NEW VISIONS OF AFRICA: HOW AFRICAN STUDENTS AT HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES SHAPED BLACK EDUCATION, 1920-1960

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ABSTRACT

NEW VISIONS OF AFRICA: HOW AFRICAN STUDENTS AT HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES SHAPED BLACK EDUCATION, 1920-1960

Mark Anthony Lewin

This dissertation studies the relationship between African migrant students, Historically Black Colleges and Universities, and the Phelps-Stokes Fund. In the early twentieth century, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, a philanthropic organization founded on expanding educational accesses to Africans, African Americans, and Native Americans, launched two educational surveys through Africa. Its educational director, Thomas Jesse Jones, hoped that the tour would provide insight into African educational systems and expand his vision for Black education. The two surveys caught the attention of many Africans interested in expanding their education outside of Africa. As a result, future African state builders such as Nnamdi Azikiwe, Kwame Nkrumah, and several others came to know Thomas Jesse Jones and the Phelps-Stokes Fund. Jones used Phelps-Stokes Fund scholarships to help pay for African students' college tuition in America, steering them toward schools that encouraged training in agriculture and other trades.

Yet by funding students to study in the United States, Jones' program had the unintended consequence of radicalizing Africans' beliefs about education and decolonization. At Howard and Lincoln Universities, African students gained access to and studied under important African American educators, particularly William Hansberry and Alain Locke. The lessons students learned inside and outside the classroom helped shape their visions for a new Africa, free from colonial rule. African students also gained a new appreciation for the wider political struggle in which they were engaged. They

joined and even formed Pan-African organizations both on and off their college campuses to promote unity and solidarity between people of African descent. They applied these lessons upon their return to the continent, working to undermine colonialism through the creation of new educational centers at the University of Ghana and Nigeria University. Born of a western model for perpetuating industrial education, Jones' project thus ultimately led to the construction of institutions and identities that helped bring down colonial rule in Africa.

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Introduction

This dissertation explores the dynamic between Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) in the United States, African migrant students, and the charitable organizations that funded them during the middle of the twentieth century. From 1920-1945, the migration of African students to the United States increased significantly, with Howard and Lincoln Universities alone absorbing more than 60 students from the continent during that time frame. Many of the educational institutions African students attended were influenced by paternalistic ideas stemming from white educational paradigms that sought to control Black education. Organizations like the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the Carnegie Corporation, for example, provided money and oversight to promote educational programs they thought best fit Black students' needs. However, the presence of African students at HBCUs created unexpected changes in the visions and structures of these universities, leading to the emergence of powerful new Pan-Africanist ideologies and movements that challenged colonialism and the racist worldview that it underpinned throughout the west. HBCUs were at the heart of Africa's anti-colonial struggle.

What accounted for this influx of African students? A combination of word-of-mouth advertising from African alumni of HBCUs and two educational surveys that the Phelps-Stokes Fund undertook in the early 1920s played important roles. Many students pointed in particular to the influence of Dr. James Kwegyir Aggrey, an African student from the Gold Coast who studied at Livingstone College in North Carolina, on their decisions to attend school in the United States. Aggrey went on to author an important poem about Africa, which he later turned into a picture book. The work, *The Eagle That*

Would Not Fly, tells the story of a hunter that found an eagle in the wild, which he brings home and raises as a chicken. One day, a naturalist visits the hunter and insists that the eagle can fly. The hunter scoffs at the naturalist and tells him that the eagle is now, in fact, a chicken and can thus never take off. At the climax of the story, the naturalist takes the eagle up a high mountain and has it stare into the sun. Finally, the eagle "stretched out its wings and with the screech of an eagle, flew higher and higher and never returned."[1]

Aggrey reflected his vision for Africa and Africans in this allegory. The eagle (Africans), was tricked by the hunter (Europeans) into thinking it was inferior. The eagle realized its full potential only after it stared into the sun. Indeed, in the dedication page at the end of the book, Aggrey exclaims: "my people of Africa! We have been created in the image of God, but people have taught us to think like the chickens and we carry on thinking like this. But we are Eagles. Thus, spread out your wings and fly! and never be satisfied with the corn thrown down as food for chickens.'"[2] Africans should not, Aggrey emphasized, be content with what they were given. They must seize the right to choose their futures. Aggrey's story was therefore rooted in a call for the continent's liberation. His advocacy on behalf of HBCUs made them central to realizing that vision. My dissertation reveals the complex roles that Africans studying at American schools played in reshaping African senses of self and developing new critiques of European colonization across the continent.

Historical Background

While Aggrey never saw such a vision come to fruition, his life, character, and journeys inspired others to fight for independence in Africa. In fact, several prominent

[1] James Aggrey, *The Eagle That Would Not Fly* (Ipswich: Magi Publishers, 1988), 16.
[2] Aggrey, *The Eagle*, 18.

African politicians recounted that Aggrey encouraged them to do so. Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria and Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast explained in their autobiographies the importance of Aggrey's writings to them. Both noted that Aggrey had inspired them to further their education in the United States.[3]

Aggrey's intervention was made possible by his involvement with the Phelps-Stokes Fund, a charitable organization stationed in New York that sought to promote higher education for African Americans, Native Americans, and Africans. Established in 1911 and run by Dr. Anson Phelps-Stokes, the organization provided educational scholarships to prospective students. However, its educational director, Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, strategically dispersed this funding to students he thought would best fit his vision for Black education. Jones favored technical and handicraft training over that of the liberal arts, the latter of which he found more suitable for white westerners. His vision aligned with that of his close friend and ardent supporter, Booker T. Washington, with whom he shared views on both education and civil rights.

Jones befriended and conversed with Aggrey about the possibilities of expanding education in Africa; he later invited Aggrey on the Phelps-Stokes Fund's first survey of African education systems in 1920. While on tour, Aggrey spoke highly to Africans he met of the educational opportunities for them in the United States and emphasized that Africa deserved nothing but the best.[4] He believed that an American education would provide Africans with the knowledge they needed to liberate themselves. African

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[3] Kwame Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (New York: Nelson, 1957), 14-22; Nnamdi Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), 36-38; Mbonu Ojike, *My Africa* (New York: John Day Company, 1946), 62-68.

[4] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey*, 38. To quote Azikiwe: "there was indeed something magnetic about that utterance of Dr. Aggrey, 'nothing but the best is good enough for Africa' which I kept repeating until I became infatuated with it."

migration to the United States increased due in large part to his popularization in Africa of American universities.

Jones' travels through Africa provided the basis for his study of African education systems and sharpened his resolve to promote Black education. He published his findings in his work, *Education in Africa: A Study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa*, in which he explains that "Africa is not the 'Great Dark Continent,' but the 'Continent of Great misunderstandings."[5] Still, his views of Africans were revealing. While Jones believed that Africans were worthy of education, the education was of a specific type. He proposed "the most important ends…are the character development in religious life of the pupils."[6] He further indicated that technical training in trades or vocations should take priority over academic studies and pursuits in civil engagement. His assessment of African education systems supported the use of African rather than white missionaries. These basic ideas shaped Jones' philosophy on African education.

By funding African students to attend HBCUs, Jones believed that the students would pursue careers in agriculture, missionary work, or education and then return to Africa to spread that knowledge. But if his idea was to use the Phelps-Stokes to inculcate in African students a conservative, industrial approach to schooling, his plan backfired. Instead, the students at HBCUs developed vibrant new ideas about Pan-Africanism – the belief that all people of African ancestry should coalesce in solidarity and fight for the liberation of one another – and even came to challenge the administrative structures of the HBCUs they attended, which were dominated by white people. African students in

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[5] Thomas Jesse Jones, *Education in Africa; a Study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa by the African Commission, under the Auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe* (New York: The Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922), 1.
[6] Jones, *Education in Africa*, 27.

the United States gave birth to new visions of Africa and African education through a trans-Atlantic dialogue on Black liberation between themselves, classmates, teachers, and administrators.

The vibrant intellectual movement that emerged at HBCUs in this period continued to draw African students to the United States. Nnamdi Azikiwe, the prominent Nigerian intellectual, attended three different HBCUs. Upon completion of his studies, he also advertised the need for African students to "seek out the Golden fleece" in the United States. Many did. Mbonu Ojike, Nwafor Orizu, K.A.B Jones-Quartey, K.O. Mbadiwe, Kwame Nkrumah, and Ako Adjei – who would all go on to play prominent roles in their home countries after they completed their schooling in the United States – followed in Azikiwe's footsteps.

The HBCUs the students entered had been undergoing important transformations, the result of fierce debates about how they were run. Howard University, for example, experienced a reorganization of its administration and faculty under the direction of its first Black president, Mordecai Johnson. Johnson expanded Howard's educational offerings to include more liberal arts courses. Additionally, he hired prominent Black scholars in full-time positions, including Alain Locke, Ralph Bunche, Rayford Logan, and William Hansberry. It was into this dynamic environment that African students entered. In just one year of studying at Howard, Azikiwe befriended and learned from some of the greatest Black scholars of the era. His education under such paragons augmented his enthusiasm for ending colonization in Africa. It also instilled in him a greater appreciation for Pan-Africanism. The lectures Azikiwe attended revealed to him

the interconnected histories and political struggles that Black peoples shared around the world. Howard made an indelible impact on his political and educational views.

After he transferred to Lincoln University, Azikiwe's faith deepened in education as a means to combat colonization and political inequality. The school recognized his commitment by appointing him a lecturer after he completed his degree, making Azikiwe the first African to teach courses on African history in the university's history. He witnessed and participated in student-led protests that demanded greater representation of full-time Black faculty members. Progress, however, was slow. Spirited debates continued into the middle of the 20th century, often led or encouraged by the arrival of new students from Africa, many of whom Azikiwe recommended. By foregrounding the interplay between African students' participation in debates about curricular offerings and faculty representation on the one hand, and administrative responses and resistance to such pressure, this project highlights the importance of African agency in shaping HBCUs. It gives African students historical recognition previously denied to them of shaping notions of Black education.

While attending university Orizu, Ojike, Mbadiwe, Nkrumah and Adjei also worked to intellectually link many African students throughout the United States together through a number of African based organizations. This included the African Students Association or the ASA. The ASA organized meetings in which African students studying from different universities in the United States could come together to discuss issues pertaining to Africa and their own struggles in the United States. The organization held importance for the very fact that it was one of the earliest Pan-African based

organizations. While the ASA largely focused on political issues regarding Africa it also shared concern in addressing the educational needs of African migrant students.

In several respects this project attempts to highlight how African migrant students reshaped conversations and structures related to Black education. Even after they graduated African migrant students impacted Black education through the establishment of educational organizations. K.O Mbadiwe created another organization called the African Academy of Arts and Research. The organization hosted a number of public lectures and even dances to educate Americans about African culture and history. The AAAR, also founded itself on principles of Pan-Africanism that more closely tied Africans and African Americans together. By providing such educational services and public events, the AAAR offered a shared vision of liberation among Africans and African Americans.

During and after the completion of their studies, Jones-Quartey and Orizu worked to with African American professors to continue African attendance to American universities. Orizu worked with Alain Locke to establish the American Council on African Education or the ACAE. This organization provided prospective African students with scholarship money to attend American universities. It operated under similar, if not almost identical principles that the Phelps-Stokes Fund did but did so in a manner that did not undercut students that had educational interests outside of vocational schools. The ACAE awarded scholarships to African migrant students all across the United States, but a great deal of these scholarships further encouraged African attendance to HBCUS, further promoting the need for a Pan-African based education where Africans and African Americans studied and learned with one another.

While many of these African migrant students had built successful lives in the United States by 1946, they had all returned to Africa. Though they appreciated the experiences and opportunities the US offered they intended on applying the knowledge and resources garnered by their stay in America to lead independence movements in Africa. Upon returning to Ghana and Nigeria respectively they created new political parties, participated in protests, and launched propaganda campaigns that called for an end of colonization and the breakdown of the colonial governments. Ghana became the first west African nation to obtain independence in 1957 and Nigeria gained its independence in 1960.

Few histories on Ghana fail to mention the political and cultural significance of Kwame Nkrumah. In the late 1940s Nkrumah, Adjei, and the rest of the 'Big six' (Edward Akufo-Addo, J.B. Danquah, Emmanuel Obetsebi-Lamptey, and William Ofori Atta) protested colonial oppression of the Gold Coast. They formed the UGCC or the United Gold Coast Coalition. This organization continued to protest the colonial government and led boycotts on European imports. Yet inner party differences led Nkrumah and Adjei to leave the organization. Nkrumah organized the CPP, the Conventional Peoples Party using it to spur on his own vision for Ghana. Through years of protest and petitioning of the colonial government Ghana finally became independent on March 6th of 1957.

Once independent, Nkrumah, now Ghana's first president, initiated legislation that meant to modernize Ghana al while exclaiming the need for Pan-Africanism. He called for the establishment of University of Ghana, Legon. Nkrumah believed that the University could help modernize Ghana through providing educational programs like

engineering and industrial science programs. While such programs come from practical needs of an emerging independent nation, Nkrumah still did not ignore his idealistic vision for a fully liberated Africa by also encouraging programs that educated students on the history of Africa. In 1962 Nkrumah hosted a conference for African scholars at University of Ghana, Legon where he expressed his opinion on the need for African studies in building Pan-African unity. He stated, "while some of us are engaged with the political unification of Africa, Africanists everywhere must also help in building the spiritual and cultural foundations for the unity of our continent."[7] This project raises awareness of Nkrumah's decision to establish University of Ghana, Legon. In many ways this university later became the opposite of what Jones had envisioned for African education. One of the impetuses behind Nkrumah's desire to create the university was his own vision for Africa, partly molded by his experiences and lessons acquired in the United States.

Consciencism, **(**Nkrumah's ideological belief that a social revolution needed to take place in order for Africans to be completely rid of imperial control and its legacy) envisioned the establishment of a single federal government for all of the continent, but ironically his calls for unity among all African countries sometimes meant he overlooked the needs of his own country and people. The Ashante protested Nkrumah for his handling of the economy and his attitude toward their political desires. Furthermore, Nkrumah further propelled insurrection in Ghana when he blamed his former friend and close ally Ako Adjei for a failed assassination attempt. Nkrumah's paranoia expanded throughout the final years of his presidency until he was overthrown in a coup in 1966.

[7] Kwame Nkrumah "At the Congress of Africanists," (Speech, Ghana, December 12th, 1962), in the Phelps-Stokes Fund Records, MG 162 Box 63, Folder 14. New York, New York Public Library.

Azikiwe, Jones-Quartey, Orizu, Ojike, and Mbadiwe immediately mobilized liberation efforts upon returning to Africa. Azikiwe who returned to Africa by the mid-1930s, used his newspaper the *West African Pilot* to rebuke the colonial government in Nigeria. In the ten years he spent in Africa while Jones-Quartey, Orizu, and Ojike studied in the United States, he gained immense popularity among Nigerians. His vision for establishing a New Africa (a term he used that reflected his plan for Africa during decolonization), founded itself on principles of political and economic independence as well as mental emancipation from noxious western educational paradigms that portrayed Africa as dependent on Europe. After Jones-Quartey, Orizu, Ojike, and Mbadiwe returned they worked closely with Azikiwe to lead protests against the colonial government. In the early years of the 1950s, each of them loyally followed Azikiwe's direction for decolonization.

Histories of Nigeria pay great attention to Azikiwe's role in decolonization. Azikiwe had an unparalleled influence on Nigeria in the years leading to independence. He distinguished himself from other eminent Nigerian political rivals like Obafemi Awolowo by using his popularity to mobilize younger Nigerians to support his vision for Nigeria. Azikiwe's vision in many ways was adopted by many of his followers and had been supported by most of the African students he instructed to study in the west; but not by all. K.O. Mbadiwe took issue with Azikiwe's growing dictatorial-like method of politics. As Azikiwe's popularity grew so did his belief that he had a special necessity to liberating Nigeria a facet that would later illustrate his shifting of political blame to avoid reproach from political adversaries. In one instance, he encouraged Ojike to take the blame for political charges of corruption. Mbadiwe took issue with this and Azikiwe's

movement to seize power for himself within the NCNC. After a few years of being political rivals, Azikiwe and Mbadiwe eventually made amends, largely impart by the efforts of Nkrumah and Adjei to reconcile the two.

Despite some internal party disagreements, Azikiwe, Orizu, Jones-Quartey, and Mbadiwe continued to call for Nigerian independence. On 1st October of 1960, Nigeria gained its independence from England. Azikiwe passed legislation that established Nigeria's first independent university. Nigeria University, like University of Ghana Legon, served a practical purpose of offering Nigerians a local university where they could professionalize themselves but epitomized Azikiwe's vision for a Pan-African based education center. He argued in favor of the University offering African history classes and even named the Hansberry institute of African research after his former professor, William Leo Hansberry. His promotion of Nigeria University and Pan-Africanism reflected also his belief that Nigerians, and more broadly speaking Africans, needed their own educational systems to mentally emancipate themselves. This dissertation highlights how Azikiwe's promotion of a Nigerian based university came from the lessons and experiences he had at Howard and Lincoln Universities.

In the early years of Nigeria's republic, the political visions that Orizu, Jones-Quartey, and Mbadiwe had fell more in line with Azikiwe's vision. Each of them like Azikiwe desired for all of the African continent to be liberated from imperial control. Azikiwe hoped for a Federalist government to emerge over all of Africa based on the same way the United States operated. But such a vision never came to be. Azikiwe, Jones-Quartey, Orizu, Ojike, and Mbadiwe's vision for Nigeria fared a similar fate to

Nkrumah's as Nigeria entered into civil war in 1967 as ethnic and regional tensions exacerbated hopes of conversations for political unity.

Several barriers and obstacles held back these state builders from bringing their visions for Africa to fruition. Aside from the inability of the nascent leaders to meet the political demands of the varied ethnic groups they ruled over, both Nkrumah and Azikiwe suffered from their own beliefs that their own visions for Africa was what all of Africa needed; thereby ignoring the myriad cries from their own countrymen and neighbors. There is a poetic irony in understanding that both Pan-African state builders failed to establish a concurrent political unity in their own countries all while planning for all other African countries to unite under a confederation.

But the African migrant students who studied in the United States were not completely unsuccessful. Nkrumah, Azikiwe, Jones-Quartey, Ojike, Orizu, Mbadiwe, and Adjei had after all completed their respective goal of establishing independence in their respective countries. Furthermore, Nigeria University and University of Ghana Legon became important as they provided higher education to countless African students. Even less recognized is their impact on the ideological perspectives of Pan-Africanism.

Nkrumah and Azikiwe's respective philosophies, Consciencism and New Africa, acted as intellectual road maps for decolonizing Africa. Both Nkrumah and Azikiwe's experiences and studies in the United States, worked to shape their political, economic, and social plans for their countries. New Africa and Consciencism highlight the need for Africans to break free from western indoctrinated stereotypes and racial beliefs imposed on Africans. Likewise, both philosophies rejected capitalistic notions and called for a socialist based government to be put in place. This dissertation aims to explain the

evolution and implementation of these two state building philosophies. Although they had not gained much traction outside of west Africa, they nonetheless illustrated a unique distinction between African state builders who studied in the United States versus those who did not.

Historiography

Most Atlantic histories have discussed the relationship between the United States and Africa against the backdrop of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Indeed, Atlantic histories have discussed the impact of forced migrations of Africans to the United States. However, most scholarship is situated within the time frame of the 18th and 19th century. This dissertation aims to expand the study of the Atlantic into the time frame of the 20th century by focusing on voluntary travels of Africans to the United States and remarks upon the impacts of these journeys. Furthermore, it argues that intellectual philosophies built by African state builders like Kwame Nkrumah and Nnamdi Azikiwe stemmed from a Trans-Atlantic dialogue of support between African migrant students and African American intellectuals. This dissertation broadens the focus of Atlantic history to include the unique relationship between the United States and Africa through discussing how intellectual figures from both continents shaped notions of Pan-Africanism.

Scholarship on both Black education and HBCUs displayed how white patrons used education as a tool for political and social control of Black peoples.[8] While HBCUs in the 19th and early 20th century did provide Black peoples access to higher education, the education provided was predominantly done through white educators who sought to

[8] William H. Watkins, *The White Architects of Black Education: Ideology and Power in America, 1865-1954* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 2001).

control Black intellectualism that could challenge white domination of society. In fact, since the birth of their existence until about the middle twentieth century, most HBCUs employed and were operated by white faculty members. Prior to the 1930s HBCUs as well largely focused on handicraft and trade training with less of an emphasis on liberal arts. It was into this educational paradigm Jones thought he was sending the prospective African students he funded. Support for this style of education at HBCUs permeated throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, due to the efforts of Booker T. Washington. Support for Booker T. Washington grew in the late 19th century because his educational purview did not challenge the social and political power dynamics held by White peoples. Many HBCUs adopted Washington's education style often promoting technical, trade, and agricultural training. By these standards, Jones vision was not unrealistic at least by the educational makeup of HBCUs of the early twentieth century. In the same manner, Jones believed that through funding African students his educational vision for Africa, and more broadly speaking, Black peoples would ferment into a reality.

Most histories on Black education mention the educational debates between W.E.B DuBois, Marcus Garvey, and Booker T. Washington. Garvey advocated for education for the specific purpose of uplifting Black peoples out of racist educational paradigms that argued Black peoples were inferior to whites. However, he criticized integration between white and Black people and even labeled mixed race white and Black people as "bastard children" of the white race, and a result of "white man's immorality."[9] He believed that Black education should elevate Black people but did not need oversight or direction from white educators or education systems. Du Bois's promoted expanding

[9] Marcus Garvey, *Message to the People: The Course of African Philosophy* (New York: Dover Publications, 2020), 10-13, Kindle.

Black education but disagreed with Garvey's anti-integration sentiments. Du Bois believed white and Black people could work together to addresses systematic inequality and hoped for a fully integrated society where Black and white people could share political and social equality. Washington is known most for his Atlanta compromise[10] where he asked Black Americans to metaphorically 'cast down their buckets.' He argued Black Americans should not try to move toward political reform or involvements in civil rights, but instead to invest in education; mostly that of handicraft, trade, and agricultural work.[11]

Several histories have addressed the importance and impact of Garvey, Du Bois, and Washington's ideas on education. Some have noted how Washington's ideas on self-reliance and ownership of business and property influenced African systems of education. The Booker T. Washington institute, built in Liberia borrowed much of his educational philosophy. Scholars have noted how Washington's life and ideas inspired many Africans, especially "western educated South Africans who visited Tuskegee" to believe they could "use Black Capitalism" to build Black power. [12] Literature on Garvey has suggested that while his business ventures like the Black Starr Line did not live up to expectations of dramatically changing Black people's livelihoods, his image and ideas worked to organize Black people and push forward organizations that fought for Black unity. Indeed, the UNIA continued his work even after Garvey was imprisoned for fraud. Although Garvey the man had not achieved his goals, Garveyism, the belief system built

[10] Washington's Atlanta Comprise outlined his viewpoint on what Black Americans needed to socially progress. In Washington's eyes it had been through self-reliance and education that Black Americans could better themselves. He referred to such actions as social responsibility.
[11] Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery* (New York: Double Day, 1998).
[12] See W. Manning Marable, "Booker T. Washington and African Nationalism." *Phylon (1960-)* 35, no. 4 (1974): 398–406, https://doi.org/10.2307/274742.

out of his political, economic, and social conceptions, laid the foundations for Pan-Africanist movements well after his death.[13] Scholarship on Du Bois's educational ideas have noted how his writings expanded conversation on Black identity. Double consciousness, the term Du Bois coined to reflect the duality of being of African descent and an American (and how these two identities are often in conflict with one another) in *The Souls of Black Folk* has been used by many historians in other historical discussions on Blackness and identity against the backdrop of education.[14] In the earlier years of debates with both Garvey and Washington, Du Bois called for a 'Talented Tenth'- a small minority of more well off, educated, Black Americans to expand education among Black peoples in hopes of expanding wealth and social status. Although recent scholarship has pointed out that Du Bois later recanted the belief that the Talented Tenth could be the sole answer to issues surrounding Black education, the ideas held at the time still percolated throughout Black intellectual debates on education.[15]

This dissertation highlights how African migrant students involved themselves in the educational debates originated from Du Bois, Garvey, and Washington. While many histories have mentioned how figures like Du Bois, Garvey, and Washington inspired Africans like Nkrumah and Azikiwe, little discussion has been raised on how they accepted, blended, or rejected educational philosophies of each of these men. Azikiwe

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[13] See Adam Ewing, *The Age of Garvey: How a Jamaican Activist Created a Mass Movement and Changed Global Black Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

[14]See Julia E. Liss, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Franz Boas, "Diasporic Identities: The Science and Politics of Race in the Work of Franz Boas and W. E. B. Du Bois, 1894-1919." *Cultural Anthropology* 13, no. 2 (1998): 127–66, http://www.jstor.org/stable/656548; Bernard W. Bell, "W.E.B. Du Bois' Search for Democracy in China: The Double Consciousness of a Black Radical Democrat." *Phylon (1960-)* 51, no. 1 (2014): 115–27, http://www.jstor.org/stable/43199125.

[15] See Juan Battle and Earl Wright, "W.E.B. Du Bois's Talented Tenth: A Quantitative Assessment," *Journal of Black Studies* 32, no. 6 (2002): 654–72, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3180968.

and Ojike recognized the need for the implementation of a number Washington's educational beliefs in African education systems (namely having agrarian studies), but simultaneously called for the humanities to be added to African schools as well. Nearly every, if not all, of the African migrant students discussed in this dissertation were inspired by Garvey and Garveyism. However, unlike Garvey they supported, met with, and included white allies in on conversations surrounding expanding Black education systems. In many respects Nkrumah, Azikiwe, and other migrant students saw themselves as their own Talented Tenth. One can argue this for the fact that they recognized African education systems needed to be changed and saw themselves as the ones most capable of leading reforms. When they returned to Africa that outlined educational systems based on what they thought was best for all Africans.

Countless histories have highlighted the important role Black educators have made in influencing conversations on race and political inequality. More recently histories have paid specific attention to the eminent Black scholars of the twentieth centuries. Figures like William Leo Hansberry, Ralph Bunche and Alain Locke emerged as trail blazers in their academic fields and their professional lives. [16] While attention is given to their academic and professional work with Africa and Africans, less attention is paid to the importance of their involvement with mentoring African migrant students while and after teaching at Howard University. My dissertation further explains the importance of this mentoring and how it developed into a Pan-African based discussion

[16] Brian Urquhart, *Ralph Bunche: An American Odyssey* (New York: W.W.Norton Norton & Company,1993);
Jeffery C. Stewart, *The New Negro: The Life of Alain Locke* (New York: Oxford University press, 2018), Kindle; Rayford Logan, *Howard University: The First 100 Years* (New York: New York University Press, 1969);
Horace Man Bond, *Education for Freedom: A History of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania* (Pennsylvania: Lincoln University, 1976).

for African liberty and education which in turn developed into an intellectual Trans-Atlantic dialogue of support among Africans and African Americans.

By studying both HBCUs and Pro-Black figures, my project expands on the relationship between Black students and Black educators. It builds on Jelani Favors' *Shelter in A Time of Storm*, which promotes the idea of the "Secondary Curriculum," in which he argues that personal relationships between Black faculty and students at HBCUs worked to shape a stronger sense of Black pride and camaraderie among the two groups. This study expands upon Favors work in the context of building Pan-Africanist based bonds between African migrant students and African American professors.[17] It argues that a unique dynamic existed specifically between Black educators like Locke, Hansberry, and Bunche and several of the African migrant students that met them. Locke especially influenced and commented on several African migrant students' vision for Africa. In many respects, the secondary curriculum augmented conversation on Black identity to be more inclusive and pay more attention to the importance of Pan-Africanism.

The histories of Pan-Africanism have largely delt with the ideological development and the physical manifestation of said belief system by Black intellectuals. It functions on the idea that Black peoples regardless of geographical location should collectively unite. Writings on Pan-Africanism are unique in the fact that some of the early scholarship regarding its history, had been written by the figures who urged for its proliferation.[18] Figures like C.L.R James, Du Bois and Garvey wrote and inspired many ideas about Pan-Africanism, but had different views on what it meant. More recent

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[17] Jelani Favors, *Shelter in A Time of Storm* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina press, 2019).
[18] C.L.R James, *A History of Pan-African Revolt* (Oakland: PM Press, 2012).

scholarship has espoused Pan-Africanism with decolonization, state building, and resisting racist conceptions like African inferiority.[19] This broader and polysemous approach to studying Pan-Africanism is reflected in histories that highlight the growth of recognition between Africans and African Americans through reconnecting Black peoples globally discussed identity. [20] The shared experience of defining Blackness became a joint mission of Africans, African Americans, Caribbean Americans, and other groups of the Black diaspora. While figures like Du Bois and Garvey highlighted such conversations on Blackness, less historical attention and credit is given to African figures. Only recently have histories mentioned figures like Azikiwe, Nkrumah, and Mbadiwe as important cultural influencers of Pan-Africanism.[21] This project adds to such histories but also notes how Africans' Pan-Africanist views were shaped by their education and experiences in the United States.

This dissertation argues that Pan-Africanism grew to a global scale in the twentieth century as a result of charitable and philanthropic organizations' funding Africans with educational grants to study in the United States. The Phelps-Stokes Fund and the Carnegie Corporation demonstrated interest in funding and shaping Black education but not entirely out of altruistic purposes. Histories have pointed out that both organizations planned to use this funding to produce a desired student, who would further promote Black peoples to work in agricultural or trade work.[22] This dissertation builds

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[19] Hakim Adi, *Pan-Africanism: A History* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018).
[20] Nemata Blyden, *African Americans and Africa: A New History* (New Haven, Yale University Press,2019).
[21] Hollis Lynch, *K.O. Mbadiwe: A Nigerian Political Biography, 1915-1990* (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2012).
[22] See Maribel Morey, *White Philanthropy Carnegie Corporation's An American Dilemma and the making of a White World Order* (Chapel Hill: University of Northa Carolina Press, 2021), Kindle;
Andrew Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010);
Kenneth King, *Pan-Africanism and Education* (New York: Diasporic Africa Press, 2016).

upon such previous notions but also points out that the actions of both the Carnegie Corporation and the Phelps-Stokes Fund produced an unintended consequence. I argue that by funding African students to attend Howard and Lincoln, the Phelps-Stokes Fund unintentionally radicalized the African students they hoped to control and ended up indirectly creating a meeting place for Pan-Africanists to envision political independence.

This project highlights the agency and importance that these educational organizations (the ASA, the AAAR, and the ACAE) had on shaping definitions of Pan-Africanism in the 20th century. Throughout the first three decades of the 20th century, conceptions of Pan-Africanism had been largely defined by the intellectual arguments of W.E.B, DuBois and Marcus Garvey. Du Bois encouraged universal fraternity of Black peoples through petitioning governments of the world to recognize and end the colonial exploitation of Africa. Du Bois favored integrating Black, white, and mixed races to collectively work together. Marcus Garvey rejected notions of living with or integrating with white peoples and called for a collective migration of Black peoples to move back to Africa. Garvey also called for the liberation of Africa from colonial domination. Nkrumah, Ojike, Orizu, Jones-Quartey, Azikiwe, and Adjei blended some ideas from both Garvey and Du Bois, while also adding their own intellectual thoughts on the matter based on their experiences of studying and living in America. Pan-Africanism for each of them had a shared vision of unity of all Black peoples but differed on how to achieve liberation.

There is no shortage of histories written on decolonization in Africa. Historians have argued that decolonization was far from a clear-cut process. Indeed, even after many

African states created their own governments, this did not mean their economies or political systems were immediately successful.[23] I add to this paradigm in my dissertation by pointing out that some of the very -decolonization policies that Nkrumah and Azikiwe pushed (although in concept based in African unity), alienated supporters within their own states.

Many scholars of African history have noted the role that education played in influencing decolonization. African students of the twentieth century did not reject all western values and ideas unlike earlier resistance efforts of Africans of the 19th century.[24] Rather, African students used educations they received from either western missionary schools in Africa or college and universities they studied at abroad to challenge the colonial powers. Scholarship has noted how both globalized and native African students participated in propaganda campaigns, held demonstrations, and organized political parties in efforts to undermine colonial oversight.[25] My dissertation contributes to previous historians work by highlighting how African migrant students who studied in the United States used their knowledge acquired from their studies and experiences in the United States to later construct political and social groups and philosophies.

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[23] See Fredrick Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present* (New York: Cambridge University press, 2009), 2-4, Kindle.

[24] T.O. Ranger, "Connexions between 'Primary Resistance' Movements and Modern Mass Nationalism in East and Central Africa. Part I," *The Journal of African History* 9, no. 3 (1968): 437-53, http://www.jstor.org/stable/180275. For a recent overview of the literature on resistance to colonialism in Africa, see Klaas van Walraven and Jon Abbink, "Rethinking Resistance in African History: An Introduction," in *Rethinking Resistance: Revolt and Violence in African History*, ed. Jon Abbink, Mirjam de Brujin, and Klaus van Walraven (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1-40.

[25] See Pedro Monaville, *Students of the World: Global 1968 and Decolonization in the Congo* (Durham: Duke University press, 2022).

Scholarship of African decolonization illustrate the relevance that African state builders like Nkrumah and Azikiwe had shaping African politics.[26]. Many scholars have commented on the fact that many of the African figures leading decolonization had in effect known one another personally and even more important met one another while studying in the United States. George Padmore for example had met Azikiwe when he had studied at Howard and later worked with Nkrumah in a propaganda campaign to rally support for African independence.[27] This dissertation adds to this scholarship by offering further inspection into how their educational experiences in the United States influenced their respective state building policies. By the 1950s Azikiwe, Nkrumah, Mbadiwe, Ojike, Jones-Quartey, and Adjei had left the United States and returned to Africa. In this decade they worked to manifest their vision for Africa into a reality.

Primary Sources/Methodology

Several different archives and libraries allowed me to complete this project. The New York Public Library's Phelps-Stokes Fund records provided substantive sources for researchr. The Phelps-Stokes Fund Records held business minutes of former meetings between the Phelps-Stokes Fund, Carnegie Corporation, and several other charitable organizations that provided funding to African students. These minutes allowed for careful inspection of how Jones and other Phelp-Stokes Fund members strategically used the organization money to finance 'worthy' African students. The records also contained

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[26] Stephen Chan, *African Political Thought: An Intellectual History of the Quest for Freedom* (London: Hurst & Company, 2021); Leonard R. Bethel, The Role of Lincoln University in the education of African Leadership, P.h.D Dissertation, Rutgers University 1975; Marika Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad 1935-1947* (Ghana Legon: Freedom Publ,1996).
[26] Jeffery Ahlman, *Living with Nkrumahism: Nation, State, and Pan-Africanism in Ghana* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press., 2017).
[27] Carol Polsgrove, *Ending British Rule in Africa* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2009).

letters of correspondence between Howard president Mordecai Johnson and Thomas Jesse Jones. The letters helped evaluate Howard University's academic progression throughout the late 1920s as the conversations between Jones and Johnson mentioned funding that went to new schools being developed at Howard. The Phelp-Stoke Fund records also contained correspondence between Thomas Jesse Jones, Charles Dollard, as well as other donors, and Ralph Bunche which provided further insight on Jones vision for Black education. Further information on Jones's vision for education in Africa came directly from his own published work *Education in Africa*, which recounted his assessment of African educational facilities. Likewise, Jones's work *Negro Education: A Study of Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States*, gave pivotal insight into his adamant belief on how Black education should be structured.

The Phelps-Stokes Fund Records also contained the documents pertaining to the American Council on African Education, the organization that Nwafor Orizu founded in the mid 1940s. These documents included the list of names of African students provided scholarships by the American Council on African Education and the names of the schools that those students attended. This helped established how Orizu and members of the ACAE encouraged more Africans to study in the United States and pursue schools and programs that promoted pro-Black education.

This project also owes thanks to the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. The Schomburg center provided accesses to the Ralph Bunche papers. In this collection, Bunche correspondence with Azikiwe helped illustrate the evolving friendship and mentorship between Bunche, Azikiwe, and Locke well after Azikiwe graduated from Lincoln University. In a series of letters both Bunche and Locke expressed hope that

Azikiwe would return to Howard University as a PHD student to write Howard's first dissertation on Africa. The Schomburg also held the records of the African Academy of Arts and Research. This collection permitted access to the pamphlets and information relevant to the organization's goals and actions.

The Alain Locke papers in the Moreland Springer Research facility at Howard University greatly helped to answer one of the main questions of this dissertation. One of the goals of this project was to determine if correspondence existed between African migrant students and their esteemed mentors. The Locke papers yielded the answer to this question. Correspondence between Locke and Orizu, Jones-Quartey, Padmore, and Azikiwe, helped illustrate a trans-Atlantic dialogue of support between Africans and African Americans which also envisioned new systems of education in Africa and the United States. Such correspondence also noted how involved Locke became with organizations like the ACAE. Aside from working with the ACAE, Locke's correspondence illustrated how he tried to mentor African students who had not even attended Howard reflecting his support of Pan-Africanism. The Abraham Harris papers, also located the Moreland Springer Research facility at Howard University, also aided this project in expanding on the changing environment of Howard in the1920s.

The Howard University digital archives also supplied access to digitized records of college catalogues and issues of the University newspaper *The Hilltop*. The college catalogues helped provided the number and names of several African migrant students that attend Howard in the 1920s. This helped to link Azikiwe together with other African students like Hosea Nyabongo, a Ugandan student who also studied at Howard. The digitized issues of *The Hilltop* also provided for a look into the changing culture and

environment of Howard in the late 1920s. Azikiwe's letter to the editor of the Hilltop in his first year at Howard, was especially important in benchmarking his view on the division between African and African America students and his hopes for a more optimistic view of Africa to be held by his peers.

Written works, including books and speeches from many of the African migrant students contextualized the main arguments in this dissertation. Nkrumah's books and writings helped trace his own intellectual and ideological progression with Pan-Africanism. His auto-biography, helped reveal much about his time spent at Lincoln University as well as outlined his increasing pull to socialism and Pan-Africanism. His work *Consciencism* also provided the groundwork for his own political vision for Africa. In the same manner Nnamdi Azikiwe's written works traced his intellectual development and his broader vision for Africa. His autobiography proved to be instrumental in expanding on his relationship with his former professors and the courses that impacted him the most. His speeches also helped define his New Africa philosophy, as well as his book *Renascent Africa*. K.O. Mbadiwe's book *British and Axis Aims in Africa*, helped illustrate his own vision for decolonization in Africa. Likewise, Mbonu Ojike's two memoirs *I Have Two Countries* and *My Africa*, revealed too how his educational and personal experiences shaped his view for African decolonization. K.AB. Jones-Quartey's biography of Azikiwe, *A Life of Azikiwe*, supplemented information about Azikiwe's life but also demonstrated Jones-Quartey's closeness and loyalty to Azikiwe's vision.

The Lincoln University digital archives supplied access to invaluable records of the University's catalogues, student run year books, and issues of the University student run paper *The Lincolnian*. The college catalogues helped illustrate the rapid growth of

attendance of African migrant students to Lincoln from the late 1930s to the early 1940s. The tracking of this number originally inspired the main research question for this project: Why had so many Africans attended Lincoln in this decade? The *Lion*, the student year books, provided both a visual aid in examining how Lincoln changed as a result of African students' attendance as well as illustrated the involvement of African students in extracurricular activities and honor societies. Issues of *The Lincolnian*, provided insight into African led protests and calls for institutional change, and also participation of African migrant students' writings in the columns of the paper.

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Chapters Outline

Chapter 1 begins with introduction information on Dr. James Aggrey, Thomas Jesse Jones, and the Phelps-Stokes Fund's survey of African education systems. It analyzes the importance of these surveys, for the fact that they promoted this word-of-mouth advertising of HBCUs in Africa. This advertising of HBCUs demonstrate how aspiring African students correlated education with the possibility of independence. It highlights the importance of how word of mouth advertisement by alumni of Lincoln and Howard led to an intellectual diaspora of African migrant students to the United States.

The second chapter explains why Jones plan backfired as the Phelps-Stokes funding of Nnamdi Azikiwe to attend Howard university, offered him access to one of the most radically Black educational institutions of the time. It explains how, unbeknown to Jones, Howard's president Mordecai Johnson transformed the university in the late 1920s hiring staunch Pan-Africanist educators whose academic work and teachings promoted the study of Black history, art, and culture. They also established strong bonds

of friendship with African migrant students. These bonds acted as a secondary inculcation for African migrant students and encouraged conversations on an independent Africa among the faculty and students of Howard.

Whereas the second chapter provides a top-down perspective of educational change, Chapter 3 provides a bottom-up analysis that highlights how African migrant students and African American students worked together to change the educational structure of Lincoln University. This chapter explores how African migrant students' views on Pan-Africanism evolved and as demonstrates how they gained political experience through protesting archaic paradigms developed by white administrators.

The fourth chapter provides a further inspection into Thomas Jesse Jones's strategic funding of African migrant students and his vision for Africa. It examines how Jones deliberately took funding away from African students seeking to study subjects outside of agriculture and education. At the same time, it offers conclusions on why Jones's strategy backfired.

Chapter 5 explains how throughout the 1940s, during and after African migrant students completed their education, they formed important Pan-African organizations like the African student Association, the American Council on African Education, and the African Academy of Arts and Research, which aimed to promote solidarity among Africans and African Americans. These organizations illustrate an often-underappreciated agency of African resistance to white paternalistic control of Black education and the insistence on Pan-Africanism as a key to taking back narration on Black history and culture.

The sixth chapter explains the impact that that these African migrant students had on their political states during decolonization and how they stressed the importance of education in Pan-African state building. It analyzes and reflects on the importance of the universities established in Ghana and Nigeria under Nkrumah and Azikiwe; Nigeria University and University of Ghana, Legon. Through studying these universities this chapter provides insight into Azikiwe and Nkrumah's attempts at manifesting their visions for Africa into a reality. Chapter 7 acts as the conclusion to this dissertation.

Chapter 1

From One Comes Many-- Word of Mouth Advertising of HBCUs

Nnamdi Azikiwe, the first elected president of Nigeria, saw much in common with himself and the myth of *Jason and the Argonauts*. He, like Jason from the myth, intended on traveling to distant lands to obtain something of invaluable measure. Although Azikiwe was not looking for a tangible object, he pursued something of greater value, a college education. Sometime during the 1920s, he spoke to his father about his dreams of traveling to America to receive a college education. His father gave him his life savings he earned as working as a postal worker just to cover the cost of passage to the United States. Azikiwe was tasked with recovering the 'golden fleece'[1] from America to bring back to Africa. This education would later provide him the means to challenge imperial forces presiding over his home state of Nigeria.

Azikiwe was neither the first nor the only African that sought an education in the United States during the twentieth century. Dozens of Africans coming from all sides of the African continent migrated to the United States to study at American universities. HBCUs became particularly popular for African students as many colleges in the United States barred Black peoples from admission. These students sought an education, to better their lives, increase their social standing, and find new economic opportunities that they could achieve through a college education. Eight specific Ghanaian and Nigerian students' stories exemplify the important role that HBCUs played in that shaping Pan-Africanist beliefs of Black peoples during the 20th century. These eight students are

[1] Nnamdi Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography*, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970). Through his autobiography Azikiwe refers to an education in the United States as the golden fleece. In the same manner, the other students who he exhorts to study in the United States, use the same terminology.

Kwegir Aggrey, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Nwafor Orizu, Mbonu Ojikie, Ako Adjei, K.A.B. Jones-Quartey, Kwame Nkrumah, and K.O. Mbadiwe. Each of these students traveled to the United States and attended classes at an HBCU. Of these eight students, seven of them attended Lincoln or Howard university, most of which were within the same year or few years of one another. Their time spent studying shaped and reinforced their thoughts on the future of Africa and Pan-Africanism. But before one can analyze how these two institutions shaped their political and ideological mindsets, it is important to discuss how each of them came to the decision to study in the United States.

