proscribed individuals as Robeson and Du Bois. Even as it focused its concern on a minority of African Americans, the U.S. government’s interest in curbing this particular form of black political and activist expression provides a revealing glimpse into the extent to which dominant American citizenship and liberal ideology were, in fact, racially infected, marked by the suppression of independent black solidarities. This history belies the claims of some scholars who assert that the United States had an exemplary civic national culture into which African Americans ought to have sought integration.21 That assumption drastically underestimates the extent of massive resistance in the South and institutionalized racism in the North, factors that led to a significant number of African Americans to resist the rhetoric of integration. Some of them found greater possibilities and hope for a truly desegregated existence in Nkrumah’s Ghana.

As a beacon for the black world’s libery aspirations and a political sanctuary for exiles from American and colonial racial oppression, Ghana was the product of generations of struggle waged from the margins of segregated black institutions and global radical and anticolonial movements. The political awakening that united peoples of African descent within anticolonial and antiracist movements throughout the twentieth century is the subject of the next chapter.

I

MAPPING THE ROUTES TO GHANA

Black Modernity, Subjecthood, and Demands for Full Citizenship

Six years before Ghana’s independence, a biographical account of George Padmore, published by a radical West Indian newspaper illustrated the convergence of multiple histories of slavery and colonization in the life and career of the journalist and leading activist of African anti-colonial movements. Born in Trinidad, educated in African American universities, based in London, and now, as the article reported, bound for the Gold Coast colony to assist the nationalist movement there, Padmore symbolized a resilient black world overcoming the fragmentation of enslavement. On this occasion, the narrative of Padmore’s life story consciously evoked the shared historical origins of peoples of African descent residing in the United States, Brazil, Latin America, and the West Indies whose genealogy could be traced to the West Coast of West Africa. According to this account by L. H. A. Scotland, Padmore’s great-grandfather had been an Ashanti warrior who was taken prisoner and sold into slavery on Barbados, where his grandfather had labored on a sugar plantation. The genealogy of Padmore’s slave origins reminded readers of the metropolitan foundations of slavery and colonization. Duly noting the slave-owning origins of members of British royalty and nobility, Scotland laid waste to the mystique of primordial Englishness and royalty. The sugar plantation on which Padmore’s grandfather toiled was “owned by the ancestors of the present Earl of Hartwood, the son of the Princess Royal, sister of King George VI.” Padmore’s grandfather had migrated to Trinidad after the abolition of slavery in 1834, working

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modernity," the result of black people's liberatory engagement with the institutions, ideologies, and technologies of the Western world. Over the short African century of anticolonial struggle and pan-African nationalism, multiple histories of migration, a variety of institutional settings, mass communication technologies, and social and cultural movements provided the basis for a global culture of black modernity linking colonies with metropolitan centers, forging a new sense of a unified black world out of once-disparate diasporas. The vibrant cosmopolitanism of Harlem and its traditions of black nationalist and left-wing agitation, along with those of other black urban enclaves, including Paris; London; Chicago; Washington, D.C.; and Philadelphia, were important sites for the development of transnational black activism. At such African American universities as Fisk, Howard, and Pennsylvania's Lincoln, the legacy of New Negro radicalism shaped interactions between African Americans and foreign-born students from Africa and the Caribbean. Elsewhere, countless African Americans and colonial subjects from the Caribbean and Africa were politicized by the international communist movement and its global agitation on behalf of the Scudettisto defendants as well as the involvement of the organized Left in black popular front movement activism during the 1930s and 1940s.

