internship in University Library and Collections, and so are presented in this report as a separate appendix rather than integrated into Appendix 4.

Harry Alphonso Eburn Sawyerr (1909-1986)

Harry Alphonso Eburn Sawyerr was born in Freetown in 1909. As the son of missionaries, he grew up in the Mende heartland where he learnt to speak Mende fluently.¹ This environment gave him a unique perspective on African Christianity. Sawyerr first attended the Prince of Wales Secondary School where he was taken under the wing of Bishop T. S. Johnson, who brought Sawyerr along with him when he started teaching at Fourah Bay College. Johnson shared with him his belief that only a complete education would allow the development of a strong African intellectual movement.

Sawyerr first graduated in 1934, followed by an M.A. in 1936 and a M.Ed. in 1940, all of which he received from FBC. From 1945 to 1948, Sawyerr studied for an Honours degree at St John's College in Durham where he was ordained in the Anglican Church. Sawyerr steadily progressed during his time at FBC. In 1933, he started as a tutor, then lecturer, professor, and head of the Theology Department in 1961. He finally became Principal in 1968, where he remained for six years. In 1970, following the ending of the link between FBC and Durham University, the latter awarded Sawyerr an honorary D.D. In 1972, Sawyerr was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sierra Leone.

Throughout his career, Sawyerr promoted academic excellence in West Africa undertaking various roles for the Public Service Commission of Sierra Leone and holding a chair in the Sierra Leone Board of Education. In 1971 he was rewarded with the title of Grand Commander, Order of the Star of Africa. After retirement he remained heavily involved in the Sierra Leonean Church and taught in Codrington College in Barbados.²

Harry Sawyerr and Fourah Bay College

Sawyerr attended FBC while it was affiliated with Durham University, earning a Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts and Master of Education between 1933 and 1940. He was one of the few FBC students to have also studied in Durham.

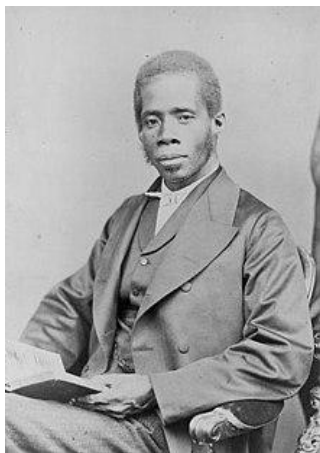
According to him, the First World War led Durham University to reshape its curricula.³ This was also true for FBC, whose departments of Theology, English and History were the first to add topics focused on Africa.⁴ Sawyerr enjoyed these elements of the course and went on to argue for the development of programmes with a focus on African culture.

Once Sawyerr became principal of the College in 1968, he emphasised his desire to apply the knowledge developed within the college to rural communities and to ensure FBC would not alienate itself from African culture.⁵ In *Creating the African University*:

Emerging Issue in the 1970s, Sawyerr expressed his fear that students were being educated too far from their African values and traditions: 'As a result, they do not receive the age-long traditional training in good citizenship... So they acquire considerable intellectual apparatus; they gain good degrees; many attain a post-graduate doctoral status; but they miss the ingredient called culture'.⁶

Sawyerr worked to combat students' lack of knowledge of African culture, although he disagreed with the development of Departments of African Studies. Instead, he advocated for every subject to organise its programme so that 'material related to African life provides integral aspects of all the teaching done in University departments in Africa'.⁷

Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832-1912)



Edward Wilmot Blyden was born in 1832 in St. Thomas, an isle of the Danish West Indies. Blyden lived in Venezuela and the United States before emigrating to Liberia. Most of his career was spent in Liberia as a School Principal, Professor of Classics, and President of Liberia College, but also as a Secretary of State, ambassador to Britain and France, and minister of the Interior. Blyden's career also included other West African countries, such as Sierra Leone and Lagos, where he was adviser on African Affairs, and Director of Muslim Education in Sierra Leone⁸.