Several forces pulled these migrant students to study in the United States. The first of which is that they were influenced by other educated Africans to study in the United States. Dr. Kwegir Aggrey, a former resident of the Gold Coast, worked with the Phelps-Stokes Fund to assess the education systems in Africa. Aggrey's expertise and academic renown inspired many Africans to study in the United States.[2] Secondly, entrance into an American university proved to be an easier task than an English university. Matriculation exams halted the entrance of some of the most intellectually adept African students. Meanwhile, universities like Howard and Lincoln, openly admitted and employed African migrant students. Lastly and perhaps most important, African migrant students recognized that obtaining an education from the United States could provide them economic and political opportunities to better their livelihoods abroad and back home.

[2] The Phelps-Stokes Fund was started after the passing of Caroline Phelps-Stokes. The organization intended to provide scholarships to Africans, African Americans, and Native Americas. Several African migrant students received a scholarship from this organization.

Yet there is another overlooked reason that explains why African migrant students came to study in the United States; this reason is that alumni of these institutions greatly encouraged attendance to both Howard and Lincoln because they thought of them as centers of Pro-black thought and learning. Alumni of these institutions, and other HBCUs spoke highly of the faculty, environment, and opportunities of the universities they attended. This in turn, inspired more African migrant students to apply to Lincoln and Howard.

Dr. Kwegir Aggrey & the Phelps-Stokes Foundation

It might be impossible to say who started this trend of word-of-mouth advertising of HBCUs throughout Africa however, one can point to the efforts of Kwegir Aggrey and argue that he greatly proliferated African support of attending HBCUS during the early 20th century. Dr. Kwegir Aggrey was born on Oct 18th, 1875, in Anamabu Ghana, previously known as the Gold Coast[3]. His father never learned to read and write but made sure that Aggrey would be educated.

Aggrey's education journey started with him studying at two schools. At first Aggrey attended a local missionary school where he first started his primary education. While attending this missionary school Aggrey came "under the influence of a missionary, Reverend Dennis Kemp." Kemp saw great potential in Aggrey and invited him to study at a private boarding school which he operated. Aggrey studied under Kemp

[3] Edwin Smith, *Aggrey of Africa: A Study in Black and White* (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1932), 15.

who used the "monitorial system of education" to educate his students. Kemp taught Aggrey and other students subjects like "science, logic, mensuration, and Euclid."[4]

While attending Kemp's school Aggrey developed an interest in teaching. Kemp decided to hire Aggrey as an "assistant teacher in his circuit at Abura Dunkwa." Interestingly, Aggrey worked as an assistant teacher from the young age of 15. It is reported that he had supervision of "nearly forty boys" and "raised their standard of work." [5] Aggrey continued his career of education by becoming second master, then later headmaster of Wesleyan Centenary Memorial school in 1898. Aggrey thrived in his education career, but also desired to expand his own education and sought to do so outside of Africa.[6]

Aggrey's reasons for leaving Africa are shrouded in mystery and elusive. Even though he had built a successful career as an educator, he "suddenly threw it all aside and left his relatives and friends to live among strangers."[7] While his thirst for knowledge progressed through out his adolescence, to leave his entire life in Africa and start a new somewhere else was no small feat. Some scholars have hinted that his decision to leave Africa is tied to his growing disappointment with the colonial structure in the Gold Coast. According to his biographer Ofosu Appiah, "nobody knows his real reasons for deciding to leave his native land. It may have been due to dissatisfaction with things as they were then, or perhaps to an unfortunate love affair. In any case, he wanted to learn more, and

[4] Ofosu Appiah, *The Life of Dr. J.E.K. Aggrey* (Accra: Presbyterian Press, 1975), 14-15.
[5] Appiah, *The Life of Dr. J.E.K. Aggrey*, 15-16.
[6] Appiah, *The Life of Dr. J.E.K. Aggrey*, 15-20.
[7] Smith, *Aggrey of Africa*, 53.

could only get a higher education abroad."[8] At first, he considered studying in England but turned his sights to the United States.

Aggrey continued his education and career as a teacher in the United States. Aggrey attended Livingstone college an HBCU in North Carolina in 1898. He graduated four years later in 1902. Aggrey "stayed on campus as a professors and administrator, teaching and mentoring students working with black communities in the rural areas surrounding Salisbury."[9] Within a few years Aggrey decided to attend Columbia University to obtain his doctorate. Why had he chosen Columbia?

In 1904, he met Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, the educational chair of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, at the "November Convention of the Coloured Y.M.C.A."[10] Jones impressed with Aggrey's academic and personal background included him in his own vision for expansion African and African American education. Jones studied at Columbia under the mentorship of Dr. Frank Giddings, a sociologist and professor at the same university. It is likely that Jones recommended to Aggrey that he attend Columbia. Aggrey attended classes from 1904-1914 due to financial constraints. Aggrey like Jones before him received much of the same educational guidance and influence from Frank Giddings.[11]

This educational tracking deserves attention for the fact that Giddings's social and racial beliefs of his time permeated onto Jones and Aggrey. In short Giddings believed that Black peoples should not challenge the political barriers currently in place and

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[8] Appiah, *The Life of Dr. J.E.K. Aggrey*, 23.
[9] Nemata Blyden, *African Americans and Africa: A New History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), Location 2175, Kindle.
[10] Smith, *Aggrey of Africa*, 68.
[11] Smith, *Aggrey of Africa*, 100.

should instead look to building economic sustainability to ameliorate their social standing. Both Aggrey and Jones adopted such thinking, which helps to explain why both of them promoted education for Africans and African Americans, but often fell quiet on supporting political reforms of racist legislation. In fact, in addressing the "race question" in one of Giddings sociology classes Aggrey allegedly stated that "the southern white man can do the most to solve it."[12]

In essence, Aggrey was what many white educators of the time (like Jones and Giddings) considered to the epitome of "the good African" a term defined as "a student with certain characteristics: a cooperative attitude and race relations, both in Africa and America; readiness to take advice on his education abroad and abjure politics; pride in remaining African, with a high determination to return to serve his people as soon as possible; the capacity to serve on his return within the existing colonial framework."[13] Characterizing much of this notion, Jones extended an opportunity to Aggrey to return to Africa which he heartfeltly accepted.

Why did Aggrey return to Africa? Did he hold some feeling of obligation to inform other Africans like himself the opportunities that existed in the U.S? Or did his education in the United States spark a belief that Africa could only be liberated once Africans obtained an education outside of Imperial European powers reach? Perhaps the most telling reason is that the Phelps-Stokes fund offered him an opportunity to help conduct a survey of African education. Aggrey admits to having somewhat of a divine call to building African education. According to one biographer, Aggrey wrote once "the

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[12] Smith, *Aggrey of Africa*, 104.

[13] Kenneth King, *Pan-Africanism and Education: A Study of Race, Philanthropy and Education in the United States of America and East Africa* (New York: Diasporic Africa press, 2016), location 4010, Kindle.

Lord must have had something else in store for me… I have been doing my best, patiently waiting until he gets ready for me to go elsewhere: where he leads, I'll follow up."[14] In the same manner of enthusiasm Aggrey jumped at the opportunity to return to Africa and openly admitted to Jones his belief that the Phelps-Stokes Fund survey was "destined."[15]

There was a logical to having Aggrey as part of the commission. True many spoke highly of him like Giddings, who even "wrote to the secretary of the Phelps-Stokes Trustees" lauding him and recommending him "for a teaching position in Africa."[16] But the Fund could also benefit from Aggrey's presence. He could act as a sort of living proof, that American education systems could socially advance Africans. Aggrey also had some knowledge of schools in west Africa that could be used for practical use. Since Dr. Jesse Jones, would be leading this survey on African his input had influence over the board of trustees of the Fund. With the support of both Giddings and Jones, the Phelps-Stokes Fund approved to finance two of Aggrey's trips to go back to Africa.

The first trip took place in 1920. Aggrey, the only Black member of the educational survey, traveled with Jones in hopes of building new schools like the "Tuskegee institute and Hampton institute all over Africa." The two traveled from New York to London then finally Freetown in Sierra Leone. In Sierra Leone, Aggrey "addressed the students" at "Fourah Bay College." After visiting Sierrea Leone, Aggrey and the rest of the commission traveled to Liberia. Allegedly, many members of the survey were "greatly disappointed" [17] with the education system in Liberia; although the

[14] Smith, *Aggrey of Africa*, 65.
[15] Smith, *Aggrey of Africa*, 145.
[16] Appiah, *The Life of Dr. J.E.K. Aggrey*, 36-39.
[17] Appiah, *The Life of Dr. J.E.K. Aggrey*, 44-49.

author does not explain why. Smith notes but without evidence that in some schools the survey visited, "missionaries were struggling heroically against insuperable difficulties and sadly hampered by lack of funds."[18] After Liberia, the commission traveled to the Gold Coast, where "relatives, friends, and old peoples" greeted him. By November of 1920, the commission traveled to Nigeria to "inspect schools and made the usual observations on the educational methods." In the following weeks Aggrey traveled to the Congo and later to Angola, before finally landing in South Africa.[19] After spending more than a year in Africa, Aggrey returned to the United States in 1921.

In 1924 Aggrey joined the second educational survey commission sponsored by the Phelps-Stokes Fund. This second survey sought to assess educational systems and schools in East Africa. Again, Aggrey acted as the only Black person apart of this commission. The commission started its survey first in Ethiopia landing in Addis Ababa. According to his biographer, the "Ethiopians took him into their confidence and told him things which they would not tell a white man. Some even wanted him to return to run their educational system for them." The commission then moved to assesses schools in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika (modern day Tanzania), Nyasaland (modern day Malawi), Northern and Southern Rhodesia(parts of modern day Zimbabwe) and finally concluded in South Africa.[20]

Aggrey worked to help establish a school in the Gold Coast called Achimota. Fredrick Gordon Guggisberg, the governor of the Gold Coast, proposed the idea of the

[18] Smith, *Aggrey of Africa*, 145.
[19] Appiah, *The Life of Dr. J.E.K. Aggrey*, 44-49.
[20] Appiah, *The Life of Dr. J.E.K. Aggrey*, 66-71.

college's construction and offered Aggrey the position of vice principle. [21] Aggrey oversaw the admission of students and perused through hundreds of applications. Many Gold Coast residents showed suspicion of Achimota upon hearing of its construction. To dispel these suspicions Aggrey "became the interpreter of the new education" and spent "two years touring the country and explaining the aims and ideals of Achimota to the people." He even gave speeches at neighboring universities to foster support for Achimota. In an address he made at Fourah Bay college in 1926, he outlined his thoughts on what university education for Africa should look like. According to Appiah, he stated that African university education should "encourage original thinking, encourage research, and help to add to human knowledge. It should combine the best from East and West, but the end result should be African. Above all it must serve a purpose. It must be a training ground for character and the practice of Christian living." [22]

But what type of college would Achimota be and did Aggrey and Guggisberg share the same vision on African education? While Aggrey believed that Africa deserved only the best, his views on race illustrated a non-radical approach to African independence. In fact, he "stood for cooperation between blacks and whites and the upholding of the imperial regime." Even with a Black vice-principle the school largely remained under the influence of colonial education standards. Yet, Aggrey did support using American methods of education. He emphasized teaching "sanitation and

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[21] Appiah, *The Life of Dr. J.E.K. Aggrey*, 73. Guggisberg became the governor of the gold coast after serving in World War I. Scholars have pointed out that Guggisberg decision to construct the college was not entirely out of altruism. According to Appiah, while he was "popular with the people of the Gold Coast" he was not a " liberal aiming at granting independence to Africans. He was really an imperialist who felt that the loyalty of Africans would be assured once they had good education, health and social services, and good communications."

[22] Appiah, *The Life of Dr. J.E.K. Aggrey*, 78-81.

agriculture" a practice common at HBCUs like Tuskegee. He even became "distressed to find out that people were prejudiced against American ideas of education."[23]

It is possible that even Aggrey knew the limits of Achimota and African colonial education systems. Afterall, he toured throughout Africa and witnessed firsthand the conditions that African education systems operated under. Perhaps Aggrey recognized after seeing these conditions that establishing Achimota would not be enough. Therefore, he went to great lengths to inform Africans about American universities. Aggrey traveled throughout Africa giving sermons in churches and lectures at political gatherings, speaking on the importance of education and urging African men and women to travel to the United States to study. This word-of-mouth advertising of American colleges attracted several Africans to study in the United States. Likewise, Aggrey's life inspired Africans to study abroad in many ways. His success as a teacher in the United States illustrated to many that American education could provide greater job opportunities than education positions under colonial rule. Aggrey's words and thoughts on American education inspired several African men like Kwame Nkrumah, Mbonu Ojike, and Nnamdi Azikiwe to study in the United States. The latter of which further advertised African to attend college in the United States.

Advertising America in Africa

Prior to studying in the United States, Nnamdi Azikiwe grew up in Nigeria. Azikiwe belonged to a hard working yet poor family. Azikiwe like many other Nigerians received a formal education in his youth. He attended two missionary schools, Holy

[23] Appiah, *The Life of Dr. J.E.K. Aggrey*, 79-81.

Trinity School and Christ Church School. After completing his primary education, he continued on to study at the Hope Waddell training institution in Calabar. Interestingly, at young age he developed a fascination with the United States, upon reading the biography of American president James Garfield. James Garfield's ascendency from humble origins to becoming the president of the United States augmented Azikiwe's own dreams for surmounting the struggles he faced living under colonial rule.[24]

Azikiwe attended a sermon given by Dr. Aggrey that deeply moved him. Recalling this sermon, Azikiwe alleged that Dr. Aggrey said that "If I… could go to the new world, and make a man of myself, then you can too." After hearing this sermon, Azikiwe felt that he had "became a new man" and hoped "for the time when it would be possible for me {him} to be like Aggrey." Azikiwe later met Dr. Aggrey when he visited his school. Dr. Aggrey gifted him a book titled *Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States.* This book originally intended to be a guide for African Americans seeking to continue their education, now fell in the hands of several studious African students who dreamed of furthering their education. By gifting this book, Aggrey extended to Azikiwe important knowledge regarding the number, price, and programs offered to Black students in the United States.

After reading about these American Universities, Azikiwe decided to study in America. He attributed reading *Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States* as a large influence on his decision attending college in the United States. For example, he recalled having the book as a "constant companion." He later admitted he owed his "higher education" to this book

[24] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography*, 40.

which provided him with information to "make necessary contacts for education in America."

Azikiwe's appreciation of this book reflected his profound appreciation of Aggrey. Perhaps just as impactful as the book Aggrey provided him with is the message Aggrey gave him. Reflecting on how Aggrey inspired him, he stated, "If Aggrey could also dream that nothing but the best was good enough for Africa, then not even death would stop me from reaching America in order to make my dreams come true." After saving up enough money and being given a portion of money from his father's retirement savings, Azikiwe secured passage to the United States.[25]

But Azikiwe's goal had always been to use the knowledge he obtained in the United States to help Africa. Upon completing his education, he advertised attendance to American HBCUs, mainly Lincoln University, to countless Africans. His recommendation of American education even reached Kwame Nkrumah the later president of Ghana.

Kwame Nkrumah was born in Ghana which at the time of his birth was called the Gold Coast. Nkrumah's first attended a Roman Catholic elementary school where he received his primary education. Nkrumah demonstrated a profound interest in academia. The more he studied the more he realized he enjoyed learning and began thinking of teaching as a possible career. Nkrumah excelled at primary school, which provided him the opportunity to attend the Prince of Wales and school Achimota.

At Achimota Nkrumah met Dr. Kwegyir Aggrey. The Achimota school appointed Aggrey to the position of "Vice principal to the new college." Nkrumah

[25] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography*, 38-40.

officially met Aggrey at the college. [26] Aggrey inspired Nkrumah in the same way he inspired Azikiwe. Nkrumah admitted that Aggrey "seemed the most remarkable man" that he had ever met. Nkrumah later remarked that "It was because of his (my) admiration for Aggrey, both as a man and a scholar, that I first formed the idea of furthering his(my) studies in the United States of America."[27]

Nkrumah admits that Azikiwe encouraged him to attend a college in the United States. Nkrumah met Azikiwe as he toured through the Gold Coast. Nkrumah states that he had first met Azikiwe when he "addressed a meeting of the Gold Coast Teachers Association." Nkrumah remarked he was "greatly impressed by him and had been more determined than ever to go to America." [28] Azikiwe even offered to help Nkrumah find which school would best suit his educational needs. In 1935, Nkrumah met up with Azikiwe at the headquarters of his newspaper *The African Morning Post*. Azikiwe had "advised him to write to the authorities at Lincoln University." Azikiwe also wrote to Lincoln University as well "recommending the young man" to be admitted to the college.[29] Enamored by both Aggrey and Azikiwe's success with studying in America, Nkrumah also sought to further his education outside of the Gold Coast. The support and influence that both men had on Nkrumah's desire to further his education, indicate how multiple African alumni of HBCUs advertised and recommended to their fellow countrymen the advantages of studying in the United States.[30]

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[26] Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad*, 18-19.
[27] Kwame Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (New York: Nelson, 1957),14- 15.
[28] Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, 14-22.
[29] Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad*, 21.
[30] According to Marika Sherwood, there was another African who attended an HBCU that may have recommended to Nkrumah that studying in the United States was his best option for continuing his education. Nkrumah listed a person by the name of Dosumu-Johnson on his application. Dosumu-Johnson was a Sierra Leonian student who graduated from Lincoln University in 1933.

When Nkrumah had committed to studying at Lincoln University, he faced another looming problem; acquiring a visa and securing employment and funds to cover tuition, a common problem for Africans seeking to study in the United States. Nkrumah secured a visa to visit the United States by traveling to London. From there Nkrumah set off to the United States. Fortunately, Nkrumah did not have to pay the full bill to attend Lincoln University upfront. Lincoln University informed Nkrumah in a letter that "the University was prepared to give him a $200 scholarship."[31]

Nkrumah was not the only Gold Coast native that became interested in American schools. Another resident, Ako Adjei, also sought to seek out higher education outside of Africa. Ako Adjei was born in 1916 in Labadi. His father owned a cocoa farm in Ghana. Adjei did not take up the family business and focused on academics instead. He attended the Accra academy. While not much is known about his time attending school, one can infer that he had an interest in education because upon completion of his studies at Accra, he became a teacher there.

Like many other Africans, he desired to continue his education and looked at the United States for opportunities to do so. [32]

Like many his contemporaries Adjei attended a number of African schools prior to studying in the United States. He started his primary schooling by attending Presbyterian primary school in Bosusu. Later he transferred to the Presbyterian school in Labadi where he completed his elementary education. In 1933, he continued his education at the Accra academy. Adjei's studies at Accra academy allowed him to take a

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[31] Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad*, 23.
[32] Ronald Segal, *Political Africa: A Who's Who of Personalities and Parties* (London: Stevens & Sons Limited, 1961),7.

test for a "Cambridge school certificate" providing him an "exemption from London matriculation."[33]

Adjei's success with schooling on the Gold Coast provided him with employment, but he still considered continuing his education outside of Africa. It is unclear when Adjei decided on attending Lincoln university, but it is very likely that he conversed with some former alumni from Lincoln. It is even more likely, that Azikiwe inspired Adjei to attend Lincoln university, whether meeting him in person or knowing about his character. For example, Marika Sherwood argues that Azikiwe inspired "other Gold Coasters such as Ako Adjei and K.A.B. Jones-Quartey to study in the U.S. and particularly at Lincoln University."[34]

K.A.B Jones-Quartey was born in Accra in 1913. He attended a missionary school where he completed his primary education in Ghana. Jones-Quartey later worked for Azikiwe as a reporter for *The African Morning Post*. It seems likely that Azikiwe had some role in convincing Jones-Quartey to study in the United States. In the biography that he wrote for Azikiwe, Jones-Quartey thanks Azikiwe stating "I would like to thank my august subject himself, my old boss."[35] Azikiwe began working on *The African Morning Post*, shortly after returning from the United States. In 1934 Azikiwe established the paper, and Jones-Quartey met him sometime within the year.

It is safe to assume that Azikiwe assumed responsibility for encouraging Jones-Quartey to attend Lincoln University as he had done so for so many other west Africans. It makes sense that Azikiwe could tell Jones-Quartey about Lincoln university,

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[33] Aidehoohene Chinbuah, *Ghana's pride & glory: Biography of Some Eminent Ghanaian Personalities and Sir Gordon* Guggisberg (Accra, 2017), 184.
[34] Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad*, 30.
[35] K.A.B Jones-Quartey, *A Life of Azikiwe* (Baltimore: Penguin books,1965), 9.

considering that Azikiwe worked for him. In the same manner, it is more than likely that Azikiwe also provided Jones-Quartey with a letter of recommendation, to ensure his acceptance to Lincoln University.

Azikiwe's recommendation of U.S schools were not unique to Gold Coast natives. In fact, he promulgated the advantages of attending American schools to many Nigerians as well. Interestingly Azikiwe advertised American schools to both commoners and royalty. For example, he inspired a Nigerian prince named Nwafor Orizu to further his studies in the United States.

Nwafor Orizu was born on July 17, 1914 in colonial Nigeria. Orizu was the son of Igbo royalty of the house of Nnewi. His father was "the Obi of Nnewi" and the leader of "the Agbaja clan." Being born into a royal family meant that he had a large family as his father practiced polygamy and had close to thirty siblings. However, he received the same education that most Nigerians had access to; an education given and administered by missionaries. He attended "the missionary kindergarten school St. Thomas Church" and continued his "education at the Anglican mission at Ozalla.," but finishing at "Nkwo Nnewi CMS central school."[36] It is worth noting that he later took up the name Christopher when he was baptized in 1930(many other African students also took up western baptismal names which they later revoke). Later Orizu enrolled at Achimota college to further his education in 1937. In the same year, Orizu met Azikiwe.

While teaching at the "Onitsha Central school" Orizu attended a lecture given by Azikiwe. Listening to Azikiwe's lecture aroused new question within Orizu regarding education and the future of Africa. He noted in his biography that he "returned to the

[36] Janna Nwafor Orizu and Jeff Unaegbu *92 Days in Power: Doctor. A. A. Nwafor-Orizu, Gcon, as Acting President of Nigeria* (Nigeria: Timex Publishers, 2019), 13-16, Kindle.

teaching complex at the close of Azikiwe's lecture a changed man."[37] Orizu then made an effort to speak with Azikiwe one on one, which Azikiwe obliged to. Azikiwe took interest in Orizu and "promised to ask Lincoln University to take Orizu."[38] Upon recommendation of Azikiwe, Orizu was accepted into Lincoln but was not able to attend due to personal and finical reasons until 1939.

Orziu's father and brother died within the same year. With the death of both one of his Orizu's brothers allegedly offered him the ability to take the position of overseeing Nnewi. However, he refused this offer opting instead to study in the United States. This was later confirmed by a piece written on him in *The Lincolnian*. It stated :

> Mr . Orizu would have sailed from Nigeria with the other students who arrived here near the beginning of the second semester , but he was delayed by political complications resulting from the death of 'his father , the Paramount chief of the tribe, There political intricacies centered 'around the problem of choosing a successor from among the late chief's ' thirty-three sons not all of the same mother , of course. The oldest son is selected customarily, except on rare occasions when he is considered incompetent. In such cases, the younger son considered most competent is elected 'by popular vote. Here was an instance of the exception: the oldest son was rejected and Mr.Orizu was elected as the most 'promising of the younger ones. However, 'he did not want to assume the chieftainship immediately, No, the chieftainship, in his opinion, represented, not a doorway to one 's personal gains, but a responsibility to one 's nation. And like all responsible positions, it required adequate preparation if one is to administer the officer properly; the administrator must have an education. Therefore 'he persuaded his people, although with great difficulty, to allow one of 'his brothers to serve as chief until he shall have completed his education in America, He maintains that his chief reason for desiring education is to fit himself to cope with the older officials, whose governmental polices differ from those of the younger generation , Most of the members of the "old school" educated in European Universities, consider themselves too superior to mingle with the masses; and they use their positions to their personal ends. Orizu and his sympathizers, on the other hand, are more interested in emancipating their country, To sum up in Mr. Orizu 's own words: "To rule does not mean to acquire wealth, 'but to 'help one's people. [39]

Orizu decision to forsake an offer of rulership reflects his thoughts on priorities. For Orizu, he thought it more important to obtain an education than to accept the position offered to him. His decision to pursue his education first reflects not only his maturity but

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[37] Nwafor Orizu, *Liberty or Chains: Africa Must B*e Free (Nigeria: Horizontal publishers, 1994), 111.
[38] Orizu and Unaegbu, *92 Days in Power*, 18.
[39] "African Chief Elect Enrolls at Lincoln U," *The Lincolnian,* Thursday, June 01, 1939, 5.

his interest in following in Azikiwe's footsteps. He noted in his biography "I was now not only concerned with getting my education but imbued with some hatred for racial superiority and imperialism. I saw that the love of one's own town was not enough, Azikiwe was glorifying Africa, and not just the Ibo land or Nigeria."[40]

After years of waiting Orizu finally secured passage to the United States in 1939. His passage commissioned by Green Mbadiwe, a wealthy Nigerian businessmen and brother to another Nigerian, Kingsley Ozumba Mbadiwe who also traveled to the United States to pursue an education on the recommendation of Azikiwe.

K.O Mbadiwe was born in 1915 in Nigeria. He started his formal education at "St. Mary's Catholic School in Port Harcourt." Later, Mbadiwe attended the Hope Well Training Institute in Calabar, for one year after promptly transferring to the "Aggrey Memorial College at Arochukwu." According to Hollis R. Lynch, this college "exemplified the developing nationalistic drive among Africans to extend, Africanize, and control their own education. It was the first private secondary school established in the country by a Nigerian." Attending this school exposed him to Nigerian nationalism and furthered his interest in attending schools outside of the purview of the colonial government. An exposure to such a privatized education likely piqued his interest in studying in the United States. [41]

Other factors shaped Mbadiwe's decision to further his education in America. His exposure to Nigerian nationalism influenced his decision to study at a college or university outside of England. He had limited options in Nigeria as most of the secondary

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[40] Orizu, *Liberty or Chains*, 111.
[41] Hollis R. Lynch, *K.O. Mbadiwe: A Nigerian Political Biography 1915-1990* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013),16.

schools in some way or another operated under the colonial government's oversight. In fact, Mbadiwe never graduated from any of the secondary education schools he attended. By the early 1930s, Mbadiwe yearned to study abroad to both further his education and find an institution he could learn from not influenced by imperial powers. According to Lynch, "it is likely that he no longer found his studies interesting or challenging." Furthermore, Mbadiwe became "devastatingly critical of colonial education in Nigeria." Mbadiwe's displeasure with colonial education propelled his interest in obtaining an education outside of Nigeria and England.[42] Mbadiwe's search turned toward the United States with conversation with Azikiwe.

Azikiwe arguably had the greatest influence on the choice of which school Mbadiwe would attend. Even Mbadiwe's parents who were originally skeptical of their son attending school abroad acquiesced such views through "the recommendation of Azikiwe." Azikiwe gave the same advice to Mbadiwe that he did to Nkrumah and the several other Africans he met with; to further their studies at Lincoln University. Azikiwe also wrote a letter of recommendation for Mbadiwe which proved allowed him to be accepted into Lincoln even though he "had not formally graduated Highschool."[43]

After years of waiting, Mbadiwe began his travel to the United States in 1937 with several Nigerian companions. Among them was his brother Green, and Mbonu Ojike another student whom Nnamdi Azikiwe had exhorted to study at Lincoln University.

Mbonu Ojike was born in Nigeria in 1914. He attended a local village school run by missionaries. Ojike recalls that these schools had "benches of mud to sit on, but no

[42] Lynch,18.
[43] Lynch,27-29.

desks or tables; only the school master had a modern table."[44] He finished his primary school in 1925, and quickly sought to attend secondary school.

Ojike's father rebuked him for attending school altogether. He recalled in his autobiography his father stating that "You waste many man-hours when you go to school. Son, you cannot become wiser nor richer than I by going to school to learn white men's ways."[45] Ojike's fathers words reflect an attitude of distrust that many Africans living under colonial conditions held against white peoples and colonial institutions. But even from a young age, Ojike and many other Africans understood that an education could in many ways increase their social and economic standing.

Uninfluenced by his father's admonishments, Ojike continued his education enrolling at C.M.S training college Awka. While studying here Ojike stayed at the "Aggrey house" named after Dr. Aggrey. During his first year at the college Ojike "won the first prize in the first-year Scripture examination." For winning this competition the college rewarded him with a book titled *Aggrey of Africa: A Study in Black and White* written by Edwin W. Smith. Ojike described this book as "a revelation." Reading this book, taught Ojike more about Dr. Aggrey and his studies in the United States. Inspired by Dr. Aggrey's story Ojike became immediately interested in "European and American universities." Ojike also stated that after about Aggrey's life and accomplishments he noted "a hope sprang up in me-that I could fit myself to carry on an ambassadorship like his to work for harmony of peoples." Reading Aggrey's story, showed him "there was education better and higher than normal college training" offered in colonial Nigeria.[46]

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[44] Mbonu Ojike, *My Africa* (New York: John Day company, 1946), 52.
[45] Ojike, *My Africa*, 52.
[46] Ojike, *My Africa*, 62-68.

In many respects, Ojike shared the same sentiments on Aggrey that Nkrumah and Azikiwe had. All three men were inspired by Aggrey's accomplishments and credited them to his education. The hope that he might follow in Aggrey's footsteps and pursue education in the United States undoubtedly influenced his decision to study in the U.S.

Some years after completing school at the C.M.S training college, Ojike decided to study at Lincoln University. Ojike decided to attend Lincoln university impart on the recommendation of Azikiwe. Ojike had known Azikiwe, for some time prior to departing for America. In 1938 Ojike resigned from his teaching jobs and "became a local newspaper agent" for Azikiwe. By working for Azikiwe it is more than likely that Ojike conversed with him about studying in America. Ojike explains that it was "Zik, whose contact cleared the way for correspondence with American universities." Ojike further notes that "through Zik's recommendation Lincoln University had granted him{me} a fee reduction."[47]

Each of these migrant students shared a feeling of anxiety and excitement as they boarded the ships that took them to the United States. Azikiwe recounted feeling inspired approaching the United States and seeing the Statue of Liberty. As he approached Ellis Island, he "kept repeating what he {I}had been told was inscribed under the Statue of Liberty: Liberty lighting the world." Astounded and inspired by the statue of liberty and the several sky scrapers he traveled in New York in a state of reverie.[48] Ojike recalled how he endured a feeling of disbelief upon boarding the vessel transporting him, stating "after so much struggle and darkened hopes, it was hard to realize I was actually about to

[47] Ojike, *My Africa*, 81.
[48] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography*, 78.

go aboard."[49] Yet when his ship pulled into New York, he recounted a similar experience to Azikiwe. Ojike noted upon seeing the sky scrapers he "thought they were heavenly pillars on which the sky rested."[50] Nkrumah recalled when first arriving in New York he was not "lonely nor afraid, for there was an air of suspense, excitement and gaiety."[51] From here their quest for the golden fleece began.

Azikiwe, Nkrumah, Jones-Quartey, Adjei, Orizu, Mbadiwe, and Ojike's travel to the United States acted as a turning point for African education. While the Phelps-Stokes Fund administration promoted African attendance to American universities, they had done so under the premise that the education they would receive would urge them to follow in Aggrey's foot steps; to promote compliance with the status quo of imperial practices and perpetuate education system based on the needs of cementing colonial rule. However, as future chapters will demonstrate, the opposite effect took place. Azikiwe and the students he inspired became revolutionary thinkers and educators as a result of their education and experiences studying in the United States. Furthermore, some of their most important lessons took place at Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

Why HBCUs?

In 1939, Lincoln University recorded 14 enrolled African students. While this number may seem slim, it is telling. The fact that 14 students attending a college within a single year all came from the same continent suggest a growing pattern of African attendance. This attendance almost mirrored attendance to Howard university just twelve

[49] Ojike, *My Africa*, 81.
[50] Ojike, I Have Two Countries (New York: John Day Company, 1947), 1.
[51] Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, 29.

years prior with a record of 12 African students listed as enrolled at Howard in 1927. Other data suggests a reoccurring admission of African students to Howard and Lincoln. But why did so many Africans chose these universities specifically? To answer the previous question one must first understand how American universities and education systems differed from English and European universities.[52]

K.A.B Jones-Quartey offers insight on the differences between education in America and Europe in the biography he wrote about Azikiwe. Jones-Quartey argues that American education systems are "an outsize agglomeration of people, things, facts, relations, and standards; that these exist in huge proportions: the good, the bad, and the indifferent; and that these truths apply to universities and graduates decisively as it does to anything else." In less complicated words, Jones-Quartey points out that the presence of diversity at American universities (even at HBCUs) promoted an area for free thought. Such an area would provide crucial for establishing new visions of decolonization and state building in Africa.

African students may have been inspired by the American dream and saw it just as important of the promotion of free thought. Jones-Quartey argues that "American education seeks to fulfill the American dream of a democratic society in which nothing is too good for the citizen who can acquire and use it, be it economic, political, or social means." In other words, the conception of the American dream, working hard to obtain economic, political, or social success, may have inspired many Africans to see

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[52] Data is based on college catalogues of Howard and Lincoln from 1920-1946 which illustrate the number of African students that studied at each respective university. "Library – Lincoln University Catalogues 1920-1946." Library – Lincoln University Catalogues | Lincoln University, Accessed April 1, 2020, http://www.lincoln.edu/node/1340/special-collections-and-archives/digital-collections/library-%E2%80%93-lincoln-university.
"Digital Howard @ Howard University 1920-1946." Howard University Catalogs. Bepress. Accessed April 19, 2020, https://dh.howard.edu/hucatalogs/.

themselves as shapers of their own economic, political, or social destinies; an inspirational thought indeed, for a group of hearty young nationalists seeking to end colonial rule. [53]

Furthermore, African migrant students may have decided to study in the United States because they were unable to study in Europe. In fact, many of them initially tried to attend universities in England first. Nkrumah had "attempted to pass the London Matriculation Examination which would have gained him the necessary qualifications to study at a British university." However, he "failed the examination."[54] African students seeking further education but unable to attend European universities often found another chance by studying in the United States.

However, there also did exist a resentment held by some alumni of HBCUs toward Africans who attended schools in Europe. For example, Adjei rebuked Africans who attended schools in England. He did this because he thought people who went to schools in England had "no nationalist spirit but looked upon England as their home."[55] By studying in the United States, African migrant students' attitude on nationalism had a uniqueness compared to those African students who studied in Europe.

African migrant students may have also decided to further their education outside of the colonial education systems because of the severe limits placed on African education under imperialistic rule. The British government outlined stringent rules regarding the conduct of education in the colonies. In fact, "in 1847, the Education Committee of the Privy Council drew up a report to the Colonial Office on education."

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[53] Jones-Quartey, *A Life of Azikiwe*, 87.
[54] Sherwood, *Nkrumah: The Years Abroad*, 21.
[55] Ako Adjei quoted in Leonard R. Bethel, "The Role of Lincoln University in the education of African Leadership," (PHD Dissertation., Rutgers University, 1975), 155-157.

The colonial government reinstated the same outlines in 1925 through the "Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office on Education." These committees outlined the following objectives expected as an outcome of education:

> 1. To inculcate the principles and promote the influences of Christianity by such instruction as can be given in elementary schools. 2. To accustom the Children of these races to habits of self-control and moral discipline. 3. To diffuse a grammatical knowledge of the English language as the most important agent of civilization. 4. To make the school the means of improving the condition of the peasantry by teaching them how health may be preserved by a proper diet, cleanliness, ventilation and clothing, and by the structure of their dwellings. 5. To give practical training in household economy and in the cultivation of the cottage garden as well as those in common handicrafts by which a laborer may improve his domestic comfort. 6. To communicate such a knowledge of writing and arithmetic and their application to his wants and duties as may enable a peasant to economize his into calculations and agreements. 7. Improved agriculture is required to replace the system of exhausting the virgin soils, and then leaving to natural influences alone the work of reparation. The education of the color races would therefore, not be complete for the children of small farmers, unless it included this object. 8. Lessons books should teach the mutual interests of the mother country, and her dependencies, the natural basis of this connection and the domestic social duties of the colored races. 9.Lessons books should also set forth simply the relation of wages, capital, and labor, and the influence of local and general government on personal security, independence, and order.[56]

Based on the principles of these guidelines it is fair to argue that the objectives of colonial education in Africa, had been more about instilling an obedience to the English structure of 'civilization' than about developing higher understanding of academic subjects.

The fact that the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office on Education concerned itself with perpetuating the study of agriculture is telling. Since the British empire had overseen the production and sale of a number cash crops in its African colonies during the early 20th century, it makes sense that colonial education centers would stress the study of agriculture. Yet, this proved problematic for many Africans

[56] Appiah, *The Life of Dr. J.E.K Aggrey*, 17-18.

seeking to further their education. It appears that "from the very beginning educationists in Africa were concerned with the problems of agriculture and local industries and wanted Africans to take less to 'academic education."[57] Many Africans eager to study academics sought to circumvent the English colonial system and thought that studying abroad could be a means of doing so.

But why HBCUs and not other colleges? African migrant students did show interest in attending other American colleges. Many of them that first attended HBCUs later went on to study at predominantly white institutions. K.O.Madiwe and Ako Adjei eventually transferred to Columbia University after completing their first years of college at Lincoln. It seems that institutions like Howard and Lincoln were more accommodating to accept incoming African migrant students based on the number of alumni that had graduated from years previously. Furthermore, Azikiwe's relationship with Lincoln university made (as both a student and later instructor) allowed many African migrant students the ability to get in touch with the university. In the same manner, African migrant students became more familiar with HBCUs by hearing about them through former alumni like Azikiwe.

The willingness of African students to study in the United States also came from inspirational stories from former Alumni of HBCUs. Azikiwe and Aggrey specifically advertised the benefits of studying at American universities. Scholars have pointed out that Azikiwe believed the United States had "a better training ground than England for future African leaders." Furthermore, Azikiwe felt that "Americans encouraged initiative and enterprise, and the opportunity for Africans students (who were struggling for their

[57] Appiah, *The Life of Dr. J.E.K Aggrey*, 19.

own civil rights) to collaborate with African Americans would enhance the African student's sense of nationalism."[58]

Economic factors may have also encouraged Africans to continue their education in the United States. The highest increase of African student attendance to Howard and Lincoln University occurs in the years following the Great Depression. Could Africans considered attending U.S colleges because they felt that more jobs could be made available to them in the United States than in colonial Africa? Ojike recalls that "the worldwide economic depression, that had hit America and Europe in 1931, was not seriously felt in Nigeria until 1933." By 1933 "local currencies were deflated, palm producers fell in prices, jobs became so hard to find that the common man of the towns, who lived on his wages was totally dislocated."[59]

Ojike describes how the depression in Nigeria disrupted the economy in a number of ways. He argued that attendance to high school or college had actually increased at this time stating:

> In the boom years few students had gone to high school or college, and few persons had gone into teaching. Everybody went to business, industry or highly paid civil service jobs. Now the economic reverses struck the nation with panic. The future was unpredictable because money values were unstable. Now those who had savings spent them to send their children to high schools and colleges, because they saw only salaried people were secure inspire of salary cuts and stabilization, and that to get a good salary one had to be educated.[60]

African parents who could afford to send their children abroad may have decided to do this in hopes that an education would secure their children financially. Likewise, students that completed high school and college in Africa may have hoped to increase their chances of employment with a degree from an institution outside of Africa.

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[58] Lynch, *K.O. Mbadiwe: A Nigerian Political Biography*, 24.
[59] Ojike, *My Africa*, 74.
[60] Ojike, *My Africa*,74-75.

With the increase in demand for education also came the demand for teachers. Ojike further remarked that "Highschool enrollments in 1933 doubled…Highschool teachers were so scarce that I had to teach freshmen algebra, geometry, arithmetic, Latin, music, English composition, religion, hygiene, and physiology." The fact that Ojike had to teach the number and variety of classes he did may suggest that other Africans sought to find employment in teaching but had to first obtain a degree in order to do so.[61]

The relatively affordable cost of attending an HBCU in the 1930s and 1940s also may have influenced an increase of African attendance to HBCUS. In 1931 the cost of tuition at Lincoln University was $125 for the whole academic year while Howard University charged $161 per quarter. These prices were drastically lower than the cost of more well-known institutions like Yale or Harvard, which charged over $400 on undergraduate tuition alone in 1930s. African migrant students were able to afford these costs [62]

In addition to an arguable affordable cost, many HCBUs provided students with work and scholarship opportunities to cover any additional costs. According to Azikiwe, president of Storer college, Dr. Henry T. MacDonald wrote him a letter stating, "the amount of money you should have when you reach this country would be entirely adequate for your needs in this institution…your necessary school expenses here (at

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[61] Ojike, *My* Africa, 74.

[62] "1931-32: Catalog of the Officers and Students of Howard University" (1931), Howard University Catalogs, 97, accessed Nov 17, 2022, https://dh.howard.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1057&context=hucatalogs; "1921-1932: Lincoln University Herald" (1931), Lincoln University Catalogs, 28, Accessed Nov 17, 2022 http://www.lincoln.edu/library/specialcollections/catalogueissues/1932.pdf. This information is determined by the cost of tuition on Howard and Lincoln universities 1931-1932 academic year. These costs are not including fees and room and board. Room and board did account for a majority of the term bill. For this reason, as time went on African migrant students decided to rent apartments rather than pay for a dorm at school.

Storer College) will not need to be over 200 dollars per annum." Azikiwe recalled that MacDonald, informed him in a letter that if he could pay for passage to the United States Storer College would do all in its power to provide Azikiwe with work opportunities to cover the cost of tuition. Azikiwe also alleges that MacDonald wrote him further stating he "would be able to place you (Azikiwe) in vacations to earn a considerable sum which would assist you in subsequent years of preparation for Howard University." In addition to this, Azikiwe claims that MacDonald also stated that the college had "a small amount of scholarship" which "might be credited to" Azikiwe's account upon his arrival to the college.[63]

Howard and Lincoln University did their best to provide African students with additional funding and employment. For example, Sherwood notes that at Lincoln "African students received every possible financial assistance."[64] In the same manner, Howard also provided opportunities for work to their students that would cover the cost of tuition.

While economics certainly attributed to the increase in number of African students studying in the United States during the 1930s it could not be the only reason. Even if African migrant students could afford to travel to and attend college in the United States, admission to the universities was not always guaranteed. For this reason, word of mouth advertisement of American universities and social networks shared by alumni and faculty of Lincoln and Howard arguably shaped many African students' decision on attending college in the United States.

First came the success of Aggrey, whose accomplishments highlighted to young African nationalist, that Africa deserved nothing but the best. Whether African students

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[63] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography*, 47.
[64] Sherwood, *Nkrumah: The Years Abroad*, 30.

met Aggrey in person or read about him through books published on his life, they were inspired all the same. Seeing and hearing Aggrey's story inspired more Africans to seek further study in the United States. Ojike, Azikiwe, and Nkrumah all illustrate how influential Aggrey character and life had been on their decision to study in the United States.

Azikiwe followed in Aggrey's footsteps, attending not one, but three HBCUs while in the United States. Upon returning home, Azikiwe delivered the same message that Aggrey gave to him; that is that, an education in the United States can open new economic opportunities for Africans eager to make something of themselves. With Azikiwe's influence and connections, Kwame Nkrumah, K.O. Mbadiwe, K.A.B Jones-Quartey, and Mbonu Ojike all gained letters of recommendation to Lincoln university, and advice on living in America. Even Africans who may not have had a letter of recommendation written by Azikiwe, like Ako Adjei, had still trekked across the Atlantic to attend an HBCU.