A major catalyst for the creation of a global culture of black modernity during the early twentieth century was the unprecedented mass migration of peoples of African descent spurred by the demand for labor within industrial mass-production regions. As Thomas Holt has written, "[M]illions of colored peoples from four continents were quite literally pulled or pushed out of their place." At the bottom of racially oppressive systems of coerced labor, moving from colony to metropolis, from rural villages to cities, they encountered a succession of similar yet distinct systems of racial subordination that exposed them to the promise and discontents of modernity. Describing the formative experiences of Caribbean-born black labor organizer Ewart Gomlitt, who worked in wartime New York City, historian Martha Bondi has also delineated a collective experience of emigrants, former colonies from the Caribbean, politicized by their encounters with American racism whether in the urban North or in the U.S.-controlled Panama Canal Zone. Kwame Nkrumah and George Padmore underwent a similar passage through the crucible of Western racism, traveling to the United States in search of education and professional training. Nkrumah and Padmore worked as laborers to subsidize their studies. The belated incorporation of peoples of African descent into mass-production industries spurred demands for political and economic...
rights within trade union movements. Whether in search of education or employment, migrants to European and American metropolitan urban centers from the rural U.S. South, from the West Indies, and from the country to cities throughout West Africa exemplified not only black and African peoples’ quest for greater economic opportunity but increasingly their demands for political change as modern historical subjects.\[7\]

Mass migration to metropolitan centers fueled anti-imperialist political organizing in London. Since the 1930s, African nationalist student activists and West Indian intellectuals, including Padmore and the exiled Marcus Garvey, agitated in London around pan-African concerns. Such efforts took on greater urgency after Italy’s 1935 invasion of Ethiopia, which heightened nationalist sentiment among outraged black and African peoples throughout the world. World War II accelerated demands for freedom and rights consciousness as the dissonant experience of African American and colonized black and African soldiers fighting for democracy on the side of imperial and segregationist powers honed resistance to systemic racial oppression. In London, migrants and students from Africa, the South Asian subcontinent, and the West Indies envisioned themselves as a commonwealth of colonial freedom movements. In the United States, African Americans agitated for civil and voting rights within the March on Washington movement, which campaigned against discrimination in defense industries, housing, and the military and thereby initiated what scholars have recently termed the “long civil rights movement.” Just as African Americans looked to the federal government and the courts to declare unconstitutional racial segregation in the South, so did many young blacks of the postwar era draw inspiration from anticolonial movements. The victorious example of Gandhi’s nonviolence powerfully influenced the U.S. peace movement, facilitating the participation of such black American radicals as St. Clair Drake, Bayard Rustin, and Bill Sutherland in the politics of Gold Coast nationalism.

Black Expressive Cultures of Modernity: Highlife and Ngritude

The main cultural artifacts of this urbanization of the black world, which led racialized and colonial subjects to imagine themselves anew as self-determining citizens, were West African highlife, Afro-Cuban music, Trinidadian calypso, and African American modern jazz, or bebop. During the 1950s, the calypso recorded by Trinidadian singers in London offered \[31\] commentary on the postwar migration of West Indians to England. In Nigeria and Ghana and throughout West Africa, highlife demonstrated a seemingly limitless capacity to absorb other Afro-diasporic musical influences such as calypso and mambo. Highlife, like calypso and African American modern jazz, epitomized the transnational routes and processes of migration and exchange that merged the cultures and struggles of peoples of African descent during the postwar era. As a form of expressive culture synonymous with the anticolonial movement, highlife, as its name suggests, conned popular African aspirations for freedom and modernity. The music also promoted nationalism by synthesizing a cultural unity out of tribal and ethnic differences. Indeed, the variety of songs and their origins reflected the hybridity of a pan-West African culture defined by migration, ethnic intermarriage, and cosmopolitanism. According to Wolfgang Bender, “Singers would perform in different languages, and the music’s changing rhythms reflected many musical cultures. The language used could be Yoruba, Fante, Ewe, Ga, Urhobo, Efik, Igbo, English, pidgin English, and others.” During the early 1960s, highlife and West African percussion styles would feature prominently in the compositions of modern jazz drummers Max Roach, and his collaborations with lyricist Oscar Brown Jr., vocalist Abbey Lincoln, and Nigerian percussionist Michael Olatunji articulated Africans’ solidarity with African liberation struggles. Such collaborations between African American and African musicians contributed to a broader articulation of a global, democratic vision of African American consciousness and citizenship.\[11\]