Yet it is for his impact on West African thought that E. W. Blyden is remembered. Often considered the 'father of Pan-Africanism', he was among the first to talk about an 'African Personality' and uniqueness.⁹ Blyden also advocated for Islam as a better unifying force for Africa than Christianity.

Edward Wilmot Blyden and Fourah Bay College

As a proponent for a West African University, Blyden was against FBC's affiliation to Durham. Despite his own Western education and interest for the classics, Blyden argued that European curricula in Africa would only prepare African children to live in a society dominated by white people. Instead of studying 'what the dominant white man had said in his own way for his own purpose'¹⁰ he proposed to study Africa from an African point of view.

I do not deny that the creeds brought to us from Europe rest on certain deep convictions which are present to the consciousness of the people among whom they arose, and who now hold them, and I believe that they cover great truths; but I cannot see that these European formulas unmodified should be imposed upon Africa.¹¹

With James Johnson, he imagined a secular West African University. His wish for an African University, however, was not realised, as FBC became affiliated to Durham University instead. In C. E. Whiting's *The University of Durham, 1832-1932*, Whiting carefully refuses to cite Blyden's name, he writes: 'some writers undoubtedly advocated the scheme in the hope that a non-sectarian university would be a means

of advancing Mohammedanism instead of Christianity.¹² Blyden's fervent demand for a secular University led the CMS to encourage the affiliation with Durham University.

Daniel J. Paracka, author of *Athens of Africa: a history of international education at Fourah Bay College, Freetown, Sierra Leone*, notes that Blyden and other FBC alumni were only remotely connected to Fourah Bay College.¹³ However, their impact on younger FBC students was important. Despite the FBC curriculum's disregard for their work, younger FBC generations would have attended their talks and exchanged ideas on their work within the dynamic Krio community in Freetown. This is reflected in the increasing demand for changes in the curriculum from the student body. For instance, in 1892, fifteen of the seventeen students in FBC were expelled for wishing to study Arts instead of Theology. They argued that considering that they paid for their education, the same rules as Durham University should apply.¹⁴

Despite the missionaries and Durham University's strict ideas for the curricula, West African students and professors did try to create the changes they wanted for FBC. In 1891, Blyden helped Harun Al-Rashid/Haroun Rashid Alhadj to become teacher in Arabic at FBC.¹⁵ By encouraging for a West African Muslim to be teaching Arabic to FBC students, Blyden successfully promoted African-led teaching in an institution controlled by white Christian European men. Thus, despite not having been a student or staff member at FBC, Blyden provides an interesting example for the external influences FBC received while being a Durham affiliated college.

Edward Wilmot Blyden III (1918-2010):



Edward Wilmot Abioseh Blyden-Taylor was born in Freetown in 1918. He was the grandchild of Edward Wilmot Blyden and grew up in a highly educated family, being raised by his mother and grandmother who were both primary school headmistresses in Foulah Town and FBC. Blyden III attended FBC, Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, and Harvard University where he earned a M.A. and started a PhD in Political Science on African Political Thought.

In 1954, Blyden returned to Sierra Leone and accepted a position as head of Extra-Mural Studies at Fourah Bay College. During this time, he became increasingly politically involved. In 1957, he created the Sierra Leone Independence Movement (SLIM), a political party supported by fellow Pan-Africanists who dreamt of an independent West Africa. Despite this support, SLIM was unsuccessful in the 1957 pre-elections and had to merge with the Sierra Leone Progressive Independence Movement.

Along with his academic career, Blyden played a key role in Cold War Diplomacy as a representative of Sierra Leone to the United Nations and also by becoming an important voice for African Neutralism and Non-Alignment.¹⁶ Blyden was crucial in the spread of Africanist perspectives and was awarded a United Nations Peace Medal in 1980.

