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POLITICAL CHANGE IN COLONIAL AFRICAN LEADERSHIP
(CA. 1914-CA. 1945): AMERICAN AND
AFRO-AMERICAN INFLUENCES¹

by

RICHARD D. RALSTON

It is trite but true that African reaction to European colonial overrule was never an undifferentiated phenomenon. Many studies have revised some of the old-fashioned thinking on the subject. However, although these works are important, we are still left generally with only the most obvious kinds of distinctions between varieties of colonial African response to the implanting of colonial regimes.² Thus, the present essay will demonstrate that clear distinctions within the leadership strata can and should be made not simply between traditional resistance and modern nationalism, but also between leaderships arising during modern movements alone. In other words, African leadership both under colonialism and in the modern nationalist period will be seen as a dynamic, not a static, phenomenon.

One of the influences contributing to changes within colonial African leadership, and on which an important distinction in that leadership can be based, was American study sojourns.³ Africans from the several African areas affected (detractors might say infected) by such an influence generally took political paths different from those taken by the traditional African elite under colonialism; but they were also set apart from a modern African elite educated in colonial metropolitan centers.

Much of this story of the emergence of anti-colonial elites is embedded in the history of Western missions, Afro-American missionaries, and African educational institutions implanted in the first half of this century. Mission schools set up in Africa by colonial nations became, by World War I, the cornerstones of future African educational systems. Schools founded and run by American and European religious denominations survived and prospered in important

part because they came to fulfill a vital economic function when colonial administration and commerce expanded in the first decades of the twentieth century.⁴ Colonial authorities and commercial firms actively sought the talents of indigenous "auxiliaries" to fill lower job slots and middle-level positions, which presumably they would do at wages lower than what colonial expatriates required and demanded. Some of the positions called for technical training, and in most cases the mission schools (church-supported and academic in orientation) had neither the capital nor the necessary skills for truly usable technical education. But they turned out generous supplies of clerks even from the start. Ironically, however, despite their importance in furnishing valuable manpower for the colonies and despite the public lobbying for increased contributions by mission groups, these schools received little financial support from colonial governments until after World War I.

Two international events in the immediate postwar period helped to increase levels of support. First, certain principles of the League of Nations Mandate System sparked much international interest in colonial education, and several colonial powers began to reappraise past educational policies. The second development was the appointment of a team of distinguished educators from the United States, the United Kingdom, and Africa to the Phelps-Stokes Commission, which was set up to visit and inspect educational institutions and programs in Africa. Out of their inspection tours came two influential published reports: *Education in Africa: A Study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa*, based on visits of 1920-21; and *Education in East Africa: A Study of East and South Africa*, based on visits during 1924.⁵

New policies inspired by such influences resulted in the creation of a number of outstanding middle-level or secondary schools for Africans. Indeed, a number of showcase schools founded between the wars, along with some of the stronger mission schools, became the training ground for a modern educated African elite. Among the best of these schools were Sierra Leone Grammar School in Freetown; William Ponty School in Dakar; Achimota College in Gold Coast; Alliance High School in Kenya; Fort Hare Native College in South Africa; Hope Waddel Institution, Katsina College, and Yaba

Higher College all in Nigeria; and Tabora Secondary School in Tanganyika. In addition, some eight government schools achieved a monopoly in training Africans in medicine (medical assistantships), teaching, pharmacy, middle-level administration, and law (e.g., William Ponty Normal School, Dakar Medical School, Lycee Faidherbe, and Lycee Van Vallenhoven).⁶

These advances in setting up modern educational institutions should, however, properly be construed only as limited advances. For example, until the decade after World War II the degrees of only one institution in British Africa (Fourah Bay College, founded by the Church Missionary Society in 1827) and only one in francophonic Africa (The School of Pharmacy at Dakar) were recognized by metropolitan universities.⁷ Nevertheless, truth and a measure of prophecy were contained in the observation that

*the colonial administrations were much less enthusiastic about the founding of African universities than were metropolitan commissions (e.g., Phelps-Stokes). . . . Many of them were not enthusiastic about coping with multitudes of African graduates, who might cause them difficulties and would claim their jobs. The officials consoled themselves with the thought that students would be less likely to pick up heady ideas at colonial universities than they would at the Sorbonne or the London School of Economics.*⁸

As things turned out, the degree of apprehensiveness was not less, but greater, regarding graduates of schools called Lincoln and Wilberforce.

The vulnerable link in the chain of educational reform being forged in the interwar years consisted in the limited number and in the kind of graduates produced at colonial institutions. The number of places available in many of these schools and "colleges" were related to two variables: the number of vacancies and potential vacancies in the local civil service,⁹ and the practice of reserving spaces for special pupils (e.g., African royal family members).¹⁰ When the Eumpe School in Sierra Leone opened in 1915, the local District Commissioner observed: "It should not be open to all and sundry, but only to selected pupils

chosen from strata slightly, but not too much beneath those eligible for Bo School. The upper and leading classes must be before the lower or working classes."¹¹

In some areas, such as the Belgian Congo, no higher or middle-level training was available for Africans. Instead, emphasis was exclusively on primary education with little opportunity inside or outside the colonial territory for African higher education; the notable exception was, of course, clerical training. Leaving aside royal lineage education, middle-level training was provided by the French at William Ponty School, but there as elsewhere government restrictions were evident in that students were assigned courses "according to government needs, rather than according to their own preferences and aptitudes."¹²

The practice of making African education a correlate of the needs of the local job market was evidently widespread. In Nigeria, for example, following the establishment of two higher educational institutions in the 1930s, no African had any assurance that graduation would mean acceptance or career advancement. In the *Nigeria Handbook* for 1936, it was reported:

*Of the first 181 graduates only 38 became assistant medical, agricultural, and forestry officers; 19 were appointed as engineers and 6 as surveyors in the Public Works and Survey Departments; the rest were absorbed into educational services, or into technical and administrative services as subordinate technicians and clerks.*¹³

In short, both the kinds of courses and the courses of action which might have equipped Africans to move into administrative or senior civil service positions were not ones open to them even at the newer institutions and even during the more reformist times of the 1930s. The following observation catches the general sense of the African's dilemma:

Administratively, the local district commissioner (in Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and the Gambia). . . ultimately could always impose his will upon an African, however senior and experienced. The youngest

*European officer could earn more than the most senior African clerk. Economically, though Africans might be active in trade, transport and contracting they knew always that the overall control of the economy rested with the expatriate trading companies and banks, and their own personal positions depended upon the willingness of such institutions to grant credit. Politically, . . . the most that was done was to create a few seats in the various Legislative Councils which would be filled by Africans from the coastal towns, elected on a very narrow franchise.*¹⁴

Nevertheless, although haltingly and begrudgingly, what some have styled an "African upper-echelon elite" was being created. For example, according to Professor Martin Kilson,

The colonial governments played an important role. . . in providing the new African upper-echelon elite with a new style of life and with financial rewards far superior to those received by Africans in other occupations. During the 1930s, for example, two Gold Coast Lawyers employed as police magistrates received an annual income of £840 (pounds).