In literature, the transformative spirit of black modernity found expression in Ngritude, which emerged during the 1930s as a literary and cultural movement of Francophone African and black Caribbean intellectuals. Ngritude crystallized a growing awareness among black intellectuals throughout Africa and its diaspora of a black voice, an African and diasporic vernacular rearticulation of modern culture through literature, music, and the arts. Before Ngritude became known as such, the artistic evolution of a distinctly black vernacular animated the efforts of many artists, including the work of such poets as Afro-Cuban Nicholas Guillen, Jamaican-born Claude McKay and Louise Bennett, and Afro-Americans Paul Laurence Dunbar and Langston Hughes. Specifically, Ngritude as cultural movement and manifesto represented black Francophone intellectuals’ response to the alienation produced by French colonial policies of assimilation that inevitably denigrated the ancestral African cultural heritage while patronizing the intellectuals as elite evolué for their mastery of Francophone language and culture. Against
European contempt for Africa, advocates of Negritude affirmed African origins and recovered the submerged history of the continent's ancient civilizations. Just as African scholarship and contributions in the arts and sciences represented crucial elements of Western civilization, so in modern times would black and African cultural innovation make singular contributions to universal world culture. As formulated by Senegalese poet Léopold Senghor, Marquetan writers Paul Éluard and Aimé Cesaire, and a host of others, Negritude appropriated and synthesized such disparate Western and Afro-diasporic historical and cultural influences and traditions as Persianian philosophy, surrealism, Marxism, Afro-Cuban literary negrismo, the Haitian revolution, the New Negro Renaissance, and European anthropology. These intellectuals' declarations of black and African cultural autonomy, their assertion of the cultural unity of peoples of African descent, and their rejection of European cultural imperialism provided a basis for exiled and tortured black and African peoples with a sense of spiritual return to their African origins. Negritude also galvanized anticolonial resistance, as such figures as Cesaire and Senghor translated its values into the political realm of decolonization. At its genesis, Negritude represented nothing less than a global assertion of black emancipatory modernity.

Co legitimizing the African Movement: The Diaspora Comes to Africa

As suggested by the multiple histories that converged in highlife and Negritude, throughout the black world, local subjectivities and demands for freedom were inevitably entangled within what was widely understood as a global setting. With the postwar collapse of Europe's empires and African Americans' escalating demands for full citizenship, peoples of African descent increasingly regarded themselves as part of a global community of struggle. West Africans of the postwar era, for example, came of age within a diasporic culture that had long been cosmopolitan and a part of the West. As Paul Gilroy and Manthia Diawara have shown, mass communications technologies and expressive culture are crucial vehicles for the ongoing formation of transnational modern black and African subjectivities. Indeed, as the culture of highlife suggests, "swell" African cultures were inherently cosmopolitan and outward looking. For a youth in Lagos during the 1940s and 1950s, confirmations of the worldwide African presence were everyday matters, from the local community of Portuguese-speaking repatriates from Brazil in American cinematic images of blacks. There was also Afro-Cuban dance music and such Afro-American heroes as boxing champions Joe Louis and Sugar Ray Robinson. In this sense, the Angophone West Africa of Kwame Nkrumah's youth was truly a part of the black diaspora, with its dense layering of insubstantial exchanges and historical and sociocultural movements.