Edward Wilmot Blyden III and Fourah Bay College:

Blyden was a student in FBC when James Fitzjames Duff, Vice-Chancellor of Durham University, came to Freetown with the Elliott Commission. Duff's report was not entirely positive and noted the financial difficulties that FBC had been facing. There was only five members of staff for seventeen students including the principal and four tutors (including Sawyerr and Gardiner). This was deemed insufficient for the quantity of subjects offered, which included a Bachelor of Arts and courses in Theology and Education.¹⁷ The Elliott Commission report highlighted the lack of support provided by Durham University to the College, as well as the dearth of scientific subjects on the curricula, despite demands for these courses since the beginning of the affiliation period.

In his personal letters and unpublished talks, Duff noted the intelligence and camaraderie amongst the students and faculty members:

I thought them, as a group, responsible, clear headed and attractive. I enjoyed that evening more than any other part of the African tour, and it left me with the feeling that for all the poverty, the makeshift quarters and the tiny numbers of Fourah Bay, here was something far more like a real College spirit than I could find at Achimota, excellent that it is as a school, or at Yaba.¹⁸

Despite the lack of means, FBC managed to provide a space for students to meet and grow. However, the Freetown Krio community was such a vibrant community that to argue it was FBC's affiliation to Durham which brought a British collegiate spirit is debatable.

James Africanus Beale Horton (1835-1883)



James 'Africanus' Beale Horton was born in Gloucester, a village of the Freetown Province in Sierra Leone, into a Creole family. After attending the Sierra Leone Grammar School, he started studying at FBC in 1853 and graduated in 1855. Along with William Davies and Samuel Campbell, Horton was selected by the British War Office to study Medicine in Britain.¹⁹ There, he attended University College London and the University of Edinburgh. It was in Edinburgh that Horton adopted the name 'Africanus' as a symbol for his pride in his African heritage.²⁰ In August 1859, he was the first African man to graduate from the University of Edinburgh.²¹

Serving the West India Regiments of the British Navy as a military physician, Horton rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel.²² As early as 1861, Horton proposed a project to create a medical school for West Africans and, in 1865, argued for the establishment of a Western African University.²³ He was therefore one of the earliest West African intellectual voices to support West African higher education and to encourage the study of African languages, culture and history. Horton is remembered for being an influential scholar and activist, he was the first to advocate for West African self-governance, which he called 'African nationality'.²⁴ Often considered one of the founding figures of African Nationalism and a precursor to Pan-

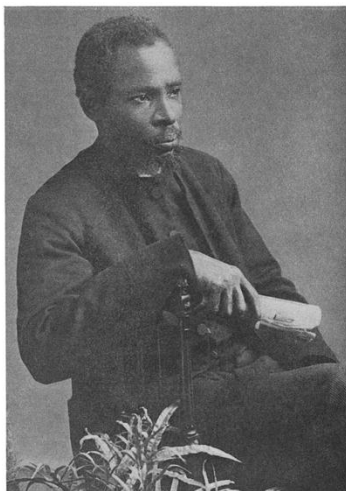
Africanism, Horton argued in favour of a great African tradition and future and wished for a united West Africa. Africanus Horton leaves a legacy of scholarship on African cultures. Through his extensive work on modern medicine in Africa, African languages, history and comparative studies of African and European cultures, Horton promoted Blyden's idea of scholarship on Africa by Africans.

James Africanus Beale Horton and Fourah Bay College

During his studies at FBC from 1853 to 1855, the college was in the hands of Rev. Edward Jones, the first principal of African descent, Jones differed from previous European principals in his dismissal of stereotypes and his high expectations for his students.²⁵ In 1858, Horton put considerable effort in fighting the closure of the College. Thanks to him and other FBC alumni, the college re-opened in 1864.²⁶ In his will, Horton made bequests to FBC and other Sierra Leonean schools to teach Science and Technology.²⁷