And "well-educated Gold Coast civil servants were able to earn between £300 and £500 or more." That is to say, while Africans working in civil service received less than Europeans and could aspire only to something less than the top positions, generally speaking they were better off than their African compatriots outside of government service. Kilson concludes that, by and large,

*well-educated Africans could not easily get equivalent salaries in private employment. Only lawyers and doctors in practice on their own, a few journalists, some clerks and merchants were able to secure comparable or better incomes. Hence, members of the African upper-echelon elite tended to gravitate toward government positions throughout the length and breadth of colonial Africa.*¹⁵

These points are illustrated in the estimates that almost 60 percent of Sierra Leonean doctors and nearly 50 percent of Gold Coast doctors were employed in government jobs in the 1930s.¹⁶

In sum, the reforms of the interwar years, when colonialism was being firmly implanted and expanded, seemed designed to create and then co-opt a trained but tractable African elite. In other words, it was evidently intended and hoped that the aspirations and interests of defeated African elites--chiefs, emirs, and so on--as well as those of a modern, home-grown, trained elite would become synonymous with the interests and aspirations of the colonial powers.¹⁷

Yet, to say this much about the emergence of an African elite and to say no more would be inaccurate. For the elite which was produced in the new educational plants and which dominated the African scene during the colonial period (Kilson's upper-echelon elite) was only one of several emerging and competing strands in African leadership. The "upper-echelon" strand was composed of a class which was relatively discrete, and which was socially, economically, and politically recognized and rewarded by the European community. The other strands may not even qualify as a class. They were a collectivity which was amorphous, much more disadvantaged socially, economically, and politically, and without great influence within official European circles. In brief, it seems clear preliminarily - future quantitative research should help substantiate this view - that insofar as positions within colonial administrations were filled by Africans, they were filled predominantly by an elite filtered through academic centers of the occupying metropolitan power. But a different entry to an African elite "class" during the colonial era was provided by metropolitan education or cosmopolitan experiences which took place outside the orbit of influence of colonial administrators. Moreover, within the latter categorization a further refinement based on the variable of Afro-American influences appears warranted.

An American-educated "elite"

Coming to make up an American-educated "elite" thread among disparate secondary elites was an influential minority or coterie of individuals who, inspired by their American study sojourns, apparently

constructed a leadership stratum outside the parameters of traditional African leadership, outside the parameters of an "upper-echelon" African leadership educated in internal colonial or metropolitan institutions, and, to an important degree, outside the experiences of other African compatriots within "sub-elite" classes. The term "elite" is not perfectly applicable to the individuals in this American-educated category, because the term implies a power component and a degree of group identity that did not obtain. Social scientists assert that in order to "qualify as a group an assemblage or collection of people must have three things - communication, interaction, and awareness."¹⁸ If this usage is adopted, the American-educated colonial "elite" was not a group. There was no recognizable structure and apparently no maintenance of regular intragroup communication; and, although most such individuals would be aware of their educational differences, reasonable doubt exists that they actually recognized themselves as a discrete class. These individuals, in short, seem to fit what Frantz Fanon described as a formless, powerless, nationless proletariat,¹⁹ which, partially because of its very deficiencies and stepchild treatment, as time went on took an active part in thoroughly altering the sociopolitical situation in various regions of Africa as the accredited, recognized African colonial elite would not or could not.²⁰

Specific examples may offer the best evidence of the types of individuals forming this non-class and the best illustrations of attitudinal and activity developments among them. The experiences and efforts of the Reverend John Langalibele Dube, Marshall and Charlotte Maxeke, J. E. K. Aggrey, and Dr. Daniel Sharpe Malekebu are cases in point. The Reverend John Langalibele Dube, referred to sometimes as the Booker T. Washington of South Africa, provides very early baseline in terms of an unofficial, American-formed "elite." While in the United States (1888-99), he developed close associations with Booker T. Washington and John Hope. And upon returning to South Africa he was undoubtedly dismayed to find that the government still provided African education only up to Standard IV.²¹ However, Dube's social involvement went well beyond educating African youth, for in 1904, following the pattern of the Jabavu family's *Imvo Zabantsundu* (founded in 1884) in Cape Colony and the Washington-oriented *New York Age* (1886), he founded the first

African newspaper in Natal, called *Ilanga Lase Natal*. About the development of his philosophy, Dube recalled in a newspaper interview:

While I was in America I became greatly interested in the methods of Dr. Booker T. Washington. . . . He said he believed not only in the training of the mind, but in the training of the head and heart. When I came back to Africa 30 years ago I was first pastor of the Inanda Congregational Church and then I founded a school, Ohlange Institute (known earlier as the Zulu Christian Industrial School), on the same lines as the one started by Dr. Washington. I have used my school to train the minds of my people and newspaper to train the minds of a large section of my people. 22

Obstacles confronting Dube were formidable. They included the difficulty of fund-raising, caused by such things as a general apprehensiveness over the alleged influences of the Afro-American community, and the coming of the Resident Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1901. Dube secured funds from the United States and aid in the actual construction of the school from the students themselves. When he wished to add a girl's school to the plant he again toured the United States, this time accompanied by his wife, a talented singer, and together they raised funds by lecturing and singing. They were following a tried but not always true method used by other black students in the cause of educational financing; notable precedents included the itinerant concerts of the Fisk University Jubilee Singers in the 1870s and Charlotte Manye (Maxeke)'s Zulu Choir in the 1890s. Not long after his U.S. tour, Dube, at the age of forty-one, was elected first president-general of the newly formed South African Native National Congress (later the African National Congress).

Similarly representative of the emerging strands of an African secular "elite" during the colonial period were Marshall and Charlotte Maxeke. Maxeke began editing a local African newspaper and became a leader in the Transvaal Native Congress soon after his return from American schooling. His wife, in the meantime, agitated for the formation of a women's

section of the Congress.