For example, such Afro-diasporic influences as Garveyism, a cornerstone of the U.S.-based New Negro movement, contributed to a burgeoning African renaissance during the 1920s through which an Angophone West African intelligentsia proclaimed Africa's membership in the modern world and articulated popular aspirations for national self-determination. Such was the milieu that Nkrumah carried with him to the United States and Harlem, where he pursued an informal political education in addition to formal study at historically black Lincoln University. And the New Negro renaissance in America helped launch George Padmore on the path to radicalism and anti-colonial agitation as such black American colleges as Fisk and Howard. Such African American institutions—including churches, colleges, fraternal societies, and newspapers—were focal sites of anticolonial ferment, venues for what historian Penny Von Eschen has called a "politics of the African Diaspora." Relocated to London, Padmore's pan-African organizing brought him into contact with Francophone West African labor organizer Tiémoko Garan Touré, a collaboration that, as Bent Edwards has written, dramatized not only the crossing of boundaries between different colonial regimes and languages but most importantly the inherently international character of black radicalism in the interwar period. Among these routes of communication and within these hybrid diasporic settings that in a sense could not be considered strictly African, West Indian, or African American, anti-colonial black activists and intellectuals articulated the emergence of a modern political community defined by self-determination and freedom.

As colonial subjects from Africa and the Caribbean kept abreast of African American politics and institutions, a segment of the African American intelligentsia linked its struggles for full citizenship in the United States with the global anticolonial movement, taking for granted the congruence of their distinct struggles, members of this worldwide network of activists and intellectuals pooled educational, political, and intellectual resources in the service of pan-African emancipation. The organizing and planning for self-government by Nkrumah and Padmore in London paved the way for the nation-building efforts of Drake and others in the Gold Coast colony to become the new nation of Ghana. Indeed, the extent to which African nationalism framed the activities of such African American intellectuals and...
activists as Du Bois, Bill Sutherland, and Bayard Rustin has been greatly
underrated.

From Trinidad to America, West Africa, and England: George Padmore's Transatlantic Odyssey

George Padmore was the leading theoretical, strategic, and publicist of anti-colonialism and African liberation, linking metropolitan agitation to the nationalist movements on the African continent. As with so many other West Indian intellectuals, exile was an essential condition for his life's work. Padmore left Trinidad for the United States in 1927, seeking professional training. Instead, he joined the Communist Party the next year. Padmore quickly ascended to leadership as the Communist's expert on colonial peoples but was expelled from the party in 1933 when he objected to its pursuit of an alliance with Britain and France in return for its withdrawal of support for anti-colonial challenges to imperial nations. Beginning in 1935, Padmore based his political work in London until he relocated to Ghana in 1937 and became a special adviser to Kwame Nkrumah.

Born Malcolm Ivan Meredith Nurse in Tucarigua, Trinidad, on June 18, 1903, Padmore was the second child in a family of five. His father, H. A. Nurse, had achieved distinction as an agriculturist and botanist. Among blacks of Padmore's father's generation in Trinidad's middle class, pride and solidarity were necessary responses to metropolitan racism. An insulating tract by an English writer, J. A. Froude, The English in the West Indies (1888), received a swift rebuttal by Jacob Thomas, Trinidad's leading black intellectual. In his reply titled Froude's West Indian Fables Explained (1909), Thomas rebuked Froude's "childish slurs of the blacks" and called for the unification of the scattered peoples of the African diaspora on behalf of African emancipation. Thomas's appeal was answered by another prominent contemporary of Padmore's father, Harry Sylvester Williams, a Trinidadian barrister, organized the first Pan-African Congress in London in 1900.5 Malcolm Nurse received his secondary education in Port of Spain and worked as a journalist, hoping to study law or medicine, Nurse sailed for the United States when his name came up on the U.S. immigration quota. In the mid-1920s, he attended Fisk University, where he joined the student newspaper and made a name for himself as a much-sought speaker on colonial issues. Nurse subsequently entered Howard University in Washington, D.C., where he came into contact with prominent black American scholars including Alain Locke, Ralph Bunche, and Charles Houston. Throughout the 1920s, Howard was a cosmopolitan center of black aspiration, with approximately two hundred foreign students from colonial territories, mostly the British empire.6