Horton attended FBC before its affiliation to Durham University. However, he remained an active alumnus of the College mainly through his interest for Western African education. Horton, Johnson and Blyden's advocacy for a West African University led to the affiliation of FBC with Durham University in 1876. For Horton, this solution was not satisfying, especially considering the curriculum was lacking in the scientific and technological fields. This issue remained important to him, as evidenced by his bequests to FBC and other Freetown institutions for the creation of science and technology departments. Moreover, despite repeated requests to broaden the curriculum, the College failed to recognise or incorporate the work made by FBC alumni such as Horton, but also Edward Blyden, Ajai Crowther, Orishatukej Faduma and A.B.C. Sidthorpe.²⁸

James Johnson (c. 1836-1917)



JAMES JOHNSON AS A YOUNG MAN

James 'Holy' Johnson was born in Sierra Leone around 1836. The son of liberated enslaved individuals of Yoruba origins he was enrolled in Church Missionary Society (CMS) School and in 1854 attended the Fourah Bay Institution which he graduated from in 1858.

Following his education, Johnson became a teacher until he entered the ministry in 1863. He was briefly sent as a missionary but called back to serve as a pastor in Lagos. In 1900, Johnson received a D.D. from Durham University, was consecrated as bishop and started serving as Assistant Bishop in the Diocese of Western Equatorial Africa overseeing the Niger Delta and Benin territories.²⁹ Johnson believed Christianity was the only positive European

contribution possible in Africa. For him, colonialism was just a transitional stage to achieve African unification, something he considered only possible through the Church. Christianity would allow Africa to 'take her place with the most Christian, civilized and intelligent nations of the earth.' While calling for an African Ministry, Johnson remained faithful to the CMS.³⁰ In his biography of James Johnson, E. A.

Ayandele notes that it is possible Johnson saw his position at CMS as a means to fund and facilitate his plan for African Christian unity.³¹

James Johnson and Fourah Bay College

James Johnson attended FBC from 1854 to 1858, before its affiliation with Durham University. In his biography of Johnson, Ayandele writes that Johnson would have wished for FBC to 'educate Africans in all fields of human endeavor to the highest standard', in the hope of providing equal opportunities to Africans.³² This was something the CMS was unwilling to do, and which Johnson understood needed to be taken rather than given. Along with E. W. Blyden, Johnson imagined a university staffed with individuals from all over the African world providing quality higher education. This is how, in 1872, Johnson travelled to England to meet in person with the CMS and negotiate the establishment of a West African university. The plans were refused on account of lack of funds. Finally, by June 1874, the CMS conceded the creation for a college with a theological class on condition that it would be affiliated to a British University. Along with other FBC alumni, such as Ajai Crowther, James Africanus Beale Horton and Blyden, Johnson was thus instrumental in the affiliation of Fourah Bay to Durham. Although the West African University was not realised then, the Fourah Bay College affiliation to Durham represents an African-led initiative that can be viewed as a form of resistance to the colonial educational system.

When the CMS announced the closure of FBC in 1908, Johnson rose to advocate for the college. Thanks to him, the CMS decided to keep the college open for three additional years and to close it later if the college remained incapable of financially supporting itself. Despite being an affiliated college, FBC did not receive any financial help from Durham University and no record of the hardships are recorded in the University archives of the time. Instead, it was Bishop Johnson and Archdeacon Wilson's advocacy for the college during the 1908 Pan-Anglican Conference which persuaded the CMS to reconsider the closing of FBC. £5,000 was raised³³ and was divided in an income of £100 per annum to be dedicated only to ministerial students.³⁴ However, this was not sufficient, and Johnson and other FBC supporters began to organise multiple fundraising campaigns.³⁵ Their work was successful and, along with several bequests, the College began to gain financial independence. At his death in 1917, James 'Holy' Johnson bequeathed £5,000 for the creation of a Chair of Science in FBC, along with a set of 24 volumes of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and a capital sum of £1,000.³⁶ The Chair of Science envisaged by Johnson, however, was not created until 1928.³⁷

Robert Kweku Atta Gardiner (1914-1994)

Born in Kumasi (Gold Coast) into a wealthy family in 1914, Robert K. A. Gardiner attended Adisadel College in Cape Coast before studying at FBC from 1937 until 1941.³⁸ Then he attended the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford. He may have also studied at the London School of Economics, although no records can confirm this.³⁹ After his studies Gardiner returned to Sierra Leone to be a Professor of Economics at FBC.