J.E.K. Aggrey unquestionably qualifies as a colonial African leader, although his status was achieved in a peculiarly different manner. His work was carried on primarily outside the African continent until just a few years before his death. Born of peasant parents among the Fante, traditional allies of the British, Aggrey left gold Coast for reasons that are not clear. According to his biographer:

*We do not know the reasons which led Aggrey to cross the Atlantic. . . . There are indicators, however, that for a certain period he had been restless and perhaps dissatisfied. Whatever else may have contributed to this state of mind. . . it is certain that he craved for more learning than the schools of Gold Coast could afford. He seems to have turned his eyes first toward England. I am told that he also considered a college for training Africans at Colwyn Bay in Wales.*²³

But at that juncture, Aggrey went to study at Livingstone College in North Carolina, because of an American-trained Barbadian bishop of the AME Zion Church, who arrived in Gold Coast desiring "to induce several young men to go to America for training and then to return in the service of the mission."²⁴ Upon graduation, however, Aggrey, instead of returning for missionary work in Gold Coast, accepted a teaching position at Livingstone. Not for a great many years would Aggrey return to Africa, but he clearly continued to regard himself as an African. In 1921, for the first time in more than twenty years, he got the opportunity to return to Africa as a member--the only African member--of the Phelps-Stokes Educational Commission. At that moment Aggrey must have been one of the most well-known black men, both in Africa and in the United States; he certainly achieved that status by the time of his death six years later. In 1926, he returned to Gold Coast to assume an administrative post at the new Achimota School, a post that was peculiarly titled "assistant vice principal." His role in an emerging African colonial "elite" seems to have been that of an exemplar, a prestigious black gentleman, scholar, and teacher, who had studied at well-known American schools, mastered the best of Western thought and

writings, and even been invited to assume positions at two important African schools (Fort Hare and Achimota). His potential impact was cut short when he died of meningitis at the age of fifty-three.

Meanwhile, Dr. Daniel Sharpe Malekebus, who reopened John Chilembwe's Providence Industrial Mission after returning in 1926 from an American sojourn that included Moody Bible Institute and Meharry Medical College, recalled some of his difficulties in a letter to Dr. H.K. Banda.

In the latter part of the 1920s my wife and I were sent to Nyasaland for the purpose of reopening the Mission, by our Foreign Mission Board. What happened was the beginning of our trouble at Port Herald (sic). On our arrival there, my wife (the former Flora Ethelwyn, a Spelman graduate from the Congo) and I were taken from the boat. . . . We were detained. . . an officer asked for all my papers, certificates and diplomas from institutions I attended. After some days, we were told we could not enter. It was told us by those in the know that I would be another John Chilembwe. My wife and I proceeded for South Africa. We stayed in Capetown nine months until our Board told us to go to Liberia. . . (where) we were placed at Ricks Institute, a school (which) for many years had been in need of someone to lead it. . . . I presented my case to the colonial office (sic) through the Aborigines Protective (sic) Society of London, with the question: why should I be denied to enter the land of my birth to help my people. . . ?²⁵

Eventually, of course, he did return to Nyasaland and performed yeoman service as a minister, physician, and educator.

The work of Dube, the Maxekes, Aggrey, and Malekebu furnished inspiration to other individuals in their regions, causing some of them to wish to study in the United States and others simply to pursue community roles. For example, while traveling in West and Southern Africa with the Phelps-Stokes Commission and while lecturing in Gold Coast as part of his Achimota appointment, Aggrey reached across many communities and prompted

dozens of African students to strive for an American rather than a British education as a result of his example. Azikiwe, Banda, and Nkrumah became the three most famed of those touched by him. The experiences of these men also well illustrate the pan-African or pan-black aspects of American sojourns during the colonial period. But these aspects were more or less coincidental to the basic changes occurring in African territories because of American influences.

In any event, this burgeoning "elite," of which the foregoing individuals are merely examples, performed in the wings and they or their social progeny and peers emerged in full-dress only later, mid-way into the twentieth century. In no sense were they comfortable or accepted fixtures in traditional African society, certainly not in European society, and they were largely excluded from that society of modern African elite certified by colonial authorities. Furthermore, they were likely to be thrown into conflict with the mores and policies of a society in which they were prevented from becoming integral parts of the community.

The Educational Factors

What accounts for the different attitude and colonial experience of American-educated Africans? Leaving aside the social factors (the presence of a large black community with whom they could share ideas, on one hand, and the inhospitable or hostile receptions they sometimes encountered after returning to colonial territories, on the other), a number of educational factors help to differentiate them. For example, a recent survey of African students in the United States adduced a profile of African students which appears to be equally valid for the colonial period:

The social sciences attracted significantly more African students (29.6%). . . than did other fields. . . . The physical and natural sciences, the humanities and engineering were next, attracting 14%, 13%, and 12% respectively. (And) among the social sciences, economics had top place. Concentration on the social sciences differentiated Africans from students from other parts of the world, who give first priority to engineering. Africans in the United States also study agriculture, education, and the medical

*sciences in somewhat higher proportions than do students from other areas of the world.*²⁶

And drawing distinctions between the career and curriculum choices made by Africans educated in the United States as compared with those in the United Kingdom, the survey noted:

*From the limited data available, it appears that Africans who study in the United Kingdom choose different fields from those who come to the United States. In 1953 almost a quarter of the colonial students in the United Kingdom (of whom 54% were Africans) were studying law, compared with fewer than 10% of those in the United States. . . .*²⁷

The differences are explained by such factors as colonially prescribed university entrance requirements. For example, the Cambridge Senior School Certificate, based on a rigorous examination, was both a school-leaving certificate (diploma) and an indication of university entrance eligibility,²⁸ and was highly persuasive in applications for government-approved jobs. Differences in licensing for professional practice in colonial territories constitute another factor. These differences are reflected in the experiences of H.K. Banda and Alfred Bitini Xuma: following medical training in the United States, both found themselves obliged to secure additional degree certification at British institutions to insure that licenses would be extended for their home territories. And in Sierra Leone, graduates of American universities and professional schools were unable to obtain employment certification in education or civil service, in medicine or dentistry.²⁹

American education, however, was not universally or categorically opposed or disdained in the colonies. Indications are that industrial or vocational training was relished by the colonial trader inasmuch as it enabled him to secure well-trained artisans to "drive motor lorries, build his houses, and manage his mechanical or electrical plant."³⁰ Government officials (at least some of them) and missionaries encouraged this kind of training for different reasons: government officials because they believed that the commercial and economic development of the territory would be advanced, missionaries because they believed that the Booker T. Washington approach built character and would help to raise the general moral standard of African life. Washington

himself was subsequently invited to accept a position in South Africa and to do for the black man there what he was understood to be doing for blacks in the United States in terms of instilling principles of hard work, thrift, and the like.³¹

Still another view of the differences experienced by American-educated Africans during the colonial era is offered by a Ghanaian educator and student at Lincoln University in the 1930s: "The education we are getting from the States brings American pragmatism into balance with European intellectualism, and the results cannot but be good for Africa."³² Meanwhile, commenting on changes in African universities, Sir Eric Ashby, Master of Clare College, Cambridge University, held that

if Africans had never studied in the United States they might have acquiesced in this dogmatic fidelity to the European tradition (in university systems). But many Africans, including such leaders as Azikiwe and Nkrumah, were familiar with American universities. There they saw that European academic tradition had undergone massive adaptations. . . which seemed appropriate for Africa.