Many years later, a roommate from Padmore's days at Fisk and Howard provided a memorable account of Padmore's political coming-of-age. At Fisk, Padmore, still known as Malcolm Nurse, studied English literature and spoke around Nashville and occasionally at Vanderbilt University. He kept abreast of the doings of the New Negro, following the efforts of Fisk alumnus Du Bois and Garvey. Padmore read H. L. Mencken and the radical journalism of the American Mercury. Nashville, though moderate, was nevertheless part of a region where recorded lynchings still averaged between thirty and fifty annually. Padmore's outspokenness under these conditions enhanced his appeal as a speaker at nearby colleges. At Fisk, he attended seminars and achieved renown (or notoriety, according to some) by challenging the racism of visiting speakers, sometimes heckling them \'straight. Yet he withdrew short of obtaining his degree. His wife had arrived in New York, leaving their baby daughter, Byliden, with grandparent's in Trinidad. Padmore moved to New York, ostensibly bent on obtaining a law degree.

The couple spent the summer of 1927 in New York, where Padmore enrolled at New York University, although he dropped out the following December without ever having attended a class. Padmore did maintenance work in the New York Times building and came into contact with Communist party members around Union Square. His biographer, James Hooks, claims that Padmore was subject to party discipline from mid-1927 onward. Party officials sent the young man to a youth camp in upstate New York, where he lectured and immersed himself in party activities and objectives. According to a Howard classmate, Legrand Calestus, Padmore also came to regret the Communist Party as the only organization willing to do anything about the plight of black people.7

Padmore transferred to Howard in 1928, again intending to study law. Howard's foreign students included many West Indians seeking that institution's opportunities for professional training. By now, Malcolm Nurse had adopted the name George Padmore as a cover for his political activities. But Malcolm Nurse was so less scrupulous a participant in campus politics than the most answering to Padmore, making it difficult to believe that many observers were taken in by the ruse. Bunche, one of Padmore's inspectors, disclaimed any knowledge of Padmore's party membership and recalled that the young firebrand gave a speech "one noon in the center of campus in
which he decried just about everybody and everything in fluent, ringing rhetoric." Another incident at Howard suggests Padmore's readiness to confront authority. The school's president, Montefiore Johnson, had invited Sir Ernest Howard, the British ambassador to the United States, to speak at the dedication of the university's International House. Padmore and another West Indian student, Cyril C. Ollivierre, president of the campus Garvey Club, organized a protest attacking the ambassador as an apologist for empire and for his likely involvement in Garvey's deportation. Padmore and Ollivierre distributed leaflets identifying Padmore as secretary of an anti-imperialist youth organization, and Padmore's shouted objections to the ambassador's defense of British imperialism in Africa echoed through the hall. So vehement was the young man's heckling that a scandalized board of trustees sought to have Padmore expelled. Johnson, who had admired Padmore and shared platforms with him while he attended Fisk, put a stop to the effort, claiming with tongue in cheek that no George Padmore was enrolled at Howard.  

Padmore took full advantage of Howard's tolerant climate, organizing during the day, reading economics at night, and conversing into the wee hours with his roommate, a medical student, on such matters as economic waste and materialism in the United States. His legal studies languished as his party activities consumed most of his time. He commuted frequently between Washington and New York, where he edited the Negro Champion with Richard B. Moore in Harlem.  