In 1946, Gardiner started working as an area specialist for the UN Trusteeship Council and on the Special Palestine Commission.

In parallel with his diplomatic career, Gardiner became the first director of Extra-Mural Studies at the University College of Ibadan in Nigeria. This was the first time an African had become a department head in the University. His tenure was extremely successful and, deeming his role completed by 1953, Gardiner resigned.

Gardiner then became a civil servant and directed his efforts towards establishing vocational schools throughout the Gold Coast. In 1957, as the Gold Coast gained independence and became Ghana, Gardiner became the head of the Ghana Civil Service. He is remembered for his strong moral character and opposition to nepotism, even dismissing his own sister for taking an unexcused extended leave. As Gardiner argued:

I'm as much or more interested in Africanisation as any politician. But we have to get the right people. Most of these politicians see no reason why their relatives shouldn't be given jobs. I try to explain that the civil service is not a dumping-ground for party hacks. But many of them fail to see why it shouldn't be.⁴⁰

In early 1959, Gardiner took up a post as Deputy Executive Secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). The following year he was appointed chief of the civilian mission of the UN operation in Congo, as well as Executive Secretary of the UNECA. While he managed the UNECA, Gardiner advocated for the Africanisation of the department staff and methods. He was crucial in the foundation of the Economic Community of African States and in the signing of the African Economic Charter of 1973.

Robert Kweku Atta Gardiner and Fourah Bay College

In 1942, once Gardiner had completed his studies, he set out on a tour arranged by the CMS in America. The purpose was to tour 'American schools in preparation for important administrative and educational services on the staff of Fourah Bay College'.⁴¹ In 1943 he returned to Sierra Leone and took up a position at Fourah Bay College, where he was appointed to establish a department of Commercial and Social Studies. As the first Professor of Economics of FBC he was tasked with organising 'a Faculty of Commercial and Social Science with a good deal of practical field work related to community life in Africa'.⁴² This illustrates an increased desire to design FBC's curriculums around West African preoccupations, as well as increased access to funding.

Gardiner only stayed for five years but he was present at the time of the Elliott Commission. His time working at the college echoes the willingness shared by many alumni to return to FBC as lecturers. When asked by the BBC why he chose to return to Freetown rather than Ghana, Gardiner explained that it was 'not easy to get responsible posts in Ghana as all went to Europeans... so I preferred teaching at Fourah Bay'.⁴³ FBC thus encouraged the employment of African staff as opposed to

some of the other West African institutions, most likely a legacy of previous alumni's advocacy for African-led teaching.

As an alumnus educated at FBC while it was associated with Durham University, Gardiner also received nine honorary degrees from universities across the globe. Like many other FBC alumni, Gardiner is recognised as a major contributor to African scholarship, but he is also recognised as an economist beyond Africa, for example in Italy, where he received a gold medal from President Giovanni Leone. In Donald Robinson's 1970 publication, *The 100 Most Important People in the World Today*, Gardiner was described as 'The UN economic chief for Africa, the man doing the most to raise the economic standards for Black Africa.'⁴⁴ Gardiner had an impressive international career and participated greatly in representing FBC in a positive light.

¹ A. F. Walls, *Cross-cultural process: studies in transmission and reception of faith* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2002), pp. 165-168.

² Ibid, pp. 170-173.

³ Paracka, *Athens of West Africa*, p. 108.

⁴ Ibid, p. 135.

⁵ Ibid, p. 180.

⁶ Harry Sawyerr, 'Fourah Bay College', in T. M. Yesufu, ed. *Creating the African university: emerging issues in the 1970s*, (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 200-201.

⁷ Paracka, *Athens of West Africa*, p. 181.

⁸ Tite Tiénou, 'Blyden, Edward Wilmot', in *Dictionary of African Christian Biography*, <https://dacb.org/stories/liberia/blyden-edward/> [last accessed 1 November 2023].