He went further:

It is instructive to compare the Ph.D. theses of Africans who have done research on education in London and in New York. A period of study in Britain frequently consolidates in an African a respect for the British educational system. A period of study in America frequently nurtures a dissatisfaction with the British system. . . .³³

Although the Afro-American or pan-African aspects of African study sojourns in the United States were in some ways peripheral or coincidental to the students' educational experiences, they were nevertheless pervasive and contributed greatly to the distinctiveness of African student experiences in the United States. These dimensions may also be most graphically illustrated through the experiences of individual Africans, including such men as Azikiwe, Nkrumah, Mbonu Ojike, and K.O. Mbadiwe.

When he was a student at Howard University, Nnamdi Azikiwe studied and worked closely with such influential black scholars as Ralph Bunche and, particularly, Alain Locke and William Leo Hansberry in the fields of Afro-American and precolonial African history. Indeed, Locke became a personal tutor for Azikiwe, and Azikiwe for his part worked as personal secretary for Locke. Locke's important book *The New Negro*, published in 1925,³⁴ must have had great impact on the scholarly Azikiwe, for the book was a model of comparative or parallel study of black men in different societies and regions. In addition, it included evocative contributions by Jean Toomer, Countee Cullen, James Weldon Johnson, Claude McKay, Langston Hughes, Arthur A. Schomburg, Melville Herskovits, E. Franklin Frazier, and W.E.B. DuBois. Moreover, when West Indian law student George Padmore spoke to a student rally about political choices in the 1928 American election, it was evidently an enormously moving and memorable event during Azikiwe's student days at Howard.³⁵ Padmore later became an important contributor to the pages of Azikiwe's *African Morning Post*. In an address before he became premier of Eastern Nigeria, Azikiwe talked of his student days at Howard:

As a crusader in the cause of human freedom in Africa, I am very grateful to Howard University for helping to mould my outlook at the formative stage of my intellectual and physical development. Here at Hilltop, I learned the grammar of politics. Tonnell, Locke, Harris, Bunche, and Hansberry were among my teachers. They gave me insight into the complex problems of human nature.³⁶

When he transferred to Lincoln University, Azikiwe continued his interest in black history and race relations, and, additionally, worked to secure the appointment of blacks to the all-white faculty. Horace Mann Bond maintains that university authorities grew disenchanted with Azikiwe's protest activities and demands for curricular and administrative reforms (which were publicized not only on campus but in the black *Philadelphia Tribune* and *Baltimore Afro-American* for both of which Azikiwe was university correspondent), and consequently refused to recommend him for a renewal of his student visa. In effect this assured the termination of Azikiwe's American sojourn.³⁷ Although he departed in 1934, Azikiwe had developed very broad associations and

acquaintance with the American black community: in his spare time he had written a prize-winning book review of John L. Spivak's *Georgie Nigger* for the *Journal of Negro History*,³⁸ read a paper on Liberia at the annual conference of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, and been able to visit numerous black churches and homes in the Oxford-Philadelphia community. His repatriation was complicated by doubts and difficulties inherent in finding work in colonial West Africa. In 1934 he applied to authorities in Nigeria for a position as a teacher at King's College in Lagos, but his application was rejected. Earlier he had corresponded with President Barclay of Liberia about employment possibilities in the Liberian diplomatic service, but was turned down. Therefore, like Banda twenty years later, Azikiwe settled in Gold Coast as an alternative to immediate repatriation in his home region. He established a newspaper there and used it effectively as a means of entry into public life, having kept alive his interest in journalism throughout his American sojourn.

In 1937 Azikiwe returned to Nigeria, immediately joined the executive of a National Youth Movement, and initiated the first of a chain of newspapers. Under the management of Zik Press, Ltd., his newspapers became well known for their hyperbolized, flamboyant style--undoubtedly emulating the American press of the early twentieth century--and for an unrelenting antagonism to colonialism. The most significant of these papers was the *West African Pilot*, which, along with the others, spread over the region, revolutionized West African journalism in terms of editorial writing and news reporting, and had a dynamic impact on generations of African students who thereafter went to study in the United States. Nkrumah, Mbadiwe, and Ojike were just three of these.

Kwame Nkrumah, who enrolled at Lincoln in 1935 after a number of the reforms pressed for by Azikiwe had been instituted, became involved in two significant ways in the life of the black community while a student in the United States. One was in the religious life of Afro-Americans as he undertook practical application for his theological training. He recalled:

I spent much of my free time preaching in Negro churches. Almost every Sunday I was booked to preach at some church or other and

*I really enjoyed doing it. I had made many friends, for the Negro churches play the part of community centers more than most places of worship.*³⁹

The other was sociological.

*When I was in Philadelphia I carried out an intensive survey of the Negro from a religious, social and economic standpoint. This work, which was given to me by the Presbyterian Church, took me to over 600 Negro homes in Philadelphia alone, as well as many others in Germantown and Reading.*⁴⁰

And, like Azikiwe before him, many of Nkrumah's other concerns while at Lincoln were political and pan-African-oriented. Indeed, Nkrumah maintained that the beginning of political activities for him in the United States consisted in his efforts toward setting up an African Studies Section at the nearby University of Pennsylvania, where he was engaged for a brief time as a Fante language informant,⁴¹ and in helping to organize the African Students Associations of America and Canada.

H.K. Banda also had substantial dealings with American blacks both before and during his American study sojourn. After completing preparatory and undergraduate work at Wilberforce and Indiana University, he maintained his Afro-American associations through speaking engagements at AME Church conventions throughout the Middle West. Later he became Chichewa language informant and companion for a black linguistic student at the University of Chicago.⁴² Following his experiences on the southside of Chicago during the Depression, Banda went south for medical study at Meharry, the black medical school attended twenty years before by fellow Nyasaland D.S. Malekebu.

Much of the pan-black aspect of the colonial period occurred not as a direct result of student activities but as a result of extracurricular or even non-student activities. For example, the interest and involvement of Tuskegee Institute, and its impact on enrolled and prospective African students, were quite unique.⁴³ The name and fame of Tuskegee were carried to Africa not only by American and African alumni, although these were many, but by numerous Africans who had never enrolled at the school at all. Through the media of numerous

international conferences, visitations, and technical missions many Africans came to know of and utilize the resources of Tuskegee and Booker T. Washington. Washington himself declared in keynoting the International Conference on the Negro convened at Tuskegee in the spring of 1912:

For a number of years, we have had on our grounds a number of students from (the West Indies, Africa, and South America). From year to year we have from 100 to 150 students representing (these areas) and we are anxious that these students be fitted to go back to their homes and render the highest and best service and we shall hope that, during the discussions we shall listen to, we shall get much valuable information as to the actual needs in the countries from which these students come, so that they will be trained to some definite point of usefulness in the country which they come from. We want the students to go back home after they get their education and we want them to prove of service in their homes after they get their education.⁴⁴

Furthermore, Washington held that, because of the growing awareness of Tuskegee, there were more and more inquiries about the work and methods of the school, an increase in the African student population there, and ever larger numbers of visitors and observers, many of them from Africa.