Padmore's arrival in the United States coincided with the New Negro militancy that had exploded in student strikes deploiling the conservatism and white philanthropic control of several black colleges, including Fisk, where a strike occurred in 1927. African American discontent also found expression in the Garvey movement's anticolonial stirrings and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's campaign for federal antilynching legislation. Black assertiveness often represented a direct response to attempts in the West to keep blacks in their place. African Americans remembered the Red Summer of 1919—so named for the frequency of lethal white mob assaults on black urban communities that season—primarily for black efforts at armed self-defense and retaliation. After the war, the resurgent Ku Klux Klan further spread the viruses of racial polarization, mob violence, and xenophobia. Migrants from the rural South as well as the immigration of Afro-Caribbean and growing numbers of African students swelled the size of black urban communities. These transformations had a radicalizing effect on African American public culture. The spread of radical ideas was far from a one-way process, however. Already an avid reader of J. J. Thomas, Du Bois, and Garvey before departing from Trinidad, Padmore's political formation did not begin with his membership in the Communist Party. His activities suggested the reverberation of New Negro militancy throughout the Americas and the internationalism of many black U.S. college campuses as sites of African and West Indian nationalist challenges to the British and French empires. Indeed, Robin Kelly's argument that African American communists in Alabama brought cultural traditions and the lived experience of Jim Crow segregation to their membership in the party is instructive for understanding Padmore's attraction to organized Marxism. Those who recruited Padmore capitalized on his background of colonial oppression and black consciousness and resistance, which first began in Trinidad and continued through his exposure to Jim Crow and New Negro agitation in the United States. Padmore's association with the party coincided with one of its noteworthy periods of receptivity to African and black struggles. His talents were speedily rewarded when he was named secretary to the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers and assumed the editorship of the Negro Worker. In 1930, Padmore toured West Africa, recruiting delegates for the First International Congress of Negro Workers, which was held that same year in Hamburg. Padmore became the Communist International's expert on anticolonial movements. The product of these years was Padmore's The Life and Struggles of Negro Traders (1931), which impressed T. Ras Makonnen, a British Guiana—born pan-African activist who would work alongside Padmore in the Ghanaian government. Like Padmore a product of black American universities, Makonnen, who had taken the name of Hallie Selsassie's father in solidarity with Ethiopia's struggle against Italy, viewed Padmore's book and its bracing anticolonial rhetoric as a "magic weapon." Padmore resigned from the party in 1934 when the Comintern liquidated the anti-imperialist International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers and kept on of an attempt to improve relations with the Western colonial powers. Padmore later wrote that he considered the party's abandonment of the young nation liberation movements of Africa and Asia "a betrayal of the fundamental interests of my people, with which I could not identify myself." Beginning in the early 1930s, Padmore was based in London, where he wrote prolifically as a journalist in the anti-imperialist and African American press and continued his agitation on behalf of the colonized world. The Afro-patriotism that animated Padmore's break with the party was
voice dominated the globetrotting features "Politics and the Negro" and "The African World," evident in the journal's condemnations of racist and democratic imperialism, its opposition to the impending global war on anticolonial grounds, and its extensive coverage of the labor unrest coursing through the West Indies. While quick to celebrate such symbolic events as Joe Louis's defeat of Max Schmeling, hailed as "a victory for Africans and people of African descent the world over," the International African Observer also excoriated such colonial outrages as French troops' shooting of striking railway workers in Dakar in which six were killed and forty wounded. The journal's fiercely united anticolonial front had room for some internal disagreement. In an otherwise favorable review of James's A History of Negro Revolts, a contributor took exception with James's negative assessment of Garveyism.

James recommended Kwame Nkrumah to Padmore. Padmore recruited Nkrumah, who was pursuing graduate studies in the United States, as the co-organizer, along with himself, of the fifth Pan-African Congress, held in Manchester, England, in 1945. At this pivotal meeting, the leadership of pan-African movement shifted from New World blacks to Africans who sought a grassroots following through trade union organizations and mass political parties. Padmore met Nkrumah at Euston Station when he moved to England in 1947 to continue his political involvement in West African nationalist politics.

From the Gold Coast to America and England: Kwame Nkrumah and the African Renaissance

While Padmore was acquiring his political education in Trinidad and African American universities, including his brief passage through the international communist movement, colonial structures and economic depression were radicalizing young Africans in Britain's Gold Coast colony, including those who laid the groundwork for Kwame Nkrumah's future efforts. Nkrumah, born in Nkorful, in the southwestern corner of present-day Ghana, was the product of the crosscutting paths of nationalism forged by Padmore and others like him throughout West Africa, African American communities, and anticolonial circles in London. Indeed, Nkrumah's route to the leadership of postindependence Ghana was as steeped in the circulatory routes of diasporic black modernity as the path forged by any of his expatriate allies.