⁹ Martin, *African Political Thought*.

¹⁰ Edward Wilmot Blyden, *Christianity, Islam and the negro race* (London, 1887), p. 54.

¹¹ Gerald T. Rimmington, 'The Development of Universities in Africa', *Comparative Education*, 1, 2 (1965), pp. 105

¹² Paracka, *Athens of West Africa*, p. 52.

¹³ Ibid. pp. 91-92.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 92.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 81. Paracka and the University Calendar spell his name differently. The calendar's spelling is: Haroun Rashid Alhadj.

¹⁶ Edward Wilmot Blyden, 'African "Neutralism" and "Non Alignment" in K. L. London, ed., *New nations in a divided world* (New York and London: Praeger, 1963).

¹⁷ Paracka, *Athens of West Africa*, pp. 146-149.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 147.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 40.

²⁰ Nwauwa, 'Far ahead of his time', p. 109.

²¹ Adelola Adeloje, 'Some early Nigerian doctors and their contribution to modern medicine in West Africa', *Medical History*, 18, 3 (1974), p. 279.

²² Paracka, *Athens of West Africa*, p. 40.

²³ Arie J. Vanderploeg, 'Africanus Horton and the idea of a University for Western Africa', *Journal of African Studies*, 5, 2 (1978), p. 192; Paracka, *Athens of West Africa*, p. 41.

²⁴ Guy Martin, *African political thought* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012).

²⁵ Paracka, *Athens of West Africa*, p. 43.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 47.

²⁷ Christopher Fyfe, *Africanus Horton, 1835-1883* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 134-137.

²⁸ Paracka, *Athens of West Africa*, p. 91.

²⁹ M. R. Lipschutz & R. K. Rasmussen, *Dictionary of African historical biography* (Oakland: University of California Press, 1986), p. 93.

³⁰ J. J. Hanciles, 'The legacy of James Johnson', *International bulletin of missionary research*, 21, 4 (1997), p. 163.

³¹ E. A. Ayandele, *'Holy' Johnson, pioneer of African nationalism, 1836-1917* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 264-265.

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- ³² Ibid, p. 32.
- ³³ Paracka *The Athens of West Africa*, p. 101.
- ³⁴ *Durham University Journal*, 19 June 1911, p. 115.
- ³⁵ Ibid., pp. 106-107.
- ³⁶ *Durham University Journal*, December 1918, p. 6
- ³⁷ Ibid., p. 117.
- ³⁸ M. Sherwood, 'Robert Kweku Atta Gardiner (1914-1994): An unrecognised Ghanaian pan-Africanist par-excellence', *Contemporary Journal of African Studies*, 2, 1 (2014), p. 31.
- ³⁹ Ibid, p. 33.
- ⁴⁰ S. Hempstone, 'Letters from Africa to the Institute of Current World Affairs', no. 123-182; Dec. 11, 1958-Oct. 2, 1961', *Volume 2 of Letters from Africa to the Institute of Current World Affairs*, Institute of Current Affairs (New York: The Association, 1956), p. 64.
- ⁴¹ Sherwood, Robert Kweku Atta Gardiner, p. 34.
- ⁴² Cited in Sherwood, 'Robert Kweku Atta Gardiner', p. 37.
- ⁴³ Ibid., p. 37.
- ⁴⁴ On the back cover of D. Robinson, *The 100 most important people in the world today*, (New York: Putnam, 1970).

Appendix 6: List of individuals/groups consulted

Groups

Group	Reason for consultation
Race Equality Charter Action Plan Delivery Group	DU Group meeting to discuss the delivery of key actions in the Race Equality Action Plan.
Institute of Advanced Study Absence/presence of Durham's Black History: exploration of institutions, archives, students and pedagogies	Concurrent project examining the black presence in Durham.
Black History Conversations	External group of historians (academic and non-academic) who are interested in Black History
Durham People of Colour Association	A network providing representation and support for students of Durham University who identify as a person of colour.
Durham University Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) Network	A network providing a voice for BAME staff and postgraduate students in Durham University.
Universities Studying Slavery Consortium	A consortium of over ninety institutions of higher learning in the United States, Canada, Columbia, Scotland, Ireland and England, researching the legacies of slavery and racism in their institutions.