Conclusion

The Phelps-Stokes Fund survey of African education system was done on the premise of expanding their own educational philosophy throughout Africa. The Phelps-Stokes Fund capitalized on Aggrey's example to tout the 'success' of their own educational system and helped to establish Achimota in hopes of proliferating their notions. Many Africans were inspired by Aggrey, but not for the reasons that Phelps-Stokes Fund promoted.

One African attending an American HBCU seemed to develop a trend of many African students deciding to expand their education abroad, specifically in the United States. Aggrey's work with the Phelps-Stokes Fund and successful life as a teacher inspired many Africans to study in the United States. As he toured through Africa, he promoted the value of education and worked to encourage Africans to further their educations by attending colleges. This led to several other Africans deciding to study in the United States including Nnamdi Azikiwe, Mbonu Ojike, Ako Adjei, K.O. Mbadiwe, Nwafor Orizu, and Kwame Nkrumah.

African migrant students like Aggrey and Azikiwe had to have been dispelled of myths and dangers of coming to America. Ojike's father who raised concern to his son about learning from 'the white men' was not an unwarranted admonishment. After all, what good would it be to learn from the people that imperially took control of the African continent? One can speculate the possibility that Azikiwe's and Aggrey's approval of HBCUs directly or indirectly informed Africans of the supportive nature HBCUs held toward Africans.

Both Aggrey and Azikiwe actively worked to promote the idea that HBCUs in the United States were accepting of Africans. Aggrey returned to Africa with the intention of encouraging Africans to expand their education. He worked with the Phelps-Stokes organization and advertised a number of American HBCUs and personally gave out copies of *Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States*. Even though Aggrey helped established the Achimota college, he still went to great lengths to speak of the benefits of attending American universities. Azikiwe as well touted the benefits of attending an HBCU. His constant

recommendation of Lincoln University to the likes of Mbadiwe, Nkrumah, and Jones-Quartey, suggested his approval of the institutions at the least.

By the time these students had graduated some of them also voiced appreciation for their former schools. Ako Adjei stated that "it was schools like Lincoln that trained black young men to stand on their own feet." Adjei words illustrate appreciation for Lincoln university while hinting at his thoughts on how this institution offered training to African Americans and Africans alike. His decision to state Black instead of African or African American, reflects his belief of how Lincoln was a college for all Black peoples.[65]

This word-of-mouth advertising did not end. Many Africans continued to study abroad in the United States in the decades that followed. As it turns out, word of mouth advertisement of Lincoln and Howard also translated into advice on which professors and classes to take. More of this will be discussed in the following chapters.

[65] Ako Adjei quoted in Bethel, "The Role of Lincoln University in the education of African Leadership," 155-157.

Chapter 2

The New Howard, The New Negro, & The New African

While Thomas Jesse Jones and the Phelps-Stokes Fund provided educational access to African migrant students, the colleges that accepted them often focused on trades and agricultural work. In fact, this was common among HBCUs prior to the mid-20th century and many African migrant students initially displayed disappointment when they first arrived on the campuses of Howard and Lincoln. In many respects, early education at HBCUs provided Black students with educational opportunities within the veil of white oversight and often discouraged changes to the societal conceptions on the color line. Other scholars have demonstrated that historically "Black education invited Blacks to participate in, without disrupting, the social order.… It taught conformity, obedience, sobriety, piety, and the values of enterprise."[1] Both Black students and faculty, grew cognizant of this paradigm and protested for change.

Change came slowly for most HBCUs with the exception of one university that later set the standard for demanding Black representation in faculty and administration: Howard University. In the 1920s Howard underwent a drastic change of direction and leadership with the removal of President Stanley Durkee and the hiring of its first Black president, Mordecai Johnson. While still receiving funds from American charitable organizations like the Carnegie Corporation and the Phelps-Stokes Fund Mordecai Johnson turned Howard University into a locus where prominent Black intellectuals of

[1] William H. Watkins, *The White Architects of Black Education: Ideology and Power in America, 1865-1954* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University,2001), 181-182.

the time would challenge the educational paradigms pushed by other HBCUs. The efforts of Johnsons administrations at Howard provided both African migrant students and African American students with a nascent form of education geared towards promoting the appreciation of African art, history, and culture which worked to build Pan-African bonds between students and faculty. The following chapter explains how Howard University became an early center for the growth of Pan-Africanism under Mordecai Johnson's time as president. It discusses how Johnson's actions changed the educational mission of the school and explains the impact that Howard had on building transnational ties between African migrant students and African American faculty. It studies the educational career of Nnamdi Azikiwe and argues that the lessons, friendships, and guidance he received from the faculty members employed under Johnson's leadership, strengthened his beliefs in Pan-Africanism and laid the foundations for his vision of a new Africa and African education.

Howard's Evolution of Black Education & the Phelps-Stokes Fund

Since its creation in 1867 Howard University had aimed to be an educational institution that welcomed aspiring Black students hoping to academically better themselves. The first college catalogue outlined the need for the schools creation stating "No plan was deemed more practicable or more needed than an establishment of an institution of learning, of the higher grade, at the national capital, which should be free to all person."[2] Its faculty and staff historically operated to promote the technical and

[2] University, Howard, "1867: Annual Catalog of the Normal and Preparatory Department of Howard University" (1867), Howard University Catalogs, 1, accessed November 17th, 2022, https://dh.howard.edu/hucatalogs/1.

educational skills of its students, so that they might in turn invest their knowledge, commitment, and expertise into Black communities. Throughout nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Howard claimed the proud title of alma mater to many influential African American doctors, lawyers, writers, and theologians.

The decades of Howard's history as an educational institution prior to the 1920s, shared great similarities with other HBCUs of the time. Many HBCUs historically had been used to placate the growth of Black intellectualism. Scholars have argued that for decades since the creation of the first HBCU, "the white power structure simply saw Black education, if administered properly as a formidable control mechanism that would pacify Black youths."[3] Booker T. Washington's belief in 'casting down your bucket', or teaching the importance of self-reliance and handicraft education as a way for Black Americans to socially progress, came to epitomize the general educational outlook for several HBCUs throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In other words, most Black colleges and universities focused on the educational domains promoted by Booker T. Washington namely: artisanal, agricultural, and trade training. Howard University was not an exception to this paradigm.

For decades Howard existed as a university inspired by Booker T. Washington's outlook on education. This paradigm is best attributed to the fact that the people and organizations that provided funding and oversight to Howard shared several of Washington's viewpoints. For example, Howard received funding and oversight from organizations like the Phelps-Stokes Fund, headquartered in New York City whose mission sought to help Africans, African Americans, and Native Americans with college

[3] Jelani M. Favors, *Shelter in a Time of Storm: How Black Colleges Fostered Generations of Leadership and Activism* (North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 3, Kindle.

expenses. For years throughout his teaching career Thomas Jesses Jones advertised to the Black students he taught that Booker T. Washing was the best example of what they might become with ‘proper’ education.

Jones not only promoted Washington’s views on education but wanted to extend such policies to the African continent. Jones’s work on the educational survey in Africa, discussed in chapter one, made him realize that bringing African students to study at HBCUs might advance his vision of spreading Washington’s educational beliefs throughout schools and universities in Africa. He believed that bringing African students to American HBCUs, could further anglicize them and socially ‘advance’ them so they would be better equipped to do the same to other native Africans when they returned home.

Early presidents of Howard shared views similar with Jones’s and often resisted calls for change made by Black students and faculty members. Like many of his contemporaries and predecessors, Stanley Durkee, Howard’s last white president, believed in providing education for Black peoples, but displayed a great deal of hesitancy when it came to supporting discussions on changes to Black education. He feverishly supported the idea that both African and African American students attend Howard but grew wary of what he felt as radical ideas brewing on the Howard campus. In short, Durkee’s support of Black education, for either Africans or African Americans, fell in line with Jones and Washington’s beliefs. While he acted as a patron of Black education, he simultaneously demonstrated clear apprehension about the New Negro Movement, commonly referred to as the Harlem Renaissance. Durkee supported, and did little to stop, the Howard Board of Trustees’ decision to fire Alain Locke, a full-time professor at

the University and one of the founding members of the New Negro Movement. Jeffery C. Stweart points out that "Locke's dismissal was also part of a larger maneuver by the Howard Board of Trustees to eliminate those professors who embodied and exemplified the New Negro criticality that Locke had announced in the Survey Graphic—a criticality that stemmed from a belief in their own intellectual independence."[4] That Durkee had supported African migrants in coming to the University, but shied away from supporting the intellectual independent movements of his own Black faculty, suggests that Durkee stood in line with the view of other white educators at Black education facilities. It was not uncommon for white patrons of Black education to provide education and training to Black students but stifle what they viewed as radical ideas that challenged the current social order.

Locke's firing, among other variables, undermined Durkee's position at Howard. Howard students protested the firing of Locke and an investigation into Durkee took place. While it had been Howard's Board of Trustees that made the decision, Durkee, an important member of the board, became the sole scapegoat for the firing. Sensing his imminent removal from the university Durkee resigned in 1926. While others also shared culpability in Locke's firing, the removal of Durkee still acted as a turning point in Howard's history. Durkee's resignation "removed a politically inept and educationally anachronistic administrator from stewardship of the institution." Durkee served as the last white president of Howard University and drastically changed under the new leadership of Mordecai Johnson, the first Black president to serve at Howard University.[5]

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[4] Jeffery C. Stewart, *The New* Negro (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 489, Kindle.
[5] Stewart, *The New Negro*, 519. For more on Durkee's removal see pages 489-520.

Johnson, who became president in 1926, worked to redefine the educational values and bureaucratic structure at Howard. Prior to Johnson's time as president, Howard had "consisted of a cluster of departments rather than colleges and none of the departments were accredited. Only half of the faculty taught at the school full-time. The majority of the schools funding came from the U.S Congress and was subject to the whims and prejudices of the congressmen." Historians Clinton Cox and James Haskins explained that under Johnson's leadership Howard shaped up into a modern, independent, and cosmopolitan academic institution. In fact, after becoming president of the university "Johnson quickly set about reorganizing the university." He made Howard more independent by building "a better relationship with congress and began seeking more money from private sources." [6] Hoping to build a medical school at Howard, Johnson looked to acquire more funds and requested funding from several well-known philanthropists. In a letter to Thomas Jesse Jones, Johnson reveals how Howard received {twenty-five thousand dollars} from the Julius Rosenwald Fund "toward the completion of our {Howard's} medical endowment fund."[7] In another letter, Johnson boasted to Jones that the Laura Spelman Rockefeller fund donated $32,700 to Howard, allocating "$20,000" of the donation "for the Library of the School of Law and $11,000 for the libraries of the social sciences and the College of liberal arts."[8] The funding from these private organizations provided Howard with opportunities to expand the university's programs and resources in a way that Johnson and other Howard administrators saw fit.

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[6]Clinton Cox and James Haskins, *African American Teachers* (New York: Wiley, 2000), 118-119.
[7] Mordcai Johnson to Thomas Jesse Jones, February 26, 1927, MG 162 box 29, folder 14. Phelps-Stokes Fund Records, New York Public Library, New York.
[8] Mordcai Johnson to Thomas Jesse Jones, March 21, 1928, MG 162 box 29, folder 14. Phelps-Stokes Fund Records, New York Public Library, New York.

With this funding Howard became more independent and built the foundations for its law program. These actions made Howard a more academically diverse school, offering students specializations beyond the ones that Jones and Washington had promoted.

Johnson also restructured Howard's curriculum by hiring both famous and up emerging Black academics of the time. He specifically provided fulltime employment opportunities to preeminent Black scholars like Ralph Bunche, Everett Just, Charles R. Drew, E. Franklin Frazier, Kenneth B. Clarke, William Leo Hansberry, Rayford W. Logan and Alain Locke, whom he rehired. [9] The rehiring of Locke indicated Johnson's approval of him and of the New Negro movement. Johnson's decision to employ not just Locke but also other prominent Black academics worked to transform Howard into a mecca for Black education and Black professionalism. For the first time in Howard's history, the university employed multiple full time Black professors under a Black president.

Under Johnson's leadership, Howard stood out from other HBCUs at the time. Johnson's gathering of multiple Black intellectuals at one university created the space necessary for new dialogues on Black education to take place which worked as a divergence from Washington and Jones' viewpoints. Adding to this dialogue of reshaping Black education, Johnson's administration promoted making Howard into space that cultivated academic freedoms. In fact, Johnson promoted free speech inside the classrooms at Howard and allowed faculty members "to say and write and teach, whatever they wanted to."[10] Offering such academic freedoms allowed the Howard

[9]Clinton Cox and James Haskins, *African American Teachers* (New York: Wiley, 2000)118-119.
[10] Rayford Logan, *Howard University: The First 100 Years* (New York: New York University Press, 1969), 251.

faculty to introduce new and groundbreaking historical and philosophical lessons which often challenged the contemporaneous paradigms of academics. Influential and Black scholars like Professors Alain Locke and William Hansberry were free to discuss their findings and thoughts on Black history and the future of Black peoples. Howard under Johnson's administration shaped up to be a new university because of its emerging cosmopolitan environment which fostered learning emboldened by the New Negro Movement.

Johnson's time as president cultivated a unique space and faculty where nascent and traditional ideas on Black liberation could form in the dialogue among Black teachers and students. This was an advantage that many colleges at the time may not have had, especially ones outside the United States. This fact had both national and global implications. One could argue that even the most prestigious colleges in Europe, lacked such an environment, on the basis that outright criticism of imperial actions could be severely rebuked. An African migrant who studied at Oxford in the late 1920s might not have the same academic protections to criticize the British government than one attending school at Howard. Furthermore, the New Negro movement, which originating in the United States intensified and precipitated dialogues among Black intellectual leaders (like W.E.B Du Bois and Alain Locke) on the status not just African Americans but of Africans.

The timing of Johnson's presidency benefited several African students who came to study at Howard. Records show that in 1927 twelve African students enrolled at Howard University the highest number of African student enrollment in a decade. [11]

[11] "1927-28: Catalog of the Officers and Students of Howard University" (1927), *Howard University Catalogs*, 50, Accessed Nov 17th, 2022, https://dh.howard.edu/hucatalogs/50.

While for decades Howard had provided the same education to African students as it did for its African American students, the faculty, staff, and environment employed by Johnson provided new opportunities for African migrant students. Africans who studied at Howard during this time, studied under the impactful educators that Johnson had brought together and experienced firsthand the riveting philosophy of the New Negro Movement, thereby building early Pan-Africanist ties between African and African American students and African American educators, and creating new global dialogues on Black education.

What made African migrant students' education under the Johnson's presidency different from that of years prior was the augmentation of the so called "second curriculum" at this time. Jelani Favors defined the second curriculum as an "unwritten…bond between teacher and student, inspiring youths to develop a 'linked sense of fate' with the race." Favors argument however was largely addressing the relationship between African American students and their African American professors. As will be discussed later, African students at this time were also influenced by this bond with their professors. Black students (whether African or African American) taught by Black professors grew to collectively rely on one another in their shared struggle for Black liberation. African migrant students came to understand political injustices African Americans faced, and African Americans came to sympathize with Africans about he struggles of imperialism. Furthermore, students did not only learn from their professors in an academic setting but in a personal and social setting as well. Favors points out that

"this second curriculum was a pedagogy of hope in idealism, race consciousness, and cultural nationalism."[12]

By simply attending Howard in the late 1920s and early 1930s, African students befriended, learned from, and became inspired by prominent American Pan-African thinkers. Not just by studying subjects like history, philosophy, and politics, but also by being mentored and influenced by American Pan-Africanists, African migrant students better understood the shared struggle for equality and liberation fought for by Black peoples across centuries. The personal friendships African migrant students formed with Pan-African thinkers also worked to educate them. African migrant students studying at Howard benefitted from this exposure to the secondary curriculum. Classes at Howard placed them "beyond the reach of outsiders" who sought to dictate their education and guarded them somewhat "from the hostilities of whites." [13]

Under Johnson's leadership, Howard hired and employed more full time Black professors than other prestigious HBCUs like Lincoln University; a fact that would eventually upset Lincoln students in the 1930s. Howard held influential faculty members who actively studied and stressed the importance of African history, literature, and art. Faculty members like Alain Locke and William Leo Hansberry became quick mentors of both African and African-American students. Howard contained two of the most important Black intellectual educators of the time, Locke the intellectual mind driving the persona of the New Negro Movement and Hansberry, the grandfather of African historical studies. Such a duo, (although often at odds with one another) worked to create

[12] Favors, *Shelter in a Time of Storm*, 4-5.
[13] Favors, *Shelter in a Time of Storm*, 4-5.

an environment on the Howard campus which sought to cultivate and vindicate the importance of Black peoples.

One of greatest result of Johnson's acquisition of some of the best Black academic minds of the time to teach at Howard, is the proliferation of Pan-Africanism at the Howard campus. In order to explain how Pan-Africanist ties formed at Howard it is worth discussing Pan-Africanists and Pan-Africanism. Early Pan-Africanist include the likes of Edward Wilmot Blyden, a Liberian journalist who spoke on the importance of establishing Black unity among Africans. Blyden's words on Pan-Africanism spread to the United States as early as the late nineteenth century, but a mass popularization of Pan-Africanism did not fully set root in the U.S until the twentieth century.

Pan-Africanist in the 1920s hoped h for liberation and equality of Black. Just as World War I ended, African countries staunch opposition to imperial overseers circulated throughout the continent. In west Africa, the writings of Herbert Macaulay criticized the British government's mishandling of political systems in Lagos. Simultaneously, Black intellectuals in the United States, formed a nascent movement that sought to redefine perceptions of Black identity. Locke (the first black man to become a Rhodes scholar), W.E.B. Du Bois (one of the founding members of the NAACP), Zora Neale Hurston, Langston Hughes, and many other of their contemporaries ushered in New Negro movement, commonly referred to as the Harlem Renaissance. In many respects, this Renaissance had African roots. Paintings, sculptures, and writings set forth by the artists of the movement, borrowed aspects of African imagery, art, and culture as a way for Black Americans to redefine their blackness.

Howard in the late 1920s came to emblemize much of the Harlem Renaissance. Not only did Howard's faculty contained Alain Locke, who epitomized the movement itself, but many of the college campus activities promoted the appreciation of African culture. Under Johnsons leadership Howard University encouraged African American fellowship with African students and embraced African cultural appreciation. Events like "Negro history week" invited scholars of several different professions to give talks on contributions made by Africans and African Americans on the Howard campus.[14]

Inspired by African nationalism and the word-of-mouth advertising of HBCUs by Kweigrey Aggrey and the Phelps-Stokes Fund's educational surveys, by the late 1920s, African migrant students increasingly traveled to study at HBCUs and other American institutions. Since many of them studied at HBCUs many African migrant students became exposed to the New Negro movement. The New Negro movement shaped African migrant students' notions of embracing their Blackness, in the same way it did for African Americans. Appreciation of Blackness for African students developed further partially from their education at Howard, especially ones studying under Locke.

Locke noted the importance of the Phelps-Stokes Fund's educational surveys in Africa in an address he gave to the West African Students Association[15]. He explained that the Fund's survey attracted the attention of the British government. He argued they came in response to "the American initiatives" of the "Phelps-Stokes Fund." He explained that the "British government Advisory on native education committee" came to America to "observe the methods and detail of Negro education and advance in the

[14] See "Negro History Week Celebrated at Howard" in *The Hilltop*, Feb 2nd, 1930.
[15] The West African Students Association was an organization started in the mid-1920s. It provided lodging to traveling African migrant students. The association is believed to be an origin for the Nigerian Youth League.

United States to constructive improvement of the system of African training in which they are interested." [16] Locke's interest in the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the British governments educational committee that tracked it, reflected his own hopes for African education.

Locke, like many other Pan-Africanists in America thought deeply about the status of educational systems in Africa. He stated, that "a modern and progressive program of native education calculated to develop native leadership and based on the preservation of the best elements of native customs and tradition may well be the long looked for turning point in the crooked road of modern imperialism." He believed that education of Black peoples that promoted the best elements of native, or in this case African customs and traditions could lead to prosperity. A stark contrast to what white educators like Thomas Jesse Jones believed. Locke also demonstrated apprehension about imperial nations and institutions controlling education in Africa noting that "without some agencies for preparing the native populations for increased participation in government and their own development, the new principle of trusteeship in colonial administration will turn out to be only a clever feint behind which to continue the old game of ruthless exploitation shielded from effective criticism and protest."[17] Locke argued that education could only be successful if European imperial powers offered Africans the opportunity to participate in government. Locke understood the connection between education and government and recognized that African education systems had often remained at the mercy of imperial governments.

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[16] Alain Locke, *Afro-Americans and West Africans: A New Understanding. Address delivered to the West African Students' Union*, Alain Locke Papers Collection 164; Box 105, folder 28. Moorland Springer Research center Howard University.
[17] Locke, *Afro-Americans and West Africans*.

For many reasons Locke can be seen as a revolutionary educator and contributor to creating Pan-African ties between himself and his African student's Black history. Locke complied the writings of several influential Black poets, writers, educators, and theorists into a book titled *The New Negro*. He understood the importance of African students coming to America to receive an education. Locke noted "that the progress of the Negro in America is the advance guard of his world development, and that American methods and resources have here another promising field of world expansion and influence."[18] Locke's message of the New Negro movement circulated in and outside his classrooms at Howard. Interestingly, the New Negro Movement did more than just inspire Black Americans. Its message of new possibilities and new identity resounded in the ears of his African migrant students as well.

Locke inspired and worked with several African students regardless if they attended Howard or not. He contacted and cooperated with almost all of Azikiwe's disciples. Letters of correspondence demonstrate how he planned on addressing shaping Black education with Orizu, Mbadiwe, Ojike, Nyabongo, Jones-Quartey and even George Padmore. These conversations reveal how Locke and several African students added to Pan-African based movements between Africans and African Americans to influence Black education. Such movements to shape Black education dissented from the Jones and other leading figures of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

[18] Locke, *Afro-Americans and West Africans*.

The Making of New Africa at Howard

Howard University hosted African students as early as the nineteenth century. The earliest known African students that attend Howard (African in the sense that they were born in Africa and traveled to Howard for an education) studied in 1871, these two students are Georgiana Amos of Liberia and Jeremiah Mali of Natal South Africa.[19] More Africans chose to study at Howard in the decades that followed bolstered by advertisement efforts of the Phelps-Stokes Fund's educational survey of the early 1920s and African alumni recommendations.

Both Durkee and Jones extended educational opportunities to African migrant students. Durkee regularly responded to African students inquiring about attending Howard University. Prior to his journey to the United States, Azikiwe, wrote to Durkee asking about university and the possibilities of attending. Durkee responded that Azikiwe might need to attend another college in the United States before being admitted to Howard University but did offer Azikiwe the contact information of the president of Storer college, Dr. Henry T MacDonald.[20] The two presidents knew one another and encouraged African attendance at their universities. Yet even though Azikiwe could not attend Howard initially, Durkee did not turn him away. Durkee's response suggests that he provided advice for Azikiwe and a plan for him to eventually be enrolled at Howard. Furthermore, Azikiwe claims that in a letter sent to him by Durkee, he came to know of other Africans who sought an education at Howard. He recalls Durkee writing saying:

> some young men have written me seeking for help to come to America. They are Mr. J.E. Thompson, Mr. J.T. Marbell , Mr. C.O Robertson, and Mr. H.E. Ani Okokon. Would it not be well for you to write these young men getting in touch with them and then your whole group form a

[19] "1871-72: Catalog of the Officers and Students of Howard University" (1871), Howard University Catalogs, 33, accessed Nov 17, 2022, https://dh.howard.edu/hucatalogs/33.
[20] Nnamdi Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1980),*46.

> kind of league for helping yourselves, gaining your money, and then finally finding your way to America for the splendid careers which may be yours? [21]

By providing the names of African students to Azikiwe, Durkee alleviated some anxieties that Azikiwe may have had about attending Storer. Azikiwe took Durkee's advice and wrote to Okokon. The two developed a strong friendship as Okokon informed Azikiwe about Storer and later Howard which both of them would. Durkee's advice again suggests the welcoming nature of colleges like Storer and Howard University to African students. In 1963, decades after attending Howard, Azikiwe became president of Nigeria where he promoted his New Africa philosophy. This philosophy had five main pillars that Azikiwe believed could establish Africa as an independent and successful continent. In his own words outlined in his book *Renascent Africa*, these five pillars were "the cultivation of spiritual balance, the experience of social regeneration, the realization of economic determinism, the creation of mental emancipation, and the expectation of political resurgence."[22] Decades earlier he had first mentioned the nascent principles of his New Africa philosophy in a letter he wrote to an editor of *The Hilltop*, the Howard University student newspaper

Raising concern over the division between African and African American students his message stated:

> Dear editor, We are living in a new age. An age of rationalism. An age where ideas are not swallowed wholesale but are reasoned with logic or psychoanalytical premise. You are aware of the prevalent notion the world over in reference to the native African and with special regard to his additions. In the schools and college Nordic propaganda has so diffused our intellect, that we are naturally hostile to anything relative to a dynamic Africa. As students of this university we

[21] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography*, 45.
[22] Nnamdi Azikiwe, *Renascent Africa* (*New York: Negro University Press, 1969)*, 24.

> owe it to each other, since the university is international in its scope, to foster mutuality by intelligent means.[23]

Azikiwe's purpose of writing this message aimed to instruct not only the editor, but the entire student class of Howard that perceptions of Africa as a lowly and unsophisticated continent and Africans as an uncivilized people were largely untrue. His agency is unique here as he is an African student attending a predominantly African American based college.

Azikiwe attached a letter further expanding on his thoughts of African and African American student relations. Both his note to the editor and his letter explaining his propositions were published in the November 1928, issue of *The Hilltop*.

Azikiwe's letter stated:

> For centuries Africa has been painted in lurid pictures. Its culture has been covered with studied machinations. Its conditions have been represented as sardonic, its future gloomy, and so we see the African from the Nordic perspective. This is but Caucasian propaganda to keep the Negro American in ignorance and its apparent disinterest on matters of Africa. Another factor relative to the success of the white man's distortion of facts and preservatives is the education of the Negro of the western world to believe that while the world is progressing, Africa remains static and that the relatives of primitive barbarism flutters the continent into a flotsam of heathendom and moribundity. This we have swallowed with very little opposition if any. Today we young Africans have arrived at a stage where we must voice our protest and state our case for the consideration of the intelligent world. We do not hold you guilty for your notions, considering your environmental background. We realize the effects of your history. We understand fully the situations which necessitated your psychological and philosophic concept of the average African. Nevertheless, as a representatives of a new Africa, we deem it wise to correct your notions and submit to you thoughts of a modern and progressive African.[24]

Azikiwe's letter is telling for several reasons. For one, he explains the division between African and African Americans as a result of white propaganda and false

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[23] Nnamdi Azikiwe's "Africa Speaks," *The Hilltop*, November 7, 1928.

[24] Nnamdi Azikiwe's "Africa Speaks," *The Hilltop*, November 7, 1928.

histories used to stereotype Africans as uneducated and poor people. Secondly, he calls for understanding between Africans and African Americans. In order to obtain this understanding, he argues that the two groups must reconcile by refuting the narrative of Africa as a sardonic, gloomy, and static continent. Azikiwe speaks about new challenge to this false paradigm. He refers to himself and other African students as representatives of a New Africa.

Although he was not the first African to study at an HBCU he is important because he further encouraged other Africans to do the same. It is worth talking about Azikiwe in length because perhaps no African that attended Howard had more of an indelible effect on west African politics than Nnamdi Azikiwe. Azikiwe is one of several Africans recorded attending Howard University during the late 1920s and one of the most, if not the, most documented African student. Azikiwe learned about Howard University from the book *Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States*, which Aggrey had given to him.

His reason for choosing to attend Howard were serendipitous. Azikiwe alleges that he "decided that God should guide him (me) in the choice of a university in America. So he (I) closed his (my) eyes prayed for divine guidance and opened the pages at random." From here he blindly traced a pencil over the page and it "stuck at Howard University, Washington D.C."[25] Regardless of if Azikiwe story about selecting Howard is true or not makes little difference, as Howard University was not the first college he attended in America. He spent a few semesters studying at Storer college prior to transferring to Howard in 1927.

[25] Nnamdi Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography*, 45.

At Howard University Azikiwe's vision of a 'New Africa' manifested largely impart to his education at the university and the impact of the second curriculum. Over the course of Azikiwe's education, several professors greatly influenced his understanding of philosophy, education, and Pan-Africanism. These professors were Professor William Leo Hansberry, Professor Ralph Bunce, Dr. William V. Tunnell, and Dr. Alain LeRoy Locke. Within his auto biography, he makes specific mention of each of these men and their impact on his education.

Hansberry shaped Azikiwe's educational journey in a number of important ways. Professor Hansberry taught Azikiwe's Anthropology class. He claimed that Hansberry lessons sparked his interest in African history. Azikiwe recalled that Hansberry's "courses in anthropology covered both the physical and cultural aspects" and "linked his researches in anthropology with the origins of African history." For example, he recalled learning about how Hansberry "opened a new world to us in medieval history, pinpointing the role of Ghana, Melle (Mali), and Songhay in the history of Africa." [26] Azikiwe's choice of words here is significant. He does not say the singular 'I', when talking about Hansberry's impact but uses instead the plural 'us', illustrating the importance of Hansberry's lectures on people of African descent.

Hansberry's research challenged traditional paradigms in African history. He pointed out how ancient sources pointed to robust wealth and grandeur of Africa. His research discussed the accomplishments of Egypt and Ethiopia. Such lessons motivated his

[26] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography*, 117-118.Azikiwe lists other important lessons he learned from Hansberry, including "the concept of race, language, and culture." Hansberry also exposed him to scholars like "Boas" and "Sapir." He taught lessons on African history including lessons on Egypt and Ethiopia.

African students, as they spoke to the prosperity of African history and how that prosperity was interrupted by the European slave trade.

In a letter published in the1966 issue of *The Crisis* Azikiwe wrote lamenting the death of Hansberry. Azikiwe stated that Hansberry "ignited in me the fire of research in African history and culture."[27] He recalled having countless discussions in Dr. Hansberry's "office after class hours." [28] Their friendship was so valued by Azikiwe, that he named a school after his former professor, the "Hansberry institute of African studies at the University of Nigeria."[29] Hansberry's lessons on African history worked as a building block for shaping Azikiwe's foundation for education. When Azikiwe later stressed the need for new education systems in Africa, he promoted using Hansberry's research as the backbone for African history.

Azikiwe was not alone in his feelings toward Hansberry. Other African migrant students also enjoyed taking Hansberry's class. African migrant students specifically referred to him as "father…as a mark of respect." Some scholars have even argued, Hansberry "was honored more widely in Africa than in the United States."[30] African students who attended other colleges sometimes traveled to Howard to listen in on Hansberry's lectures. Marika Sherwood pointed out that Kwame Nkrumah would "sit in on Professor Hansberry's classes at Howard university in Washington" despite attending Lincoln University in Pennsylvania at the time.[31] The fact that African students went to great lengths to take or witness Hansberry's classes illustrates Hansberry's popularity

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[27] Nnamdi Azikiwe, "A Teacher Remembered," *The Crisis*, January 1966, 55.
[28] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography,* 117-120.
[29] Nnamdi Azikiwe, "A Teacher Remembered," *The Crisis*, January 1966, 55.
[30] Cox and Haskins, *African American Teachers*, 126.
[31] Marika Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad: 1935-1947* (Legon: Freedom Publ., 1996), 29-30.

among African students and demonstrates how Howard University provided spaces for African students to learn histories of Africa highlighting its grandeur.

Azikiwe's interest in Hansberry's academic work, illustrates how education made the future president of Nigeria appreciate Africa more. Through studying under Hansberry, Azikiwe came to share Hansberry's belief that "the slave trade wiped out the best part of African civilization which led to the suppression of knowledge of Africa's historic past."[32] Learning this history of Africa under Hansberry, and experiencing the troubles of colonialism, shaped Azikiwe's vision for a liberated and free Africa. K.A.B. Jones-Quartey, Azikiwe's employee and mentee, remarked that Azikiwe "looked at Negro achievements in antiquity through the eyes of Leo Hansberry recorded in classical literature and in the histories of ancient Greece and Rome."[33] Hansberry studies helped Azikiwe develop his belief in the need for mental emancipation-where Africans could liberate themselves through the rediscovery of African history.

If Hansberry shaped Azikiwe's views on history, Dr. William V. Tunnell influenced Azikiwe's views on politics. Azikiwe claims that his "studies in political science gave him (me) the necessary background for his (my) life's work." Tunnell informed him on "the need to organize resistance to political misrule." Azikiwe alleges that this required "hard work and personal sacrifice on the part of the organizers." Tunnell influenced Azikiwe's beliefs on political freedoms and strengthened his belief about natural rights. Azikiwe recalls that he learned from Tunnel the "necessity to arouse underprivileged people from their attitude of lethargy and nonchalance." Tunnel's teachings furthered inspired Azikiwe's revolutionary mindset. For example, Azikiwe

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[32] Azikiwe, "A Teacher Remembered." *The Crisis*, January 1966.
[33] K.A.B Jones-Quartey. *A Life of Azikiwe* (Maryland: Penguin Books, 1965), 79.

agreed with Tunnell's beliefs in freedom. He alleged that Tunnell had told him and his classmates that "freedom was a universal gift" and a "birth right of humanity." Such lessons augmented Azikiwe's belief that Africans, and more specifically Nigerians, had the right to be free from imperial oppressors. [34]

While Tunnel and Hansberry arguably shaped Azikiwe's ideas on African history, Political science and liberating Africa, Dr. Alain Locke exposed Azikiwe to the New Negro movement. Through Dr. Locke's book *The New Negro,* Azikiwe learned about the efforts African American intellectuals made in redefining what blackness meant in the United

States. Azikiwe explained that *The New Negro*, was written to express "the mood of the articulate section of the American literati." He described this mood as the reason for the start of "The New Negro Movement," and how it ultimately "evolved into a crusade for a new Africa." [35]

It is unsurprising that when Azikiwe took presidency in Nigeria he called for the New Africa Movement- a school of thought which resembled the New Negro Movement. Both movements called for recognition and concern of supporting universal brotherhood and sisterhood of Black peoples around the world. Many of these lessons about the New Negro Movement came from Locke, sometimes outside the classroom. Even as he finished his autobiography, Azikiwe noted that "the New Negro Movement marches on as the new Negro emerges wherever people of African descent inhabit on the face of the earth." [36] It is important to note that, Azikiwe's connection to Locke had been made

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[34] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography,116-117.*
[35] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography,* 130-144.
[36] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography,* 130-144.

possible through Johnson's effort to rehire Locke at Howard. Had it not been for Johnson's rehiring of Locke it is difficult to determine if Azikiwe would have had such an exposure to Locke's ideas.

The Pan-Africanism that Locke promoted pushed in the New Negro Movement included the need for Black Americans to recognize and appreciate their ancestral roots to Africa. As Jeffery C. Stewart puts it Locke "seemed to have strengthened his sense that a TransAfrican identity was the only appropriate one for the American Negro and that he had the right to shame the recalcitrant among the race into adopting that view."[37] Here one can see the dialogue of support shared between teacher and student, but also African American and African. As Azikiwe studied under Locke his understanding of Pan-Africanism undoubtedly strengthened under Locke's guidance. By studying in America, illuminated by Locke's perspective on race, Azikiwe started to recognize the similar difficulties that Africans and African Americans faced. Furthermore, he recognized the "issues of the American world were more than American. They were the issues confronting other segments of humanity at large…was not the position of the American Negro in many ways the position of the African colonial?"[38] Azikiwe's recognition of the plight that African Americans faced led him to encourage cooperation between Africans and African Americans.

Jones-Quartey even remarked on the important educational relationship Azikiwe formed with Locke, stating "under the quiet inspiration and guidance of Alain Locke…Zik(Azikiwe's nick name) began his first real acquaintance with great thought; he made here his first strenuous intellectual efforts, and began also with the momentous

[37] Stewart, *The New Negro*, 399.
[38] Jones-Quartey, *Zik A life*, 79.

issues of the American world."[39] One can argue that much of Azikiwe's intellectual development stemmed greatly from his learnings from Locke. Locke and the New Negro Movement may then be seen as a turning point for not just African American students at Howard but African as well. Azikiwe had no objections about recognizing Locke's impact on his own intellectual understanding. He admits in his autobiography:

> I mused that if I was willing to become an intellectual revolutionary for the mental emancipation of Liberia and Africa, then there was no reason why I should not formulate a philosophy towards the crystallization of this dream of a new Africa. But my training was limited and I did not know much of systematic philosophy. It took much a course of lectures under Professor Locke to guide me towards constructive and systematic thinking.[40]

What Azikiwe means by 'systematic' thinking and philosophy is understanding how systems of power are operated by intellectual beliefs. In the same way the New Negro Movement aimed to reclaim ownership of the perception of African American identity through art and other mediums, Azikiwe's New Africa Movement would do the same through a rediscovery of African history through the breakdown of racialized stereotypes that subverted African under colonial rule. This knowledge and mentorship Azikiwe received from Locke provided him with the thinking to develop his New Africa philosophy.

But Locke provided Azikiwe with more than just knowledge. When Azikiwe grew concerned he would not be able to cover the cost of a semester at Howard, Locke offered him a job as his personal typewriter. According to Azikiwe Locke paid him "25 dollars monthly" and provided him with an advance to pay for fees and lodging expenses. This job changed Azikiwe's "plans and also changed his (my) life's career." Furthermore, Locke helped Azikiwe acquire funding from the Phelps-Stokes Fund to cover an

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[39] Jones-Quartey, *Zik A life*, 78.
[40] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography, 140.*

additional semester at Howard. Azikiwe alleges that "Dr. Locke was largely instrumental in securing this scholarship for me." [41] The fact that Locke would go to great lengths to help Azikiwe secure funding illustrates the closeness between the two, and Locke's interest in ensuring Azikiwe would finish his education.

Locke's attitude of helping Azikiwe is special its own way, but he performed the similar acts of support to other Howard students. Locke displayed a consistent attitude of establishing a place of discussion for the future of Black peoples. In November 1928, Locke agreed to be a speaker at a university held forum. The student council decided to create this form to "serve as a medium for student expression, on all vital problems, including those of the(our) campus." Locke led one forum where he discussed "cultural versus social equality."[42] Locke's involvements in these forums reveal his desire to inculcate discussions of equality at Howard. Such conversations likely inspired many students that attended to think more on how cultural perceptions could shape social standing. Indeed, one of the main points of the New Negro Movement was to promote a better social standing for Black Americans by illustrating to the world that Black peoples had vibrant and robust culture.

Professor Ralph Bunche was another teacher under whom Azikiwe studied. Although Azikiwe him mentioned less in his memoirs than other professors. Azikiwe studied political science under Bunche. According to Azikiwe, Bunche's classes exhorted himself and other students to "embark on the struggle for individual freedom and for the

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[41] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography,* 130.Azikiwe even states "by coming into contact with Dr. Locke, I was able to drink from the deep fountain of his almost limitless knowledge." Furthermore, Azikiwe notes that the money provided for him by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, which Locke helped Azikiwe pay "for the rest of the school year and have some money for the summer."
[42] "The University Forum Organized," in *The Hilltop*, November 7th, 1928.

enthronement of the rule of law throughout the earth." Azikiwe explained what this meant to him stating Bunche taught the class to "value personal liberty" which including one's "movement, privacy, and safety."[43] Bunche is reported to have had great interest in "improving the lot of the oppressed peoples of the world, not just the oppressed minorities of the United States." He taught Azikiwe in the late 1920s, and later traveled to Africa, witnessing firsthand the oppression Africans faced under colonialism. [44] Jones-Quartey points out that Azikiwe also studied American and English histories under Bunche.[45] Bunche also worked on a sociographical study called the Negro in America which highlighted the successes and difficulties Black Americans faced during the twentieth century.

Despite being mentioned less in Azikiwe's memoir than other professors, letters of correspondence between Bunche and Azikiwe suggest had a strong friendship with one another. Bunche acted as a mentor to Azikiwe, well after his time as his student. Sometime in the 1930s, Azikiwe sent a letter to Bunche asking him for his "support in the cause of African education." The letter went on to explain Azikiwe's "aims and dreams …to establish an institution in West Africa for the intellectual and manual education of Africans, male and female." He explained that such a new school could "select the more constructive concepts of the West to modify the outlook of the African" but be "based on African culture and social organization."[46] It is uncertain whether Bunche responded directly to this letter but the two kept correspondence for some years, and based on this

[43] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography,* 116.
[44] Brian Urquhart, Ralph Bunche: An American Odyssey (New York: W.W. Norton & Company,1993), 51.
[45] Jones-Quartey, *Zik: A Life of Azikiwe*, 79.
[46] Nnamdi Azikiwe to Ralph Bunche, n.d. MG 290, Box 24 folder 1, Ralph Bunche papers, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New, New York.

correspondence, Bunche supported Azikiwe's work. For example, in a letter Bunche sent to Azikiwe he stated he was "much elated over the great progress you are making" in reference to Azikiwe's academic career.[47] Bunche's excitement over Azikiwe's progress reflects his continued support for Azikiwe's education even after he left Howard. Bunche almost became Azikiwe's mentor for his dissertation. Azikiwe contemplated attending Howard's graduate school, and both Locke and Bunche advocated him doing so. Azikiwe planned to do his Doctoral work on Liberian politics. In another letter written in 1931, Bunche expressed his approval of Azikiwe decision to further pursue his studies. Bunched stated "I am, of course, particularly delighted to learn of another convert to my chosen field among our group. Too few of us by far have as yet been able to develop scholarly interests in the subject." Bunche noted "I am keeping your proposal constantly in mind, and within another month, when certain arrangements within the department are straightened out, I will be able to give you more definitive information. At the present I am strongly supporting your candidacy for a fellowship grant for next year."[48] This is important because it shows how intellectually linked Azikiwe had been to Bunche. Choosing a mentor for a dissertation requires a prospective research candidate to have a mentor who is well-informed of the candidate's research topic and willing to dedicate time and insight to help the project progress. Bunche's interest in possibly mentoring Azikiwe illustrates how close the two became.

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[47] Ralph Bunche to Nnamdi Azikiwe, May 23rd, 1933, MG 290, Box 24 folder 1, Ralph Bunche papers, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York.

[48] Ralph Bunche to Nnamdi Azikiwe, Feb 13th, 1931, MG 290, Box 24 folder 1, Ralph Bunche papers, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York.

Locke demonstrated similar optimism. Locke had hoped Azikiwe's doctoral work could produce "the first doctorate dissertation on African political institutions" and "appear under the Howard imprint." However, Azikiwe chose to apply to Columbia to continue his work. Locke trying to reconvince Azikiwe to change his mind stating in a letter to Azikiwe that "by applying to Professor Abraham Harris (another professor Azikiwe had at Howard), now in charge of our research projects, you could obtain some financial assistance through us and thus tie your project in with our work."[49] . Locke's persistence on trying to sway Azikiwe's opinion, reflect Locke's belief on the importance that African history has to Howard. Why had Azikiwe chosen Columbia over Howard? The answer is not so much personal as it is practical. Both Locke and Bunche admitted the plausible difficulty of Azikiwe's work on Liberia considering the lack of available classes. Locke noted that "some part of your work, I fear, because of the limitation of our courses in the colonial field, would have to be done at Columbia anyway." [50] Yet, it is possible that Azikiwe had some personal reasons for not going to Howard. Azikiwe did not have the best relationship with Professor Abraham Harris, who during 1931, directed Howard's research projects.