African interest in Tuskegee was, of course, excited by the 1912 conference, but the return of Tuskegee-trained African students and earlier African projects had laid the groundwork. For example, a Tuskegee Mission to Togoland, designed to improve methods of cotton cultivation in that region, had been organized and sent out in 1901 at the invitation of the German colonial government.⁴⁵ Success of the mission apparently led to additional invitations for missions to Tanganyika, Zanzibar, and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; and, indeed, Washington himself was invited to set up shop in South Africa. Further, Washington attempted to establish an export-import business combining the unique talents and locations of Africans in West Africa and Afro-Americans in the United States. Washington's secretary, Emmett Scott, allowed that the idea for the dramatic International Conference on the Negro in 1912 grew out of an article

written by Washington in 1906 for the *New York Independent*, during the outcry over the Leopoldian variety of civilization in the Congo Free State. Scott declared that the article was

*a call to the friends of Africa to meet in international council for the purpose of organizing a society which should stand in its relation to the civilized world as a sort of guardian of the native peoples of Africa, a friendly power, an influence with the public and the councils where so often, without their presence, or knowledge, the destinies of African peoples and of their territories are discussed and decided.*⁴⁶

Addressing himself to the theme of black interchange, Washington asserted that the conference would be

*valuable and helpful. . . insofar as it will give opportunity for the general interchange of ideas in organizing and systematizing the work of education of the native peoples in Africa and elsewhere and the preparation of teachers for that work. Wider knowledge of the work that each is doing should open means of cooperation that do not now exist.*⁴⁷

"The object of calling this Conference at Tuskegee," he concluded, "is to afford an opportunity for studying the methods employed in helping the Negro of the United States, with a view of deciding to what extent Tuskegee and Hampton methods may be applied to conditions (in Asia and South America), as well as to conditions in Africa."⁴⁸ Among those attending were representatives from Gold Coast (Casely Hayford), Sierra Leone (Dr. Edward Blyden was undoubtedly the choice for the Sierra Leonean delegation, but died two months before the conference),⁴⁹ British East Africa, Liberia, Nigeria, Portuguese East Africa, and South Africa.

A Network of Influences

Meanwhile, Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association, initially organized around the idea of setting up a Tuskegee-type school in Jamaica, served also to stimulate cross-cultural or pan-Africanist sentiment among American and African blacks.⁵¹ Garvey's message was strong and unequivocal:

*My advice to all friendly whites is to keep out of Africa and Asia. Leave Africa alone. Go to North and South America and Australia, settle in Europe, but remember, give Africa a long berth, for one day God and His hosts shall bring the "prince of Egypt, and Ethiopia Shall Stretch Forth Her Hands."*⁵²

In his book *The Negro* (1915), W.E.B. DuBois assessed the growing pan-African mood:

*There is slowly arising not only a curiously strong brotherhood of Negro blood throughout the world, but the common cause of the darker races against the intolerable assumption and insults of Europeans has already found expression. Most men in the world are colored men. The future world will, in all reasonable possibility, be what colored men make it.*⁵³

Although DuBois and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ultimately took up an anti-Garvey position, the UNIA, and Garvey particularly, remained as important symbols for young Africans and New World blacks. Jomo Kenyatta asserts that in 1921

*Kenya nationalists, unable to read, would gather round a reader of Garvey's newspaper, The Negro World, and listen to an article two or three times. . . (nad) then. . . run various ways through the forest, carefully to repeat the whole story. . . to Africans hungry for some doctrine which lifted them from the servile consciousness in which Africans lived.*⁵⁴

Indeed, Garvey's influence was noticeable in the area of the mission school attended by Azikiwe and, according to Nkrumah, no literature made a greater impact on him while a student than Garvey's *Philosophy and Opinions* (1923). Nkrumah also made countless allusions to Garvey's example in his political speeches following his return to Gold Coast.⁵⁵

During World War II a number of organizations, many instigated by Africans, provided auspices for pan-Africanist meetings. The officers of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, for example, organized the Committee on Africa, War and Peace Aims, which held hearings soon

after American entry into the war and took testimony from interested parties, including African students in the United States; Nkrumah and Ako Adjei both testified before the committee. The results of the hearings were published in 1942 under the title "The Atlantic Charter and Africa from an American Standpoint."⁵⁶

And President Roosevelt convened an International Student Assembly at the White House in the summer of 1943 to which representatives of some fifty-five countries were invited. One of the students, Mbonu Ojike, a Nigerian student at Ohio State University, became involved in a heated debate with Ralph Bunche, then of the United States Department of State, over the relative merits of immediate political independence for Africans.

African students in the United States fueled many of the pan-black organizational forums; others they inspired or helped to organize. One of these was the African Students Association of America and Canada, organized by Nkrumah with the help of Ojike, Mbadiwe, and others. The association was designed to perform two services: first, it would enable African students to get together for the exchange of ideas and encouragement of one another in the struggle to obtain an American education; and second, it would provide an agency for promoting better understanding between Africa and America.⁵⁷ Another example is the African Academy of Arts and Research which sprang from efforts of Mbadiwe, with the Reverend James H. Robinson (later founder and director of Operation Crossroads Africa) as chairman of the board. The functions of the academy included dissemination of African news to the American public without a "pernicious" English slant, staging exhibitions of African crafts and culture, and encouraging African trade. The academy, largely comprised of Nigerian students and American blacks, also purchased Harlem property in 1942 and inaugurated Africa House, "a place for African students to gather."⁵⁸

Moreover, at the behest of unrepresented African nationals, Ojike attended meetings of the Conference on International Organization, convened by the new United Nations Organization in San Francisco in April, 1945. His trip was facilitated by Elder Beck, Pentecostal religionist of Pittsburgh and president of the American Sons and Daughters of African Descent. In his autobiography, *I Have Two Countries*, Ojike confided that he went to San Francisco with five strategies in mind: first, to assemble the Afro-Americans in

attendance into a caucus, whatever their status (observers, consultants, etc.); second, to interview as many officials of the UNO as possible; third, to attend discussions and seize propitious moments to argue the cause of African freedom; fourth, to publicize the discontent of colonized African blacks through the world press; and fifth, to report to the Nigerian people on the deliberations.⁵⁹ Ojike also presented to the United Nations and the press a memorandum from the African Student Association which recommended that dates be set for the freedom of African colonies.⁶⁰

Meanwhile, in 1944, the later-banned Council on African Affairs⁶¹ was organized, based on work by Nkrumah but growing out of a London meeting between singer Paul Robeson and Max Yergan shortly before the war. On the council's board of directors were such well-known and influential blacks as Ralph Bunche, Channing Tobias, Mordecai Johnson, and Rene Maran.