The global depression of the 1930s brought unemployment, falling wages and prices, and labor unrest to the Gold Coast colony. Cocoa farmers pro-
tested falling prices by withdrawing their crop and boycotting imported goods. A likely target of colonial officials’ attempt to suppress seditionary literature was the Negro Worker, which Padmore edited. During his tour of West Africa, Padmore had recruited distributors for the paper and cultivated ties to nationalist leaders and newspaper editors. Yet another expression of this African renaissance in the Gold Coast was the founding in 1930 of the African Academy at Sekondi by Bankole Awoonor-Renner, who had studied in Moscow during the 1920s. The academy promoted African initiatives in the arts and sciences and contributed to the publication of the works of African writers, poets, composers, and inventors. At its inaugural meeting, members of the academy claimed African authorship of the best of Western thought and culture. According to E. Tackie-Otoo, “[I]t is no longer possible to regard Western Civilization as a just and permanent testimonial to the superiority of a Colour, a Race, a Nation.” Tackie-Otoo reminded his listeners that the most eminent philosophers and scholars of the early Christian church—Tertullian, Augustine of Hippo, Celsus, Alexander, and Cyril—were Africans and that “Solon, Plato, Pythagoras and others of the Master spirits of ancient Greece performed pilgrimages to Africa in search of knowledge.”

In the early 1930s, Isaac Wallace-Johnson and Nnamdi Azikiwe arrived in the Gold Coast, and Nkrumah is almost certain to have read their incendiary editorials. In 1934, Wallace-Johnson cofounded the West African Youth League with Awoonor-Renner. They, along with Ben Tamakloe, the Cambridge-educated son of a Nigerian chief, had agitated against the sedition bill and later Italy’s invasion of Ethiopia. Tamakloe had previously spoken at an Accra meeting publicizing the plight of Alabama’s Scottboro defendants. Azikiwe arrived in the Gold Coast in 1934 after completing his education at Lincoln University in the United States. He took up the editorship of the African Morning Post, using the paper to demand the repeal of the sedition ordinance and to support the radical nationalist Maami Party. During these years of nationalist agitation in the Gold Coast, Nkrumah was planning his sejour abroad for his collegiate education. Having shown promise under the tutelage of Catholic missionaries, Nkrumah began the course for teacher training at Achimota College in 1927. In this Nkrumah was a rare exception within a colonial education system unable to provide post-primary schooling to massive numbers of elementary school graduates. The Gold Coast’s education pyramid thus had an exceptionally broad bottom that led during the early postwar period to the creation of a social group with limited prospects that became a major constituency for Nkrumah’s nationalist Convention People’s Party. At Achimota, Nkrumah encountered the influential U.S.-educated Kwame Aggrey, assistant vice principal of the college, which provided the equivalent of a secondary school education. Aggrey did much to awaken nationalist ideals among youth of Nkrumah’s generation, though Achimota, in its refusal to employ Africans as teachers, remained consistent with a colonial system that restricted Africans to the lowest levels of the civil service, paying them half the salary received by British civil servants. Aggrey returned to the United States in 1927 to complete his doctorate but died suddenly shortly after his arrival and encouraged the publication. Nkrumah paid tribute to his mentor as a founding member of the Aggrey Students’ debating society at Achimota. Later, he would write in his autobiography that his admiration for Aggrey had given him the idea of continuing his studies in the United States, although his goal to attend college in England, shared by many Africans under British rule, was thwarted when he failed the London matriculation examination. After graduating from Achimota in 1930, Nkrumah had a series of teaching positions and became even more deeply involved in the African renaissance.