Harris taught economics at Howard university. His research focused on the study of Black businesses, bankers, and laborers. In his research Harris highlighted the importance of Black Americans' efforts to gain capital and work within the capitalist

[49] Alain Locke to Nnamdi Azikiwe, Feb 13th, 1931, MG 290, Box 24 Folder 1, Ralph Bunche papers Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York. Locke continues to insist on Azikiwe come to Howard to produce this work. In this letter he states that Ralph Bunche would have been happy to have Azikiwe as a student

[50] Alain Locke to Nnamdi Azikiwe, Feb 13th, 1931, MG 290, Box 24 Folder 1, Ralph Bunche papers Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York. Locke continues to insist on Azikiwe come to Howard to produce this work. In this letter he states that Ralph Bunche would have been happy to have Azikiwe as a student

system; a point with which Azikiwe disagreed. Azikiwe "absorbed Professor Harris's lectures" which in turn that taught him about "applied forms" in economics. These lectures covered items like "the struggle between capital and labor, the exercise by the workers of the fundamental freedom association, the right of collective bargaining, and the ethics of the great economic systems of the world." But Azikiwe's work experiences in the United States made him critical of Harris viewpoints on capitalism. Azikiwe recalled that "having been a menial worker and having associated with the unskilled workers of America he (I)…did not hesitate to follow through with a number of irritating questions in his office after class hours."[51] Had Azikiwe been less inclined to study at Howard, now that Harris directed Howard research projects? Not necessarily. The fact that not one but two of his former mentors admitted that Columbia had more classes pertaining to Azikiwe's research may have swayed his decision to attend Columbia instead.

Even though Azikiwe did not choose to return to Howard, his opinion of Locke, Bunche, and other Howard professors remained high, and he continued correspondence with both of them as he wrote his work *Liberia in World Politics*. In 1933, Azikiwe wrote to Bunche asking about his research trip to Africa. He stated

> "I noticed by the papers that you have returned from your African trip. I hope that you were successful in your research project. Were you in Liberia? That is a spot that is very dear to me now, despite the fact that I am a Nigerian. Kindly write and let me know your frank impressions of West Africa particularly Nigeria. Do you think that under the present system of crown colony government the inhabitants of those regions will be tutored in the art of self government? Do you

[51] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography*, 120. Professor Abram L, Harris was a professor of economics at Howard university. His papers at the Howard University Archives reveal much on his research and work. Harris's work on the International Longshoremen's Association traced the history of the Transportation workers of Virginia, a black union organization that eventually became part of the International Longshoremen's Association. While his writings in this subject illustrate Harris knowledge of mistreatment of Black laborers through wage discrimination, Harris Harris's work in *The Negro as Capitalists* illustrates more of his support for capitalism than for his critics of it. Perhaps Azikiwe grew skeptical of his professors claims on economics.

> think that the mandate system is any better than the old time ideal of imperialism, judging from the bondelswartz and the recent claims of Japan?"[52]

Azikiwe's questioning of Bunche's trip and view on world events point to an important dynamic between Azikiwe and Bunche. Two Black intellectuals, one African and one African American shared their thoughts on the future of Africa and the issues it faced. Such conversations continued throughout Azikiwe's time in the United States, and expanded to other African students, who came to the United States ushered in by Azikiwe's recommendation to study in the U.S.

Bunche served as a mentor for other African students even ones that did not attend Howard. Kwame Nkrumah for example had a long friendship with Bunche despite never studying at Howard. Sherwood points out that by 1943 "Bunche was an old acquittance or even mentor to Nkrumah." Nkrumah may have befriended Bunche by running into him sometime between his audits of Hansberry's class or during office hours as "Bunche and Hansberry occupied adjoining offices."[53] It make senses that Nkrumah sough to befriend Bunche as Azikiwe did before him. But what is most important is that Bunche continually befriended African students and shared his opinions with them on the future of Africa.

Howard University also offered Azikiwe a chance to conceptualize his vision of Africa with other African migrant students by befriending other African and Black students at the university. At Howard University he met a Trinidadian student named Malcom Nurse(later known as George Padmore), a Liberian student Phillip Daives, and a

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[52] Correspondence from Nnamdi Azikiwe to Ralph Bunche, March 28th, 1933, MG 290, Box 24 folder 1, Ralph Bunche papers, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York.
[53] Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad: 1935-1947*, 74.

fellow Nigerian student named Simeon Bankole Wright. Howard's African migrant students befriended one another and shared living quarters both on and off the college campus. For example, after a spring semester, Azikiwe and Bankole Wright, a Sierra Leonian student, "moved together to New York for the summer.".[54]

Azikiwe first affiliated with Nurse (who will subsequently be referred to as his later name George Padmore) while studying at Howard University. While Padmore was not born or raised in Africa, (he came from Trinidad) he significantly contributed to Pan African ideology and African political movements. Padmore wrote to Azikiwe before even meeting him. Padmore had initially attended Fisk University but later transferred to Howard where he found inspiration in Alain Locke because the professor "set forth a plan for a corps of colored investigators who would usher in a new age of research on Africa."[55] During Padmore's time at Howard he became increasingly critical of imperial politics and started actively recruiting supporters to criticize them. In 1927, Azikiwe received a letter from George Padmore. This letter invited Azikiwe to join Padmore in starting "a campaign of propaganda on our{their} respective campuses, and elsewhere, with the object of arousing public sentiment against" the "Firestone project in Liberia." Padmore did not randomly send a letter to Azikiwe. Both shared a common friend named Phillip Davies, a Liberian student who also studied in America. Davies and Padmore wanted more African students to participate in the protest of imperial powers in Africa. Padmore and Davies talked with one another about recruiting Azikiwe. Davies believed that Azikiwe shared his concerns about the oppressive conditions Africans faced; and thought by recruiting students to protest they could begin dismantling imperial control or

[54] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography*, 116-123.
[55] Carol Polsgrove, *Ending British Rule in Africa* (New York: Manchester University press, 2009), 2.

at the very least "start the work for those who will follow." Davies explained that Padmore sent this letter to Azikiwe, "acting on my [his] "advice." The dialogue and planning between Padmore and Davies, to recruit Azikiwe to their mission, illustrates the growth of Pan-Africanism on the Howard campus and its concern with the social problems taking place in Africa; regardless of if it was or was not their continent of origin. [56] Some scholars have even argued that "Padmore's letter inspired Azikiwe to correspond with other Africans abroad."[57]

The relationships formed by these Howard students inspired them to further pursue political action for Africa while in the United States. Azikiwe began writing for *The Crisis*, the official magazine of the NAACP. Azikiwe's article published in 1930 entitled "Murdering Women in Nigeria" discussed the shooting of "unarmed women" shot in Nigeria after protest over a poll tax. Azikiwe argued that poll taxes were another "method in Africa of forcing natives to labor." He further criticized the colonial government arguing that the shooting happened "due to the poorly qualified political officers of the civil service and the lack of any chance of conference and understanding between the mass of people and the British rulers."[58] Azikiwe and Padmore could more easily publish 'revolutionary' works because they lived outside of imperial Africa and therefore could not receive any immediate punitive consequences. As a result, their time studying at Howard better equipped them to call out imperial forces in Africa and connect with more like minded African and African American Pan-Africanists.

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[56] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography*, 138-139.
[57] Polsgrove, *Ending British Rule in Africa*, 2.
[58]Benjamin Nnamdi Azikiwe, "Murdering Women in Nigeria," *The* Crisis, May 1930.

Other African migrant students befriended and collaborated with Azikiwe both inside and outside of Howard. At Storer college, Azikiwe met H.E. Okokon who later attended Howard. When Azikiwe first transferred from Storer to Howard, Okokon, recommended to his friend that he contact "two Nigerians that also studied there: "Ered Ebito" who studied Law and "Babajimi Adewakun" who attended Howard's College of Applied Science.[59] But Azikiwe makes little further mention of these students. Unfortunately, Okokon, died and Azikiwe delivered a "funeral oration" for him. His acceptance of the responsibility to speak at his friend's funeral indicates how close African migrants became despite only knowing each other a few years.[60]

Beyond these well-known friends, there may have been other African students whom Azikiwe met with or studied with. Walter Brown of British West Africa (most likely Ghana), Rachel Ecolium Hill of Liberia, Robert Phillips of Angola, Joespeh Morfort of Nigeria, Harry Mane Woods of Liberia, Hezekiah Nweje of British west Africa, J.B. Stewart of British West Africa, and Rotoli Xaba of South Africa all attended Howard the same year Azikiwe did. However, Azikiwe does not mention these peoples in his autobiography.[61] Azikiwe also recounts sharing a room with "Prince Hosea Akiki Nyabongo," a Ugandan student who also studied at Howard but makes little mention of him outside of sharing a room on campus.[62] The two shared an interest in politics. Nyabongo became the treasurer of the political science club in 1930, led by Professor Ralph Bunche. Both Azikiwe and Nyabongo also joined the African Students Union, an

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[59] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography*, 114.
[60] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography*,116-123.
[61] "1927-28: Catalog of the Officers and Students of Howard University."
[62] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography*, 116. Nyabongo was a well known and involved student at Howard. He was the captain of the Howard soccer team. See "Howard Soccer Team Beats Lincoln" *The Hilltop*, October 30th, 1930, 1. Amazingly Azikiwe played against him in soccer while at Lincoln.

organization dedicated to bringing together African students studying in the United States.[63]

Nyabongo's time at Howard is less documented than that of Azikiwe, but nonetheless important in illustrating the nurturing nature Howard displayed to African students. Nyabongo's time at Howard, like Azikiwe, exposed him to the second curriculum and allowed him to escape attending a vocational or agriculturally based school. For years he had been funded by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, where he first attended Tuskegee, but he ultimately transferred to Howard. Thomas Jesse Jones apparently "approached" Nyabongo about this decision and "suggested that he had made a mistake." Nyabongo nevertheless committed to Howard and rebuked Jones for his views on education some years later.[64] It is more than likely Nyabongo chose this institution over Tuskegee and other HBCUs of the time because of the environment cultivated by Johnson's reforms.

At Howard a unique environment formed that promoted new dialogues about pan Africanism between African migrant students and African American faculty members. Students like Azikiwe, Nyabonogo, and Padmore developed friendships and received oversight from Locke, Bunche, and Hansberry. The education and friendships they formed worked to build Pan-African based attitudes that would later spread back to Africa.

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[63] "Political Science Club," *The* Hilltop, November 6th, 1930. This article discusses Ralph Bunche's plans to eventually create a political science fraternity. It is uncertain if Bunche established Pi Sigma Alpha. Nevertheless, the fact that a Howard faculty member sought to encourage political involvement among his students helps reinforce the idea that Howard faculty extended the second curriculum to African students.
[64] Kenneth J. King, *Pan Africanism and Education* (New York: Diasporic Africa Press, 2016), location 3975-7867, Kindle. According to King, Nyabongo criticized Jones for believing that Africans should only learn agriculture.

Conclusion

While Mordecai Johnson did not create the secondary curriculum at Howard, his decisions as president certainty augmented it. Johnson collected some of the greatest Black minds of the 1920s and employed them at Howard. Professors like Locke, Hansberry, and Bunche promoted ideas on Black unity and independence, which inspired both African and African American students alike. Perhaps most ironic is that Thomas Jesse Jones likely knew little about the changing environment at Howard and even less about the second curriculum. The very man who sought to shape African education in his own vision, signed off on funding African students to study at perhaps the most 'radical' Black educational institution of the time. It is true that Jones and Johnson corresponded regularly, but Jones's vision for Black education differed greatly from Johnson's. Jones may have thought Howard University as just another HBCU of the time, educating Black students to find their place in a white dominated world. But Jones was unaware of the thriving secondary curriculum being built in the late 1920s and therefore was unintentionally providing eager African nationalist students a place where they could learn from the most prestigious African American teachers and intellectuals. The result was an agglomeration of student and teachers' ideas on what Black education should be and the building of several new visions of a free Africa.

Howard provided Azikiwe and other African students with a place to learn about subjects ranging from economics, philosophy, history, to political science. By conferring with their professors and peers, African student incorporated their lessons on these subjects into the new visions they had for liberating Africa. Even though Azikiwe spent

only one academic year at Howard, he spoke highly of his time there and outlines the importance of the institution's impact. For instance, in one point in his memoir he says:

> At Howard I absorbed the following as part of my equipment for the battle of life: In political science, to seek for the good life, by fighting for individual freedom, under the rule of law, in a democracy where the judiciary must be independent, in anthropology, to regard no race as superior or inferior but to understand man as the controller of his environment; in economics, to safeguard private property and, at the same time, live and let live under a system which should give scope simultaneously to individual enterprise and public welfare, under the aegis of the state; in philosophy, to be pragmatic and allow reason and experience to influence my thinking and way of life; in psychology to trace my mental behavior to the workings of my biological apparatus; in sociology to make all policies for the progress of my country sociocentric, that is that the public welfare should be the highest law.[65]

Azikiwe's words on his time at Howard demonstrate his appreciation of his education. Indeed, at Howard he experienced the larger portion of his college education and met with a number of influential professors who he would keep correspondence with later in life. Jones- Quartey came to a similar conclusion regarding Azikiwe's time at Howard. Jones-Quartey proclaimed "during the one academic year he spent at Howard he studied as much as he possible the historical background of the Negro race, of the African."[66]

Jones-Quartey also recognizes Howard University's importance on Azikiwe's intellectual understanding of economics. Jones-Quartey stated "Zik's introduction to economic ideas and practice had to begin now…the same Howard University, where he had extended his acquaintance with problems of government, was the scene of the new initiations." He furthers his argument claiming that Azikiwe "learnt of the theories of Marx" at Howard University and also learned of "the guild of socialists who would remove political passion and ideological loyalties out of the business of government."[67]

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[65] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey: An Autobiography*, 121.
[66] Jones-Quartey, *A Life of Azikiwe*, 79.
[67] Jones-Quartey, *A Life of Azikiwe*, 82.

Howard's impactful faculty members like Locke, Bunche, Hansberry, and Johnson pushed forward new paradigms and fresh perspective on the history of Black peoples and the importance of Black culture. Under Johnson's administration a new cultural climate at Howard thrived that promoted academic freedom for the faculty to discern what they wanted to teach. Locke and Hansberry pushed forward the idea of highlighting historical achievements of Africans. Under the auspices of these revolutionary teachers' African migrant students came to better appreciate their time at Howard.

But beyond academics Howard university offered African migrant students like Azikiwe a place to connect with likeminded Africans, Afro-Caribbeans, and African Americans. Especially during the 1920s, Black peoples from all around the world studying at had exposure to the New Negro movement. This attitude of redefining Black identity and culture allowed for new visions of Africa to ferment. Azikiwe's New Africa policy was indubitably a byproduct of the movement and his exposure to Howard's secondary curriculum.

The relationship between Padmore, Davies, and Azikiwe reflects the importance of Howard University for the fermentation of their ideological beliefs. Howard provided a cosmopolitan space where discussion on the liberation of Africa and African peoples took place among a Black people of different homelands. Davies a Liberian, Azikiwe a Nigerian, and Padmore a Trinidadian, each came from different areas of the world but came to concern themselves with similar issues facing Black peoples globally.

Did Azikiwe and other African students have the same vision for this new Africa? It may be impossible to say all African migrant students' vision of Africa had been the

same. Padmore did not have an identical vision to Azikiwe, but both wanted all of Africa to be liberated from colonial control. Both used their time and training from American HBCUs and experiences to expose the truth about the imperial ills suppressing Africans right to govern themselves.

One can not underplay the importance of Howard's cosmopolitan space provided to African migrant student because, African students attending other colleges outside the United States were less likely to have the same opportunities and experiences than those that attended Howard in the 1920s. Universities in England could have ostracized students for speaking ill of or challenging the imperial government's actions. The United States however, differed greatly. Furthermore, since Howard was an HBCU, it offered African migrant students the ability to study at an all or predominantly Black college. By doing so they could perhaps temporarily escape the veil of the color line, and cultivate pride in a place specifically made for uplifting Black peoples. African migrant students still faced racial discrimination outside of the university and may have not always seen eye to eye with their African-American peers on all matters of politics or history, but studying in the United States exposed them to conceptions of the American dream. Jones-Quartey explains that the "American education seeks to fulfill the American dream of a democratic society in which nothing is too good for the citizen who can acquire and use it, be it economic, political, or social means."[68] In other words, African migrant students drew inspiration from the American dream. The idea that one may manifest their goals into a reality if they studied hard and worked even harder. Such an idea certainly invigorated Azikiwe's vision of a New Africa.

[68] Jones-Quartey, *A Life of Azikiwe*, 87-88.

Surprisingly, for all of Azikiwe's praise of Howard he never graduated from the university. Due to financial concerns he transferred to Lincoln University where he would complete his education. At Lincoln, Azikiwe completed his education and would later inspire several other Africans to study in the United States. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Education and Change at Lincoln University

Like Howard, Lincoln university also offered African students a place to study and exposure to the secondary curriculum. Lincoln had long admitted African students to the college. Jacob F. Miller, a Liberian migrant student, is the earliest known African migrant to enroll at Lincoln in 1869[1]. One of the most notable influxes of African attendance to the university came in 1939 with 17 African students listed attending the university. The reason for this increase discussed in the previous chapter, came largely in part by the efforts of Azikiwe, who also attended Lincoln University.

However, Azikiwe's experiences with Lincoln University differed significantly for many of the same students he recommended to study there. Many of them grew dissatisfied with Lincoln, and within a year they transferred to other universities. Some students however, stayed until they graduated. The difference in experiences held between Azikiwe and other African students that attended Lincoln can be explained for a number of reasons. For one, Azikiwe only attended Lincoln as a student for one year, and the rest as an instructor. This means Azikiwe, had started Lincoln as a senior and therefore had spent more time as an instructor rather than a student. K.O. Mbadiwe, Ako Adjei, Nwafor Orizu, K.A.B. Jones-Quartey, Mbonu Ojike, and Kwame Nkrumah all started at Lincoln as freshman, despite being very well educated prior to attending. Of these six students, only two would remain at Lincoln to complete their degrees: them

[1] "Catalog of Office and Students of Lincoln University 1869-1870," Lincoln University digital archives, accessed Nov 17, 2022, https://www.lincoln.edu/sites/default/files/library/specialcollections/CATALOGUES/1869-70.pdf..

being Jones-Quartey and Nkrumah. Why had only these two stayed when the others remained?

The answer to this question cannot be found in one simple answer. Lincoln University from the latter half of 1930s differed dramatically then the former half. The environment, faculty, and courses offered at Lincoln to freshmen all reflect reasons why some African migrant sought education elsewhere while others decided to stay. But this is not to say that Lincoln did not help intellectually train and prepare all of these African migrant students. Whether they decided to stay at Lincoln or not, their time spent studying there, no matter how brief, ultimately shaped African migrant students' mindsets on Black solidarity and decolonization.

(Figure 1: Azikiwe at Lincoln University)[2]


BENJAMIN N. AZIKIWE

[2] Picture taken from in "Book Review is Selected: Instructor Awarded" in *The Lincolnian*, Friday November 3rd, 1933.

The History of Lincoln University

Lincoln University is recognized as one of the oldest HBCUs to exist in the United States. Formally established in 1854, it is the second oldest HBCU trailing some 17 years behind the Institute for Colored Youth, later known as Cheyney University. Although Lincoln prided itself on its mission to educate Black Americans, its history is rife with ideological battles mirroring that of the United States. In fact, the "ideological conflict between 'Colonizationists' and 'Abolitionists', between 'Gradualists' and 'immediatists' early manifested itself in the sphere of alumni-university relationships" in the university's early years." Even after the American Civil War, and passage of the 13th,14th, and 15th amendments the university experienced "growing pains."[3]

The growing pains Lincoln experienced from its birth to the 1930s largely focused on the administration reluctance to step away from its white paternalism of its Black students. The university largely resisted hiring and incorporating Black academics into fulltime faculty positions, thereby obscuring the voices of what Black students and alumni who thought the university should take a more progressive action on race relations. The debate on employing Black professors to full time positions and as administrators is one of the most frequent battles seen between faculty and students. One of the earliest confrontations came in 1873 when a group of black students "sought an appointment with John Miller Dickey, as president of the board of trustees, to present their view that the time had come to appoint Blacks to the faculty, and to the board of trustees." Dickey responded to the students in a typical white savior patronizing fashion; he stated "why should we continue to have white men as professors? My friends you

[3] Horace Man Bond, *Education for Freedom: A History of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania* (Pennsylvania: Lincoln University, 1976), 331.

need all the results of the 100s of years which you have accumulated with the white race…pride may incline you to say give us those of our own race but wisdom will teach differently."[4] For decades this attitude of prohibiting Black faculty members full time positions persisted.

It is not until the 1930s that Lincoln University underwent a transformation similar to that of Howard University, albeit a slower one. Whereas Howard's change came from the top-down, Lincoln's came from the bottom up. Mordecai Johnson of Howard reshaped the entire school structure as Howard University's first Black president. But Lincoln University, lacking such leadership demonstrated less concern about implanting full time Black faculty members. Nevertheless, students of Lincoln pressed the issue of representation on, forcing then President William Hallock Johnson to take some action. Finally in 1931, the university's administration "adopted a resolution committing the institution to a new policy of employing faculty personnel without regard to race or color."[5] Interestingly, this demand to hire Black faculty at Lincoln came not only from African-American students, but from African migrants students as well.

Nnamdi Azikiwe attending Lincoln at this time, pointed out the lack of full time Black educators at Lincoln. Unknowing of the long history for demanding black educators, he claimed "when the effects of the New Negro movement began to be felt in our campus, some radical students…began to ask embarrassing questions-why the oldest Negro university in the United States did not have one Negro professor, but many Negro instructors." While Azikiwe's statement that the impetus for this change came from the New Negro movement omits the long history of demanding representation from Lincoln

[4] Bond, *Education for Freedom: A History of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania*, 332.
[5] Bond, *Education for Freedom: A History of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania*, 394.

students and alumni, it also demonstrates the growth of Black criticism on Black education institutions being operated by white people. One can note the importance of Azikiwe, and other Black students protest for more representation as it signifies the growth of Pan-Africanism on the Lincoln campus. The idea that African students like Azikiwe would voice support for his African American peers illustrates the growing bond of solidarity made available by a location that allowed Africans to study with African Americans.

The students protests and demand ultimately led to the hiring of John Newton in 1932, an alumnus of the class of 1920.[6] Azikiwe also recounted the success of the protest lauding the fact that Lincoln University adapted "its recruitment policy so that professors and instructors were engaged strictly on merit, irrespective of the racial identity of the candidates."[7] Compared to Howard University, this may seem insignificant since it already employed a number of full-time Black faculty members and had a Black president, but such a change was fundamental to Lincoln as it paved the way for the hiring of more Black academics into full time positions.

The courses Lincoln University offered and the education it provided also became a point of discussion in the 1930s. The view on what should be taught to Black Americans on college campus dates back to the philosophical divergence between W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington.[8] A visit by Booker T. Washington in 1909 seemed to convince members of the administration that the university may benefit by

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[6] Bond, *Education for Freedom: A History of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania*, 394.
[7] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey*: *An Autobiography (*New York: Praeger Publishers, 1980), 153.
[8] Booker T. Washington, known for establishing the Tuskegee institute promoted technical training over that of a liberal arts education. W.E.B Du Bois later criticized Washington and his Atlanta Compromise for such a view. Du Bois believed that an academic education would suit better for Black Americans.

adopting some of Washington's ideas. By 1910, administration of Lincoln University decided to introduce a Bachelor of Science in Agriculture. The 1910 catalogue indicated that missionaries may benefit from such an education stating "Our theological graduates are also called in most cases not only to act as missionaries in rural districts, but also to teach school. It would greatly enhance their usefulness as well as help solve the question of self-support…The signs point to an increasing demand for men to labor among the uncivilized tribes of Africa."[9] That Lincoln theological students could benefit from taking agricultural courses illustrates the University's ideological support for Booker T. Washington.

The idea that missionaries would benefit from learning agricultural studies so they could better convert Africans, indicates the archaic and racialized view of education many white academics of the early twentieth century had. Although Lincoln University's educational programs originally geared more toward theology as the institution grew more it added more schools, studies, and programs.

True Lincoln did have an agricultural program, but it did offer liberal arts courses as well. The university provided courses in Greek, Latin, Literature, Mathematics, Philosophy, Science and others that most other universities of the time held. The university even offered course on Black history, although it did not appear until Azikiwe would teach it 1934. There had however been an effort to introduce a Black studies program as early as 1873. In fact, the professor of sacred rhetoric, William E. Dodge, received a letter from William Tracy, a member of the New York Colonization society,

[9] "Catalogue of Lincoln University Fifty-Sixth Year. 1910-1911," 15, Lincoln University digital archives, accessed November 17, 2022, https://www.lincoln.edu/sites/default/files/library/specialcollections/CATALOGUES/1910-11.pdf.

suggesting "that Lincoln establish a department of African studies." Tracy suggested to Dodge that Edward Wilmont Blyden[10], one of the earliest Pan-Africanist thinkers, should lead this department. In his letter to Dodge, Tracy stated "I would like to suggest that Edward W. Blyden, …shall be placed at one or both of the institutions (i.e. Lincoln or Howard) to not only prepare young men to become Christian teachers to the people(Africans) I have mentioned, but arouse in the two institutions an interest in the work of African Colonization."[11] Tracy's choice of Blyden to lead this department is based on perpetuating a white Christian education focusing more so on conversion of African natives. It is likely the case that Tracy thought there could be a greater success of converting African natives if Black Americans learned more about Africans from an African educator. The focus of such classes geared toward perpetuating colonial systems in Africa. However, this 'Christian' based Black studies program never came to fruition.

Through the agency of Azikiwe, Nkrumah, and other African students, Lincoln's educational courses promoted courses on the humanities. The introduction and popularization of Black history courses and studies changed Lincoln during the 1930s. Azikiwe proved instrumental in establishing the first Black history course offered at Lincoln dedicated entirely to the study of Black peoples exclusively. After graduating, Azikiwe received a full-time instructor position in the fall semester of 1933. Azikiwe stated that he had to cover for other professors on "sabbatical leave" allowing him to teach classes for the history department. Here he "offered general courses in ancient,

[10] Edward Wilmont Blyden is often considered the grandfather of Pan-Africanism. He grew up in Liberia, constantly traveled to the United States. He was given two degrees from Lincoln University, a D.D in 1874 and a LL. D in 1880. See Bond, *Education for Freedom: A History of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania*, 494.

[11] William Tracy to William E. Dodge, August 12, 1873. Quoted from Bond, *Education for Freedom*, 495.

Medieval, Modern, English and African history."[12] The 1933-1934 Lincoln university college catalogue does confirm that Azikiwe taught the course previously stated. Furthermore, it reveals the class description for African history and states:

> this course, conducted by lectures, class reports and discussions, considers first the anthropological and ethnological backgrounds of the negroes; second the part played by the negorid races in Egypt, Nubia, Ethiopia, India, and Arabia; third the role of the Negroid in medieval times in Songhai, Ghanna, Melle, etc; and fourth, the contemporary Negro in Africa the West Indies Latin America and the United States.[13]

What's striking about this class description is that it seems to clearly borrow from his research done from Howard under Hansberry. For Azikiwe's African history class he "prepared a syllabus for African history and demonstrated the rich literature that was available for this field." Azikiwe incorporated academics like Hansberry, Carter G. Woodson, W.H. Ferris, and J.A Rodgers. Interestingly, Azikiwe even had Hansberry come to Lincoln University and provide a lecture on "African Historiography from Ancient to contemporary Times."[14] Marika Sherwood argued that Azikiwe invited Hansberry to give this lecture at Lincoln to "convince the philistine white staff of the existence, and importance, of ancient African history."[15] Perhaps Azikiwe invited Hansberry to give this lecture, to not only educate the Black student population but also his predominantly white faculty members about the importance of African history and Black educators.

What is also thought provoking about the class description in the 1933-34 catalogue is the class focus on discussing the contemporary status of Black people; not

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[12] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey*: *An Autobiography*, 157.
[13] "Lincoln University Herald: Catalogue for the Number year 1933-1934," 34, Lincoln University digital archives, accessed Nov 17, 2022, https://www.lincoln.edu/sites/default/files/library/specialcollections/catalogueissues/1934.pdf 46.
[14] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey*: *An Autobiography*, 157.
[15] Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad: 1935*-1947, 29.

just in Africa but in the United States and the Caribbean as well. Perhaps this is indication of Azikiwe's budding Pan-Africanist beliefs, shaped in part by his time studying at Storer, Howard and Lincoln and by his experiences living and working among African Americans in the United States.

Following Azikiwe's time as an instructor, Lincoln university did continue to provide course on Black history and even had visits by eminent Black scholars. The 1936 University catalogue lists Professor W.T.V Fontaine as the instructor for History of the Negro in Africa and America.[16] Furthermore, the university hosted a number of prominent Black scholars to provide lectures on campus. Alain Locke came to the University in 1935 to deliver a series of lectures on Nego history. Records indicate that Locke came to Lincoln "through the concerted efforts of the Y.M.C.A, Professor James N. Hill, and Professor W.T. V. Fontaine." Locke's first lecture dealt with "African art, its interpretation, and the African background of the American Negro. Within this first lecture Locke seemingly professed the importance of his New Negro ideology. It is recorded he stated African art:

> has been until recently disparaged, now it is being glorified. A scientific sanity is coming into the picture. We need to think of its roots, to consider ourselves, as springing off from slavery, starts us off at a disadvantage. This misconception has brought about unsound racial inflation. We should not inflate ourselves as this unsoundness is apt to bring about a superiority complex. [17]

Locke's insistence on paying closer attention to African art and history prior to the slave trade reflects his attitude on the New Negro; that is to use the ancient history of people of African descent, to help redefine their new place in the world while dismantling negative

[16] "Lincoln University Herald: Catalogue Number 1935-1936," 34.
[17] All quotes in this paragraph taken from "Dr. Alain Locke Presents Cultural Lectures" in The Lincolnian, March 5, 1936.

stereotypes raised by racist academic paradigms. His first lecture on African art is important as it reflects how Locke spread the word of the New Negro movement on the Lincoln campus by raising thought provoking points on the importance of African history.[18]

Had the students of Lincoln been inspired by the New Negro movement to continue to call for reform at Lincoln? As the years followed from the initial demand to hire Black instructors in 1931, Lincoln University students, both African and African American called on more reforms to be implemented in the university. By the 1940s, many students even criticized the university for not being democratic enough. The student body displayed disappointment with the way in which the administration conducted itself. A poll taken by students in 1941 revealed that 92 % of students polled, felt "dissatisfaction with the existing state of democracy" on the Lincoln campus. Furthermore, the same poll found that "83% favored open elections of public organs." [19]

If the polls on dissatisfaction with the university are true, how then could Lincoln intellectually shape its African migrant students' thoughts on decolonization? The answer is that, by studying at Lincoln, African migrant students had been exposed to the plights that African Americans faced obturating the color line. African migrants view of Pan-Africanism grew as a result of learning the struggles they shared with African Americans. Furthermore, learning on a cosmopolitan campus, they could connect with other African students from all regions of their home continent, building a sense of shared camaraderie among them. In a way the second curriculum for African migrant students came more so

[18] "The Lincoln University Bulletin 1935-136." This bulletin list Locke as a lecturer for this year. According to the bulletin the name of this lecture was simply titled Negro Art.
[19] All quotes in this paragraph appear in I.N. Perry "Poll Returns Indicate Students Favor Reorganizing Program" *The Lincolnian*, March 25, 1941.

from learning with one another and their African American peers, than it did with their professors.

Lincoln's Second Curriculum

To understand how Lincoln shaped African migrant students' views on Pan-Africanism and decolonization one must better understand their experiences as students. Azikiwe is one of the most documented African students that attended Lincoln University in the early twentieth century. Azikiwe's time at Lincoln is documented less in his autobiography than that of Howard yet, there is ample written about him and by him found in *The Lincolnian*, the school newspaper of the university.[20]

Attending Lincoln provided Azikiwe with opportunities to connect with and hear influential Black thinkers of the time. Even as Azikiwe started his first semester at Lincoln he continued to demonstrate interest in the study of Black history. The October issue of the *Lincoln News*, listed Azikiwe as one of the selected students set to represent Lincoln University at an upcoming interracial conference sponsored by the American International Peace Committee held in Philadelphia in 1930. Both Carter G. Woodson

[20]Bond, *Education for Freedom: A History of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania* 488-500. Although Azikiwe writes more about his professors and experiences at Howard than he does at Lincoln, Bond points out that "Azikiwe wrote to Lincoln in May 1928, explaining frankly he had entered Howard university 'just to save a possible deportation'; but his real desire was to enter Lincoln in September of that year." Bond goes on to point out that Azikiwe wrote that at Lincoln he could "forward his ambition 'to be an educator, to minister to the needs of Africa, for on the whole it is a religious education that will hasten the emancipation of Africa from the quagmire f ignorance and superstition.'" This quote seems to contradict Azikiwe's statements about his interest in college. In his autobiography he repeatedly states he was interested in Journalism, and his writing with college newspapers, and *The Crisis*, seem to verify this. Nevertheless, Bond citing a letter to the registrar notes that Azikiwe spoke poorly of Howard stating he was "sadly disappointed at the lack of humanitarian feeling engendered by the teachers. There is no contact. The relation between teacher and student is purely academic." 499-500. Based on Azikiwe's appreciation of Locke and Hansberry, Azikiwe may have been writing this to appease the readers of his application. He had not enough funds to attend Howard for a final year, so it seems likely his harsh words on Howard were written with a motive in mind. See also Correspondence, Azikiwe to the Registrar, May 15, 1928, Lincoln University Registrar files.

and W.E.B. Du Bois listed as key note speakers for this conference. The conference discussed concerns around "Teaching of History in colored schools."[21] The fact that Azikiwe would teach history course in the years following his attendance to this conference may suggest that Azikiwe took into consideration the intellectual ideas of Du Bois and Woodson.

Even more is written about Azikiwe by *The Lincolnian*. In fact Azikiwe was the headline of the November 1933 issue lauding him for winning a book review contest sponsored by the Journal of Negro History. Even more interesting than Azikiwe winning this contest is the fact that one of the judges grading this contest was Carter G.Woodson, the very founder of the journal. This helps establish that Azikiwe's name had been known among Woodson at this time. The issue also states that Azikiwe "has been writing for the journal since 1929, during which time he has published numerous articles involving a variety of topics; some on Liberia, Ethics of Colonial Imperialism, and many others."[22] Not only does this entry illustrate Azikiwe's involvement with a prominent Black historical paper, but also illustrates his dedication to journalism throughout his time from attending Howard to attending Lincoln. The *Lincolnian* mentions Azikiwe had always kept an interest in journalism through his college careers. He submitted to *The Hilltop*, some years before while attending Howard, but seems to have taken a more active role in submitting materials to be printed in the Lincoln newspaper. His writings encompassed a

[21] All quotes in this paragraph taken from "Dr. Labaree Heads Lincoln Delegation to Philia Confab," *Lincoln News*, October 1, 1930, 26

[22] All quotes in this paragraph taken from "Book Review is Selected: Instructor Awarded" in *The Lincolnian*, Friday November 3, 1933.

variety of topics. For example, in November of 1933 he submitted a book review critiquing C.H. Maxwell's *Adventures of The White Girl in Search of Her God*.[23]

In his autobiography Azikiwe mentions few professors and faculty members like the Dean George Johnson(Azikiwe's advisor in Philosophy for his graduate degree), and John Newton(the first full time black professor at Lincoln) but does not explain in great detail the relationships he built with the members of Lincoln university, at least compared to Howard University. Azikiwe's omission on speaking in greater detail about his time at Lincoln could suggest a weaker tie to the second curriculum at Lincoln. A majority of the faculty at Lincoln were white. This fact could have made the personal bonds of friendship between Azikiwe and his professors feebler than the professors he had at Howard. Interestingly, Azikiwe spends more time discussing his time as an instructor at Lincoln University, than he does talking about the faculty itself. Azikiwe alleges that he originally worked as a part time instructor under Professor Walter Livingston Wright and Professor Robert Fleming Labaree.[24] Documentation of both Labaree[25] and Wright[26] exists through and several alumni who noted the impact these educators had. Bond argues that "Azikiwe found Professor Labaree's course in Race Relations particularly illuminating."[27] Wright seems to have been popular among students as well. One student said of him "Professor Wright was one of us." Later Lincoln president Horace Bond

[23] All quotes in this paragraph taken from Nnamdi Azikiwe "Book Review" *The Lincolnian*, Friday November 3, 1933.
[24] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey*: *An Autobiography*, 155.
[25] Professor Robert M. Labaree was a professor of Sociology at Lincoln.
[26] Walter L. Wright acted as Interim president of the university in from 1924-1926. He continued to serve teaching at Lincoln until 1946.
[27] Bond, *Education for Freedom: A History of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania*, 500.

stated, “the oldest and the youngest alumnus who knew Walter L. Wright, loved him and was a better man for having known him.”[28]

Other African students’ views on race, Pan-Africanism, and education were shaped by their time spent learning at Lincoln University. Kwame Nkrumah, Ako, Adjei, K.O. Mbadiwe, Nwafor Orizu, and K.A.B Jones-Quartey all attended Lincoln university some years after Azikiwe. Inspired by Azikiwe, each of them traveled across the Atlantic Ocean in hopes of obtaining an education in the United States. Yet at Lincoln, they each had differing experiences. Some chose to stay at Lincoln and pursue an education there, while several others decided to study elsewhere.

Kwame Nkrumah decided to complete his education at Lincoln University. Nkrumah’s education at Lincoln worked to shape much of his ideological beliefs. Nkrumah enrolled at Lincoln University in 1935. He started the semester later than most students as he had troubles first coming to the United States. Nevertheless, he excelled as a student at Lincoln. Nkrumah’s transcripts demonstrate that he had taken Education, History, Economics, and Sociology, classes while at Lincoln University.[29]

While in his undergraduate career at Lincoln, Nkrumah befriended, Dean George Johnson, Azikiwe’s old professor and advisor for his Masters degree, who taught Theology and Philosophy at Lincoln. Dr. Johnson recognized great potential in Nkrumah going as far as recommending Nkrumah for a teaching position, after he received his bachelors. Johnson also encouraged Nkrumah to continue his education at Lincoln through attending the schools seminary. Nkrumah listened to his advice and enrolled in

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[28] Bond, *Education for Freedom: A History of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania*, 405.
[29] 1943. Kwame Nkrumah (1912-1972), M.S. in Educa. 1942, A.M. 1943, transcript for the University of Pennsylvania, 1941-1943, Digital Images. Place: UPF 1.9 AR, Alumni Records Collection, accessed November 17, 2022, https://library.artstor.org/asset/SS7732016_7732016_12443198.

the "Lincoln Theological Seminary."[30]It is apparent that Nkrumah had a good relationship with the Dean of Lincoln university. Nkrumah stated, "the offer of a place in Lincoln University Theology Seminar from Dean Johnson" prevented his "possible deportation."[31]

Nkrumah's time spent studying with the professors of Lincoln further sparked his interest in politics and the study of political science. Nkrumah's former English professor, J. Newton Hill, pointed out that Nkrumah "was always headed towards political science."[32] Professor John A. Davis recalled that "Nkrumah interest in politics developed when he was at Philadelphia."[33] Nkrumah's interest in studying political science at Lincoln manifested into his involvement in political clubs and forums held on and off the Lincoln campus. s

Nkrumah joined a number of pro-Black organizations and attended pro-Black meetings on campus. For example, he attended and participated in a "meeting called by Negro students." This meeting became a conference titled "The Status of the Negro in Fighting for Democracy." Nkrumah was "asked to sit on the platform, from where he made a statement." [34] His involvement in Pan-African and pro-Black discussions took place in organizations off campus as well. For example, Nkrumah joined the Philadelphia's Pyramid Club, the honor society Phi Beta Sigma, and became a member of the "UNIA's 21st Division."[35] Each of these organizations aimed to promote Black power and success. For example, the Philadelphia Pyramid club, a posh Black owned

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[30] Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, (New York: Nelson, 1957), 31-33.
[31] Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad: 1935-1947*, 49.
[32] Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad: 1935-1947*, 33.
[33] Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad: 1935-1947*, 78.
[34] Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad: 1935-1947*, 77-78.
[35] Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad: 1935-1947*, 77-79.

organization promoted the study and appreciation of African American peoples and culture. Phi Beta Sigma, an honor society that first started at Howard university, offered community outreach services and held discussions of the importance of Black wealth. Likewise, the UNIA or the Universal Negro Improvement Association, originally organized under Marcus Garvey, worked to unify Black nationalists across the world. Such organizations became popular places of attendance not just for Nkrumah but other African students at Lincoln.

Lincoln University also provided Nkrumah with the opportunity to meet and conspire with African students from Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and other areas of British West Africa. At Lincoln Nkrumah befriended African students like K.A.B Jones-Quartey, Asuogo Udo Idiong, Abdul Karim Disu, Ako Adjei, Nwankwo Chukwuemeka, Okechukwu Ikejiani, Mbonu Ojikke, Julius Okala, Nwafor Orizu and Willie Fitzjohn. It is reported that Nkrumah's own room "became a meeting point for Gold Coast and other students at Lincoln University."[36] Each of these students, dreamed of an independent Africa. Lincoln University offered them the location to envision a new Africa free from imperial control. Nkrumah's friendships with some of these individuals evolved into almost lifelong political alliances; a phenomenon that will be discussed in future chapters.

Nkrumah like Azikiwe before him, also taught at Lincoln. Records indicate that Nkrumah was popular among students. In 1945, he won the "outstanding professor award." *The Lincolnian*, remarked that Nkrumah "won the award by unanimous vote which is sufficient and adequate testimony to the work he has performed during the past

[36] Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad: 1935-1947*, 55.

year."[37] Which class or classes had Nkrumah taught so well to allow him to win this award? It may have been either, or both classes he taught in philosophy or Negro history.

How long Nkrumah taught at Lincoln is another story. While Nkrumah claimed in his biography that he taught since 1939, Sherwood has pointed out that "there is no evidence to substantiate Nkrumah's claim that in his autobiography that he was at this time 'a full instructor in philosophy, first year Greek, and Negro history which was not even taught at that time."[38] However, Sherwood's assumption is inaccurate. Evidence does suggest that Nkrumah did teach as early as 1939. The 1939 December 3rd issue of *The Lincolnian* lists Nkrumah as an instructor of Philosophy.[39] Furthermore, it seems that Sherwood may have not known that Azikiwe had taught a Black history class less than a decade earlier. There is evidence that Nkrumah did teach a Black history class, but it is in the years 1944-1945, not 1939. The 1944 Lincoln catalogue lists Nkrumah as an instructor in both philosophy and Negro history. Interestingly, Nkrumah is the first Black professor to teach this topic since Azikiwe first taught it in the 1930s(Professor Fontatine taught it after Azikiwe). Unsurprisingly, Nkrumah's course description for his Negro history class bears a striking resemblance to Azikiwe's.[40]

The fact that Nkrumah is the first Black professor to teach a Black history class since Azikiwe indicates the agency of African migrant students to turn Lincoln

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[37] All quotes in this paragraph taken from, "Lincoln Honors Five Seniors" *The Lincolnian*, June 4, 1945.
[38] Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad: 1935-1947*, 55.
[39] "Student Instructors" in *The Lincolnian*, December 13th, 1939.
[40] "The Lincoln University Bulletin: Catalogue number 1944-1945," Lincoln University Digital Archive5, accessed Nov 17, 2022, https://www.lincoln.edu/sites/default/files/library/specialcollections/CATALOGUES/1944-45.pdf. Nkrumah's Negro History class description states "This course considers and evaluates the anthropological and ethnological backgrounds of the Negro and his position in ancient medieval and modern times. Factual representations are presented on the record of the negro in history. Lectures class reports and discussions are conducted." Found on page 40 of the 1944-1945 bulletin.

University into an institution that promoted diversity and the study of Black peoples. While Lincoln may have provided African migrant students with standard academic knowledge of politics, history, sociology, economics, etc., it appears that some of them, namely, Nkrumah and Azikiwe, provided Lincoln with its earliest courses on Black history; it is ironic that African migrants students attended an American HBCU, and ended up educating African American students of Lincoln about Black history. Other African migrant students who attended Lincoln, also shaped the university in their own way.