Upon terminating their American study sojourns, many African students continued pan-Africanist sentiments ignited during their American experiences. Nkrumah and many others, for example, stopped in London prior to their return to West Africa and became involved in the work of the West African Students Union. West African students and others, such as Kenyatta, Banda, and Peter Abrahams, took part, along with Dubois and Padmore, in the fifth Pan-African Congress held in Manchester in 1945; a publication called *Pan Africa* was initiated by Nkrumah and by T.R. Makonnen of British Guiana. The earliest pan-Africanist conferences (going back to before the turn of the century) were conceived and led by West Indians and Afro-Americans almost exclusively. These were men facing the problem of color discrimination and concerned with the nearly universal subjugation of black peoples by whites, and the latter fact seemingly added to their own degraded condition.⁶² But the Manchester Conference was the last important pan-Africanist convention held outside the continent of Africa and was the beginning of the end of New World ideological domination of the meetings.⁶³

With the imminent return of the African student generation, which would do much to help wrest control of their regions from colonial hegemony, and in virtue of cultural exchange and stimulation amidst black America, leadership of the pan-Africanist movement shifted quite perceptibly to Africans themselves.

But they had passed through some common humiliations and sharing of insights on the problems of political oppression and liberation with New World blacks and other African colonial subjects, and the momentum and thrust of that experience were to be preserved in continent-wide conferences and movements. Two such conferences were held in Ghana in 1958, soon after its independence--the Conference of Independent African States (attended by the eight independent African states, excluding South Africa), and the All-African Peoples Conference (attended by delegations from nationalist movements from all over Africa, including South Africa). A number of postcolonial regional federations, confederations, and unions have been attempted since 1957; the most significant has been the effort to erect an African umbrella organization, the Organization of African Unity, initiated in 1963.

Conclusions

While comparative data in the field of repatriated African students⁶⁴ suggest that some qualifications are in order in using American education as a crucial variable in explaining the emergence of an oppositional political "elite" and a growing pan-Africanism, the chief contention here remains intact. Unlike their colonially trained counterparts, some American-educated individuals in combination with certain others (both Western-educated and otherwise) from an emerging, general sub-elite were negatively formed into a "class" of outsiders vis-a-vis ruling and traditional authorities.⁶⁵ Those men who came under American influences seem particularly to have been received as "kibitzers"--individuals outside of a game controlled by others whose comments and actions, if not their presence alone, were taken as a disruption of the decorum or rules of the game--and received with all the love and affection which greet kibitzers the world over.

In sum, of the two elites (upper-echelon and sub-elite or first and second political generations) little of the growing African revolution came from what was apparently socially recognized as the African colonial elite. News commentator Eric Sevareid caught the sense of the matter, although he almost certainly got the principals confused, when he remarked on the paradox in British "education" of Africans in the colonies: "Britain gave just enough of them the chance to educate themselves, and what they learned was why they must

rid themselves of Britain and how to do it."⁶⁶ Rather than the colonially certified elite, then, it was a by-and-large unofficial, unorganized, disparate assortment of overseas-educated individuals and other political outs who were forced, in the words of Margery Perham, to build their "own platforms and jump upon them."⁶⁷ These platforms were constructed out of local materials and materials collected abroad from Americans, West Indians, and fellow Africans overseas and helped along by the not infrequently hostile receptions encountered under colonial regimes.

Max Weber has suggested that

*national or religious minorities which are in a position of subordination to a group of rulers are likely, through their voluntary or involuntary exclusion from positions of political influence, to be driven with peculiar force into economic activity. . . . Their ablest members seek to satisfy the desire for recognition of their abilities in this field, since there is no opportunity in the service of the state.*⁶⁸

While there may be truth in Weber's contention, it is not validated by the activity and record of the American-educated among political "sub-elites" in colonial Africa. In point of fact, American-educated repatriates, when denied political, social, and economic recognition and satisfaction commensurate with their training and aspirations, did not turn with greater intensity to economics at all. Rather, they turned more and more directly to politics so as to change social and economic conditions.

Moreover, many of these Africans, spurred by their American sojourns, not only brought back a new or enlarged sense of politics which made them uncomfortable in the old colonial constrictions; they also brought back broadened cultural horizons because of a black presence not readily available in any of the metropolitan centers of the colonial powers. The extent to which there was alteration of cultural perspectives as a result of African and Afro-American encounters is a complex and subtle affair.⁶⁹ Perspectives were undoubtedly affected, although it is problematical whether the lives of either the Afro-Americans or the Africans

were changed to the extent that the life of Faust was changed by his encounter with Mephistopheles. Nevertheless, the effect of the Afro-American experience appears to have been an additional unique variable in the lives of these colonial Africans. When African students were in the midst of black America new and expanded relations were created between Africans and Africans on the one hand and Africans and the entire black world on the other. Chief Adebó of Nigeria, in a 1964 speech to an Afro-American audience, confided:

*I no longer think simply as a Nigerian;
I no longer think simply as an African.
I think more as a person of color. And the
objective of all of us is to restore to the
man of color, wherever he may be, whether
in Nigeria, or in the United States, or in
Moscow, or in Brazil, the dignity of a human
being. That is why we are involved in the
same struggle in Africa, here, and else-
where.⁷⁰*

George Shepperson, who has written a comprehensive study of the Nyasaland Rebellion led by American-educated John Chilembwe, argues unequivocally that American-trained African nationalists can credit black America for much of their nationalist ideology and strategy.⁷¹ Although no evidence is available to reveal the nature of Chilembwe's reading while in the United States, he was there during a major literary, newspaper, and scholarly output on the part of American blacks. Moreover, the investigating commission set up to probe the Nyasaland Rebellion found that much incendiary literature from black America was a factor motivating Chilembwe's adherents in that revolt.

Specific illustration of a broader understanding of black history and of the reciprocal importance of black communities can be noted in a letter from J.E.K. Aggrey to Carter G. Woodson, founder of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, following his own return to Africa.