Individuals (Durham University)

Dr Joe Mulhern	DU Partnerships Manager in the International Office with research expertise in slavery and colonialism, having completed a PhD in British business entanglement with Brazilian slavery. Developing links between Durham University and Fourah Bay in Sierra Leone.
Professor Richard Huzzey	DU history academic with research interests in empire and anti-slavery, member of the Project Advisory Board for Oxford University's 'St John's and the Colonial Past' project and outgoing Chair of the Arts and Humanities Ethics Committee
Professor Jonathan Saha	DU history academic with research interests in colonialism. Member of the Social History Society BME Historians Network, co-chair of the Durham University BAME Network, and involved in the panel for the Joint BME Events and Activities Small Grants
Dr Liam Liburd	DU history academic who has taught a module (in a previous role at KCL) on researching institutional links to empire, and has research expertise on pro-empire and empire nostalgia in the 20 th century. Principal investigator of the IAS project.

Dr Rui Gomes Coelho	DU Archaeology academic specialising in colonialism, decolonisation, conflict and resistance in Southern Europe and in the Atlantic World, and currently developing a partnership with Fourah Bay College.
Professor Nayankia Mookherjee	DU Anthropology academic specialising in memorialisation and memory of violent pasts and aesthetic practices of reparative futures. Carried out slavery walking tour of Durham since 2013 as part of her third year module Violence and Memory. Principal investigator of the IAS project and the EDI and RIF funded project: Implicated Subjects: Investigating the 'Absence Presence' of Durham's Black History and Colonial Connections.
Dr Sol Gamsu	DU Sociology academic with expertise in the sociology, geography and history of universities and schooling including the intersection of race and class. Has recently published on the links between elite schools and transatlantic slavery. Principal investigator of the IAS project.
Dr Laura Channing	DU History academic specialising in the economic history of West Africa (including Sierra Leone).
Dr Margaret Masson	Principal of St Chad's and interested in the history of Chad's and the relationship of its founder, Howard Douglas Horsfall, to income derived from slavery.
Professor Christina Riggs	Professor in the History of Visual Culture and organiser of the 'Collecting, Colonialism and Empire' Symposium
Dr Alice Finden	Assistant Professor, Government and International Affairs and co-organiser of the Decolonising the Archive workshop.
Dr Kavi Abraham	Assistant Professor, Government and International Affairs and co-organiser of the Decolonising the Archive workshop.
Avarna Ojha	PhD History student and investigator on this project
Noa Mensch	Combined Honours (MLAC and History) student and investigator on this project

Individuals (External)

Dr Natalie Zacek	Project lead for 'The University of Manchester and its early benefactors' project
Dr Stephen Mullen	Lecturer in History (Legacies of Atlantic Slavery) at the University of Glasgow. Postdoctoral research lead and co-author of the report for 'Slavery, Colonialism and the University of Glasgow' project
Dr Richard Stone	University lead for 'We are Bristol: reparative justice through collaborative research' project
Geraldine Hunwick	Archivist at Newcastle University facilitating research into Newcastle University's links with colonialism

Sean Creighton	Archive and Mapping Officer for the 'Remembering Slavery Archive and Mapping Project' in 2007 and author of unpublished papers on the North East's links with slavery
Rev Dr Michael Clarke	Principal of Codrington College
Beverley Barton	Librarian, Codrington College
Albert Moore	Director and Senior Government Archivist, National Archives of Sierra Leone
John Sannoh	Archivist at Fourah Bay College
Professor Peregrine Horden	Fellow Librarian, All Souls College, Oxford University, leading research on Christopher Codrington's legacy to the College Library