K.A.B. Jones-Quartey (originally known as H.A.B Jones-Quartey)[41] learned a great deal from studying at Lincoln and participating in political and social events on the Lincoln campus. His actions are spoke of and depicted best through his involvement with the campus newspaper. Jones-Quartey regularly wrote for *The Lincolnian*. Why had Jones-Quartey pursued this responsibility? Perhaps he chose to write for the university newspaper because his mentor did before him. Perhaps he realized that it could provide him continued experience writing for a newspaper, like when he worked for Azikiwe back in Nigeria. Whatever the reason, Jones-Quartey name and picture is placed periodically throughout issues of *The Lincolnian*, sometimes documenting what he and other students did, other times his own words reflecting on the important events happening on the Lincoln campus.

Jones-Quartey seems to have played an active role on campus and even worked and interacted with the student body. In March of 1941, Jones-Quartey participated in a

[41] The records that indicate K.A.B Jones-Quartey coming to the United States and attending university both list H.A.B Jones-Quartey. It seems that Jones-Quartey changes his name sometime after coming back to Nigeria. This is not rare, as Azikiwe even considered dropping his western name Benjamin.

discussion held between the student body and the university faculty. Many of the student body felt that the university on a whole did not recognize internal problems within the university; mainly that many of the students felt unheard. Therefore, students of Lincoln organized the "You + Democracy program," which intended to promote better student representation through encouraging reforms to make Lincoln more democratic. One student, Roy Nicholas the main speaker of the event, stated that Lincoln was "not conscious of the problems in and on the campus and that he hoped that a general campus awakening to democracy and the remarkably easy learning and living on the college campus; hence into everyday life and then into the meshes of government." More than attend this meeting between students and faculty, Jones-Quartey delivered the opening prayer and provided opening comments. It is reported that he "outlined the idea of democracy and the value of practicing it on Negro campuses." In addition, Jones Quartey stated that "the democratic way of life was the only way for America and any nation desiring to remain free."[42]

Jones-Quartey's involvement with the You + Democracy program sheds light on how involved he became in the college campus's affairs when he attended as a student. Had his time studying at Lincoln, and his experiences living in colonial Nigeria, augmented his belief in democracy? One can certainly argue that working with his fellow students, Jones-Quartey's disposition on democracy sharpened. But this is just one instance that illustrates Jones-Quatety's involvement in university affairs.

A series of talks held on campus dubbed the chapel talks, ushered in calls to action by both African and African American students. Jones-Quartey along with another

[42] All quotes in this paragraph taken from "Lincoln Not Conscious of Campus Problems" in *The Lincolnian*, March 10,1941.

student Jesse Gloster, [43] a student of the class of 1941 and editor in chief of *The Lincolnian* led one chapel talk in March of 1941. Jones-Quartey fought back against the non-democratic practices of Lincoln that many of his peers had grew concerned with. For one, the university newspaper itself became a topic of debate. Many students thought that *The Lincolnian* had been overlooked by faculty. Concern grew among students that the faculty members had and could censor the paper and remove any editorial that it saw fit. Jones-Quartey provided an answer to the "allegation that student publication is subject to administrative censorship." He argued in opposition to such claims and stated "*The Lincolnian* is a paper of the students, by the students, and for the students" and that "no faculty member or member of the administration sees the paper until it has been printed and distributed." Arguably, the larger fear held by the Lincoln students centered more so around the publication of Black newspapers and the call to provide better representation to them. Jesse Gloster, stated "In order to overcome its handicaps, the Negro press must become affiliated with the far flung press associations, and it must have better representation in the press box of congress and in the press conferences of the president."[44] Jones-Quartey and Gloster working relationship illustrate a small yet important wave of Pan-Africanism growing on the Lincoln campus. Both men worked with the university newspaper and used it to shed light on topics affecting not just the university, but the inequalities faced by Black people around the world. They were concerned with the lack of democracy on campus and recognized the importance of representation of Black voices.

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[43] Jesse Gloster is a Lincoln Alumni and the was the editor in chief of The Lincolnian. He eventually graduated from Lincoln and wound up starting a successful career teaching economics at Tennessee State University in Nashville.

[44] Perry, "Poll Returns Indicate Students Favor Reorganizing Program" *The Lincolnian*, March 25, 1941.

At Lincoln many African students began to understand the conflicts among Black American intellectuals, particularly that of the debate of obtaining equality. Jones-Quartey for example, illustrated his knowledge of the intellectual disagreements between W.E.B Du Bois and Booker T. Washington in a book review he wrote for *The Lincolnian*, critiquing Du Bois's book *Dusk of Dawn*. Jones-Quartey noted "he clashed with the great 'Booker T', upon the question whether we shall emancipate the Negro through a submissive 'flight of class from the mass in wealth,' as Washington advocated; or by a 'flight of class from the mass through the development of a talented tenth,' which was the panacea that he himself offered against Washington's." Jones-Quartey points out to that Du Bois's viewpoint for African American emancipation, adapted to include a stronger reliance on economics. He noted that Du Bois:

> decided that the solution of the Negro problem was not to be attained by so simple a process as the creation of a Negro aristocracy of talent and for a number of years now he has advocated unity of mass and class built upon a foundation of sound economics in this the Negro's part for the present should be the segregated economy embracing our money, education, health and medical services, the law, etc. [45]

In other words, Jones-Quartey well understood the progression and adaptations of Du Bois's thoughts on Black liberation and noted how they changed from his earlier years of activity. More importantly, Jones-Quartey's decision to critique Du Bois's work illustrates how African migrant students actively read the literature of eminent American Pan-Africanists. By doing so they came to realize that the Negro problem in the United States, was similar if not the same as the imperial problem in Africa.

[45] All quotes from this paragraph are taken from Jones Quartey "Book Review: Dusk of Dawn" in *The Lincolnian*, December 17, 1940.

Lincoln University also offered African migrant students a unique networking community through the availability of honor societies and fraternities. Interestingly a number of these African migrant students decided to join Phi Beta Sigma, a fraternity that existed among several HBCUs. At Lincoln, Azikiwe, Nkrumah, and K.A.B Jones-Quartey all decided to join Phi Beta Sigma and become 'sigma men'. Why did they join this fraternity? For one, Nkrumah, Jones-Quartey, and Azikiwe could have found inspiration from the fraternity's history of promoting Black peoples. Azikiwe stated "one aspect of culture with which the fraternity was concerned was business as it affected the Negro in America. Annually it celebrated a 'Bigger and Better Negro Business' week in all its chapters in colleges, universities and cities of the United States, emphasizing the need for Negroes to establish business on a large scale."[46] Seeing the work that Phi Beta Sigma did to promote the livelihood of African Americans may have inspired them to participate in such altruism. It is possible that they also found joining Phi Beta Sigma attractive because of the distinguished African Americans who also belonged to the fraternity. Azikiwe notes that Robert Russa Morton, George Washington Carver, James Weldon Johnson, Dr. Alain Locke, Monroe N. Work, and Albion Holsey, were all Sigma men. [47] In other words, Phi Beta Sigma could intellectually link African migrant members to prestigious African American intellectuals, further building a sense of Pan-African unity. It is possible that both Nkrumah and Jones-Quartey could have come under the influence of Locke as he remained an active member of Phi Beta Sigma. For example, In 1938, the honor society sponsored Locke to deliver an address as part of its "educational

[46] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey*: *An Autobiography*, 134.
[47] Azikiwe, *My Odyssey*: *An Autobiography*, 134-135.

observance program."[48] Given that Jones-Quartey and Nkrumah studied at Lincoln during this time, and the fact that they both belonged to the fraternity, it is possible that they attended this event.

(Figure 2: Phi Beta Sigma 1941 Yearbook photo)[49]

Jones- Quartey's exposure to the second curriculum is revealed more so by his involvement with Phi Beta Sigma than his peers. Phi Beta Sigma was a prestigious and coveted Honor society sought after by many students of Lincoln. Azikiwe and Nkrumah both became members and Jones-Quartey also followed suit. This honor society was known for promoting Pro-Black events on campus which worked to reinforce notions of

[48] All quotes in this paragraph taken from "Dr. Alain Locke on Sigma Program" in *The Lincolnian,* December 17, 1938.
[49] Taken from Lincoln University, *The Lion: Lincoln yearbook,* (Oxford, PA: 1941), 56, Lincoln University Digital Archives, accessed Nov 7, 2022, https://www.lincoln.edu/_files/langston-hughes-memoriallibrary/Lincoln%20University%20Yearbooks/Yearbook_1941.pdf.
Jones-Quartey is seated on the left-hand side of the photo. He is the second to the right side of the couch.

Pan-Africanism. Phi Beta Sigma did not exclude Africans from attending and encouraged them to serve in meetings and events. Jones-Quartey's time studying at Lincoln and his exposure to Phi Beta Sigma, augmented his views on democracy because when he returned to Nigeria, he promoted calls for liberation.

Jones-Quartey's exposure to the second curriculum also came through his time spent working on the college yearbook. In fact, by his senior year, he became of editor the yearbook. Aware of it or not, by being the editor of the Lincoln University yearbook, Jones-Quartey position involved him with the preservation of Black history. He likely made decisions on what quotes, pictures, and format to use to hand down the history of his school. Jones-Quartey's active involvement in Lincoln, from being involved with the newspaper to the yearbook illustrates his dedication to the university.[50] . Jones-Quartey studied at Lincoln until 1942, when he obtained his Bachelor of Arts.[51]

While Azikiwe, Nkrumah, and Jones-Quartey recalled their time with Lincoln as beneficial, other African students like Mbadiwe, Orizu, and Ojike did not share such optimism. They decided to leave Lincoln after just a couple of semesters. However, Lincoln in some ways did help shape their views on education and Pan-Africanism. They met several professors who inspired them and more importantly befriended one another. The friendship they formed with one another at Lincoln became the basis for their political cooperation and Pan-African activity in the United States and Africa in the years that followed.

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[50] All quotes in this paragraph taken from "Lion near Ready for distribution" in *The Lincolnian*, Friday April 29, 1942.

[51] "The Lincoln University Catalogue 1942-1943," Lincoln University Digital Archives, accessed Nov 17,2022, https://www.lincoln.edu/_files/langston-hughes-memorial-library/Lincoln%20University%20Bulletin/1942-43.pdf.

K.O. Mbadiwe's exposure to Lincoln's influential second curriculum also shaped his ideological beliefs. The faculty and course he took at Lincoln incited further interest in Pan-Africanism. It is reported that Mbadiwe formed a strong friendship with Professor Frank Wilson, who taught theology and philosophy. While studying at Lincoln Mbadiwe "took courses mainly in the humanities and, overall, did moderately well." Mbadiwe received the best grades in courses on "political theory, public speaking, and race relations." [52] His classes on political theory and public speaking sharpened his ability to debate and prepared the way for his later career in politics. As will be discussed in chapter 6, Mbadiwe was an important figure in Nigerian independence and often voiced his opinion despite the political consequences.

Like Nkrumah, Mbadiwe took interest in attending groups promoting Black solidarity. He also spoke at the Philadelphia Pyramid club alongside Nkrumah. While it is unknown who discovered this organization first, their friendship made from meeting on Lincoln manifested into activism with the Pyramid club. The fact that African migrant students came to speak at an African American club regarding the social, economic, and cultural aspects of African American life illustrates a shared sense of solidarity that these Africans migrant students had started to better understand with African Americans.[53]Despite his participation in such organizations, Mbadiwe left Lincoln.

Nwafor Orizu at first demonstrated great optimism in coming to Lincoln. He garnered the attention of *The Lincolnian*, upon his arrival at Lincoln. The newspaper interviewed him on his life and reasons for choosing Lincoln. Unsurprisingly he

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[52] Hollis R Lynch, *K.O. Mbadiwe: A Nigerian Political Biography 1915-1990* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013),27 -29. Professor Wilson was another Black faculty member who had been hired shortly after Professor John Newton. Wilson helped oversee the University's YMCA Cabinet.
[53] Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad: 1935-1947*, 77-78.

mentioned Azikiwe as one of the main influences on his decision but also noted his decision came "from reports of the works of other Lincoln Alumni who held responsible positions in West Africa, he concluded that Lincoln produces men who have sufficient individualism to stand on their own feet and sufficient courage to fight for their convictions." The paper also explained that Orizu had intended to study "commerce and political economy."[54] Despite such claims and admirations of the University, he also left after a just year of attendance.

Mbonu Ojike notes of some positive experiences at Lincoln that exposed him through significant friendship with faculty and staff members of the university. His friendship with a librarian at Lincoln and her husband, a biology instructor, is mentioned in one of his autobiographies. However, he only names the husband, Professor Williams in his book *I Have Two Countries*. This professor is most likely professor Joseph Leroy Williams an assistant professor of biology and chemistry that taught Lincoln when he studied there. While Ojike forsakes the librarian's name, he recalled how she invited him to her home to have dinner with her and her husband. Ojike "liked the couple so much that often when he (I) visited them he (I) usually stayed long." He noted how they "showed keen interest to learn what he (I) could tell them about Nigeria." Ojike may have formed more friendships with faculty besides Professor Williams as he recalls that "a Lincoln professor" had gifted him a radio in April of his first year at Lincoln. [55] The fact

[54] All quotes in this paragraph taken from "African Chief Elect Enrolls at Lincoln U" in *The Lincolnian*, Thursday, June 01, 1939.

[55] Mbonu Ojike, *I have Two Countries* (New York: The John Day Company,1947), 14-26. This professor is most likely Joseph Leroy Williams, an assistant professor of Biology and Chemistry who taught at Lincoln University. Since, Ojike just names this professor as just "Professor Williams." He does not name the librarian, but simply states she was married to a biology instructor. Ojike also noted their "surprise to read in the west African Pilot about the activities of Nigerian men and women." This fact is telling because it illustrates American readership of an African owned Newspaper medium; one founded and circulated by Azikiwe. Had Ojike introduced them to this newspaper? Or had it been readily available to them prior?

that faculty would not only give him gifts but also invite him to dinner, illustrates his connection to the second curriculum. However, Ojike also left Lincoln after attending for only one year.

Not much is known about Ako Adjei's time at Lincoln. He arrived at Lincoln in the fall semester of 1939. He "secured a scholarship to Lincoln University" for his first and only year at Lincoln. This one year studying at Lincoln still had importance. He was reported to have been on the honor roll, indicating he excelled at his classes.[56] While it is unclear if Adjei formed any substantial friendships with his professors at Lincoln he did form profound friendship with his peers. In fact, while studying at Lincoln "he forged close ties with students from other African countries, especially Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and professor K.A.B Jones-Quartey."[57] Regardless of if Adjei did or did not make friendships with professors at Lincoln, his exposure to the second curriculum came from the academic friendships he formed with his peers and fellow students.

While Jones-Quartey, Nkrumah, and Azikiwe seem to look back fondly on their years at Lincoln other African students did not as share such sentiments. Ojike grew disinterested with the structure of classes at Lincoln. He remarked on how "many courses in economics were lacking on the curriculum and classes in those offered had been filled." With limited seating Ojike recalls "repeating courses in religion which were compulsory and enrolling in two uninteresting courses because they were the only ones open." After some of his peers pulled a prank on him Ojike contacted his professor (who

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[56] All quotes in this paragraph taken from "Honor Men: 1939-1940" in *The Lincolnian*, October 7th 1940. Students that made the honor role usually were mentioned in the school newspaper. Ako's is seen under the freshman class.

[57] Aidehoohene Chinbuah, *Ghana's pride & glory: Biography of Some Eminent Ghanaian Personalities and Sir Gordon* Guggisberg (Accra, Chinbuah: 2017), 184-185.

also happened to be the Dean of men),Frank Theodore Wilson and expressed his anger with the university stating "I am being cheated I did not come all the way to America to study St. Luke's Gospel or to have cold water upon me." Ultimately, Ojike felt that Lincoln University did not possess the proper courses that could help him pursue his career goals. In his autobiography he stated:

> I began to want to study radio broadcasting and speech. This desire made me all the more bent upon leaving Lincoln for it had no course in radio. I wanted to get a law degree but not to practice law…What made me most restless was an irresistible urge to learn everything useful. I literally wished to know every branch of social science-law, government, economics, sociology, criminology, anthropology, history, psychology. I had to find a college to accept me-one that would offer all courses I liked without charging me a fortune…I was thoroughly frustrated.[58]

Such frustrations and feelings convinced Ojike to leave Lincoln university in search of other institutions that would better meet his academic needs.

Nwafor Orizu held similar feelings on Lincoln. He also felt the university lacked the necessary resources for his education goals. Orizu also left after just attending Lincoln for one year. Both Ojike and Orizu conspired about going to the Midwest to find a new university they could study at. The two of them each later enrolled at Ohio State University, where they both completed their bachelor's degrees.

For all the discussions of Black solidarity and Pan-Africanism there seems to have existed a divide between African and African American students on the Howard and Lincoln campuses. As demonstrated with Azikiwe's words on a New African, Azikiwe highlighted the differences between African students and African American students on the Howard campus. Likewise, Sherwood points out that "many of Nkurmah's classmates indicated…there were virtually two student bodies on campus; African and African American."[59]

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[58] Ojike, *I Have Two Countries*, 6-13.
[59] Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad: 1935-1947*, 34.

But perhaps these divisions are not so much political as they are social. African migrant students tended to be older and therefore more mature than their African American peers. African students at Lincoln and Howard could have been put off by the hazing culture pushed forward by rowdy college students. Ojike recalled how a prank had been played on him by fellow Lincoln students. In one case a bucket of water was dropped on him soaking his entire suit while walking to class. When he confronted the Dean about this incident, he recalled the Dean stating, "all freshmen were liable to such treatments, and that it would be worse for one to resent it."[60]

Mbadiwe may have also felt like the course at Lincoln could not satisfy his educational needs. He also sought to transfer out of Lincoln after just one year studying at the college. Mbadiwe eventually transferred to New York University then later to Columbia university. Had he pursued an education at these institutions as they may have been perceived as more prestigious than Lincoln? Even if Mbadiwe, Orizu, and Ojike had not found that Lincoln had offered them what they needed academically, it provided them an environment to discuss their futures and envision a new Africa. It augmented the friendships between them and other African students. Their time spent studying at Lincoln, no matter how brief exposed them to the conditions and treatments of black Americans.

Conclusion

Lincoln University, although lacking the size and influence of Howard University's more prestigious Black faculty, still offered a cosmopolitan environment and

[60] Ojike, *I Have Two Countries*, 11. Such high jinks certainly vexed Ojike at first. But he later explains in his memoir that such jokes exposed him to American humor which he would not exchange for anything.

engaging student body which augmented African students' dispositions on black solidarity, Pan-Africanism, and decolonization. In between studying for classes and on and off campus African migrant students worked together with their African American peers to call for change to traditionally restrictive policies that the university held; finding similarity to the antiquated and constricting imperial laws back in Africa.

Azikiwe, Jones-Quartey, and Nkrumah probably expected the university to change them in some significant way; and while it did, they ironically also changed the institution as well. Azikiwe, Jones-Quartey, and Nkrumah's involvement on the Lincoln campus brought about a more inclusive and diverse environment. Azikiwe and Nkrumah's classes on Black history educated Lincoln students on the important contributions of Black peoples. Jones-Quartey actively protested against archaic policies to make the university more democratic. In essence, these students time at Lincoln foreshadowed their political careers and provided them with more knowledge and experience to practice democratic methods through protesting and reshaping institutions.

Some African migrants gained exposure to the second curriculum but were less active than Nkrumah and Jones-Quartey in the university's affairs; but that is not to say that the years spent studying for the less active students were not pivotal to their intellectual shaping. Instead, it outlines personal differences and viewpoints held by these migrant students. Ojike, Mbadiwe, Orizu, and Adjei pursued education elsewhere, but each noted in their own way some important person or experience provided to them by studying at Lincoln. The Lincoln university campus linked Ojike, Mbadiwe, Orizu, Nkrumah, and Jones-Quartey to one another and to other African students as well. It was at the Lincoln campus in Pennsylvania where Africans from different areas of west

Africa had first made friendships that later transformed into political alliances during decolonization.

While studying at Lincoln provided these students with varied experiences, there seems to be one shared reality that each of these students faced; that is understanding that the conditions Black Americans faced seemed uncomfortably like the problems Africans endured. By studying in the United States, many of these African migrant students saw firsthand the mistreatment of Black peoples as a global phenomenon. Upon seeing this, many of these students came to understand the importance of Black solidarity. Nkrumah and Mbadiwe volunteered at the Pyramid club. Ojike and others attended meetings of the UNIA. By studying in the United States, and perhaps more specially Lincoln, Azikiwe, Nkrumah, Mbadiwe, Ojike, Adjei, and Orizu belief in Pan-Africanism sharpened, and new visions of Africa manifested.

Ironically these visions were the opposite desired effect by the man who provided some funding to them at Lincoln. Thomas Jesse Jones, had used funds from the Phelps-Stokes Fund in hopes that each of these students would become preachers and farmers, rather than statements demanding for political freedom. The vision of Jones's Africa and his plan to implement it through offering African migrant students meager funds for attending college will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Thomas Jesse Jones: "The Most Advanced Agent of Negro Control"

In 1940 Mbonu Ojike sought out additional funds to cover the cost of his college tuition. He had the opportunity of petitioning the Phelps-Stokes Fund to finance his education, as it did for his mentor Nnamdi Azikiwe, some years before. Ojike recalled meeting Thomas Jesse Jones, the educational director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund while studying in America. The following conversation Ojike alleges happened in his second memoir *I have Two Countries*. Ojike stated Jones was "rather friendly and seemed to be certain that Africa needed nothing but rural education for the development of agriculture." When Ojike told him that he wanted to study economics and government, Jones "frowned." The two talked about Dr. Aggrey. Upon mentioning his name, Ojike alleges that Jones stated "'I know him. We made Aggrey. Africa lost an irreplaceable leader by his death.'" "Yes sir. But we have a new Aggrey, a better Aggrey'" Ojike responded. "Who is he?" Jones asked. "Zik the evangelist of a New Africa. He showed me the way to America. He is my hero." Then Ojike recalls "Dr. Jones got up and ran to the shelf, took some copies of the *West African Pilot* edited by Zik, flung them on the table and said 'This is your hero! He is a radical!" Ojike determined to question Jones more asked "'what's wrong with Zik?" Jones responded "'He is not a Christian leader. I don't like him anymore.'" Ojike questioned Jones "Did you like him before?" Jones responded, "When he was here in the twenties, he was a good boy; but now that he campaigns for an independent Nigeria, I dislike him." Ojike again questioned Jones, "Is he wrong to crusade for Nigerian freedom?" Jones retorted "Yes, in the way he criticizes the British colonial policies." Ojike asked further "You condone imperialism? Why

should the British rule us? Are we their slaves?" in which Jones responded "I don't approve of all British policies. I am a Welshman. But the British have done a grand job in Nigeria." Later when Ojike inquired about obtaining money for summer from the Phelps-Stokes Fund, he recalled that Jones snapped stating they "had no funds for him!" [1]

Unlike the nascent visions forming among African migrant students at Howard and Lincoln, Thomas Jesse Jones had his own vision for the future of Africa. His work with the Phelps-Stokes Fund indubitably illustrates his interest in extending education to Africans. Yet, evidence suggests that his vision did not include radical revolution and immediate liberation for Africans under colonial control. Instead, Jones's vision for Africa involved increasing agricultural education in the emerging African nations. More sources than just Ojike's alleged conversation can help confirm this. Letters of correspondence written by Jones himself illustrates his desire to produce a group of educated Africans who would disseminate his social and economic vision of Africa; A vision that stood in contrast to the many visions developing by African migrant students studying with scholarships funded by the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

Jones's educational background and upbringing sheds light on the origins and foundations of his thinking. Learning from prominent sociologists and educational thinkers of the time, Jones adopted the conceptions of race held by many academics of the time; that is scientific racism and academic works that erroneously tried to prove the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race. His work on his dissertation for Columbia university is founded upon such archaic claims. Jones attempted to get African students attending colleges in the United States to adopt such thinking.

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[1] Mbonu Ojike, *I Have Two Countries* (New York: John Day Company, 1947), 20.

Interestingly, Jones had known several of the faculty and staff members of Howard and Lincoln university, who taught incoming African migrants. His letters of correspondence between Lincoln and Howard illustrate his unique thoughts on Black peoples and education. For all of Jones's efforts to help educate Black peoples around the world, his beliefs on their roles reflected a patronizing and indifferent attitude concerning important struggles that Africans faced under colonial imperialism.

Ultimately, this chapter argues that while Thomas Jesse Jones's work with the Phelps- Stokes Fund helped Africans with funding for schooling in the United States, it was also used as a tool to reward certain African students who he believed would enact and share his vision of Africa and leave those who challenged it to fend for themselves.

Thomas Jesse Jones

Thomas Jesse Jones was born in Wales in the year 1873. Some eleven years later, Jones migrated to the United States where he spent the rest of his adolescent years. Jones had an impressive educational background attending a number of colleges before obtaining a PHD at Columbia University. Part of Jones's dissertation focused on adapting education systems in America to expunge what he considered inferior traits in minority groups. In his dissertation he wrote

> Every possible agency should be used to change the numerous foreign types into the Anglo-Saxon ideal. The impulsiveness of the Italian must be curbed. The extreme individualism of the Jew must be modified. The shiftlessness of the Irish must give way to perseverance and frugality. And all must be shown the value of the spiritual life.[2]

[2] Thomas Jesse Jones, "The Sociology of a New York City Block," Ph.D. Dissertation, (Columbia University, 1906).

Sociologists and other academics during the early twentieth century commonly held such racist and patronizing attitudes on education. Yet, Jones's exposure to this 'white man's burden'(that is the idea that Whites had the responsibility to 'civilize' non-Christian and colored peoples of the world) type thinking arguably solidified when he studied at Columbia.

At Columbia Jones came under the influence of Dr. Frank Giddings, an influential sociologist of early 20th century. In fact, "Franklin H. Giddings served as Jones' mentor and remained a profound influence on his world view throughout his life." Giddings even served as an advisor to Jones's dissertation which focused on "the congested tenements of New York where he studied 211 households and interviewed Jews, Italians, Irish and "native" Anglo-Saxon Americans, and then ranked each group according to his mentor's numerous classifications." His findings in his dissertation argued that Anglo-Saxon's consistently ranked among the highest, while every other ethnic group "fell into the lower of the four categories." [3]

Giddings interpretation of society was rooted in scientific racism. Giddings believed in the superiority of Anglo-Saxons over other races. Like many sociologists of his time, he felt that the Anglo-Saxon race needed to teach the other races how to be civilized. He even argued that extending the right to vote to Black Americans after the civil war happened to soon. A New York Times article from September 26th 1912, reports that Dr. Giddings stated "the enfranchisement of the Negro appeared to be a mistake" and that "that political rights had been a hinderance rather than a help to the Negro." His

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[3] Donald Johnson, "W.E.B. DuBois, Thomas Jesse Jones and the Struggle for Social Education, 1900-1930." *The Journal of Negro History* 85, no. 3 (2000): 71-95. doi:10.2307/2649057. The four classifications Jones put people into were "Forceful, Convivial, Austere, and Rationally Conscientious."

claims that educating or enfranchising Black peoples illustrate his apprehension of extending true equality to Black peoples. The core of Giddings assessment on denying Black peoples full equality is that he felt that a majority of Black peoples had not socially advanced enough to obtain true political equality. He admitted that Booker T. Washington, W.E.B Du Bois and other prominent Blacks who gained notoriety are "the exception" but "the mass however, has not yet reached the level where it may be trusted with political power where it may control a voting majority."[4] Jones adopted this mass stereotyping of Black peoples as he started his career in education.

As he progressed in his life of education, the pernicious view regarding racial social hierarchy he learned from Giddings intensified. By the time he finished his college education Jones believed that there existed a social hierarchy where Anglo-Saxons stood above all other ethnic groups. His time spent studying under Giddings impacted his understanding and methodology of education so fervently, that it became the basis for how he approached education at institutional levels; especially regarding the subject of race. Some scholars have argued that "adjusting school instruction to the evolutionary level of racial groups within a given school was Jones' signature assumption and formed the basis for all of his educational methodology and his organization of the content students would study." In other words, the racial background of a school's students determined how and what Jones would teach in his class.[5]

One of the best examples of Jones's view on education comes from his time spent teaching at Hampton university. At Hampton Jones introduced a new field of study called

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[4] "Race War Coming, Dr. Giddings Says. Sociologist Declares Enfranchisement of Negro was a Great Mistake," *New York Times*, Sep 26, 1912, https://www.nytimes.com/1912/09/26/archives/race-war-coming-dr-giddings-says-sociologist-declares.html.
[5] Johnson, "W.E.B. DuBois, Thomas Jesse Jones," 79.

"Social studies." This new curriculum at Hampton focused less so on historical studies and more so on teaching students (a majority of whom were Black) how to better integrate into society. Scholars have noted:

> Jones wanted all courses in his Social Studies program to socialize Negroes into the outward manners of the Anglo-Saxon Protestants…Jones thought blacks and Native Americans lacked the concept of self-sacrifice and saving, values he believed were the cornerstones of the Anglo-Saxon way of life, and he believed that his curriculum could successfully inculcate these values as well.[6]

In other words, Jones's central view on educating Black students consisted of teaching them the importance of copying and complying with perceived Anglo-Saxon behaviors of the time.

Had Jones truly wanted to help Black peoples by 'educating' them? The image of Jones based only on his educational background illustrates him in the same standing of that of his mentor; a well-educated white man who thought his work with education could improve the livelihood of Blacks around the world. Jones indifference regarding the political struggles of Blacks (both in the United States and Africa) reveals his condescension and perniciousness towards Black people's desire for equality and freedom. Jones believed that Black peoples should focus on learning trades rather than academics. His beliefs on assimilating Black peoples into what he thought as civilized society mirrored the beliefs of Booker T. Washington; that economic sustainability and ownership should be prioritized over civil rights. Even while teaching Jones promoted to his Black students the importance of Washington's person and life. In fact Jones told his students that they should see Washington "as the prime example of what they might also become."[7]

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[6] Johnson, "W.E.B. DuBois, Thomas Jesse Jones," 80.
[7] Johnson, "W.E.B. DuBois, Thomas Jesse Jones," 86.

Phelps-Stokes Fund Survey

Jones became the educational chair of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in 1913. His time as chair is best explained by his desire to implement his educational vision for Black Americans to a global level by instituting his same educational vision on to Africa. Throughout his time as chair he inured two educational surveys throughout Africa, to both assess African education systems and to encourage the adoption of western education practices in beliefs. Traveling with Kwegiry Aggrey, he complied information on the status of African education systems into a report for the Phelps-Stokes Fund called *Education in Africa; A Study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission*. This survey provides a vivid portrayal of Jones biased and often ignorant understanding of African needs for education.

Jones's findings in his educational survey concluded that only through an American or European education could Africans truly catch up to the rest of the world. He did not view Africa as unsupportable, instead viewed it as dependent on the help of other nations. Jones dissented from other scholars of the time who viewed Africa as 'the Great Dark Continent.' He argued instead that "Africa is not the 'Great Dark Continent' but the Continent of Great Misunderstandings.'" According to Jones, the stereotypes of Africa as an unpredictable and dangerous land only "defeated efforts for the developments of Africa." He believed in combatting this stereotype of Africa arguing "so long as the present misconceptions continue, it is not strange that education in Africa

should be regarded as futile."[8] Jones battled such misconceptions. For example, he stated "the most unfortunate and unfair of all the misunderstandings is to the effect that the African people do not give promise of development sufficient to warrant efforts in their behalf." He did not believe that Africa was a hopeless land filled with hopeless people. Instead, Jones argued that Africans demonstrated they could "improve" themselves through "their response to the efforts of missions, governments and commercial organizations."[9] One may point out how his statement on African improvability further signifies his belief that the advancement of African civilization stayed contingent on receiving help from Westerns. Furthermore, Jones view that the proof that Africans could improve themselves came from their response to missionary movements as he staunchly advocated for Christian education in Africa.

True Jones advocated for education for Africans and construction of more educational systems in Africa; but the type of education he desired for Africans to obtain existed under and strengthened the power of European imperial structures. In his educational survey Jones stated "the most important ends of education are the character development and religious life of the pupils. The imparting of information and the development of any skill are secondary to sound character and intelligent religious faith." In other words, Jones believed educating students so they could understand governmental and economic policies did not matter if they had not an advanced understanding of

[8] Thomas Jesse Jones, *Education in Africa; a Study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa by the African Commission, under the Auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe* (New York: The Phelps-Stokes Fund 1922), 1.
[9] Jones, *Education in Africa*, 5.

theology. Jones insistence to place studying religion over academics reflects his hesitancy for supporting the liberation of Africa from colonial control.[10]

Jones believed that Africans were not ready to govern themselves until they had civilly advanced to the same stage of human society that Europeans and Americans had. He writes "the present distribution of the African groups through the various stages of human society, whether that stage be cannibalistic, barbaric, primitive, or civilized, is a natural condition that has been almost duplicated at sometime with all civilized people."[11] While Jones recognizes that there are groups of African who are at a 'civilized' stage, he remained adamant on the discussion of African decolonization. In fact, he believed that "a hierarchical social organization with Anglo-Saxons at the top and all other standing of the lower rungs of the evolutionary ladder was genuinely 'scientific.'" Furthermore, he believed that "once those who were on the lower stages of evolution had completed their social studies curriculum they would understand that their present situation in life (manual labor) was not the result of some racial prejudice on part of the Anglo Saxons but rather was rooted in scientific realities." Ultimately, Jones believed that education could help Black peoples evolve to the stage of white peoples wherein then they could finally govern themselves, but such a feat would take time.[12]

But who would lead this education? Jones believed that the African native teacher had a large role to play in 'civilizing' and 'evolving' his peers. He admitted that "no teachers have a more important or difficult work than the native teachers of Africa" as they could become the "best representatives in all dealings with the white people."

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[10] Jones, *Education in Africa*, 27.
[11] Jones, *Education in Africa*, 5.
[12] Johnson, "W.E.B. DuBois, Thomas Jesse Jones," 80.

Relying on native Africans to be the disseminators of western education had been done in decades prior often through the works of missionary movements. By the time Jones is wrapping up his educational survey he clarified the importance of adopting aspects of secular western education. In other words, while some missionaries may have educated natives out of hopes of gaining new converts and altruism, Jones outline for education focused more so on the 'progression' of Black peoples; progression that is achieved through adopting and enacting the behaviors and actions of white peoples, whether it be economic or social. For example, Jones writes in his educational survey "in the upward struggle of a primitive race, there is need for teachers with a broad conception of educational aims. The teaching of book knowledge is only a small part of the task. There must be the development of habits for industry, thrift, perseverance, and the common virtutes so essential to successful living." [13]What place could provide such an education for natives and why did Jones state these skills could lead to a successful life?

Jones educational survey cited that institutes like Hampton and Tuskegee provided a great example for how Africans may better evolve and progress in society. Both Hampton and Tuskegee focused on providing students with an education on agricultural, labor, and trade skills. Why had Hampton and Tuskegee placed such high importance on agricultural training and handicraft education? One possible answer is that Booker T. Washington influenced both institutions. Washington worked closely with both schools and thoroughly stressed the importance of teaching manual labor. Equally important is that, as historian Andrew Zimmerman points out, "northern philanthropists supported pedagogies that placed blacks in subordinate positions in the division of labor"

[13] Jones, *Education in Africa*, 69.

especially in schools like Hampton and Tuskegee. Jones and many other northern philanthropists believed Booker T. Washington's ideology on education could answer the problems surrounding race relations.[14]

Conversely, many Black scholars of the early 20th century argued an education that focused more on trade skills than on academics, did not help to evolve Black peoples to political liberty and equality; it only worked to continue oppressive conditions. W.E.B Du Bois, founding member of the NAACP and editor of *The Crisis*, rebuked such thinking. Du Bois criticized Booker T. Washington and his ideas for education. In his book *The Souls of Black* Folk, Du Bois pointed out "there is among educated and thoughtful colored men in all parts of the land a feeling of deep regret, sorrow, and apprehension at the wide currency and ascendancy which some of Mr. Washington's theories have gained."[15] For Black scholars like Du Bois teaching trade and farming skills only went so far in the quest for equality. That criticism went beyond the United States to the maltreatment of Africans as well. Other scholars like Alain Locke and William Leo Hansberry understood that imperialism subjugated and oppressed African people's livelihoods. Du Bois, Locke, and Hansberry recognized under imperialism; Europeans worked to establish cash crops plantations throughout Africa. They were quick to point out that educating Africans on agriculture would superficially provide them labor skills but ultimately benefit imperial powers. Nevertheless, Jones argued in favor of agriculture, claiming "agricultural education is in many ways more vital to Africa than any other kind."[16]

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[14] Andrew Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, & the Globalization of the New South* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010), 47.
[15] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Digireads.com Publishing,2011), 29, Kindle.
[16] Jones, *Education in Africa*, 72.

Phelps-Stokes Funding African Students

To produce the native African teachers for adjusting African education, there needed to be resources provided to aspiring African teachers and educators. Such resources came from the Phelps-Stokes Fund, which provided money, grants, and scholarships for promising African intellectuals who wanted to study in the United States. Luckily, the Phelps-Stokes Fund records hold the scholarship awards to African migrant students who applied to study in the United States. However, it did not always act alone in securing funds for African students.

The *Minutes of the Joint Committee on Aid to the African students in the U.S.A.*, outlines the agglomeration of funds between the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the Carnegie corporation (Andrew Carnegie's Philanthropic organization), the May Esther Bedford Fund and the New York State Colonization Society.[17] Meeting in March of 1941, the four organizations discussed the process of selecting funds for international students studying in the United States. According to the minutes, this joint committee formed in to meet the demand of "the many applications for financial aid received by officers of the organizations above, from African students in the United States."[18]

The increase in applications resulted from an increase of Africans seeking a college education in the U.S(the continued result of Aggrey's and Azikiwe's advertising)

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[17] The Carnegie corporation first started by Andrew Carnegie took up a philanthropic interest throughout the 20th century. It worked with the Phelps-Stokes Fund to provide finical resources to international students.
The Mary Esther Bedford Fund- established by the wife of Dr. W Bryant Mumford an Academic who wrote works such as *From Basic to Wider English*. The couple had an interest in Africa.
The New York Colonization Society was an organization that developed in the early 1800s. Originally it focused on providing passage and aid to freed Black peoples to Liberia. As time progressed it focused on building educational institutions in Liberia.

[18] "Minutes of the Joint Committee on Aid to the African Students in the U.S.A." March 17, 1941, MG 162, Box 26 Folder 7, Phelps-Stokes Fund Records, New York Public Library, New York.

and financial constraints brought on by World War II. The latter of these two reasons concerned the Phelps-Stokes Fund more. Prior to World War II, it had been easier for the families of the African students to send over money to the United States to help support them financially. However, this soon became complicated with the Axis and Allied powers combatting for control in and around the African continent; leaving many African students in the U.S anxious about how they would cover the cost of tuition.

Before going further, it is important to note the glaring disparity between funds given to African men over African women. What accounts for this unequal distribution of funding? The difference in funding came from Jones own vision for an ideal African student. Jones and the Phelps-Stokes Fund not only allocated more money to African men, but largely recruited African men over women. There had been women that the Phelps-Stokes Fund had provided scholarships to, but most funds went to men over women. Phelps-Stokes Fund records do mention a Liberian student identified as Miss Evelyn Diggs but had not elaborated on the needs to provide her more funding compared to well detailed descriptions of the African men. Judging from the misogynistic view over women's role in higher education it is likely that Jones gave more funds to African men as they fit his vision better for constructing more farms and trades in Africa.

From 1940 to 1941 the Phelps-Stokes Fund recorded eighteen students requesting aid to cover tuition and living costs. Nine applications came from Nigerian students, three from Sierra Leonian students, two from the Gold Coast or Ghanaian, one from Uganda, and three from Liberia.[19] The amount of money provided by the Phelps-Stokes Fund and its counterparts illustrate the incredible influence these organizations had on providing

[19] "Minutes of the Joint Committee on Aid to the African Students in the U.S.A."

African students with a college education in the United States. The minutes state that "the Carnegie corporation provided $1,500; the May Bedford Fund $500, to be disbursed to an on the behalf of African students by the Phelps-Stokes Fund." The grants added to "the sum of $700 appropriated by the Phelps-Stokes Fund for the same purpose."[20]

Determining which student received funding and how much they received relied on several components. The minutes reflect the factors that determined which African migrant students eligible for aid from this joint commission. Such factors that could affect funding are amount of debt owed, emergencies, length in college, likeability of each student, and finical support from outside organizations or families. The Phelps-Stokes Funds detailed the experiences and needs of the African migrant students who applied for funding. For example, in 1941 both Kwame Nkrumah and Mbonu Ojike received funding from the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the Carnegie corporation; Ojike received $100 while Nkrumah received $70.[21] But the records also illustrate that this funding was subject to change as the students progressed through their academic careers. One report gave detailed reasons on why Ojike and Nwafor Orizu received funding in earlier years but would not release more funding for their stay at Ohio state university. The minutes state:

> Mr. Ojike arrived at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, about two years ago, with the expectation that he would receive $70 annually through Mr. Azikiwe. Later he transferred to Ohio State University and is now reported to owe about $200 for past debts. His tuition is $35 a quarter, and his room and board about $17 per month. In order to tide him over a recent emergency, he was given $100 from the Carnegie grant through the Phelps-Stokes Fund... the status of Orizu is very much the same of Ojike…In view of the following circumstances, namely (a) the present indebtedness of Ojike; the long time and large amounts necessary to enable both Mr. Ojike and Mr. Orizu to complete their courses at Ohio State university; and (c) the difficulty and

[20] "Minutes of the Joint Committee on Aid to the African Students in the U.S.A."
[21] "Summary of Grants to African students in the U.S.A. from funds provided by the Carnegie Corporation, The May Esther Bedford Fund, and Phelps-Stokes Fund." March 17, 1942, MG 162, Box 26 folder 7, Phelps-Stokes Fund Records, New York Public Library, New York.

> improbability, of their receiving any substantial support from their relatives and friends in Nigeria, it was of the sense of the committee that it could not undertake to finance these two students. [22]

The joint committee also denied extending K.O. Mbadiwe funds. He had already received a loan from the previous year from the Phelps-Stokes Fund amounting to "$76.16," which according to their records he had not repaid. In addition, Mbadiwe still owed Lincoln University "$290" and owed New York University "$155." The committee notes infer that Mbadiwe received funding from "the Catholic Welfare society" and from his brother "Green Mbadiwe." For these reasons the committee "declined to consider financial aid to him." Another reason Mbadiwe may have been denied is the fact that the committee found him unlikeable and unfriendly. The committee made a note regarding Mbadiwe's character stating "future plans for this student are very perplexing. His temperament and personality are very difficult."[23]

It can be argued that this joint committee sought to fund certain students over others. While debt and academic standing determined a role in deciding who should receive funding and how much funding should be allotted, the argument can be made that where the students attended and what the students studied also factored in on the decision of funding. For example, the Phelps-Stokes Fund wrote in a report to the Carnegie corporation about an ideal student Bassey U.A. Attah. In the reports it stated, "Mr. Attah has called at the office of the Phelps-Stokes Fund once and made a very favorable impression…he has an excellent view and profound understanding of the program of the

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[22] "Minutes of the Joint Committee on Aid to the African Students in the U.S.A," Phelps-Stokes Fund Records. The note offers the exception that it would offer them some additional aid to "see them through the present term" if the university "succeeds in finding some local support for them."
[23] "Minutes of the Joint Committee on Aid to the African Students in the U.S.A." Phelps-Stokes Fund Records.