*I am back from the Gold Coast. . . where
there is in founding a West African Univer-
sity. . . . In the new institution I have
among others African history. When I see
you I should want to connect you and the
Association with our endeavors. . . .*

Please hold the following books for me. . . Leo Frobenius' The Voice of Africa, and Es-Sa'di's Tarikh Es-Sudan. . . . I would also like to own Blyden's African Life and Customs; Ripley's Races of Europe, Denker's The Races of Man; Rotzeli's History of Mankind; Africa's Interracial Problems; Casely Hayford's works (I have read them all); Randall MacIver's Medieval Rhodesia. Besides my own desires we of Africa want Achimota to have as complete a library as possible of Negro books and other literature. So I wish you would put me in touch with libraries for sale such as Schomburg's (!).

And in closing he wrote:

I generally want to join your Association and to be in constant and direct touch with it. I am sure you and others of its members would be of great help to me. And as I have Native African friends--influential men and women in nearly every colony or state in Africa--West, South, East, Central and part of the North--I may be of some assistance to you (;) at least I can introduce America to Africa and Africa to America.⁷²

In pan-Africanist terms, then, as well as in terms of participation in national protest movements, the evidence is persuasive that many African minds were enlarged, that cultural and ideological visions were expanded among African and American blacks. African students, thrown into an American vortex, underwent an educational experience alien to the colonial world, and interacted with a black world of highly volatile components--empathy, hostility, contending sentiments of emigrationism, assimilationism, and cultural nationalism. And then they returned to their colonially restrictive environments--but returned fairly bursting with the urge to resolve questions of ideology, cultural identification, and political power.

Footnotes

1. This paper is a revised version of a paper presented at the 15th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association in Philadelphia, November 8-11, 1972.
2. See, for example, James S. Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism* (Berkeley, 1963), particularly part 3, "The Rise of the Nigerian Nationalist Movement." Like many other scholars on the subject, Coleman, in this early and important work, appears to have paid insufficient attention to distinctions within what is sometimes referred to monolithically as "African nationalism."
3. See author's "A Second Middle Passage: African Student Sojourns in the United States during the Colonial Period and Their Influence upon the Character of African Leadership" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1972), and his forthcoming study *African Nationalism in Embryo*, for a history of this phenomenon.
4. See L. Gray Cowan *et al.*, *Education and Nation-Building in Africa* (New York, 1965), 4-5.
5. The two reports have been nicely abridged and introduced by L.J. Lewis in *Phelps-Stokes Reports on Education in Africa* (London, 1962); and a very useful survey and evaluation of the reports themselves are contained in John Wilson, *Education and Changing West African Culture* (New York, 1963).
6. Martin Kilson, "The Emergent Elites of Black Africa, 1900 to 1960," in L.H. Gann and Peter Duignan, eds., *Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960*, vol. 2, *The History and Politics of Colonialism 1914-1960* (Cambridge, Eng., 1970), 353-54.
7. Cowan, *Education and Nation-Building*, 28; and Kilson, "Emergent Elites."
8. Cowan, *Education and Nation-Building*; for support of this view, see also Coleman, *Nigeria*, 123.
9. Coleman, *Nigeria*, 123.
10. See Kilson, "Emergent Elites," 359.

11. *Sierra Leone Annual Report of the Railway District, 1915* (Freetown, 1917), 8; cited in *ibid.*
12. Coleman, *Nigeria*, 123.
13. *Nigeria Handbook* (1936), 225, 357-59; cited in *ibid.*, 123-24.
14. K.W.J. Post, "Nationalist Movements in West Africa," in *A Thousand Years of West African History*, ed. J.F. Ade Ajayi and Ian Espie (Ibadan, 1965), 453-54.
15. Kilson, "Emergent Elites," 355.
16. *Ibid.*
17. See Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, "Nationalism in a New Perspective: The African Case," in *Patterns of African Development: Five Comparisons*, ed. Herbert J. Spiro (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1967), 47.
18. See J.E. Goldthorpe, "Educated Africans: Some Conceptual and Terminological Problems," in Cowan, *Education and Nation-Building*, 374; but see also Carl Beck *et al.*, *A Survey of Elite Studies* (Washington, D.C., 1965), 64-65; and P.C. Lloyd, ed., *The New Elites of Tropical Africa* (New York, 1966).
19. Ayi Kwei Armah, "Fanon: The Awakener," *Negro Digest* 18 (October, 1969), 33.
20. For an alternative view see Kilson, "Emergent Elites," 376, 384, and *passim.*, in which Professor Kilson fitfully advances the argument that the "upper-echelon elite" played a very significant role, which "should not be underestimated," in reshaping colonial African politics; but since this argument does not square with the findings of the present research, nor with the preponderant internal data of the Kilson essay itself one wonders whether subjective ideological considerations may have tended to deflect his generally penetrating analysis from its course.
21. William C. Wilcox, "The Booker Washington of South Africa," *Oberlin Alumni Magazine* (March, 1927).
22. John L. Dube, *A Familiar Talk upon My Native Land*

- and Some Things Found There* (Rochester, 1892), 27.
23. Edwin Smith, *Aggrey of Africa* (London, 1929), 57.
24. *Ibid.*
25. Quoted in Roderick J. McDonald, "Daniel Sharpe Malekebu and the Reopening of the Providence Industrial Mission, 1926-39," paper presented at the 11th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Los Angeles, October 16-19, 1968, p. 4; see also Florence M. Read, *The Story of Spelman College* (Atlanta, 1961), 358.
26. *African Students in the United States: A Guide for Sponsors of Student Exchange Programs with Africa* (New York, 1960), 8-9.
27. *Ibid.*, 9.
28. Phelps-Stokes Fund, *A Survey of African Students Studying in the United States* (1949), 35.
29. *African Students in the United States*, 17.
30. G.T. Manley, "Industrial Education in Africa," *Missionary Review* 71 (March, 1920), 232.
31. King Williamstown (Cape Province), South Africa, *Imvo Zabantsundu*, June 17, 1903. President Theodore Roosevelt, at a luncheon, counseled Washington against taking the South African offer.
32. K.A.B. Jones-Quartey, "Ghana," in *As Others See Us: The United States through Foreign Eyes*, ed. Franz M. Joseph (Princeton, 1959), 257.
33. Eric Ashby, *African Universities and Western Tradition* (Cambridge, Eng., 1964), 55-56.
34. New paperback edition now available in the Atheneum "Studies in American Negro Life" series: Alain Locke, ed., *The New Negro* (New York, 1968).
35. James R. Hooker, in *Black Revolutionary: George Padmore's Path from Communism to Pan-Africanism* (New York, 1967), 6, asserts that Padmore sought out Azikiwe's assistance in 1927 in establishing an African student organization "to foster racial consciousness and a spirit of nationalism aiming

at the protection of the sovereignty of Liberia"; this seems to be the earliest of Azikiwe's pre-occupations with Liberia.