Ibibio Union and the needs of his people." The report also emphasized how he attended Tuskegee institute where he just "finished his course in agriculture" in June of 1941. Just as important, the notes remark how Attah "made a very favorable impression" on Jones "when he visited him last winter" (winter of 1940).[24]

Did the Phelps-Stokes Fund and perhaps Jones himself view Attah with such favor because he fell in line with what Jones envisioned as a quintessential African student? Jones's ideas on the importance of teaching Africans agriculture suggest that this is perhaps so. Furthermore, Tuskegee was the type of school that promoted what Jones thought as the best educational training for Africans; that is an emphasis on skilled labor and religion over academic pursuits. Schools that provided technical training and agricultural education epitomized the fundamental skills Jones believed Black peoples needed to progress in modern society.

Letters of correspondence between Jones and Charles Dollard, the head of the Carnegie Corporation, illustrate how the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the Carnegie Corporation preferred to fund a select few candidates rather than a multitude. The memo notes of the joint committee noted that "Mr. Dollard expressed the opinion that it would be wiser to concentrate on aiding a few worthy students rather than a large number without any adequate aid to any." Other comments illustrate why the joint committee deemed other students as unworthy. For example, the joint committee recommended not funding a student named J.L. Nisma a Nigerian sophomore attending Storer college. The

[24]"Report on expenditures from the grant of $1500 mad by the Carnegie Corporation to the Phelps-Stokes Fund for Aid to African students." May 28, 1941, MG 162, Box 26 Folder 7, Phelps-Stokes Fund Records, New York Public Library, New York.
The Ibibio Union was a collective in Nigeria that helped finance prosecting students' educational costs. Its base of operation was in Nigeria and typically finance Nigerian students.

reasons listed for his denial of funding included "his indebtedness, the absence of any special recommendations as to his scholastic ability, as well as his uncertainty to the course he wishes to pursue." While Nisma's debt may have held weight on the decision to deny funding, one must recognize that nearly all the African migrant students that attended these universities became indebted to their universities; a fact that the committee was well aware of. Furthermore, the joint committee seems to more so support students that studied agriculture. Nisma who had not yet decided what he wanted to study, would therefore be seen as less worthy of funding.[25]

Aside from Attah, the joint committee minutes favorably note one other students Ibanga Udo Akpabio, a Nigerian student studying education at Columbia University. Because of Akpabio's "good record as a student and his fine personality and character, it was recommended that sufficient aid be given to Mr. Akabio." The committee makes mention of their uncertainty of one student A Udo Idiong, a student attending University of Chicago. Even though the committee described him as "a satisfactory student" they demonstrated hesitancy providing him funding because of the lack of information about him. The minutes of the joint committee meeting stated that "the committee recommended that Dr. Jones communicate with Mr. Aaron Brumbaugh, dean of the college, with a view to securing a full report on Mr.Idiong's course of study, scholarship, and financial needs." [26]

While it is likely that the joint committee favored students that studied agriculture, trades, and education because they fit in line with what Jones had envisioned

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[25] "Minutes of the Joint Committee on Aid to the African Students in the U.S.A."

[26] "Minutes of the Joint Committee on Aid to the African Students in the U.S.A."
The minutes did note that they would consider giving Idiong funding providing the report conducted by Dr. Jones was found to be satisfactory.

for Africa, it did still provide some funding to the applicants. Even though the Phelps-Stokes Fund decreed that it wouldn't help Ojike, Orizu, and Mbadiwe in its joint committee meeting in 1941, later records indicate it rescinded this decision within a few months. In a report on expenditures the Phelps-Stokes Fund listed the reasons why it awarded the sum of money to the students it did. The $100 awarded to Ojike came from the need to "see Ojike through the present academic year." The report described Orizu's situation as "identical" to Ojike, as the two decided to transfer from Lincoln university to Ohio State University. Nkrumah received $70 from the Carnegie grant "$60 for tuition and $10 for personal incidentals." However, it noted the probability that Nkrumah "will need larger grants" if funding from "his relatives in the Gold Coast should cease altogether." The report described Mbadiwe's case as "similar to Ojike's" but stated that "he (Mbadiwe) exaggerates ideas as to his importance and is difficult to deal with." Nevertheless, Mbadiwe received $50 from the Carnegie grant "to meet medical expenses."[27]

Perhaps Jones and other members of the Phelps-Stokes Fund still decided to provide some funding to these students because it recognized the tumultuous environment brought about by the second World War. With World War II permeating its conflicts to the African theatre, it became increasingly difficult for students studying in America to be subsidized by their families in Africa. Many of them now stuck in the states turned again to the Phelps-Stokes Fund for financial aid. Working with the Carnegie Corporation, the Phelps-Stokes Fund was able to provide funding for these students.

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[27] "Report on expenditures from the grant of $1500 made by the Carnegie Corporation to the Phelps-Stokes Fund for Aid to African students."

Yet, the Phelps-Stokes Fund petitioned the Carnegie corporation to do the bulk of the funding. A letter written to Charles Dollard from Thomas Jesse Jones reveals the Phelps-Stokes Fund's request for more aid from the Carnegie Corporation. In it, Jones writes "I regret the necessity of appealing for the renewal of a grant of $1,000 for the British African students still in need of financial aid."[28] Why had the Phelps-Stokes Fund passed much of the responsibility of the funding to the Carnegie Corporation? One possible answer is that the Carnegie Corporation had more money, power and influence. The Carnegie Corporation provided more funding for African students than the Phelps-Stokes Fund in nearly every year from 1940-1945. In a 1941 report shared between the two organizations, the Phelps-Stokes Fund outlined the exact dollar amount contributed by both organizations, and the recipients of each award. The Phelps-Stokes Fund had $700 worth of funding to distribute while the Carnegie Corporation had $1,500.

Another possible reason the Phelps-Stokes Fund relied on the Carnegie Corporation to provide the majority of the funds, is that Jones and other members of the Phelps-Stokes Fund may have only wanted to give its own money to students they thought epitomized what an educated African should be and do. It is possible Jones may have given the organization clear orders that funding should be reserved to students that fit in line with his idea. Therefore, they could still extend funding to other students without withdrawing funds from their own organization. Even though the Carnegie Corporation provided the bulk of the funding, the Phelps-Stokes Fund had the responsibility of administering these funds. For this reasons, one can argue that the

[28] Thomas Jesse Jones to Charles Dollard, March 31st, 1942, MG 162, Box 26 folder 7, Phelps-Stokes Fund Records, New York Public Library, New York.

Phelps-Stokes Fund seemingly only awarded larger sumps of grants to the students they deemed worthy. For example, a report illustrates that of the $700 worth of funding available, Akabio, whom Dr. Jones spoke highly of, received $50 compared to Mbadiwe, who received $30.02. Meanwhile, students like Ojike and Orizu received no funding directly from the Phelps-Stokes Fund but from the grants provided by the Carnegie Corporation (Ojike received $200 and Orizu received $100.) Had the Phelps-Stokes Fund deliberately allocated funds from the Carnegie corporation to circumvent providing other African students with funding from their own organization?[29]

Later reports reiterate the Phelps-Stokes Fund's decision to award a few worthy students with significant sums of money. A report written by the secretary of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, L.A Roy to the Carnegie Corporation illustrates this further in the summary of grants disbursed on March 17th, 1941. For example, Akpabio received $205 from the Carnegie Corporation, $50 from the May Ester Bedford Fund, and $50 from the Phelps-Stokes Fund totaling to $305 in grant money. No other student received the same amount of funding. In fact, nearly all the other applicants for funding received less than $200 worth of grants. Attah received $150, while not as much as Akpabio, still some $80 more than what Nkrumah received, $50 more than what Ojike received, and approximately $120 more than what Mbadiwe received.[30]

Why had Akpabio been given so much grant money compared to the other students? Akpabio attended Lincoln during some of the same years Nkrumah did, so it is

[29] "Statement of Aid to African Students Through The Phelps-Stokes Fund." June 15, 1941. MG 162, Box 26 folder 7, New York Public Library, New York.
[30] "Summary of Grants to African Students in the U.S.A. from Funds provided by the Carnegie Corporation, the May Esther Bedford Fund, and Phelps-Stokes Fund." March 17, 1942, MG 162 Box 26 folder 7, Phelps-Stokes Fund Records, New York Public Library, New York.

unlikely his tuition cost more for Akpabio than all the other African students. In fact another student, Kobina Mbura also attended Lincoln alongside Akpabio in 1941. However, the Phelps-Stokes Fund refused to award Mbura any money.[31] There appears to be a selective favoritism when it came to awarding students with grant money. The evidence suggest that more funding was given to students that studied agriculture and education.

It seems that the Phelps-Stokes fund had hopes that the students who did not want to study education and agriculture would return to Africa. One report shared between the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the Carnegie Corporation reveals some questionable statements regarding the students' educational careers. When discussing other African students who struggled with receiving money from Africa it explained that "war conditions have seriously interfered with their financial plans and some students are without adequate support. It is possible some will be repatriated." The following statements made regarding students not studying agriculture or education reflect disinterest in helping fund these students. For example, the Phelps-Stokes Fund demonstrated disinterest in helping Asuquo Idiong further his career beyond an undergraduate education. The report stated:

> the funds provided by the Phelps-Stokes fund went mainly for board and room to enable him to meet his requirements for his B.A. degree in education. It is expected he(Idiong) will complete these requirements sometime in the summer of 1941 and should be ready to return to Nigeria, but he has expressed a desire to study in medicine, However, no encouragement is being offered either by or the Phelps-Stokes Fund in this new desire. [32]

The Phelps-Stokes Fund's refusal to support Idiong's pursuit of medicine further illustrates the organization's preference of supporting the study of education and

[31] Kobina Mbura attended Lincoln University in 1941.
[32] "Report on expenditures from the grant of $1500 mad by the Carnegie Corporation to the Phelps-Stokes Fund for Aid to African students," Phelps-Stokes Fund Records. Asuqou Idiong was a Nigerian who attended the University of Chicago. After obtaining his bachelors he did continue to study medicine but unfortunately died before graduating.

agriculture. True, Idiong had studied education, but the Phelps-Stokes Fund thought it wiser he returned to Nigeria rather than pursue a career as a doctor. The Phelps-Stokes Fund, did provide funding for Ojike and Orizu "in order to see them through the academic year." It also noted that they both transferred to study at Ohio University and makes mention that Ojike undertook the study of Finance and Economics. The report also singled out Mbadiwe as it stated, "the British Consul is to consider the question of his repatriation."[33]

Nevertheless, funding of some African students continued all the way until 1944, albeit in varied award amounts. Two different reports regarding summary of funds shared between the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the Carnegie corporation provide the dollar amount of funding given to African students; the first from 1940-1942, and the second from 1943-1944. The first report outlined all cash disbursements given to African students, their country of origin, and which institution they studied under. The second report recorded the cash disbursements given to African students and listed their country of origin. Interestingly, there are much less students on the second report (the one covering tuition costs from 1943-1944). In fact, in the initial report covering students from 1940-1942, there are 16 students listed that received aid. In the report from 1943-1944 there are only nine students listed. Why had the list of eligible students be cut nearly in half?[34]

There are several reasons why the Phelps-Stokes Fund could have stopped providing students with funding. For one, it may have seen some as not worthy of

[33] "Report on expenditures from the grant of $1500 made by the Carnegie Corporation to the Phelps-Stokes Fund for Aid to African students."
[34]"Statement of Funds Received from the Carnegie Corporation of New York and disbursed for Aid to African Students in the United States." July ,1943. MG 162, Box 26 Folder 7, Phelps-Stokes Fund Records, New York Public Library, New York; "Statement of Aid to African students from Carnegie Corporation Grants."

funding due to debt or inability to complete their education. Other students may have been repatriated as a result of lack of funds. Other students may have graduated and therefore returned to Africa. However, the case could be made that funding may have been removed from some students that did not fall in line with Jones vision for Africa. In other words, Jones did not want to fund or support certain students who challenged his views on education. Unsurprisingly, Ojike and Orizu did not receive funding from the Phelps-Stokes Fund after 1942. The refusal of funding most likely came from Jones's disapproval of their choice to get educated elsewhere. The minutes of the joint committee meeting in 1941 outlined Ojike and Orizu's reluctancy to study at schools Jones promoted. The minutes contain a statement from the junior dean of Ohio State University who explains the Ojike and Orizu's apprehension, "both boys state that they are not interested in transferring to any of the southern schools because these institutions do not have the educational programs which they want. They say they are at Ohio State because this university has the course and preparatory work which they desire."[35]Ojike also recounted his disagreement with Jones regarding the needs of Africa. In his autobiography he recounts his decision on leaving Lincoln and how it made him fall out of favor with Jones. Ojike wrote:

> My obstinate stand in going to the University of Chicago also caused another American friend to denounce me as a radical who would neither listen to expert advice nor get enough funds from home to carry on his stupendous educational pursuits. That authority was doctor Thomas Jesse Jones, director of the Phelps-Stokes fund whose paternalistic generosity I had twice enjoyed while I was studying at Ohio State. He wanted me to study rural agriculture. I acknowledge that my country could use 1000 agronomists. But I was interested mainly in economics and government. Dr. Jones thought I was crazy. Maybe I was. He washed his hands of my affairs. I had committed the crime of insisting that Nigeria could not be redeemed by agronomists alone. I held that we needed also and I still hold that view, all kinds of train citizens: educators, economists, traders, businessmen, politicians, lawyers, doctors, social scientists, authors, spokesman, artists, and preachers.[36]

[35] "Minutes of the Joint Committee on Aid to the African Students in the U.S.A." March 17, 1941, MG 162, Box 26 folder 7, Phelps-Stokes Fund Records, New York Public Library, New York.
[36] Ojike, *I Have Two Countries*, 98.

Ojike's passage explains the ideological divisions between Jones and African students like himself. Many African students coming to America did not have the same vision for Africa that Jones did. Jones a white person who belonged to the high social elite thought only through accepting the reality of racial divisions could black peoples advance themselves and perhaps one day obtain the same rights that whites could. Ojike, Mbadiwe, Orizu, and others seemed like an antithesis to this idea. For them they saw themselves as equals already and demanded to be treated as such. They knew Africa needed time, funding, and of course freedom to grow, but this was something that it deserved, not something it had to prove to imperial and western powers that it had been worthy of.

That there now existed what Jones would define as a radical in the United States, concerned Jones and parts of the American government. According to Ojike, Jones labeled Azikiwe and himself as radicals for their belief on demanding liberty from colonial control. It is ironic that as the United States fought a war to end fascism in Europe and Asia, people like Jones could not see the similarities between fascism and imperialism. Even as World War II raged, cries for the liberation of Africa spread, both in Africa and the United States. American governmental organizations met these outcries with suspicion.

The FBI demonstrated concerns about the number of African migrant students studying in the United States at this time. A letter from Jones to Charles Dolalrd reveals a conversation, which Jones had with agent S. Francis Duoibella. In a phone conversation Jones discussed "the status of the African students" in the United States with agent Duoibella. In his letter he told Dollard that Duoibella and "officers of other Federal

Bureaus which I am associated" informed Jones that "the attitude of the Federal Bureau of Investigation toward the African students" is that "the bureau is not at all concerned in the status of foreign students unless and until definitive evidence of subversive actions is presented to the bureau concerning individual students." Simultaneously, Duoibella told Jones "that the Bureau is at present overwhelmed with acute demands for investigation of cases in which definite charges have been made."[37] The two statements raise questions on the FBI's and Jones's relationship. Had Jones conversed with the FBI to gain knowledge on repatriating 'radical' students? Or had the FBI tracked some of these African students based on their political careers in the United States? Many African students commonly attended conferences and meetings of the UNIA and the N.A.A.C.P, both organizations the FBI secretly monitored. It is entirely possible that Jones could have monitored any of the African students who received funding from the Phelps-Stokes Fund and reported any radical or subversive actions to the FBI. In a way, the FBI could surveil African migrant students by obtaining information from the Phelps-Stoke Fund.

Black intellectuals critical of Jones's connection with the FBI and vision for black peoples rebuked him. Carter G. Woodson claimed "he (Jones) became immediately successful as the most advanced agent of Negro control. It developed as a dreadful machine using the Phelps-Stokes Fund to finance espionage." Here Woodson agrees with the idea that Jones would use the Phelps-Stokes Fund to produce a student that would enact his vision of Africa. One that did not challenge, imperialism but instead could begin "working for the Enlightment of the natives within the locus prescribed by economic imperialists." In other words, Woodson pointed out that Jones wanted to use the funding

[37] Correspondence from Thomas Jesse Jones to Charles Dollard, September 5th, 1942, MG 162, Box 26, folder 7, Phelps-Stokes Fund Records, New York Public Library, New York.

of the Phelps-Stokes Fund to 'educate' Africans how to labor or farm better for the imperial power's exploitation of African resources. Woodson also hinted at Jones surveillance of pro-Black organizations stating Jones "appeared at Negro assemblies and had his coworkers to function likewise in keeping abreast of the thought of the Negro to find out who to help and whom to destroy." By attending Black assemblies Jones could figure out which persons fit best in his vision for 'helping' educate Black peoples; knowledge he most likely used to evaluate which applicants for Phelps-Stokes funding were worthy in his eyes.[38]

Conclusion

There is an irony behind Jones's vision of using American colleges and educational institutions to 'civilize' African migrant students. Jones thought by providing Africans with an agricultural education they could prove their worth to the world and demonstrate that the capability of self-governance. He thought that it be better that they Anglicize and westernize themselves so they could properly inhabit the social-racial hierarchy he learned from his mentor Giddings. In the end, the more Jones tried to instill his vision of Africa onto these African students the further they distanced themselves from him. The true irony is that by providing funding to these students to study in the United States they did not become more accepting of the status quo in imperial Africa. In fact, their exposure to profound African American intellectuals Pan-Africanism, and perhaps even American ideas of liberalism, only intensified their feelings for liberation.

[38]Carter G Woodson, "Thomas Jesse Jones," *The Journal of Negro History* 35, no. 1 (1950): 107-09. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2715572.

Even the students who did attend the colleges Jones preferred challenged Jones's vision. Nnamdi Azikiwe alumni of Lincoln University used his education to construct his own newspaper which he used to criticize the colonial system in Africa. Kwame Nkrumah who studied education at from Lincoln University, later spearheaded the CPP, or the Conventional People's Party's political take over of the Gold Coast. Ako-Adjei who attended Lincoln University and later Hampton Institute eventually worked directly with Nkrumah in decolonizing Ghana. Mbonu Ojike and Nwafor Orizu who had first attended Lincoln decided the school did not have the courses of study they desired and left. However, their time there allowed them the ability to seek out other schools they wished to study at. Udo Idiong finished his courses in education just to pursue a deeper calling in the study of medicine.

Where did Jones fail in his vision? Jones's own short-sidedness and adamant beliefs on race held him back from recognizing one of the most important factors of education, that is individual relationships shared between student and teacher often has the greatest impact on education. African students learning from profound Black intellectuals like Dr. Alain Locke and Professor William Leo Hansberry provided more than just an academic education. More so it taught allowed them to question paradigms of race and politics. It allowed them to envision the locus of Africa in the future.

Secondly, Jones failed to realize the importance of the bonds of friendships that formed among these African students while studying in the United States. They had not learned from just their teachers but from one another as well. As they joined and formed groups and honor societies promoting Black unity, their visions for a new Africa fermented. Organizations like the UNIA, the NAACP, the African Students Association,

and Phi Beta Sigma further exposed them to the demand of fair and equal treatment of all Black peoples.

Jones's vision of Africa did not come to fruition, but he had not been a complete failure. Under his direction the Phelps-Stokes Fund financed and found the Booker T. Washington institute in Liberia. The intention of this school had been to mirror the 'success' of the Hampton institute and Tuskegee in Liberia. However, the program of the school today is far different from that of its nascent creation. Jones eventually left the position of education director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in 1946. Woodson puts it best when remarking on Jones's incompletion of his goals stating "he would have achieved greater success if he had not been so narrow minded, shortsighted, vindictive, and undermining. His clandestine methods of hamstringing defeated his own purposes."[39]

[39] Woodson. "Thomas Jesse Jones," 107-109.

Chapter 5

Out of America, Africa: Pan African Resistance & The Crusade for African Education in America

The strengthening of Pan-Africanism in the United State during the 1940s has not received as much attention as it deserves from historians of African history. Many have overlooked the importance of African migrant students attending American universities who evangelized the importance of Pan-Africanism, especially to Black Americans. As African migrant students studied under prominent American scholars, their attitudes on liberating Africa augmented discussions regarding the political and educational future of Africa. Overlooked correspondence between African migrant students and African American intellectuals has come to show that African migrant students and alumni worked with American intellectuals on plans for building a pro-Black education in Africa and the United States, which highlighted the importance of Pan-Africanism between the United States and Africa.

The following chapter discusses the importance of African migrant student-led political and educational organizations and the visions they had for establishing Black liberation and Pan-African unity among people of African descent. This chapter highlights the agency of K.A.B Jones-Quartey, K.O. Mbadiwe, Nwafor Orizu, Kwame Nkrumah, and Mbonu Ojike and how their political and educational goals focused on building Pan-Africanism while living in the United States from 1940 -1945. As Africa became a battleground between Allied and Axis forces, they thought of creative and strategic ways to coalesce support for Africa through establishing political and educational organizations whose endgame was African liberation.

Support for Africa manifested through the development of three African-led but American based organizations. These organizations are the African Students Association (or ASA), the African Academy of Arts and Research (or AAAR), and the American Council on African Education(ACAE). The ASA, focused on uniting African students in the United States to discuss the political future of Africa; the AAAR, intended to celebrate the robust culture of Africa and educate Americans on its importance; the ACAE worked to promoted a continued supply of African students to study at HBCUs(namely Lincoln University). Such organizations allowed for open and free dialogue pertaining to all things Africa and encouraged visions for an independent Africa to ferment. Furthermore, they illustrated how many African students across American colleges in the United States aimed to conceptualize the future of Africa while studying in America. Such educational and political hopes for Africa among these same African migrant students, received guidance from prominent African American educators and activists. The ASA, AAAR, and ACAE became Pan-Africanist building centers as African migrant students leading these clubs tried to educate Americans, especially African Americans, on the importance of African culture and history and the need for political unity among Africans and African Americans. Lastly, this chapter notes that such organizations illustrated a dissent from Thomas Jesse Jones' vision for Africa and African education.

African Students Association

While most might look to the 1960s and 1970s Black power movement as the explosion of Pan-Africanism globally, the spread of Pan-Africanism throughout the 1920,

30s, and 40s is equally important and set the stage for its later manifestations. More interestingly, it became increasingly popular among Black Americans, as the influential minds of W.E.B Du Bois and Marcus Garvey positioned themselves to become the intellectual leaders of the descendants of African peoples. Neither lived or grew up in Africa, yet each grew concerned over the mistreatment of Black peoples globally. Du Bois and Garvey led their own Pan-African crusades that extended from the early 1920s to the mid-1940s.

Yet by the mid-1940s discussions on Pan-Africanism became led more so by African migrant students studying and living in the United States. Kwame Nkrumah, K.O, Mbadiwe, Mbonu Ojike, Nwafor Orizu, and K.A.B. Jones-Quartey worked to build Pan-African sentiments among Africans and Black Americans all while promoting calls for an independent Africa. This agency was unique as it reflected close a cooperation between Africans and African Americans as well as Africans migrant students' experiences while studying in the United States that reshaped their original understanding of what it meant to be African.

The African Students Association is a good example of how conceptions of African identity became more inclusive among African students as they studied in the United States. In hopes of building networks of support among one another, African migrant students decided to establish an organization that could better link African students together, regardless of ethnic differences, under the African Students Association. Lynch argues that "the idea for such an organization was first discussed seriously among African students at Lincoln University while Mbadiwe attended there."[1]

[1] Hollis R. Lynch, *K.O Mbadiwe: A Nigerian Political Biography 1915-1990* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 34.

The general consensus regarding the formation of the African Students Association is that it originated through planning and discussion among Mbonu Ojike, K.O. Mbadiwe, and Nwafor Orizu. Sherwood points out that the three of them had met earlier in August of 1940 at the YMCA in New York at "an unofficial meeting" to discuss the creation of the association. Initially, the three "elected Ojike to chair the meeting." [2] Months later in 1941 the trio met again to cement the association's formation. Ojike recalled that Mbadiwe visited him and Orizu over winter break in early January of 1941 "for the purpose of drafting the constitution and by-laws of the African Student Association."[3] They "each contributed $20 towards the cost of registering and publicizing the African Students Association." [4]

According to Ojike, the impetus for the ASA derived from two overreaching goals: "one to enable African students to get together for exchange of ideas and encouragement of one another in the battle to obtain an American education; the other to serve as a factor in promoting better understanding between Africa and America."[5] In this stage the organization's goals centered on helping African migrant students in the United States and did not initially intend to include African American students. Yet the organization did have a political focus. Sherwood points out that the constitution also listed its goal "to foster the ideal of national independence."[6] It is also likely that African students found it easier to study in America, while connecting to fellow countrymen and activists to support one another socially and academically.

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[2] Marika Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: the Years Abroad: 1935-1947* (Legon: Freedom Publ., 1996), 89.
[3] Mbonu Ojike, *I have Two Countries* (New York: The John Day Company, 1947), 89.
[4] Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: the Years Abroad: 1935-1947,* 89.
[5] Ojike, *I have Two Countries,* 89.
[6] Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: the Years Abroad: 1935-1947,* 89.

Support for the ASA grew beyond the founding members. For example, John Karefa-Smart, a Sierra Leonian African migrant student who studied at Otterbein College befriended Orizu and worked to advertise the ASA. Smart and Orizu decided to advertise the group and had "sent a letter…to all the African students in the US, whose names they had obtained from the state department, asking them… the duty and responsibility of preparing for leadership of the New Africa."[7] This demonstrates the Pan-African based visions for Africa these African migrant students had and their desire to link themselves to other African students regardless of their country of origin. The organization even connected African alumni of Howard, Lincoln, and other important HBCUs. Lynch points out that "Ernest B. Kalibala and Akiki K. Nyabongo" became members of the organization and held the title of Vice-president and director of education"[8] Both Nyabongo and Kalibala, hailed from Uganda and came to study in the U.S. in the 1920s. Nyabongo even dormed with Nnamdi Azikiwe for a semester and finished his studies at Howard University. Kalibala, studied at Tuskegee before heading on to NYU. Within a year of the organization's formation, the ASA membership included Africans from both sides of the continent.

Why in the early 1940s had African migrant students decided to link together and not earlier? Had the there existed a stronger sense of camaraderie among African migrant students in this decade rather than the previous few? There was an African student organization that predated the ASA; the West African Students Union, founded in London in the mid-1920s.But such an organization operated uneasily under the presence of British imperialism. In contrast, the ASA operated in the United States exclusively

[7] Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: the Years Abroad: 1935-1947*, 90.
[8] Lynch, *K.O Mbadiwe: A Nigerian Political Biography*, 35.

allowing it to connect Africans from different countries to coalesce around planning the political future of Africa, free from imperial occupation and observation. Secondly, the members of the ASA had formed important intellectual networks with American Pan-Africanists. Third, and perhaps most important, as World War II raged on, Africans around the world called for independence, as they knew they could point out the hypocrisy of European nations fighting to save democracy yet, denying self-rule in Africa.

The ASA, despite building an environment that allowed for Pan-African thought saw some division among its own members. Sherwood notes that there were political disagreements between Nkrumah and Orizu stemming from different ideological visions for African liberation. For example, Sherwood points out that "Orizu confirms…that he led the group advocating the voluntary co-operation of independent states while Nkrumah wanted immediate integration under one government."[9] Nkrumah was originally elected president of the ASA but did not win reelection the following year in 1942. Despite such internal divisions, the organization became more inclusive demographically. In fact, by the time Nkrumah became president of the ASA, the association allowed both nonstudents and non-Africans to become honorary members.[10] In other words, as the ASA became more active it recognized the advantages of including African Americans and others in its own ranks.

The inclusion of African Americans within the organization allowed for a stronger sentiment of Pan-Africanism to develop within the organization, providing prominent guidance from African American members. The ASA had guidance in a small

[9] Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: the Years Abroad: 1935-1947*, 92.
[10]Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: the Years Abroad: 1935-1947*, 89.

yet important way from Ralph Bunche. Bunche's career as a Pan-Africanist and distinguished professor at Howard, is best reflected through his academic engagement in African and African American affairs. Just two years before the formation of the ASA, The Carnegie Corporation approached Bunche to work on a project titled *The Negro In America*; which aimed to study "the Negro minority problems as it is projected on the broad American scene."[11] Although the project ultimately went to Gunnar Mydral, and took the new moniker *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*,[12] Bunche's knowledge of the problems affecting both African Americans and Africans encouraged him to work together with the ASA. In 1944, the CAA or the Council of African Affairs, of which Bunche was a founding member, invited Kwame Nkrumah representing the ASA to attend a conference titled "Africa -New Perspectives."[13]

This conference in April of 1941, saw a large attendance with "about 150 invited delegates, both white and Negro." Kwame Nkrumah, K.A.B Jones-Quartey, and I.U Akabio, all represented the ASA at this conference. Both Jones-Quartey and Nkrumah spoke on different panels while there. Jones-Quartey participated in "the panel on 'Africa in the African Press'" and Nkrumah participated in the "general discussion" and presented excerpts from his own work *Education and Nationalism in Africa*."[14] Nkrumah and Jones-Quartey, representing the ASA, and perhaps more broadly Africa, illustrate

[11] Ralph Bunche to Thomas Jesse Jones, August 7th, 1939, MG 162, Box 18, Folder 18, Phelps-Stokes Fund Records, New York Public Library, New York.
[12] For more information see *White Phlinatrphy: Carnegie Corporation's An American Dilemma and the Making of a White World Order* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2021).
[13] Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad: 1935-1947,* 84.
[14] Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad: 1935-1947,* 84-85.

how African migrant students became involved in discussions on the future of Africa and voiced their beliefs on what Africa needed.

Thomas Jesse Jones most likely grew troubled that so many 'radical' Africans circulated their own vision for Africa among themselves. For decades Jones used funding from the Phelps-Stokes Fund, to try to produce ideal African students who could enact his own vision for Africa as discussed in the previous chapter. In 1943, the Phelps-Stokes Fund formed a new committee to "call an international African conference." While Nkrumah received an invitation for the first meeting, many members of the ASA "were adamantly against the Fund and its hand picking of participants." In fact, only three Africans had been selected to attend the meeting despite recommendation that "other students, such as ASA vice president Nwafor Orizu" attend. The Fund denied invitations giving the reasons "that they 'would not be the ones who could contribute the most.'"[15]

The ASA most daring action came in 1945 when members posted a memorandum which it sent to the delegations of the U.S, UK, and the UN during the Conference on International Organization. The memorandum listed the demands for Africa[16]. Mbonu Ojike commented that the memorandum recommended "dates that be set for the freedom of African and other colonies. The statement suggested a ten-year handing-over period for Nigeria and the Gold coast in particular." Ojike who attended this conference, as an unrecognized attendee, urged African Americans to support the ASA's cause. Ojike recounted that he "went to San Francisco with several strategies," the

[15] Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad: 1935*-1947,87.
[16] For more information see Marika Sherwood, "'There Is No New Deal for the Blackman in San Francisco': African Attempts to Influence the Founding Conference of the United Nations, April-July, 1945." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 29, no. 1 (1996): 71–94. https://doi.org/10.2307/221419.

first of which involved "assembling the Afro-American representatives, whether they were honored as consultants or observers, or were unrecognized." Second, Ojike held "a news conference with the Afro-American at the "headquarters of the Liberia delegation." He also invited representatives of "Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, Haiti, the Associated press, and many correspondents." Lastly, Ojike states he "revealed to our Afro-American brethren what the African Student Association recommended toward the freedom the African colonials want."[17] Ojike's insistence on having African Americans join him and other African representatives for a news conference reflects his belief in Pan-Africanism. In other words, Ojike was not only trying to explain the ASA's vision for Africa to both groups, but to also have them participate in the dialogue of African liberation.

For all of the ASA's success it still suffered from internal disagreement. Disagreement on economics became a serious point of division between Nkrumah and several Nigerian members of the ASA. Support and membership in the African Students Union fell drastically by 1944. Apparently during its years of operation "all did not run smoothly" as "personality clashes" divided the association. Sherwood pointed out that in 1944 the association "was almost defunct due to personal greed, aggrandizement, petty jealousies and egotism." Why had there existed such clashes when the organization formed with the intention of bringing Africans together in solidarity? One could argue that each president of the ASA, steered the organization toward their own philosophical vision. In other words, Nkrumah had a different vision for the association than Ibanga Akpabio.

[17] Ojike, *I Have Two Countries*, 148-149.

Not all members saw eye to eye on each issue, especially regarding the future of Africa. In 1943, Nkrumah, did not win reelection for presidency of the ASA. Instead, Ibanga Akpabio became president, the same student favored by the Phelps-Stokes Fund. Even though Nkrumah held the status of elder among the African migrant students in United States, his political views differed significantly than from some of his peers. Nkrumah for example, who came under the influence of Marxism and communism, believed that such policies would benefit Africa. Other members like Mbadiwe, dissented from such views. In fact, Mbadiwe, outlined his own views on African liberation in his book *British and Axis Aims in Africa*, where he opined that Africans needed to support the British empire at least until the defeat of the Axis powers.[18]

Nkrumah's communist and Marxist beliefs may have been a factor that alienated him from other members of the ASA. Even some of his teachers knew of his Marxist beliefs, and it is very likely they amplified during his time in the United States. Nkrumah's vision for Africa involved forms of Marxist ideology. In Nkrumah's political philosophy *Consciencism*, he even argued that Africa did not need Idealism but instead needed materialism. Citing Marx, Nkrumah pointed out that "idealism suffers from what he (I) might call the god complex; it is what Marx called intoxicated speculation."[19] In short, Nkrumah believed Africans need to coalesce material commodities and resources collectively to obtain the "restitution of the egalitarianism of human society" in Africa and "logistical mobilization of all our (African) resources towards the attainment of that

[18] K.O. Mbadiwe, *British and Axis Aims In Africa* (New York: Wendell Mallet and Company, 1942), XXVII. In the introduction to his book Mbadiwe discusses the importance of defeating Hitler first, while demanding democracy from Britain.
[19] Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970), 19.

restitution."[20] Nkrumah arguably saw the liberation of Africa as a collective struggle for Africans that required coalescing the resources of each state to expunge imperialism and build an egalitarian Africa. But other African migrant students dissented from the fine points of Nkrumah's views. While many if not all African migrant students shared such views on the need for African unity, some also believed a degree of political and economic individualism as requisite for African growth.

Mbadiwe admonished the adoption of communism. He especially grew wary of organizations like the CAA, "partly because he disapproved of its Marxist ideology and its procommunist sympathies."[21] Mbadiwe believed that with capitalism Africa had potential to grow. He argued that Africa had a unique "capitalistic structure" called "philanthropic capitalism" where wealth is "acquired not only for personal, immediate benefit, but at the same time it is shared with others."[22] Such differences in political opinion among these African migrant students provides evidence that suggests a schism formed among them; most notably among Nkrumah and Mbadiwe, Ojike, and Orizu as the latter three worked to establish a new African organization, while the ASA remained in operation. Although they remained tied to the ASA, both Ojike and Mbadiwe focused their attention on the new organization they established: the African Academy of Arts and Research.[23]

African Academy of Arts and Research

Mbadiwe may have realized that the strife and in fighting among members of the ASA, limited its effectiveness, and therefore thought it necessary to create a new

[20] Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, 78.
[21] Lynch, *K.O Mbadiwe: A Nigerian Political Biography*, 40.
[22] Mbadiwe, *British and Axis Aims In Africa*, 48.
[23] Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad*, 95.

organization that he could personally oversee. Mbadiwe devoted less time toward the ASA and more time and attention in establishing a new cultural and educational organization that illustrated the robust and rich culture of Africa. The African Academy of Arts and Research formed in 1943, roughly two years after the ASA; its headquarters operated in New York City. Why form such an organization? According to Lynch, Mbadiwe felt "there was need for a broad-based organization led by Africans that would project Africa favorably and promote its interests."[24] Still, one has to question the motives of Mbadiwe, as such reasons seem all too similar to his original reasons for starting the ASA with Ojike and Orizu.

In fact, it is fair to argue that Mbadiwe himself may have wanted to lead an organization of his own, as he refused to join other existing African organizations of the time. According to Lynch, prior to creation of the AAAR, Mbadiwe demonstrated interest in working with and revitalizing the Ethiopian World Federation or EWF. Lynch points out that "the goal of the EWF had been to win support, particularly among African Americans, for the overthrow of the new Italian colonial rule in Ethiopia." But "ineffective leadership" and contention among members led Mbadiwe to devote his energies toward establishing his own organization.[25] What made the Academy different from the ASA and the EWF, was its larger focus on interaction with Americans and its work as an educational institution in place of a political one.

Within its first months of operation, the African Academy of Arts and Research or AAAR, sponsored an "African dance festival held at Carnegie Hall on December 13th, 1943." The festival portrayed African dances, music, and entertainment composed and

[24] Hollis Lynch, *K.O Mbadiwe: A Nigerian Political Biography*, 40.
[25] Lynch, *K.O Mbadiwe: A Nigerian Political Biography*, 41.

performed by both African and African American musicians and dancers. Eleanor Roosevelt attended as well as the guest of honor. Why had Mbadiwe chosen for the AAAR to sponsor a dance as its first major event? According to Lynch, Mbadiwe spoke about this during an interlude in the dance. Lynch points out "Mbadiwe outlined the Academy's goal of increased cultural intercourse, mutual understanding, and respect between Africa and the United States."[26] In other words, Mbadiwe recognized that through illustrating African art and more broadly culture, Americans might come to better understand Africa as a vibrant and sophisticated land, thereby dispelling the dark continent myth.

Mbadiwe was not alone in his work with the AAAR. Ojike worked alongside Mbadiwe as the vice-president of the organization albeit as a part time position. Ojike had been attending school in Ohio at this time which make may explain his part time commitment to the organization. Nevertheless, Ojike's willingness to participate in AAAR affairs illustrates his belief in the AAAR's mission. Abdul Disu and Julius Okala who both attended Lincoln University, also served in the AAAR. Both Disu and Okala brought a great deal of insight to the organization considering they both worked as "research assistants to Melville J Herskovits and Richard A. Waterman."[27] Herskovits, a trial blazoning anthropologist whose work promoted the importance and connections of African and African American culture, and Waterman, a prominent scholar in Anthropology and ethnomusicology, whose work studied African American music, reinforced the idea that African American art and music deserved study and attention

[26] Lynch, *K.O Mbadiwe: A Nigerian Political Biography*, 42-43.
[27] David Garcia, *Listening for Africa: Freedom, Modernity, and the Logic of Black Music's African Origins* (Durham: Duke University press, 2017), 159, Kindle.

among Disu and Okala. Nwafor Orizu had also worked with the AAAR. Each of them, Orizu Ojike, Mbadiwe, Disu, and Okala, worked on "raising awareness of the oppressive colonial conditions of Africans."[28] Other important members of the AAAR included Akiki Nyabongo former member of the ASA and a lecturer on African studies. Nyabongo worked as a special lecturer for the AAAR and organized a lecture series sponsored by the AAAR from November 1945 to April 1946.[29]

The AAAR sponsored lectures for several reasons. Lynch points out that these lectures could "better inform the American public on Africa." These lectures took place "at the American Museum of Natural History" and "were free and open to the public." Lynch also argues that the lectures "intended to be a basic introduction to Africa and dealt with major aspects of African life—geography, history and people, economics and labor, government, religion, arts and music, and education and the press." Interestingly, both African migrant students, distinguished African American academics, and even white American professors acted as guest lectures or discussants. For example, "Mbadiwe, Ojike, Kalibala, and Nyabongo" participated in these lectures as did "African American supporters such as Reddick, Du Bois, and George Schuyler."[30] The importance of these lectures and the speakers that led them, reflect the growing discussions among Africans and African Americans during the 1940s. These African migrant students had now led discussions regarding Black education, alongside some of the most prominent American Pan-Africanists like Du Bois. While still students themselves they worked to inculcate Black Americans about the history and culture of Africa, simultaneously

[28] Garcia, *Listening for Africa*, 159-160.
[29] Lynch, *K.O Mbadiwe: A Nigerian Political Biography*, 48.
[30] Lynch, *K.O Mbadiwe: A Nigerian Political Biography*, 47-48.

highlighting the similar conditions Black Americans and Africans faced. Indeed, this is perhaps part of the reason, Mbadiwe, Ojike, and other African migrant students actively worked to educate Black Americans on Africa. They had not only wanted to dispel the myth of the Dark Continent, but also to highlight the need for Black peoples to support one another.

The lectures provided by the AAAR, reflected African migrant students' attitudes on the distrust in European, and even American, academic understandings on Africa. For example, Ojike recounted an experience he had with an American anthropologist, at Ohio state University that expressed his discontent with American academics who sought to confirm the realities of Africa as the Dark Continent. In a piece for *Harpers Magazine,* he detailed this experience, stating:

> I was at Ohio State University when an eminent anthropologist returned recently from my homeland, Nigeria. He had collected African curious and taken photographs which he exhibited at the state museum and at the university library. He was a brilliant scholar and he had spent considerable time in my country. But his lectures and observations did an unintentional disservice to Africa and to America between whom mutual understanding is desperately needed. He ignored everything in Nigeria which was modern, everything which tends to spoil that country as a 'laboratory' in which anthropologists can study primitive culture… it was of course, natural that an anthropologists interest should be thus confined, but the trouble is that the reports by such scientists tend to confirm the erroneous impressions which Americans get from other sources. For decades missionaries, motion picture companies, big game hunters, and explorers have treated Africa as a museum piece or sort of a zoo where one may observe the lower forms of animal life from wild beasts to wild men. They apparently have no interest in reporting the truth, which is that 'primitive men' is fast disappearing from that continent. We Africans are your contemporaries.[31]

Ojike's words are important, as they provide perspective towards the fallacious and antiquated beliefs of some academics at the time. Furthermore, it illustrates how African migrant students, worked to dispel pernicious and erroneous myths about Africa, in hopes of building relationships with Americans.

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[31] Mbonu Ojike, "Modern Africa," in *Harpers Magazine*, January 1945.

One could argue that the need for such lectures led by both African and African Americans came from African migrant students' opinion that many Americans, especially African Americans, were ignorant about African affairs. Many African migrant students believed that such ignorance detracted from Black Americans and Africans cooperating and added to division of identity among them. Many African migrant students noted how some Black Americans identified differently from them. Azikiwe notes one of the earliest indications of such a division of identity when recounting a humorous exchange he had with an African American commuter he met on the train in New York. Azikiwe recalls "an Afraamerican commuter sitting next to me…asked where I came from, and I replied that I was African…He became very curious and asked me why I was not naked. Before I could answer he asked…How does elephant steak taste?" Azikiwe remarked on the encounter and recognized "to me it was a revelation of strange mentality; but to him it was stranger still, for he could not believe that Africans were civilized enough to wear trousers, coats, ties, shirts and shoes." Ultimately, Azikiwe "pitted his ignorance and told him he (I) was shocked to hear a gentleman of African descent, in an advanced country like America, ask him (me) such questions."[32] Other African migrant students noted of such a division. The division of African and African American students at Lincoln, noted by Ojike in his autobiography, speaks to this.[33]

Yet, as African migrant student studied at American colleges, they also witnessed firsthand the political and economic troubles Black Americans faced. Ojike, who traveled regularly throughout the United States, reflected on the need for Africans like himself to

[32] Nnamdi Azikiwe. *My Odyssey: An Autobiography* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1980), 80-81.
[33] Ojike, *I Have Two Countries*, 9. Ojike recalls that American students at Lincoln got mad at him and other African students when they talked in their own language with one another. He states, "when we Africans talked, we did so in our own language, which our American roommates did not understand."

coalesce with Black Americans, and understand that people of African descent are still African. He remarked in his autobiography:

> How could I dissociate myself from these people? At each home we visited, and there were scores of them, they gave us a rousing reception. They were bold and African; bold because despite their personal raggedness and horrible environment, which their faces could not conceal, they met us with buoyancy and optimism; African, because they offered us what little they had in their shacks…I was convinced that in only a few countries today is there real freedom for the black man.[34]

Ojike's account illustrates both his view, as an African that Black Americans were also African, and the need for Pan-Africanism in response to the repression of Black peoples. It is also telling that Ojike concludes his sentence with Black man a more inclusive term that speaks to people of African descent broadly.

Mbadiwe came to a similar conclusion on African Americans and America. He like Ojike greatly appreciated America despite the fact that African Americans still faced social and political oppression. He stated that the United States was:

> the only spot in all the world apart from my country where I can say with all thy limitations I love thee. This is a country I would fight for with all of my heart, although I am not an American. Every soul is in love with this country. For despite the suffering of my people here, they are freer, happier wealthier than the people of European autocracies. Students in America speak out on important matters, yet my country boys and their own God given land cannot lift up their hand to dissent.[35]

Mbadiwe's choice of words is important. He refers to African Americans as 'my people' admitting that he believed Africans and African Americans shared an identity despite living in separate parts of the world.

Both Mbadiwe and Ojike's words and actions demonstrate how their time spent in America shaped their views on Pan-Africanism. Both of them prior to coming to America largely viewed African struggles in a more continental sense. But after studying,

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[34] Ojike, *I Have Two Countries*, 73.
[35] Mbadiwe, *British and Axis Aims In Africa*, 236.

traveling, and working with African Americans in the United States, their view on liberation came to include African Americans as well. In many respects their work with the AAAR demonstrated global initiatives.

Not only did the AAAR act as a home base in NY for African migrant students to conspire, it also became a place where they could internationally connect with travelers from back home. Thomas Babington Macauley, son of the important Nigerian statesmen and activist Herbert Macauley, visited the African Academy in 1945. This visit suggests correspondence between the AAAR and Macauley. Mbadiwe and Ojike had some form of connection to him through Azikiwe, who also admired Babington's father Herbert. More importantly, the visit suggests an international dialogue between African migrant students in the U.S and African statesmen in Nigeria.[36]

Word of AAAR, with all the educational programs and events, eventually reached Lincoln University, most likely through its African members. Interestingly, the AAAR invited Horace M. Bond, the first Black president of Lincoln University, to visit Africa. In a 1949 issue of *The Lincolnian*, Bond recounted his trip to Africa, the chief sponsor of his trip being "the Academy of African Arts and Research." Bond reflected on his experience noting that "it was conservatively estimated that 100,000 people participated in a parade in my honor in Lagos, a city of 350,000 people. My tour was a kind of triumphal procession. English royalty never got such a reception. In city after city, all business shut down, schools turned out en masse, on lonely jungle roads one would come to a group of children lined along the road bearing banners of welcome."[37] Bond's trip to

[36] Mbonu Ojike, *My Africa* (New York: John Day Company, 1946), 320.
[37] All quotes take from "Fantastic! Utterly Fantastic Is The Word To Describe The Overwhelming Welcome to Univ. Pres." in *The Lincolnian* November 23rd, 1949.

Africa left him with a number of "burning convictions." First, that "that Lincoln University has served its historic mission as defined in its founding purpose, in a educating Africans, like Azikiwe, Nkrumah, Mbadiwe, and so on. Bond's second burning conviction determined that "Africa indeed holds the key to the future of mankind." True, Bond had roots in Pan-Africanism, but his experience in Africa, funded by an African organization partially educated at Lincoln, suggest something more important; that is the impact that African Pan-Africanists had on Americans. The African migrant students who came to the United States to study at HBCUs and other American colleges, ended up educating their peers and faculty on the grandeur and importance of Africa. Bond's comments extrapolated on such thoughts, stating "that the key point for realizing the aspirations of the American Negro, lie in Africa, and not in the United States. It is the African who, I think, will dissipate forever the theories of racial inferiority that now prejudice the position of the American Negro."[38] Bond would again be invited to Africa in 1958 to attend the All-African Peoples' Conference in Ghana. He is also the only U.S. college president that attended.

The AAAR's Pan-Africanist vision resulted from the cooperation of African migrant students and African American educators. Aside from lectures given by the likes of Du Bois and George Schuyler, the AAAR had oversight from Alain Locke. In fact, correspondence between Locke and Nyabongo demonstrates Locke's involvement with the AAAR. Nyabongo, who attended Howard the same time as Azikiwe, kept correspondence with Locke as late as 1946. In January of 1946, Nyabongo wrote a letter

[38] "Fantastic! Utterly Fantastic Is The Word To Describe The Overwhelming Welcome to Univ. Pres."

to Locke thanking for his assistance with the African Academy of Arts and Research stating:

> I am taking the liberty to thank you in behalf of the African-Academy for the assistance you have our board of directions during the meeting of January 12th…It was grand. I sent my message to you, and you came without being notified by letter. That is what we call African telepathy. I am wondering if you found that manuscript for me? Virginia told me you will be at Wisconsin next semester. If you happen to have it at hand, kindly leave it with Dr. Daniel at the library, and I shall pick it up when I come to Washington. Mr. Mbadiwe and Mr. Ojike send their best regards. Yours sincerely, Nyabongo.[39]

Nyabongo's letter reveals much about the relationship between himself and Locke. One can note the friendly tone the letter is written in through the joke on African telepathy that Nyabongo writes. It is worth noting here that Nyabongo views Locke as African (even in jest). While it is unclear what manuscript Nyabongo is referring to his letter still illustrates how Africans like himself raised intellectual questions with Locke.

Both the AAAR and the ASA profoundly impacted the future of Pan-African organizations in the United States. Although the ASA would later disintegrate as a result of African migrant students returning to Africa, several other African student organizations or clubs emerged on HBCU campuses across the US. Interestingly, both Howard and Lincoln established African Student Associations of their own, Howard's existing at some time before 1949, and Lincoln's some time before 1956.[40] Whether these clubs and organizations had connections to the African migrant students' independently run ASA, is yet to be determined.

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[39] Hosea Nyabongo to Alain Locke, Jan 30, 1946, Alain Locke Papers Collection; Box 75, folder 21 Moorland Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.

[40] Evidence for such statements come from two newspapers from each respective university. The February issue of the 1949 *Hilltop*, mentions that the African Students Association had planned a program with an African centric theme for the 1950 fall semester. The November 1956 issue of *The Lincolnian*, advertised a list of clubs for students to join and mentions the African Student Association.
For Lincoln African Students Association see "Organizations: Class, Clubs, Fraternities" in *The Lincolnian*, Nov 17th, 1956. For Howard African Students Association see "The African Costumes" in *The Hilltop*, Feb 9th, 1949.

The AAAR, on the other hand, persisted for several decades and continued to operate within the United States. The work and mission originally outlined by Mbadiwe continued through the efforts of both African and African American supporters of the organization. Some of these supporters included the likes of "James Roosevelt, Horace M. Bond, and Coretta Scott King." The importance that Bond and Corretta Scott King= hold in representing the AAAR reflects how prominent African American educators and civil rights activists worked with this African-based organization to provide factual representations of Africa in the United States. Indeed, the AAAR continued its educational policies from the 1940s to illustrate the robust culture and history of Africa. A pamphlet of the AAAR from the 1970s listed the services and programs the organization offered, including "Educational programs" consisting of "a language center, a center for African arts and music, and a center for African and Afro-American history."[41] For decades the AAAR continued to provide a Pan-African approach to education and history of Africa, yet it was not the only African migrant run organization to do so.

The American Council on African Education & The New African Plan for Global Education

The American Council on African Education is another African migrant student-led organization that developed in the early 1940s. The ACAE was created by Nwafor Orizu. Like the AAAR it, focused on providing educational opportunities, but its mission had more direct global plans. The ACAE's mission had been to address educational concerns

[41] Pamphlet of the African Academy of Arts and Research. The African Academy of Arts and Research papers, MG 195 Box 1, folder 1, The Schomburg center for Research in Black Culture. Harlem, NY.

in Africa. It planned on providing scholarship money to aspiring African students to study in the United States.

The most overlooked aspect of the ACAE is the efforts that Orizu and some of his cohorts went to challenge the paradigm of white dominated plans for Black education. Through the ACAE, more African migrant students came to study in the United States, not at colleges which encouraged handicraft or technical training, but at Universities (especially HBCUs) that promoted the study of African history and culture in hopes of dispelling the Dark Continent stereotype and racist notions that Black peoples were inferior to whites. Equally important is the fact that Alain Locke came to be an instrumental part of the ACAE.

Azikiwe may have spoken with Jones-Quartey, Nkrumah, Ojike, Mbadiwe, and Orizu prior to their journey to the U.S., and informed them of Locke. Judging from the close relationship Locke and Azikiwe had, it is likely that he may have recommended to them that they seek him out. Although it is unclear if any correspondence existed between them prior to their journey in the United States, it is nonetheless important to discuss the implications of each of these students' efforts to intellectually connect themselves to Locke and his impact on the ACAE.

Nwafor Orizu's relationship to Locke grew throughout the mid-1940s. In a letter he wrote to Locke in February of 1945, he noted "I was very much encouraged by your unusual insight and cooperative disposition. I am very grateful for all the precious time you spared to show me around Howard University. Above all, your special interest in my educational program as you intimated at Mrs. Bethune's office is inspiring. Your insistence on Howard's contribution can never be forgotten." Orizu diction here is

important as it illustrates again how Locke concerned himself with Black education for both Africans and African Americans. Orizu, likely inspired by Locke's intellect, proposed that Locke would be a good fit for the ACAE. In the remaining part of the letter, he demonstrated his interest in recruiting Locke to his organization stating "It was my desire to ask you to be on the Advisory Board of the council, but after knowing you personally I decided that there is something more than being only on the advisory board. Now, I think I want to have a more personal talk with you to unfold some important pertinent facts, that shall help us effect great results soon…I would appreciate hearing from you."[42]

But Locke's role was not simply just an advisory role. In fact, from sometime between February to October of 1945, Locke became Vice-President of the American Council on African education. Orizu's previous letter explains why he would choose Locke to take on such a high position in the organization on such short notice. But there is also an underlying factor that is not explicitly stated in the previous letter. Locke had all the qualifications to be vice president. Serving as a professor at Howard more than gave him the academic credentials to operate an organization based on African education. Secondly, as Orizu came to know Locke on a personal basis he likely understood that Locke's life had been dedicated to promoting Black education both in the United States and in Africa. From mentoring his mentor Azikiwe to his work in the New Negro movement, Orizu trusted that Locke could take up the reigns of the organization and continue the fight against imperialistic white education systems that plagued Africa and the United States.

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[42] Nwafor Orizu to Alain Locke, Feb 20, 1945, Alain Locke Papers Collection 164; Box 75, Folder 49 Moorland Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.

There is another reason Orizu would give Locke the position of vice president. By late 1945 Orizu knew his visa was expiring and he had to return to Nigeria. He asked Locke to join the ACAE because he wanted to allocate more responsibilities to someone who would remain in the U.S. Correspondence between Locke and Orizu demonstrates Orizu's concern about leaving the U.S. and his certainty that Locke could perform the duties required to continue the organization's work. In addition, Locke gained Orizu's favor by making himself known to many African students studying in the United States, even the ones studying outside Howard University. Letters of correspondence exist between Locke and Mbadiwe and K.A.B. Jones-Quartey even though they never attended Howard. More interesting is the fact that he made an effort to meet them in person.

K.AB. Jones-Quartey's correspondence with Locke reveals how both he and Locke planned on meeting despite, never attending where he taught. His earliest known contact with Locke is found in a letter he wrote to Locke in 1943. In this letter, Jones-Quartey wrote:

> ever since I first heard from Mr.Mbadiwe that you had admitted to a somewhat brief acquaintance with me, and from professor John a Davis, that you expressed some interest in my rather problematic academic career in this country, I have felt deeply remorseful of my failure to have made some use of the opportunity which a little 'Sigma' business offered me a few years ago of knowing you personally rather than by repute and through the impersonal route of reading… however I am both glad to hear of your frequent visits to meet in New York City and grateful for your expressed wish to meet me sometime during one of these visits. I shall be on the lookout for any chance to get in touch with you in Washington if not for a tetete at least for a telephone conversation. I am ready to consider myself honored if I can make your personal acquaintance unfortunate if I am given the opportunity of consulting you upon certain matters of urgency to me in my pursuit of the last phase of my academic career. With best wishes for your continued health, H.A.B. Jones-Quartey.[43]

[43] H.A.B Jones-Quartey to Alain Locke, January 4, 1943, Alain Locke Papers Collection 164; Box 42, folder 3 Moorland Spingarn Research Center, Howard University. The mention of sigma business is important too as it illustrates the shared tie in an honor society that African migrant students and African Americans had. The Phi Beta Sigma honor society had close ties to Alain Locke. It is therefore likely that Jones-Quartey saw him at one of the serval fraternity meetings.

Why would Locke make it an effort to reach out to African migrant students? Perhaps his friendship with Azikiwe and Nyabongo from years prior convinced him to continue to guide and mentor African students. But it is equally plausible that Locke recognized that education in Africa had to be led by Africans and sought to lend his insight to Africans concerned with education. In any event, Locke's relationship with Jones-Quartey, Orizu, and Mbadiwe, functioned as both a personal and professional relationship.

Jones-Quartey worked under Orizu and Locke on the American Council for African education. One exchange of letters between the two reveals the two discussing a typo in the "framing policy" of the ACAE's declaration.[44] Locke assured Jones-Quartey in a follow-up letter that the typo had little significance and would not likely impact the ACAE's mission. [45] More important than the minutiae of the diction of the ACAE framing policy, is the fact that Locke and Jones-Quartey discussion exemplifies how the ACAE was a Pan-African based organization. It included Africans and African Americans in an organization set on building African education in and outside of the United States. By having one of the most revolutionary Black intellectuals and several intellectual African migrant students the ACAE operated as one of the earliest global Pan-African organizations.

In 1945, Locke and Orizu discussed the future of the ACAE as he and many of his cohorts planned to return to Africa. Before leaving the United States Orizu planned a dinner that Locke had been invited to. Due to a scheduling conflict, Locke could not

[44] H.A.B Jones-Quartey to Alain Locke, Oct. 18th, 1946, Alain Locke Papers Collection 164; Box 42, folder 3, Moorland Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.
[45] Alain Locke to H.A.B Jones-Quartey, n.d., 1946, Alain Locke Papers Collection 164 ; Box 42, folder 3, Moorland Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.

attend but he did write a letter to Orizu commending him for his splendid work and achievements. Locke wrote:

> It is of crucial importance today that Africa be better known and be brought into closer, more representative contact with America, and no single activity can do more for this than an exchange of students such as is contemplated in the program initiated by Prince Orizu. I therefore wish him Godspeed in his present mission to Nigeria and to west Africa, and hope his American friends will lend every possible assistance to plans that will pay dividends for generations in mutually helpful relations between Africa and America.[46]

Locke's statements reveal much about the vision both Orizu and Locke had for Black education. Both Orizu and Locke understood that one of the best ways to liberate Africa from imperial control was to bring more Africans to study in the United States. This vision manifested to some degree in the later years of the ACAE's operation.

Both Orizu and Locke planned on providing a steady stream of African students to study at Black colleges. This plan took effect even after Orizu and his cohorts returned to Africa. In fact, a letter that Orizu sent to Locke suggests that their plan was well underway as early as 1946. Orizu wrote to Locke "I know you will be glad to know that in the long run we have started the ball rolling. Two of our twenty-five first batch students have left Nigeria for Lincoln University on January 28th. Their names are Olisama Ndukwe and Ifekwunigwe Aroh. I hope that arrangements will be made for representatives of the council to go and welcome them in Philadelphia where they will disembark. With you and others there, I hope things will be well."[47]

African attendance to Black colleges only grew in the years following Orizu's presidency of the ACAE. Even after Orizu returned to Africa the ACAE continued to

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[46] Alain Locke to Nwafor Orizu, November 7, 1945, Alain Locke Papers Collection 164; Box 75, folder 49 Moorland Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.
[47] Nwafor Orizu to Alain Locke, Jan 30, 1946, Alain Locke Papers Collection 164; Box 75, folder 49 Moorland Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.

provide funding to Africans seeking to study in the United States. More interesting is the fact that a majority of scholarships offered had been to HBCUs. Funding listed in a one memo of the ACAE reveals that African student attendance expanded to institutions like Lincoln University, AM &N college(University of Arkansas Pine Bluff), Wilberforce State college, Bethune-Cookman state college, Xaiver University of Louisiana, Calfin University, and Morehouse college. African students also had the opportunity to study at non historically Black universities. Interestingly, Lincoln University continued to see African migrant student attendance, as the ACAE provided funds to several students who attend there throughout the late 1940s and early 1950s. Attendance to NYU, Long Island University, City college in NY, Queens University, and many others, is documented on the same memo.[48]

Had this been a response by African students who sought to rectify the egregious method of funding scholarships from the Phelps-Stokes Fund? Most likely yes. Orizu, Ojike, and Mbadiwe understood that Jones's view of African education was rooted in white paternalism. Africans could not properly fight for independence if the same colonial education system persisted; and they needed better access to college funding outside of white philanthropic organizations that sought only to cement the current status quo of Black peoples.

Conclusion

What set the ACAE, the ASA, and the AAAR apart from the Phelps-Stokes Fund is the fact that it promoted African students to attend HBCUs acting out of genuine interest of

[48] "Student Contribution to the Scholarship Fund 1947-1949" in Phelps-Stokes Fund Records, MG 162, Box 49, folder 24, New York Public Library.

building Pan-African Black intellectualism, whereas the Phelps-Stokes Fund under the Jones Administration only sponsored Africans coming to study in America to instill Jones's vision of education. Ironically, by funding African students to study in the United States, Thomas Jesse Jones allowed for the creation of Pan-African organizations, run by Africans and African Americans. These very organizations led a resistance against western imperialism by creating Pan-African based political and educational organizations.

The efforts of the ACAE, ASA and AAAR demonstrate that American educators and experiences with African Americans affected African migrant students' visions for creating a 'New Africa'. From working with the African American based organizations like the UNIA, to conversating with prominent Black figures like Locke and Bunche, Ojike, Mbadiwe, Orizu, Nkrumah, and Jones-Quartey conception of Black liberation came to also include African Americans. The Pan-African based organizations they led and operated established a trans-Atlantic dialogue of support across two continents. The importance of these organizations illustrates African migrant students attempts to foster support for African liberation among African Americans, white Americans, and other African migrants in the United States. These organizations went to great lengths to attract attention from possible allies in their quest for African liberation. In other words, by the mid-1940s African migrant students impacted Pan-Africanism as many African migrant students believed that African liberation could be achieved by integrating with American allies.

However, disagreements among them did prevent a singular Pan-African vision.

While African migrant students worked to manifest their visions of a new Africa, dissension also formed among themselves. Political ideology often separated African migrants into separate groups. Some accepted Marxist ideas and thought their utility may lead to decolonization; others were apprehensive of adopting Marxism. Even though such political differences among these African migrant students caused contention, this did not mean that they were entirely divided.

The idea of African liberation stood at the forefront in all of these African migrant students' visions for Africa. Regardless if they thought Marxism or capitalism could provide liberation, they all agreed that imperialism needed to be expunged from their home continent. They, like the several pan-Africanist intellectuals before them, disagreed on how to achieve decolonization. But their actions in the United States whether through the ASA, the ACAE, or the AAAR, illustrated that they did all that they could to work towards liberating Africa. Through educating Americans in African history, African migrant students worked to dispel the myth of the Dark Continent. Furthermore, by providing educational lectures, African migrant students linked themselves with prominent African American scholars that indubitably, shared their hopes for a free Africa. Through connecting with these American pan-Africanists they created an international dialogue of support between the United States and Africa. Many of these African migrant students recognized that in the quest for liberating the African continent from European imperial control they indeed needed allies in the United States.

Through establishing the ASA, African migrant students opened a dialogue a pan Africanism among several African migrant students studying in the United States and formed a small yet important political organization that operated in the interests of Pan-

Africanism. Even though the ASA's memorandum may have not been taken as seriously as its members may have hoped, it nevertheless reflected the growing calls for independence by African migrant students in the US.

The AAAR promoted the appreciation of African art and culture. The lectures, dances, and other activities it sponsored worked to challenge the dark continent stereotype of Africa. Its organization included both African and African American intellectuals that educated many on African culture and history.

The ACAE took the educational work of the AAAR even further. It provided aspiring African students funding to study in the United States at universities, allowing them to study the subjects they wanted to. It moved away from the Jones administration policy of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, that sought only to provide funding to students who sought to study what white philanthropists thought was best for them. This funding allowed for continued African attendance of American universities inured by Pan-African ideals.

Lastly, the ACAE, ASA, and the AAAR demonstrate that these African migrant students agreed that liberation required a new education of Africa. Ojike, Mbadiwe, Orizu, Nkrumah, and Jones-Quartey, all worked to build Black education through their respective organizations. They intended for their organizations to perpetually promote Black education, for both Africans and African Americans. Both the ACAE and the AAAR continued on even after their respective creators returned to Africa; and the development of other independent and collegial based African student associations proliferated across several universities by the early 1950s.

These organizations are often overlooked and underappreciated actions of early Black power movements and challenges to western imperialism.

Chapter 6

The Old Boys of Lincolns' New Africa

By attending schools in the United States and networking with other African students and African American educators, Nwafor Orizu, K.O. Mbadiwe, Mbonu Ojike, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Ako Adjei, Kwame Nkrumah, and K.A.B Jones-Quartey gained practical experience and knowledge that better prepared for leading independence movements in Africa. Upon returning to Nigeria and Ghana, they fought for political independence and a reframing of African education. However, their visions for Africa diverged as several of them disagreed over how to govern their newly freed nations and what was needed to unify Africans. Both Nkrumah and Azikiwe attempted to bring their visions to fruition with the installation of new universities.

This chapter compares the similarities and differences of the educational and political philosophical visions for Africa held by Kwame Nkrumah, Nnamdi Azikiwe, and other prominent African state builders. It traces how experiences in America shaped Nkrumah and Azikiwe's notions of Pan-Africanism. Furthermore, it highlights the importance of how their education shaped the educational reforms they offered in Nigeria and Ghana. In doing so it addresses how these reforms tied into their respective philosophies: Consciencism and Zikism and discusses how these visions compared against political visions held by European studied African nationalists. Lastly, it touches on the limits and obstacles of these figures faced in implanting their visions.

Zikism & Nigeria

By 1946, many African migrant students who completed their studies made their way back to Africa. Ojike, Mbadiwe, Orizu, and Jones-Quartey returned to Nigeria to fight for independence. Although many of them admired the United States, it was always their intention to return to their homes to outroot the colonial order. Upon returning to Nigeria, each of them tempered by their experiences in America and Azikiwe, fought to spread Zikism.

Zikism itself is best defined as Nnamdi Azikiwe's vision for an independent Nigeria. Its philosophy stems from Azikiwe's New Africa vision and is outlined in his book *Renascent Africa*. Zikism constituted the idea that liberation could create an African renaissance through education and Pan-Africanism. Its two cornerstones, "social regeneration" (the realization that an African is an African no matter where he was born) and "mental emancipation" (the study of Africa's past to combat and erase fallacious educational paradigms of African inferiority handed down by colonizers) [1] was ardently supported by many of Azikiwe's followers.

Followers of Zikism included Mbadiwe, Orizu, Ojike, Jones-Quartey, and several others who Azikiwe helped to study in the United States. Mbadiwe, Orizu, Ojike, and Jones-Quartey worked in accordance with Azikiwe to challenge the colonial government. Jones-Quartey wrote anti-colonial statements in the *West African Pilot*, Orizu led protests against the colonial government, Mbadiwe propelled support for political independence parties in Nigeria, and Ojike worked to nationalize churches in Africa. Likewise, other

[1] Nnamdi Azikiwe, *Renascent Africa* (New York: Negro University Press, 1969), 24-25.

African migrant students moved to obtain seats in the colonial government to spread Zikist influence. I.U. Akpabio for example became "a senior minister in the East Region Government." Others like Nwankwo Chukwuemeka, another Nigerian student that Azikiwe inspired to study at Lincoln, returned to Nigeria and became an industrial engineer.[2] Because Zikism consisted of Pan-African principles, its focus extended beyond Nigeria. Jones-Quartey points out that "David Ekundayo Boye-Johnson- A Sierra Leonean whom Zik 'rescued' from Hampton institute (simply because he was in the wrong place for his field of interests) and redirected to Lincoln University…became head of the medical services" in Sierra Leone.[3] Azkiwie's influence had transcended that of Nigeria and fostered support and intrigue throughout west Africa.

Even though Azikiwe returned to Nigeria in 1937, the Zikist movement did not fully take effect until the return of his disciples in 1946. He did, however, use the *West African Pilot,* to bring attention to the political and social injustices carried out by the colonial governments in this time. It was not until the return of those whom Azikiwe exhorted to study in the United States when the Zikist movement initiated. There had been political movements that called for independence and colonial reform in Nigeria before. Herbert Macaulay for example, led protests and wrote criticisms of colonial government, but had not been as far reaching as the Zikist movement. As Jones-Quartey notes, what Azikiwe "brought to the scene was a new approach…a metamorphosis, of the popular base of that interest…Zik's quickening of the political pulse…that brought the youth to their feet in larger numbers than before."[4] This is what set the political scene of

[2] K.A.B Jones-Quartey, *A Life of Azikiwe* (Maryland: Penguin Books, 1965), 158.
[3] Jones-Quartey, *A Life of Azikiwe,* 158.
[4] Jones-Quartey, *A Life of Azikiwe,* 159.

Nigeria in the 1940s aside from the 1930s. Many young Nigerians supported Azikiwe's vision for Nigeria and flocked behind him in a wave of support that had not been seen in years prior. In 1944, With this strong support of younger Nigerians Azikiwe and his followers formed the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons or the NCNC.[5]

The NCNC had competition with other Nigerian nationalist groups. Nigeria like many other African countries, was (and still is) comprised of several different ethnic groups, two of the most politically prominent being the Igbo and Yoruba. The NCNC, consisted of many Igbo supporters. However, in the 1940s many Yoruba supported Obafemi Awolowo, a Yoruba man and University of London studied law student. While Azikiwe and Awolowo had originally worked together in the Nigerian Youth League a decade earlier, by 1945 the two had formed their own political organizations.

A Pan-Africanist based political philosophy is the major difference between Azikiwe and Awolowo. Awolowo hoped for an independent government of Nigeria where each ethnic group would be granted their own constitution. In *Path to Nigerian Freedom*, he wrote:

> As long as every Nigerian in Nigeria is made to feel he is a Nigerian first and a Yoruba or Ibo or Hausa next, each will be justified to poke his nose into the domestic issues of others. The one thing of common interest to all Nigerians as such and in which the voice of one must be as acceptable as that of any other, is the Constitution of Central or Federal Government of Nigeria. The constitution of each national group is the sole concern of members of that group.[6]

Azikiwe on the other hand favored a national political identity that transcended ethnic group loyalty; in other words, Azikiwe promoted a Pan-African political identity. In a speech given at a rally of the Nigerian National democratic party in 1951, he stated "If

[5] The name of the NCNC would later change to the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens after the Nigerian civil war.
[6] Obafemi Awolowo, *Path to Nigerian Freedom* (London: Faber, 1967), 53.

we are to realize self-government for Nigeria now, then nationalist forces must forget their petty selves and work together for the greater glory of Nigeria. It is not whether one nationalist group is right or not: the supreme test is, what is good for Nigeria?"[7] Azikiwe's belief in placing a national Nigerian identity before the political wants of individual ethnic groups in Nigerian illustrates how Pan-Africanism came to influence his understanding of state building. Azikiwe noted that Nigerians "should emphasize our belief that the idea of one Nigeria could become a reality, provided each coordinate unit of the federation was allowed ample scope for local autonomy within a framework whose task would be to weld our diverse peoples into one organic whole by guaranteeing fundamental rights and by establishing common nationality."[8] He believed Nigerian independence could come faster and hasten the unity among the peoples if the varying ethnic groups across Nigeria coalesced behind a singular national identity.

The clarity of Azikiwe's economic policy brought him more attention and support than Awolowo. Azikiwe's working experiences in the United States and his exposure to imperialism cemented his favor of Socialism. While studying at Howard he challenged Professor Abraham Harris's promotion of Capitalism pointing to his own experiences labor experiences (working at a mine in Pittsburgh among a list of other jobs) as evidence for how workers are exploited. In Nigeria too he warned his countrymen and countrywomen of imperialist powers deliberate misinforming on the nature of Socialism. At a speech in London in 1949 he admonished Nigerians to establish a "fully democratic and Socialist Commonwealth" and "no longer be scared by false alarms sounded by

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[7] Nnamdi Azikiwe's "Speech at the Glover Memorial Hall in Lagos, Jan 25, 1951" in *Zik: A Selection from the Speeches of Nnamdi Azikiwe* (New York: Cambridge University press, 2010), 167.
[8] Jones-Quartey, *A Life of Azikiwe*, 179. Here Jones-Quartey quotes Azikiwe from (*Zik*, C.U.P., 1962, p.185).

imperialist and their venal press in respect of any ideology which is basically Socialist in concept."[9] His views on Socialism augmented throughout the years but Awolowo's had not heartily espoused any economic philosophy until 1958. Awolowo did however come to support socialism after meeting with Kwame Nkrumah. Jones-Quartey writes "Awolowo visited Ghana and embraced Doctor Nkrumah and his policies. But his policies included socialism and also pan African political unity."[10] What helped Azikiwe garner more support over his rivals was his consistency in both his economic philosophy and Pan-African vision which manifested most visibly in Zikism.

Zikism expressed a Pan-African based drive for liberation through education. In order to mentally emancipate Africans, he believed in the need for a relearning and retaking of ideological conceptions of Africa and Africans. His education at both Howard and Lincoln University promulgated his call for revolutionary education. At an address delivered at Lincoln University in June of 1954 he remarked:

> Lincoln University has equipped me for the great task ahead by making me appreciate that although the continent of Africa is rather late in the race for progress and advancements in the world, yet handicaps were made to be overcome and barriers to be hurtled. I am, therefore, ready for this glorious task. I have faith in humanity. I have the vision and the imagination to appreciate the need to dedicate myself selflessly to this romance of nation building in Africa… today, the lion and the palm tree have cultivated mutual respect. Having understood each other they now realize that the world is big enough to contain them, and they have decided to cooperate to mutual advantage.[11]

Aside from noting the impact that Lincoln has had on him, he simultaneously reflects his vision for the continued shared relationship between Lincoln and Africa. In the years

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[9] Nnamdi Azikiwe's "address at the Second Annual Conference of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism on 'Colonies and War'" October 9, 1949 in *Zik: A Selection From The Speeches Of Nnamdi Azikiwe*, 159-160.
[10] Jones-Quartey, *A Life of Azikiwe*, 180.
[11] Nnamdi Azikiwe's "address delivered in the Harold Fetter Grim Gymnasium, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, at the Banquet of the General Alumni Association" June 6th, 1954 in *Zik: A Selection From The Speeches Of Nnamdi Azikiwe*, 14.

following his graduation, Azikiwe continued to support African attendance to American Universities and often recommended Lincoln University. In fact, his son later attended Lincoln.

Azikiwe also thanked Howard for helping him in his quest for a new Africa. He stated:

> as a crusader in the cause of human freedom in Africa, I'm very grateful to Howard University for helping to mold my outlook at the formative stage of my intellectual and physical development. Here at the hilltop, I learned the rudiments of the humanities, the anatomy of the social sciences, and the grammer of politics. Tunnel, Locke, Harris, Bunche, and Hansberry were among my teachers. They gave me an insight into the complex problems of human nature…. having been armed mentally and physically I was ready to take my place in the romance called life. The academic background served as a weapon to challenge cant and hypocrisy, two sift the chaff from the wheat, and to cultivate objectivity in assessing human situations and problems… for 20 years now, I have been comrade in arms with others in the crusade for human freedom and Africa. It has been arduous struggle—long, tough, bitter and excruciating… I can never forget the opportunity which Howard University offered me to be of service to humanity.[12]

Azikiwe's recounting of Howard's impact on him is set in a Pan-African narrative. In this speech, he is speaking to Howard Alumni as compatriots in a shared struggle for Black liberation. His mention of his former professors also connotes his Pan-Africanism. Most important is that Lincoln and Howard collectively shaped Azikiwe's belief that liberation required education.

Azikiwe's thoughts on education further reveal his attraction to Pan-Africanism. He like many other African state builders recognized the need for a drastic restructuring of African education systems. One of his plans for addressing this restructuring had been to continue the attendance of African students at American universities. His promotion of African students attending HBCUs specifically is outlined in a response he made to a dinner dedicated to him in 1947; the dinner itself sponsored by both the Lincoln University Alumni Association and the African Academy. He stated:

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[12] Nnamdi Azikiwe's "An address delivered during the banquet arranged by the Board of Trustees of Howard University to honor the recipients of honorary degrees of that university" June4th, 1954. *Zik: A Selection From The Speeches Of Nnamdi Azikiwe*, 12-14.

> I wish to speak to you tonight on the subject of cooperation between the United States and dependent territories in West Africa as I see the issue, it is one of human contacts. The minds of men and women must be liberated from those social forces which foster intolerance and ignorance. The more we know each other, the more we will appreciate the oneness of humanity, and the more we will cultivate the urge to create goodwill, fellowship and mutual understanding. Let us recognize and emphasize at once that such a task cannot be restricted to one continent alone. It must be a two way traffic. This implies bridgeheads in Africa and America in order to make cooperation worthwhile… at present the United States has many universities at their disposal and West Africa have none. But the idea of exchange implies equality of a basic nature. Here is what I think American educators and those interested in building up goodwill between the two countries can be of immense aid. The granting of scholarships to African students to study has its advantage. So too goodwill tours to West Africa by Americans. But to broaden the base of operations and make this two way traffic much more efficacious we have to make university education accessible to the Africans as well. By the establishment of a university in West Africa, organized and administered by the American and African peoples concerned and their friends, we should succeed in creating goodwill centers where teachers and students from America can spend sabbatical leaves. Surely if we can have 'Yale University' in China, American University in Turkey, and American University in Beirut, I can see no reason why we should not have Lincoln university or Howard University in Nigeria.[13]

Azikiwe's promotion of using American educators and resources to build an African university is telling for several reasons. For one, it illustrates his trust in both HBCUs and Pan-African based education. He argues that racism and imperialism are rooted and reinforced in education systems in Africa. What was needed to stop these forces was a new education system and a collective effort by Africans and African Americans to reassume dominion of their education systems. Second, it illustrates a Pan-African based solution to the problem of African education.

Both Azikiwe and Orizu took some necessary steps in building this trans-Atlantic Pan-African based education. The African Council on American Education increased the number of African attendees to Lincoln University as well as several other American colleges. Azikiwe, and many of his supporters believed that American universities could address the issues Africans faced under colonial education systems. Other Nigerians

[13] Nnamdi Azikiwe, "A Response to a Toast made in his honour at the dinner arranged jointly by the Lincoln University Alumni association and the African Academy in the Hotel Pennsylvania" June 27, 1947. *Zik: A Selection From The Speeches Of Nnamdi Azikiwe*,5-6.

supported this same dynamic. Mbadiwe for example hoped that the African Academy of Arts and Research continue to provide educational resources, despite him no longer being present in the U.S for its operation. Furthermore, Mbadiwe promoted African attendance of American Universities as Lynch points out "for Mbadiwe, American education for Nigerians was not only more relevant than its British counterpart, it was necessary. For neither Nigeria nor Britain had the facilities to educate the fast growing number of Nigerians who wanted higher education."[14] Mbadiwe, like Azikiwe and Orizu, also supported American universities as they felt these schools could work to mentally emancipate Africans.

Simultaneously many Nigerians pushed for the creation of a new national based University independent from colonial influences. Ibadan college formed in January of 1949 but had "affiliated to London University."[15] Support for an African based University gained widespread political attention in Nigeria during the early 1950s. Azikiwe who had long hoped to build an independent African University, coalesced popular support and led the way to establish Nigeria University. It became legally endorsed in 1955 but did not open until 1960. Azikiwe spoke about the law that established the University and noted important educational specifics the university would need. For example, he highlighted the necessity of University of Nigeria to offer degrees in subjects like "agriculture, architecture, diplomacy, domestic science, dramatics, education, finance, find arts, fishery, forestry, journalism, librarianship, music, pharmacy, physical education, public administrations, public health, secretarial studies, social work,

[14] Hollis R Lynch, *K.O. Mbadiwe: A Nigerian Political Biography 1915-1990* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013),78.
[15] Lynch, *K.O. Mbadiwe: A Nigerian Political Biography 1915-1990*,78.

surveying and veterinary science". He further noted, "if these institutes are so organized as to operate Pari Pasu with the facilities, then this region will embark upon and historic renaissance in the fields of academic, cultural, professional and technical education on the same lines as the leading countries in the world."[16] His promotions of such vocations are important as they reveal his practical approach to education in the backdrop of decolonization. His insistence on promoting agricultural and technical training alongside sciences and humanities illustrates his difference in educational philosophy than the prevailing thoughts on what Africa needed; especially that of Thomas Jesse Jones and the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

It is inaccurate to say that Azikiwe dissented completely from Jones's view on education. Interestingly, Azikiwe did praise the Phelps-Stokes Fund's assessment of African educational needs made in 1920. He noted that "after 35 years the observations and recommendations of the Commission are still timely. Indeed, I can say that this report forms a basis of the philosophy of education for Africa, not because Africans deserve a separate philosophy but, in the words of doctor Anson Phelps Stokes, the purpose of the Commission was to help Africans 'by encouraging an education adapted to their actual needs."[17] But Azikiwe support of technical and vocational education for Africans came more so from practicality and material needs for state building in Africa than it did from his concurrence with what Phelps-Stokes promoted. Azikiwe insisted on promoting an education that would benefit Africans through studying African history. Furthermore, he insisted that education at the University of Nigeria should be "Nigerian

[16] Nnamdi Azikiwe's "speech delivered in the eastern house assembly on May 18th, 1955," in *Zik: A Selection From The Speeches Of Nnamdi Azikiwe*,283.
[17] Azikiwe, "speech delivered in the eastern house assembly on May 18th, 1955," 281.

in its content."[18] True Azikiwe did support the use of agricultural training as Jones and Stokes had envisioned Africans should do, but this was only one facet of the University's education. The University of Nigeria's education philosophy based its outlook on found 4 educational factors:

> 1) its nationalist content so as to preserve the identity of the African, 2) its economic objective in order to provide for the requirements of industry commerce and society, 3) its cultural and vocational nature for community service as analyzed in the report of economic mission to Europe in North Africa, 4) its revolutionary character in attempting to blend the land grant college idea with a classic concept of universities and adapt both to the changing circumstances of contemporary Nigerian society.[19]

It is here where Azikiwe divulges from the viewpoint of Jones and Phelps-Stokes. For Azikiwe all forms of education could be used, whether it was studying the humanities or agriculture, providing that it moved toward liberation of Africa. In short, Azikiwe view on liberation tied into his educational philosophy.

Azikiwe also advocated for furthering women's education. He noted that "male and female students of any modern university should be allowed to live side by side on the same campus, where residence is available; they should study together, play together, and share together the vicissitudes of cultural atmosphere of secondary school or university life."[20] His promotion of a gendered equality in academic study again shows how his educational view point differed from that of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. The Phelp-Stokes Fund did provide educational grants to some women, but most scholarships were offered to men. Thomas Jesse Jone's vision for African education reinforced this gendered divide as his insistence on agricultural education more often sought male

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[18] Azikiwe, "speech delivered in the eastern house assembly on May 18th, 1955," 283.
[19] Azikiwe, "speech made as chairman of the provisional council at the inaugural meeting of the provisional council of the university of Nigeria, held in the conference room of the premiers lodge at Engu, March 3rd, 1960," in *Zik: A Selection From The Speeches Of Nnamdi Azikiwe, 293-294.*
[20]Azikiwe, "speech delivered in the eastern house assembly on May 18th, 1955," 284.

prospects over women as he believed they suited the physical requirements for agricultural labor better.

Lastly, Azikiwe's educational philosophy differed from Jones and the Phelps-Stokes Fund as it centered on the history and fate of the Black race. Azikiwe named and established the Hansberry college of African studies after his former professor at Howard. The establishment of this college came from Azikiwe's belief that Africans and people of African descent needed to know about the history of Africa to illustrate the successes of previous African empires. Educational differences between Azikiwe and Thomas Jesse Jones can be found here as Jones did not believe the study of history was needed and instead favored social studies.[21]

Azikiwe's educational philosophy also concerned issues facing Africans and African Americans. Azikiwe traveled consistently throughout the United States raising awareness on the issues of education, Racism, and the color line. [22] In a speech he gave in Michigan University in 1959 he expressed the importance of education for liberation. He noted how Nigeria University's existence could establish a new Nigeria and help students "facilitate the development of their personalities as free men and free women in a free world."[23] But to achieve this free world Azikiwe believed that the elimination of the color line needed to come first. While campaigning for Nigerian independence he spoke unequivocally on the necessity for ending racism. In one speech he stated "the problem which is agitating our minds today is the color bar. We are resolved to exterminate it in

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[21] See Jones, Thomas Jesse Jones, Social Studies In the Hampton Curriculum, (Hampton, Va.: Hampton institute press, 1906),5-8. Found on the Haithi archive.

[22] Azikiwe's "address add the summer school convocation held in the main auditorium of Michigan State University at East Lansing, July 10, 1959" in *Zik: A Selection From The Speeches Of Nnamdi Azikiwe*, 289.

[23] Azikiwe's "address at the summer school convocation held in the main auditorium of Michigan State University at East Lansing, July 10, 1959" in *Zik: A Selection From The Speeches Of Nnamdi Azikiwe*, 289.

all its forms in this country."[24] Azikiwe for decades understood that the proliferation of racism came especially from the circulation of media littered with egregious and erroneous stereotypes about Black peoples. To combat this, he proposed legislation to ban such media in Nigeria. He prepared a speech which he recited in March of 1949, to propel forward legislation to ban movies that portrayed Black peoples in a sardonic and candidly racist way. In this speech he noted:

> it is becoming habitual for Hollywood, particularly, to ignore the rights, history and feelings of certain races and nationalities by not giving careful consideration and respect treatment to those concerned. The portrayal of Negroes on the screen perennially as menials, bellhops red caps, janitors stable boys, clowns, eccentric dancers, lazy and happy go lucky people may be justified in certain respects, but not as a yardstick to describe the Negro race to the whole world… This motion is designed to curb any feasible way open to us in this country, through our board of sensors, films which portray the Negro race in a derogatory and humiliating manner, because they tend to create a spirit of resentment and bitterness on part of Africans, thus embarrassing race relations in this part of the world.[25]

Mentioned in his speech are several movies that were controversial and received public scrutiny. Azikiwe includes D.W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation*, and how the NAACP protested it as it "portrayed American Negros in an unfavorable light as a servile people who prefer slavery to freedom."[26] Azikiwe's efforts to restrict films that portray Black peoples as inferior reveals both his promotion of Pan-Africanism and Alain Locke's influence on him.