36. Nnamdi Azikiwe, *Zik: A Selection from the Speeches of Nnamdi Azikiwe* (Cambridge, Eng., 1961), 13.
37. Horace Mann Bond, "God Glorified by Africa: The Story of Lincoln University and the Providence of God in the Ancestral Continent," a Portion of the Centennial History of Lincoln University, 1854-1954, Lincoln University, February, 1955, p. 11a, Horace Mann Bond Papers, Lincolniana Collection, Vail Memorial Library, Lincoln University, Pa.
38. "African Native Wins Best Book Review Award," *Washington (D.C.) Tribune*, October 26, 1933; the judges were Dr. Carter G. Woodson, Professor Benjamin Brawley of Howard, and Professor Lorenzo D. Turner of Fisk.
39. Kwame Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (London, 1959), 41. Reverend James H. Robinson, in an informal interview with the author in New York City on April 28, 1969, alleged that regular Sunday "chicken dinners" were a drawing card at black churches for Nkrumah and other African students.
40. Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 35.
41. Nkrumah was not a native speaker of Fante and, consequently, was not continued as language informant in the program for which he was recruited (William E. Welmers, Professor of Linguistics and African Languages, University of California, Los Angeles, taped interview with author, May 13, 1970, Los Angeles, transcript, p. 2).
42. The extent of Banda's work as an informant is detailed by Mark Hanna Watkins in the study which grew out of that project, *A Grammar of Chichewa: A Bantu Language of British Central Africa* (Philadelphia, 1937).
43. George Shepperson, in "Notes on Negro American Influences on the Emergence of African Nationalism," *Journal of African History* 1, no. 2 (1960), 311, asserts that "Booker T. Washington's interest in

Africa has been disguised by the juxtaposition of his ideas with those of W.E.B. DuBois in so many works on Negro American history."

44. "International Conference on the Negro," *The Tuskegee Student*, April 27, 1912, 1.
45. Horace Mann Bond, "Relations between American Negroes, African Students in the U.S., and Africans," Address at American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa, Washington, D.C., September 24-27, 1964, transcript, p. 10, Horace Mann Bond Papers, Trevor-Arnett Library, Atlanta University, Atlanta, GA.
46. "International Conference on the Negro," *The Tuskegee Student*, April 20, 1912, 1; actually an earlier article on the subject of Congo administration had appeared under Washington's byline: "Cruelty in the Congo Country," *The Outlook*, October 8, 1904, 375-77.
47. *The Tuskegee Student*, February 10, 1912.
48. *Ibid.*
49. To Blyden the significance of the conference was said to be that "a Negro school should become so widely known that without anyone regarding it as strange or unusual it was possible to invite people from all over the world to visit it. . . ." "International Conference on the Negro," *The Tuskegee Student*, April 20, 1912, 3.
50. Delegate information from Tentative Program brochure and daily Program News Releases, Tuskegee Institute Archives, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.
51. Interestingly, Garvey first visited the United States when he wrote to, and received an invitation from, Booker T. Washington to visit Tuskegee; see E.D. Cronon, *Black Moses* (Madison, 1955). 19.
52. Eric Rosenthal, *Stars and Stripes in Africa: Being a History of American Achievements in Africa by Explorers, Missionaries, Pirates, Adventurers, Hunters, Miners, Merchants, Scientists, Soldiers, Showmen, Engineers, and Others, with Some Account of Africans Who Have Played a Part in American Affairs* (London, 1938), 260.

53. W.E.B. DuBois, *The Negro* (reprint, London, 1970), 146.
54. Quoted in C.L.R. James, *Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution* (New York, 1963), 396.
55. See Ali A. Mazrui, "Borrowed Theory and Original Practice in African Politics," in *Patterns of African Development*, 102.
56. Hooker, *Black Revolutionary*, 81.
57. Mbonu Ojike, *I Have Two Countries* (New York, 1947), 89.
58. Phelps-Stokes Fund, *Survey of African Students*, 49.
59. Ojike, *I Have Two Countries*, 148.
60. *Ibid.*
61. During the Korean War, the council was placed on the list of Subversive Organizations compiled by the United States attorney-general; see Hooker, *Black Revolutionary*, 81.
62. The pervasiveness of the problem was no better illustrated to Western blacks than in a Town Hall address in New York City by General Jan C. Smuts, when he stated in January, 1930: "The Negro is the most patient of all animals, next to the ass." And when Principal Robert R. Moton of Tuskegee remonstrated with him, Smuts declared that his comment showed only admiration for the black man (Rayford W. Logan, "The American Negro's View of Africa," in *Africa from the Point of View of American Negro Scholars*, ed. John A. Davis (New York, 1958), 221).
63. With the possible exception of the Congress of Black Writers and Artists held in Paris (1956) and Rome (1959), the Bandung Conference held in Indonesia (1957), and Congress of African People held in Atlanta (1970) and San Diego (1972).
64. See Jean-Pierre N'Diaye, *Enquete sur les etudiants noirs en France* (Paris, 1962), quoted in Victor

- T. Le Vine, *Political Leadership in Africa* (Stanford, 1967), 74. For other, comparative insights on leadership development in francophonic Africa see: Ruth S. Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa* (London, 1964); Virginia Thompson, "Dahomey," in *Five African States*, ed. Gwendolen Carter (Ithaca, 1963); Immanuel Wallerstein, "Elites in French-Speaking Africa: The Social Basis of Ideas," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 3, no. 1 (1965), 1-33; *L'Annuaire parlementaire des etats d'Afrique noire* (Paris, 1963), which contains over one thousand biographical sketches of political elites in francophonic Africa; and Donald J. Forth, "Symbiosis and Web: Five Variations on a Theme" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Fresno State College, Calif., 1968). See also discussion of repatriation as a general phenomenon and discussion of problems of readaptation of blacks to specific West African environments in author's articles, "Return of Brazilian Freedmen to West Africa in the 18th and 19th Centuries," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 3 (Fall, 1970), 577-92.
65. The trajectory of this phenomenon may be noted in comparative terms in Edward Shils, *The Intellectual between Tradition and Modernity: The Indian Situation*, *Comparative Studies in Sociology and History*, Supplement 1 (The Hague, 1961), 14.
 66. Quoted in Johnson A. Sofala, "The American-Made African Leader" (unpublished typescript, n.d.), 51, Jesse E. Moorland Collection of Negro Life and History, Founder's Library, Howard University, Washington, D.C.
 67. Margery Perham, "The Psychology of African Nationalism," *Optima* 10, no. 1 (1960), 29-30.
 68. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York, 1958), 39.
 69. Robert W. July, in *The Origins of Modern African Thought: Its Development in West Africa during the 19th and 20th Centuries* (London, 1968), which considers Western influences on African outlooks, concluded that the issue of American black influences in Africa was sufficiently complex that "special