Locke mentored Azikiwe throughout his time at Howard and even after he left. The same viewpoints that Locke mentioned in *The New Negro*, resounded in Azikiwe's New Africa movement. One could argue that Azikiwe time with Locke shaped his

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[24] Azikiwe's speech delivered at a mass meeting which was held in the Glover Memorial Hall, March 5, 1947, in *Zik: A Selection From The Speeches Of Nnamdi Azikiwe*, 147.
[25] Azikiwe, "speech made at the introduction of a motion concerning films which are humiliating to the Negro race in the legislative council held at Ibadan, March 30th, 1949," in *Zik: A Selection From The Speeches Of Nnamdi Azikiwe*, 152.
[26] Azikiwe, "speech made at the introduction of a motion concerning films," 152-153.

viewpoint about how the negative stereotypes of Black peoples in movies, literature, and other media had devastating impacts on the race relations. Locke used the New Negro Movement to reaffirm the beauty and identity of Black peoples in the United States. Azikiwe adopted this idea but proselytized it in the larger context of Africa's future. He hoped, The New Africa he dreamed of could be a renaissance similar to the one in Harlem held decades prior. Both movements shared ideological motives like the importance appreciating Black history and use said history to refute contemporary conceptions on the color line and scientific racism. But New Africa was more politically based than the New Negro movement's culturally based front. The New Negro movement worked to reestablish Black ownership over how Black peoples were viewed through the production of literature, paintings, photography, and other artistic medium that showed the culture, prowess, and identity of Black peoples. The New Africa movement centered on political liberation through the propelling of Pan-Africanism and the use of education to intellectually rally African masses to independence.

Azikiwe's New Africa movement pushed for gradual political reform in Nigeria that finally collated into independence on October 1st, 1960. Azikiwe ran for presidency of the federal republic and became the president of Nigeria in 1963. He served as president for 3 years just before the start of the Nigerian civil war. Ironically, for all of Azikiwe's promotion of Pan-Africanism, ethnic and religious divisions in Nigeria proved to be too great. What was the source of the division? In short, a disagreement on how to politically steer the new nation exacerbated by the rise of ethnic based nationalism.

While college educations sponsored by the Phelps-Stokes Fund influenced many Nigerian migrant students' views on politics, Pan-Africanism, and Africa's future, such

an education birthed several new visions for Africa; these visions however, held by the several different African migrant students who later became Nigerian statesmen, did not wholly align with one another. Several events eventually led to the division of Azikiwe and his former supporters. An agglomeration of political and personal events worked to cause a schism in the once ardent Zikist followers.

The NCNC faced two jarring setbacks, them being, charges of corruption and the death of Mbonu Ojike. Ojike loyally followed and supported Azikiwe and the New Africa movement. In 1951 he held the title of "second vice president of the NCNC, before serving as "the minister of works and later as the minister of finance," and "had been Azikiwe's deputy in the eastern regional government." The area of which Ojike had dominion over came under political investigation on charges of bribery and corruption. Despite the dubiousness of the evidence presented and the notion that the verdict was "politically motivated", the committee chairman and another member of the commission leading the investigation found him guilty. Interestingly, two other members of the commission argued Ojike innocence. Despite serving him loyally for years, Azikiwe demanded Ojike's resignation.[27] Why would Azikiwe seemingly turn on one of his closest supporters? Azikiwe, an adroit political navigator, likely let Ojike succumb to these charges to demonstrate his willingness (to at least appear) to support the regional governments authority. Ojike died later that year reportedly from hypertension.[28] Ojike's death and Azikiwe's handling of the corruption charges against him, acted as the first of several events that caused a division between Azikiwe and Mbadiwe.

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[27] Lynch, *K.O. Mbadiwe: A Nigerian Political Biography 1915-1990,* 153.
[28] Lynch, *K.O. Mbadiwe: A Nigerian Political Biography 1915-1990,* 152.

Ironically, Mbadiwe and Azikiwe's relationship worsened the closer Nigeria came to independence. Mbadiwe's distrust of Azikiwe grew profoundly in the 1956 election year for the regional government. Azikiwe composed and mobilized a new organization called the "Zikist National Vanguard" whose partisanship stood solely with him. Such an action caused division between Mbadiwe and Zik. Lynch argues the presence of this new Zikist league left "Mbadiwe and some other party members outraged."[29] Azikiwe's insistence on continuing to return to younger generations to uplift his image and scrutinizing his enemies, fermented suspicions of Azikiwe's loyalty and credibility. Mbadiwe and other members of the NCNC soon questioned if Azikiwe, truly sought unity in Nigeria or just political power for himself.

Suspicions developed into outright disillusionment at the 1957 annual conference of the NCNC. While debating the process of electing officers Mbaidwe argued against Azikiwe motions to assume more power over the party. Mbadiwe's oration did not secure enough support resulting in a "deep schism in the NCNC" and Azikiwe being given "dictatorial" powers over the party.[30] Azikiwe also "attacked the party organization for lack of efficiency, criticizing especially Mbadiwe."[31] After years of support, how did the two Pan-Africanists come to odds with one another?

It is here where the difference between Azikiwe and Mbadiwe's vision for Africa answers the previous question. Azikiwe characteristically envisioned himself as Nigeria's savior and unifier. His grandiose attitude in many respects mirrored Locke's, attitude on leading the Black race to prosperity. Azikiwe did not mind relying on more socialist

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[29] Lynch, *K.O. Mbadiwe: A Nigerian Political Biography 1915-1990,* 157.
[30] Lynch, *K.O. Mbadiwe: A Nigerian Political Biography 1915-1990,* 162.
[31] Ronald Segal, *Political Africa: A Who's Who of Personalities and Parties* (London: Stevens & Sons Limited, 1961), 23.

based revolutionary actions to fight for liberation, providing he remained in power. Furthermore, Azikiwe had no compunction on shifting political blame to preserve his own public image (as he did with Ojike). Mbadiwe's approach tended to be more co-dependent and democratic. In terms of political character, Mbadiwe was the opposite of Azikiwe. He worked tirelessly to promote open discussion and compromise with dissenting political opinions, unlike Azikiwe's incessant berating of those who did not agree with him. In 1958, Mbadiwe announced a breakaway from the NCNC and created the Democratic Party of Nigeria and Cameroon. Although Mbadiwe garnered some national support, it had not been on the same scale as Azikiwe's influence.

Even as Nigeria became an independent country, Azikiwe and Mbadiwe's relationship remained strained and did not reconcile until outside intervention. It took intervention on part of Kwame Nkrumah to ameliorate their friendship. According to Lynch "Nkrumah… had formally communicated his concern to Azikiwe. Foreign minister of Ghana, Ako Adjei, who on a reciprocal visit to Nigeria brought the two men together in a secret session lasting 90 minutes." The two reportedly put aside their differences. Mbadiwe was allowed to rejoin the NCNC providing he first dissolve the DPNC. [32]

Prior to decolonization the two grew apart, but in the earlier years of independence their relationship ameliorated. Despite political differences their commitment to Pan-Africanism continued. In honor of Azikiwe's new presidential position Mbadiwe "organized a luncheon on behalf of the Old Boys of Lincoln University" with W.E. B Du Bois attending as a special guest.[33] Whatever political

[32] Lynch, *K.O. Mbadiwe: A Nigerian Political Biography 1915-1990,* 182.
[33] Lynch, *K.O. Mbadiwe: A Nigerian Political Biography 1915-1990,* 183.

tension and rivalry existed between Mbadiwe and Azikiwe in the late 1950s, dissipated as in May of 1961, Mbadiwe became "advisor on African affairs to the federal Prime Minister."[34] After the two reconciled, Mbadiwe, even relinquished old criticisms of Azikiwe's plans for Nigeria. In the years before independence, Mbadiwe criticized the notion of the University of Nigeria, but after independence he "justified his new support for the university on the grounds that his own priority, the establishment of free universal primary education, would simultaneously be possible."[35]

As for Nwafor Orizu and Jones-Quartey, they both by and large always remained close to Azikiwe, even throughout the falling out between Mbadiwe. Jones-Quartey who wrote a biography of Azikiwe, paid scant attention to the deterioration of the relationship between Azikiwe and Mbadiwe. In fact, Jones-Quartey's biography of Azikiwe (written during his time as president) glosses over many of Azikiwe's political controversies (like the trial of Ojike) and instead ingratiates him by touting his successes. Orizu also loyally served under Azikiwe under him in the NCNC and later becoming president of the Nigerian senate in 1960. In 1965, when Azikiwe left Nigeria for a medical leave, Orizu became the acting president.[36]

Why had Orizu and Jones-Quartey been such staunch supporters of Azikiwe whereas Mbadiwe dared to rebel? Each of them had a strong personal friendship with Azikiwe but Orizu and Jones-Quartey believed Azikiwe's vision best fit the needs for Nigeria, and perhaps more broadly speaking Africa. But their faith in Azikiwe likely came more so from their personal experiences with him. It was Azikiwe after all who had

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[34] Segal, Political *Africa: A Who's Who of Personalities and Parties*, 178.
[35] Lynch, *K.O. Mbadiwe: A Nigerian Political Biography 1915-1990,* 182.
[36] Jaanna Nwafor-Orizu and Jeff Unaehbu, *92 days in Power: Dr. A.A. Nwafor Orizu, GCON, as Acting President of* Nigeria (Nigeria: Timex Publishers, 2014), 28.

first secured them scholarships to Lincoln University and encouraged them to study abroad. Simultaneously, there was a logic in supporting Azikiwe. To combat colonization and establish independence, one needed to support a person of great influence, and no Nigerian at least appeared to be as influential as Azikiwe.

But Azikiwe's vision of a New Africa never truly came to fruition. Due to ethnic and national conflicts within Nigeria, political turmoil ensued. Yoruba, and Igbo parties debated on the functionality of a federalist system in Nigeria. Azikiwe left Nigeria to receive medical treatment, and Orizu became acting president in his absence. On the eve of the Igbo secession Orizu, and therefore Azikiwe as well, was ousted from the position of president in a coup in 1966. Igbo nationalists seceded from the rest of Nigeria in 1967 and tried to form their own country of Biafra. Nigeria entered into civil war shortly after.[37]

Nkrumah's Ghana

Kwame Nkrumah's vision for Ghana was rooted in Pan-Africanism. He held Pan-African sentiments prior to his journey to the U.S., yet these sentiments strengthened as a result of his exposure to American Pan-African intellectuals and his involvement in Pan-African organizations like the African Students Association. The classes and education he received at Lincoln also shaped his own viewpoints on how education and philosophy could be used to spread Pan-Africanism throughout Africa to end colonial rule, in not just the Gold Coast, but the entire African continent.

[37] Historically most Igbo occupied the southern area of Nigeria. However, Igbo minorities did exist in the North and other parts as well. After a census found the Igbo population exponentially increased concerns grew over political representation in Nigeria. Igbo nationalist hoped to create their own country called Biafra.

Nkrumah, like Azikiwe before him, always set his eye on returning to Africa, so that he could lead the decolonization when he returned. He envisioned an Africa under a single Federal government which he outlined in a speech where he stated:

> I believe strongly and sincerely that with the deep-rooted wisdom and dignity, the innate respect for human lives, the intense humanity that is our heritage, the African race, united under one federal government, will emerge not as just another world bloc to flaunt its wealth and strength, but as a Great Power whose greatness is indestructible because it is built not on fear, envy and suspicion, nor won at the expense of others, but founded on hope, trust, friendship and directed to the good of all mankind.[38]

For Nkrumah, Pan-Africanism was the solution to the problem of imperialism and true liberty could only be achieved in Africa, when every African nation came together under one Federal government. Ironically, for all of his talk about unity, his personal ambition often created political rifts.

Nkrumah's disagreements with J.B Danquah, a long time Ghanaian activist and first Ghanian to receive a PHD from an English university, on party direction led him to leave the UGCC, or the United Gold Coast Convention; the first major African political organization that challenged colonial rule in the Gold Coast. He helped form the CPP, or the Conventional People's Party, which he served as head of throughout the early 1950s. Why had Nkrumah broken away from the UGCC if he envisioned a united Ghana?

Ideological and personal differences between him and J.B. Danquah explain some of the reasons for Nkrumah's departure from the UGCC. Danquah also supported and fought for Ghanaian independence but did so more conservatively than Nkrumah. Perhaps, it was Danquah's London based education that influenced his views at a procedural movement towards independence. Danquah, at least politically, was not as

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[38] Kwame Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom: A Statement of African Ideology* (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1961), xi-xiv.

radical as Nkrumah. The two even worked together in years prior and had been on good terms. In fact, Danquah "formed the United Gold Coast convention (UGCC), writing at the suggestion of Ako Adjei to Kwame Nkrumah, then studying in London, to ask him to be the organization's secretary general."[39] But their relationship soon deteriorated due to their disagreements on approaching liberation of Ghana. By 1948, Danquah "grew dissatisfied with the way Nkrumah was running the organization."[40] One of their main points of political division tied to their debate on mobilizing the masses. Danquah refused "to support Nkrumah's plan for a mass organization."[41] Danquah instead promoted a gradual movement towards liberation led by Ghanian elites and the English government. Nkrumah dissented from such a view, as his educational experiences shaped his view on the need for the masses of people to push for independence. Breaking away from the UGCC, Nkrumah established CPP, garnered attention and popular support of the masses of Ghana.

Nkrumah and many CPP members petitioned and protested against the colonial government. The CPP hoped to remove the colonial government, break political ties with England, and establish its own government. The CPP won its first major victory in 1951, winning "thirty-four" of the Legislative Assembly's seats. Likewise, Nkrumah became prime minster of the colonial government, allowing for him and the CPP to have influential, albeit somewhat limited political power over affairs of the Gold Coast. Ghana officially gained its full independence from England on March 6th of 1957. During his time as both prime minster of the colonial government of Ghana and later president of

[39] Segal, *Political Africa: A Who's Who of Personalities and Parties*, 65.
[40] Segal, *Political Africa: A Who's Who of Personalities and Parties*, 65.
[41] Segal, *Political Africa: A Who's Who of Personalities and Parties*, 65.

the newly independent nation, Nkrumah attempted to manifest his vision for Africa into a reality.[42]

But what did Nkrumah's Africa look like? In short, Nkrumah envisioned a liberated Africa, meaning that each African country would no longer be held under imperial influence of Europe. Furthermore, he hoped that each independent nation of Africa would agree to coalesce into a larger African union, where political, social, and economic concerns of the whole African continent could be discussed and presided over. But to achieve such a feat, Nkrumah recognized African countries needed to take more action than establishing independence. He believed that Africans across the continent needed to partake in a social revolution that would change the existing educational, economic, and social systems in Africa. In order to do so, Nkrumah recognized he could only accomplish his goal by first changing education systems in Ghana.

Nkrumah promoted the establishment of a professional college in Ghana to help sustain the nascent nation. An address given to the interim university council of the University of Ghana, in 1961, outlines his thoughts on the need of higher education in Ghana. He stated:

> a very heavy responsibility is being entrusted to you. The whole future of Ghana depends to a very considerable extent on the success of our program for higher education and research and within these fields the proposed new University of Ghana will play a most important part. It is therefore necessary that we go about the task of organizing the new university in the most resolute manner… and that we set our eyes resolutely upon the main task which is to produce a university which will serve the needs of African unity, will make practical and concrete contributions the development of Ghana and the well being of the people of this country and indeed of all Africa.[43]

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[42] Jeffery Ahlman, *Living with Nkrumahism: Nation, State, and Pan-Africanism in Ghana* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press., 2017), 50.

[43] Kwame Nkrumah's address to the interim university council of the University of Ghana, 1961 in in Phelps-Stokes Fund Records, MG 162, Box 63, Folder 14, New York Public Library.

His Pan-African vision permeated into the demographic structure of the university he planned to establish. The staff of the university included both African scholars and American scholars. For example, St. Clair Drake, a prestigious African American sociologist, headed the sociology department at University of Ghana, Legon.[44] The inclusion of American academics reflects Nkrumah's ties to Pan-Africanism and his belief that education was needed to further mobilize Black independence. Like Azikiwe, Nkrumah supported African American educators and believed students exposure to them could build stronger ties of solidarity among Black peoples.

Nkrumah hoped that University of Ghana could work to prove the merits of African run education systems and refute the idea that African education systems needed to identically replicate Western and European ones to be successful. In 1962 Nkrumah, attended and spoke at the congress of Africanists. The congress gathered Africanists from all over the world for discussion on the study of Africa and was held at University of Ghana, Legon. Addressing the conference, he stated:

> you are meeting here today in the First Congress of Africanists, are all representatives of various disciplines, and are determined to pull your immense knowledge of Africa for the progress of the African. Your efforts mark a renascence of scientific curiosity and the study of Africa and should be directed at an objective, impartial scrutiny and assessment of things African. While some of us are engaged with the political unification of Africa, Africanist everywhere must also help in building the spiritual and cultural foundations for the unity of our continent.[45]

Nkrumah's appreciation of Africanists is important as it demonstrated his promotion of academics and scholars who sought to promote the study of Africa in a positive light. What's more, is his recognition of the need to promote 'new' histories of Africa to refute

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[44] Ahlman, *Living with Nkrumahism: Nation, State, and Pan-Africanism in Ghana*, 70.
[45] Kwame Nkrumah "At the Congress of Africanists,"(Speech, Ghana, December 12th, 1962), in the Phelps-Stokes Fund Records, MG 162, Box 63, folder 14. New York, New York Public Library.

the paradigms of past histories that justified colonialism and portrayed Africa as poor and menial. He argued that:

> in rediscovering and revitalizing our cultural and spiritual heritage and values, African Studies must help to redirect this new endeavor. The educational system which we devise today must equip us with the resources of a personality and a force strong enough to meet the intensities of the African presence and situation. Education must enable us to understand correctly the strains and stresses to which Africa is subjected, to appreciate objectively the changes taking place, and enable us to contribute fully in a truly African spirit for the benefit of all. [46]

Nkrumah like Azikiwe, promoted the importance of establishing a new educational system that recognized the historical political, social, and economic factors that stifled African independence and autonomy. To secure independence in Ghana, he worked to restructure education in Ghana.

Even in his earlier political career working with the CPP, Nkrumah gained popular support for his promotion of changing education. Jeffery Ahlman points out "no other issue more fundamentally represented the hopes and ambitions of both individual and the nation as a whole than education."[47] Many Ghanaians for decades endured barriers to affordable schooling under colonial education. Furthermore, even the ones fortunate enough to receive some form of education recognized the dynamic that existed between colonial run schools and the colonial administration. Scholars have noted that colonial education often created "a prescribed set of programs designed to 'guarantee that the educate young African would side with the British.'"[48] The movement from colonial education systems to independent led Ghanian ones allowed for the Ghanaian government to determine what information would be taught and how it would be

[46] Kwame Nkrumah, "At the Congress of Africanists," Phelps-Stokes Fund Records.
[47] Ahlman, *Living with Nkrumahism: Nation, State, and Pan-Africanism in Ghana*, 54.
[48] Ahlman, *Living with Nkrumahism: Nation, State, and Pan-Africanism in Ghana*, 56. In this quote Ahlman references Richard Wright's writings concerning colonial education.

administered. This broke away from years prior as the Nkrumah led government enacted a drastically new vision of education for Ghanaians.

Both University of Ghana Legon, and the primary school systems in Ghana encapsulated Nkrumah's vision for a modern Ghana. Both higher and primary education systems promoted the study of science and technology. The study of such subjects came from the belief that modernization and self-sufficiency would help to fully decolonize Ghana. Ahlman notes "technological and scientific education was of particular importance to the educational revolution the CPP envisioned… it was only via the attainment of skills and knowledge embedded with a technically and scientifically oriented curriculum that decolonizing the Gold Coast could produce a citizenry equipped to meet the demands of nation building."[49] Nkrumah especially encouraged the study of science and engineering. Writing to the interim university council for the University of Ghana, he asked that the council to appoint new chairs to the school such as "Philosophy and History of Science, Military Science and Strategy, Political Science and Institutions, Thermo-nuclear physics, Industrial Science, and Engineering Science."[50] Nkrumah's mention of such subjects illustrate his promotion of science based courses that would help Ghana's economy grow through the creation of more jobs in industry and engineering. Both sectors he viewed as necessary to modernize Ghana.

For all intents and purposes, Nkrumah and the CPP's work with education was revolutionary in many respects. The exponential growth of schools came as a result of campaigning by the CPP which tripled the number of primary schools from 1951 to 1957.

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[49] Ahlman, *Living with Nkrumahism: Nation, State, and Pan-Africanism in Ghana*, 56.
[50] Kwame Nkrumah's address to the interim university council of the University of Ghana, 1961, page 4, in Phelps-Stokes Fund Records, MG 162 Box 63 Folder 14 New York Public Library.

In addition, girls were not only allowed but even exhorted to attend schools. [51] Also of importance is the fact that the educational systems that emerged purged themselves from most colonial influences and focused on preparing students for the country's needs and not inculcating Ghanaians into obedience to the English colonial government.

The decision to promote education in Ghana resembled Nkrumah's understanding of how to combat imperialism. For Nkrumah, the educational systems in place under colonial rule did not properly function as institutions invested in building up African independence and wealth. For this reason, Nkrumah also believed African educational systems "should change their (its) course from anthropology to sociology, for it's the latter which more than any other aspects creates the firmest basis for social policy." [52] Nkrumah understood that education could be used as a tool to propel the masses toward his vision of decolonization. He supported sociology over anthropology for a number of reasons. First, sociology could aid Ghanaians in the study of societal development and the promotion of nationalist based interactions. Second, several anthropological studies of Africa, portrayed Africa as antiquated and tribal and switching the education to sociological studies, could focus attention on present issues facing Ghanaians.

Nkrumah's vision for Ghana, and more broadly Africa, entailed a large scale intellectually led social revolution. His studies of Marx and socialism indelibly shaped his thinking and came to determine much of his social, economic, and political philosophies. *Consciencism*, his own state philosophy, blended a mixture of Marxist ideals with some western educational topics. He promoted western found studies like

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[51] Ahlman, *Living with Nkrumahism: Nation, State, and Pan-Africanism in Ghana*, 55.
[52] Kwame Nkrumah "At the Congress of Africanists," (Speech, Ghana, December 12th, 1962), in the Phelps-Stokes Fund Records, MG 162 Box 63, Folder 14. New York, New York Public Library.

sociology, economics, and so on, in Africa. For Nkrumah, decolonization did not require the expulsion of western ideas, but rather the implantation of some ideas filtered into an African social revolution. He stated, "Consciencism is the map in intellectual terms of the disposition of forces which will enable African society to digest the western and the Islamic and the Euro-Christian elements in Africa and develop them in such a way that they fit into the African personality."[53] He did however, feel that socialism fit the African personality more so than capitalism, which he attributed as culpable for colonial exploitation. In fact, he stated "Capitalism is but the gentlemen's method of slavery."[54]

It is here where one can point out the antithetical vision that Nkrumah had from his former acquaintance, Thomas Jesse Jones. Jones did hope (according to his own view on racial hierarchies) that Africans would adopt Anglo-social behaviors and acquire them through education. But the education Nkrumah promoted wasn't anywhere near what Jones hoped an educational facility in Africa would have. Jones believed courses on social studies and education would inculcate Africans to becoming more like White peoples in terms of social behavior. He believed that Africans needed to find their place in the world through fitting into the white dominated social hierarchy. He did not believe Africans needed to cling to their own cultural identities to socially progress. Nkrumah's Consciencism, contradicted these beliefs. While it did not exclude some forms of western education views it nonetheless was about fitting western values into a new African social and cultural revolution. Secondly, Jones did not support socialism. His funding of Nkrumah's education produced the opposite of the desired student he wanted. Jones died

[53] Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism* (New York: Modern Reader paperbacks, 1970), 79.
[54] Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, 72.

in 1950, seven years before Ghana gained its independence. But that did not mean the Phelps-Stokes Fund stopped its interest in Africa.

An interesting exchange between Nkrumah's secretary, E.K. Minta, and trustee member of Phelps-Stokes Fund, Wilton S. Dillion, reveals, how the Phelps-Stokes Fund was still very much interested in shaping education in Ghana even after independence. Dillion wrote "professor Wright of the University of Ghana has been to our office recently, as you may know. I have arranged for him to meet in Washington some of the physicists on the staff of the National Academy, and other scientists who have been eager to learn more about the proposed programs of the Ghana Academy."[55] But by this time, Thomas Jesse Jones was no longer educational director of the Fund. Had new leadership of the Phelp-Stokes Fund sought to promote an altruistic approach to education in Ghana? Further study and research are needed to determine this.

Even with his success of education reforms in Ghana, Nkrumah still suffered from political backlash. Nkrumah's insistence on the whole of the African continent came from his Pan-Africanist beliefs, but simultaneously allowed for political division in his own nation to fester. Ethnic political divides in Ghana persisted past Ghanian independence. A great deal of Asante for example, rebuked Nkrumah's early economic policies and his claims on the need for political unity to supersede ethnic self-right to rule. The Asante formed their own organization the NLM or the National Liberation movement in protest of Nkrumah's vision and policies. Allman notes "the National Liberation Movement (NLM) asserted Asante's right to self-determination in the face of

[55] Wilton S. Dillion to Kwame Nkrumah, August 14th, 1962, in the Phelps-Stokes Fund Records, MG 162 Box 63, Folder 14. New York, New York Public Library.

Kwame Nkrumah's blueprint for a unitary government in an independent Ghana."[56] Although unsuccessful in establishing their own nation, the presence of the NLM in Ghana illustrated an opposition to Nkrumah's vision for Ghana. Tensions exacerbated when Nkrumah's government passed the "Cocoa duty and development funds bill which fixed the price of cocoa"[57] much to the agitation of many Asante Cocoa farmers who felt the government had cut them out of their ability to sell their produce at the highest price possible.

In his later years as president, he became more unpopular among Ghanaians and even members of his own political circle. Nkrumah blamed some of his own party members for a failed assassination attempt in 1962 including his former friend and Lincoln school mate Ako Adjei. Adjei, along with two others, Coffe Crabbe, amd Tawia Adamafio were charged and jailed for the assassination attempt. While it is still unknown who did plan the attack, the evidence against the three "was spotty at best."[58] Each held high ranking positions in the CPP, and for this reason alone came under immediate suspicion. Adjei in many respects shared a similar vision for Africa with Nkrumah. Both of them supported socialism, Adjei supported Nkrumah for years often recommending for party leadership, so why had Nkrumah singled out Adjei one of his earliest friends and supporters? Adjei's family originally were cocoa producers, had there been suspicion among Nkrumah that Adjei grew discontent with his economic reforms? One can only speculate that such a capricious betrayal of friendship came from political influences. As

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[56] Jean Marie, Allman, "The Youngmen and the Porcupine: Class, Nationalism and Asante's Struggle for Self-Determination, 1954-57," *The Journal of African History* 31, no. 2 (1990): 265, http://www.jstor.org/stable/182768.
[57] Allman, "The Youngmen and the Porcupine," 266.
[58] Ahlman, *Living with Nkrumahism: Nation, State, and Pan-Africanism in Ghana*, 195.

is common with many Socialist one-party states, internal conflicts between long time party members and younger generation seeking opportunity in the party created contention within the CPP. Younger Nkrumah supporters supported the imprisonment of the alleged conspirators despite the lack of evidence.

The assassination attempts in 1962 only made Nkrumah paranoid and more authoritarian. He cracked down on opposition parties within Ghana and declared it to be a one-party state. But such actions only fueled further political resentment and insurrection. Nkrumah was eventually overthrown in a coup in 1966.

African Unity?

Despite Ghana's independence in 1957, and Nigeria's independence in 1960, the two countries soon faced political instability and later ousting of their respective presidents. In 1966, insurrectionist forces took control of Ghana and ousted Nkrumah in a coup. Likewise, Azikiwe was removed in a coup in the same year. Why had such vocal Pan-Africanist been removed from power from the very nations they established and elected them?

Historians conversation surrounding decolonization have answered this previous question and given a multitude of answers. Some have cited internal ethnic conflicts over power and influence as well as the involvement of these new nations in an emerging battle ground for the US's and U.S.S.R's Cold War; as well as the understandable difficulties that come with establishing a new state. However, it is also worth pointing out that both Nkrumah and Azikiwe's vision for Africa, often blinded them to the mounting criticism coming from their own nations. Both Azikiwe and Nkrumah envisioned

themselves as requisite figures in decolonization, and their established governments often ostracized political outrage against them. This only worked to further divide them from their nations.

In the case of Ghana, Nkrumah insistence on promoting the CPP and a Pan-African vision alienated support for him even among some of his former friends from Lincoln. In fact, many took issue with his call for the immediate establishment of a federal pan-African union throughout the whole continent of Africa. At the Pan-African conference held in Addis Ababa in May of 1963, Nkrumah "made a stirring emotional plea for a union of African states with a strong central government. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Prime Minister of Nigeria, and Julius Nyerere president of Tanganyika, strongly opposed this proposal. Their position was supported by a majority of delegates who believed that unity would have to be achieved in stages over a number of years without trying to formulate at the outset the precise goal."[59] In other words, Nkrumah's grand vision of Africa did not receive the support he hoped for. Mbadiwe also dissented from Nkrumah's view of establishing an immediate one federal state of Africa. Mbadiwe chastised those like Awolowo, who supported Nkrumah's plan at the Monrovia conference.[60] What was the cause of the division among these former class mates?

In short, African visions for liberation varied on conceptual and procedural differences. Nkrumah called for haste in establishing an independent Africa. His vision consisted of liberation through establishment of a single government that presided over a collection of all African states. But many more Africans believed that the individual

[59] T. Walter Wallbank, Documents on Modern Africa (New York: D Van Nostrand company inc, 1964),123.
[60] See Lynch, *K.O. Mbadiwe: A Nigerian Political Biography 1915-1990,* 186.

independence of African states must first transpire before discussion of a Pan-African federal government. In many cases many nascent African states still had and needed economic aid from western countries to further develop their countries. Nkrumah's remiss attitude on the wants of other African states caused division between himself and other African leaders.

In terms of global support, Nkrumah's vision worried some former mentors back in the United States. Former Pan-African American allies viewed Nkrumah's actions in power as too radical. Ralph Bunche wrote of him in 1960 "he{Nkrumah} is, after all, an out and out racialist and unprincipled demagogue with an insatiable lust for prestige and power in Africa--his dream. To realize this dream, he will stop at nothing."[61]

Nkrumah's authoritarian actions like jailing his own party members, establishing price controls over the Cocoa industry, and preventing other political organizations from forming in Ghana illustrated his loss of touch with many of his own people. A *New York Times* article published in February of 1966 claimed that Nkrumah's reforms had failed because "he may have been a victim of his own economic polices" citing information in an interview with Nkrumah's former roommate at Lincoln, Dr. Allen T. Peters. In the article Peters claims that "the price of cocoa has increasingly dropped, and the economic future is what hampered his (Nkrumah's) program." Given the climate of Cold War journalism, the previous article likely wanted to advertise Nkrumah's failures as a result of his socialist policies, but it was not without some veracity. [62] Nkrumah though popular

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[61] Handwritten notes passed in General Assembly on September 22, 1960 quoted in Brian Urquhart, *Ralph Bunche: An American Odyssey* (New York: W.W Norton & Company, 1993), 336-447.
[62] Peter Kihss, "Ghana, Now in Dire Straits, Began as a Showcase." *New York Times (1923-Current File),* Feb 25, 1966, https://jerome.stjohns.edu/login??url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/117152509?accountid=14068.

in the early 1950s fell out of favor with many of his own people in the mid-1960s and was overthrown after just six years.

Azikiwe followed a similar fate, although his vision for Africa differed from Nkrumah's. Both Nkrumah and him wanted the same thing; an establishment of an African federal government and made up by a union of independent African states. But they disagreed on how to achieve such a feat. While they both agreed educational systems needed to be put in place in their respective countries to further propel African liberation, Nkrumah called for immediate unification under a federal government whereas Azikiwe favored a gradual approach. Ironically, for both of them, their Pan-African visions complicated their attempts to unity in their own states and across the continent. They alienated their own supporters and friends when political necessity required. In many respects their visions of a liberated united Africa were held back by their own inability to scale back their involvement in that vision

But Nkrumah, Azikiwe, Mbadiwe, Orizu, Ojike, and Jones-Quartey, are still revolutionary in more than just a political sense. They each worked to redefine African education and promoted Pan-African based education. Even though they had different political visions for Africa, these visions nonetheless stood nowhere near what Thomas Jesse Jones had hoped for. The success of the New Africa movement and Consciencism in promoting a Pan-African education came as an unintended consequence of the Phelps-Stokes Fund's decision to fund African students to the United States. African education systems post decolonization became more inclusive regarding gender. Both Nkrumah and Azikiwe supported the idea of more women attending college and getting an education. Jones's vision for African education centered more so on men than it did women, and in a

unique way, Nigeria university and University of Ghana steered away dramatically from Jones's vision of a gendered education.

Conclusion

The Evolution, Impact, and Application of Pan-Africanism

The scope of this project argued and explained how the Phelps-Stokes Fund's decision to fund African migrant students in the 1930s and 40s created an unintended outcome. In short by funding prospective students to embody Thomas Jesse Jones's vision of a 'good African', it inadvertently created a more radical based collection of African students that called for liberation of the African continent. The previous six chapters have attempted to illustrate that the educational experiences (both in and outside of their respective universities) shaped their political and educational visions for Africa. They studied under influential American thinkers and educators that promoted and encouraged their visions for African liberation. The driving force among this relationship they had not only with their former professors, but with each other themselves was Pan-Africanism.

Previously defined in the introduction chapter, Pan-Africanism is the belief that all people of African ancestry should coalesce in solidarity and fight for the liberation of one another. It functions on the idea that Black peoples regardless of geographical location should collectively unite. Debates on how the unity should take place and what such a unity would look like manifested into varying interpretations of Pan-Africanism throughout the 19th century. While the interpretation of Pan-Africanism, differed in ideological concepts, across the entirety of its existence, Pan-Africanism concerned itself

with two distinct ideas; liberation and integration.[1] Both terms are polysemous, as the growth of Pan-Africanism in Africa, Europe, and the United States sparked debates on the application of these principles. Therefore, one can better track the changes in the definition of these terms by contextualizing them in two-time periods: the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Liberation in the nineteenth century is defined by African continental unity. By the twentieth, century Liberation came to mean political and civil freedoms from imperial and racially oppressive laws. In other words, the latter definition comes to be more inclusive and globally centered.

Likewise, integration can follow a similar chronology and can be defined in both racial and political terms. Some early Pan-Africanists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries only promoted integration of different peoples of African descent, into emerging nations run by a Black political majority. Liberia is an excellent example of said definition as African Americans had integrated with different native African groups along the Sub-Saharan African coast. Indeed, some early Africanists admonished the idea that Black peoples could integrate into white owned areas. Some went as far as arguing that mixed race people of white and Black ancestry, were not authentically African. However, the late 1920s and following decades challenged such interpretations. Pan-Africanists from 1920s-1970s promoted integration in both political and racial areas. The political definition of integration, called for the right of Black peoples globally to be extended equal civil rights in their respective, nations. Likewise, attitudes on people mixed race people shifted to include such peoples, including them in a Pan-African identity. In sum there was a continental African and global African viewpoint on

[1] Opeyemi Ola, "Pan-Africanism: An Ideology of Development." *Présence Africaine*, Nouvelle Série, no. 112 (1979): 66-95. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24349891

liberation and integration; the former of which dominated Pan-African thinking in the 19th century and the latter the 20th.

What accounted for this shift in perspective? An often overlooked and underappreciated acknowledgement of a Trans-Atlantic dialogue and learning between African American educators and African migrant students taking place from the late 1920s to the early 1960s. During this time a collection of African migrant students, trekked across the Atlantic Ocean to learn at two influential and fast changing HBCUs; Howard and Lincoln University. Inspired by word of mouth advertising of first Kwegiry Aggrey, and later Nnamdi Azikiwe, this small yet influential diaspora of precocious intellectuals went to great lengths to secure educations at all Black colleges in the United States. Their educational experiences at these universities prompted conversations on globalizing Black liberation.

Yet, the organizations and people who helped fund their journeys and educations, did with intentions to not promote Black liberation. People like Thomas Jesse Jones, the educational director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, hoped that the African students he and his organization was funding would build agriculture resources in Africa and not politically independent states. Jones wanted Africans to build farms not governments. The unintended consequence of Jones funding this diaspora of African intellectuals was the birth of new visions for Africa and the development of new African state builders.

Although far from the first Nigerian to attend Howard, Azikiwe's time spent studying at the university proved instrumental. Under the influence of several Howard faculty members like Alain Locke, Ralph Bunche, William Tunnel, and William Hansberry his New Africa philosophy took form. He outlined this vision in his book

Renascent Africa. By studying in the United States under the auspices of Locke and others, he recognized that the same issues surrounding stereotypes of Black peoples that the Harlem Renaissance aimed to combat in the United States, needed to also be contented in Africa. The New Africa philosophy like the Harlem Renaissance before it aimed to establish a "mental emancipation, and political resurgence" of Africans.[2] Azikiwe's view on mental emancipation is rooted in the same ideological beliefs of the Harlem Renaissance. Azikiwe learning from Locke and other Howard professors, understood that the first step in building African political strength was understanding the importance and robust nature of African history.

Azikiwe incorporated this idea of mental emancipation as a cornerstone policy of education during his time as president. He established the Hansberry institute of research (named after his former professor and friend William Leo Hansberry) in his first year as president. This institute had intended to continue and popularize the study of African history and highlight the importance of African historical figures and accomplishments.

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[2] Nnamdi Azikiwe, *Renascent Africa* (Greenwood pub group, 1969), 24-25. Azikiwe defines each term in the following "1. The cultivation of spiritual balance-respect for the opinion of others; conceding to others the right to state their opinion whilst admitting one's right to state one's opinion. cultivation of a spirit of tolerant skepticism for the viewers of one's antagonist remembering the ideal set by Voltaire. 2. social regeneration-The Jettisoning of all forms of prejudice, be they racial, national, tribal, societal, religious, political, economic, or ethical; the realization that an African is an African no matter where he was born, whether at Kibi or at Zungeru,etc. The breaking down of all barriers of tribal prejudice, be they intertribal, or intra tribal, which so far, has postponed social unity of African peoples. 3. economic determinism-realization that economic self sufficiency on a sane basis is the ultimate means to the salvation of the Renascent Africa. no matter how educated Africans may be, they may go to Switzerland, Cambridge, Helioland, Oxford, Copenhagen, etc., for education; unless they are economically deterministic, they will fail to realize a stable society.4. Mental emancipation- the African has not been in a state of incunabula throughout history. There is no scientific proof to sustain the idea of superiority or inferiority of any race, physically or mentally… and emancipation is therefore essential let the African know that he has a glorious past and that he has a glorious future. Teach the Africans to know his capabilities and his role in the scheme of things... Let him follow a sokrates; Gnothi Seauton (Know they self), and like a sleeping giant let him awake and harness his power for his own good and for the good of mankind. This will create mental emancipation; for mental slavery is worse than physical slavery. 5. Political Resurgence-the expectation of political risorgimento is not farfetched if the Renascent African had cultivated spiritual balance, had experienced social regeneration, had realized economic determinism, had created a condition where he is mentally emancipated to appreciate his manifest destiny in the world. Politics is a means to an end."

Why had Azikiwe placed such importance on education? He believed that Africans needed to know their history in order to establish independence.

Nkrumah, a disciple of Azikiwe in the early 1930s, shared a similar educational shaping in the United States that prompted a growth in his view of Pan-Africanism. Nkrumah, like Azikiwe before him attended Lincoln University. His educational training at Lincoln developed much of his thoughts on education, politics, and state building which in turned morphed into his own political philosophy of Consciencism. Consciencism defined in his own words is "the map in intellectual terms of the disposition of forces which will enable African society to digest the Western…elements in Africa and develop them in such a way that they fit into the African personality."[3] Consciencism intended to integrate western ideas into African ones. In building his own state philosophy Nkrumah borrowed several terms and ideas from western philosophers and political theorists, many of which he learned about during his education in the United States. Consciencism had ties to Marxism, as both philosophies are rooted in "Materialism." He denounced capitalism and supported socialism stating "In sum the restitution of Africa's humanist and egalitarian principles of society requires socialism. It is materialism that ensures the only effective transformation of nature, and socialism that derives the highest development from this transformation."[4] Nkrumah agreed with Marx's ideas of capitalistic exploitation and the need for social revolution. Consciencism, had two distinct goals that related to both integration and liberation, them being " first the restitution of egalitarianism of human society, and second, the logistic mobilization of all

[3] Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970), 79.
[4] Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, 77.

our {African} resources towards the attainment of that restitution." [5] His experiences with the ASA, and other Pan-African based organizations in the US and studies at Lincoln believed in bringing Africans together under an intellectual revolution, one uniquely shaped by both Western ideas and African history, that Africans could use to uproot imperialism from the African continent.

Other African students like Ojike, Mbadiwe, and Orizu received exposure to the second curriculum, not exclusively through attending Lincoln University but through working with Alain Locke and establishing their own Pan-African based organizations in the US. Organizations like the African Academy of Arts and Research and the American Council on African education, sought to reclaim authority over the presentation of African history and expand educational access to Black peoples. At the same time these organizations allowed for new conversations to take place on decolonization in Africa. Thomas Jesse Jones had hoped that by funding students like Nkrumah, Ojike, Mbadiwe, and Orizu, they would come to appreciate the presence of the English oversight. Instead, such actions linked these students instead with one another and other African students studying in the United States at Lincoln; thereby providing the location for the development of Pan-African based associations that called for the removal of imperial systems.

Upon completing their studies in the United States many of them returned to Africa. They immediately worked to undermine the present colonial governments in Nigeria and Ghana in hopes of creating their own nations. Propelled by their studies and lessons learned in the United States they worked to initiate their new visions of Africa. In

[5] Nkrumah, *Consciencism*,78-79.

Nigeria the Zikist movement worked to establish the NCNC led by Azikiwe, Mbadiwe, Ojike, and Orizu. In Ghana, Nkrumah formed the CPP with Ako Adjei.

Nkrumah and Azikiwe's visions for Africa aimed to create a unity throughout the African continent by first reshaping educational systems in Nigeria and Ghana. Azikiwe authorized the creation University of Nigeria. Nkrumah worked to establish University of Ghana Legon. Both Nkrumah and Azikiwe believed all of Africa needed to be liberated but such an emancipation required African led and focused education that worked to promote unity and equality. Nkrumah called for a return to the study of African history, in an African centered lens. He stated:

> If African history is interpreted in terms of interests of European merchandise and capital, missionaries and administrators, it is no wonder that African nationalism is in the forms it takes regarded as a perversion and neocolonialism as a virtue. In the new African renaissance, we place great emphasis on the presentation of history. Our history needs to be written as the history of our society, not as the story of European adventures. African society must be treated as enjoying its own integrity; its history must be a mirror of that of society and the European contact must find its place in this history only as an African experience even if as a crucial one… when history is presented in this way… it can become a map of the growing tragedy and the final triumph of our society. In this way, African history can come to guide and direct African action. African history can thus become a pointer at the ideology which should guide and direct African reconstruction.[6]

Like Azikiwe, Nkrumah's ideas on education were influenced by studying and working with American Pan-Africanist. Attending the same University as Azikiwe, he also shared contact and correspondence with professors from Lincoln University. He met with professors like Locke, Ralph Bunche and allegedly sat in on lectures of Hansberry, all of which exposed him and many others African students to broader conversations on Africa's history and future.

Perhaps what is most inspiring about Jones-Quartey, Ojike, Nkrumah, Azikiwe, Adjei, Mbadiwe, and Orizu is their initial success in state building. They successfully

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[6] Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, 63.

removed the colonial governments from Ghana and Nigeria. They established republics and extended educational access within the first few years as state builders. They dealt with political division and turbulence that ultimately led to the disposal of the Nkrumah and Azikiwe regimes. But, one must admire that before they were politicians and state builders they were students who hoped to change the world they lived in. Could these students have gotten as far as they did without the support of their faculty and financial sponsors? While one can never truly predict the past that never happened, it is safe to say that the friendships they formed with one another, and their former faculty changed Nigeria and Ghana and had an indelible impact on the Pan-Africanism and African history.

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