What is known of Nkrumah’s plans for study abroad while in the Gold Coast is sketchy, but other mentors seem to have filled the void left by Aggrey’s death, encouraging Nkrumah’s aspirations to study in the United States. While teaching grammar school in Axim, Nkrumah was befriended by nationalist leader S. R. Wood, secretary of the National Congress of British West Africa. Nkrumah may have been directly acquainted with and certainly knew of nationalist intellectual Kobina Sekyi and kept up with literature published by the National Congress. In his autobiography, Nkrumah acknowledged the influence of Azikiwe, omitting mention of the radical Wallace-Johnson’s likely influence. When Nkrumah visited Azikiwe’s newspaper office in 1935, the older man advised Nkrumah to apply to Lincoln University, from which Azikiwe had graduated and at which he had subsequently taught. Azikiwe introduced Nkrumah to a friend and fellow Lincoln graduate, Thomas Dosumu-Johnson, then studying at Columbia University’s Teacher’s College. Nkrumah named Dosumu-Johnson as a friend in his application to Lincoln (his personal statement quoted Cecil Rhodes, “So much to do, so little done”) and had received a letter from Dosumu-Johnson as early as 1933 pledging his assistance and mentioning their mutual friend Wood, a fact that suggests that Nkrumah had set his sights on Lincoln University before he met Azikiwe.

Nkrumah established a strong academic record at Lincoln, and many fellow students recalled him as serious, affable but quiet, and selective in his
deals with them. During Nkrumah's tenure, Lincoln's student body numbered about three hundred, of which more than a dozen were African. The yearbook of his graduating class records Nkrumah's selection by his fellow students as "most interesting," with an accompanying verse:

Africa is the beloved of his dreams
Philosopher, thinker, with forcible schemes
In aesthetics, politics, he's all "In the field."
Nkrumah, "tres interessantes," radium appeal.

Nkrumah's autobiography, published in 1957, is reticent on his social life and political activities in both Philadelphia and Harlem, where he spent summer vacations. Nkrumah is also largely silent on personal encounters with white racism, although he does mention one incident. Nkrumah and a friend were stranded in Philadelphia without lodging and elected to sleep on a bench at the bus station. A policeman told the two, "Move on, chums, you can't sleep here." Regardless of whether Nkrumah softened his account of the policeman's conduct, it is clear that the student's obviously avoided alienating his audience of American policy makers and potential well-wishers. Nkrumah does allude to his constant difficulties in supporting himself, mentioning such odd jobs as peddling fish from a pushcart in Harlem, an equally brief stint working in a soap factory, and working at sea during summers as a member of the National Maritime Union. Nkrumah was chronically behind in paying his tuition fees to Lincoln and benefitted from the institution's commitment to African students, particularly those like Nkrumah who had solid academic records.

Nkrumah's account of Harlem was more picturesque than political. He recollected revivalist church services there as a source of "entertainment," implying that his youthful religious ardor had waned considerably. By all accounts, he participated in Harlem's rich cultural life, frequenting Louis Micheaux's bookshop specializing in Africanica and reading at the Schomburg Library, where he must have encountered its curator, Lawrence Reddick. Reddick had published an article in the African Interpreter, the voice of the African Student Association in Canada and the United States, urging American Africans to educate themselves on the contemporary mass movements in Africa. The same issue of the Interpreter carried a photo of Nkrumah as president of the association.31 John Henrik Clarke remembered seeing Nkrumah at meetings of the Bydlen Society, which was devoted to the study of African history, and thus probably became aware of the anticolonial Council of African Affairs as early as 1927, though his autobiography puts this involve-

ment at a later date. Harlem may well have exerted a much greater impact on Nkrumah than his autobiography discloses. Nkrumah received a rousing welcome when he returned to Harlem as Ghana's prime minister in 1958. Two years later, he shared a platform with Malcolm X, Adam Clayton Powell, and other Harlem luminaries at an outdoor rally.

After graduating, Nkrumah avoided deportation by enrolling in postgraduate seminary studies at Lincoln. Marika Sherwood surmises that this was an expedient decision on Nkrumah's part to ease the pressures of living expenses and mounting academic fees. Having obtained the Presbyterian seminary's preliminary preacher's license, Nkrumah appeared regularly in the pulpit of Washington, Philadelphia, and New York. Collections and minister's fees provided him with a source of income, and Nkrumah further benefited from the discount in travel expenses routinely given to ministers. Nkrumah's oratorial talents were well established. One member of the congregation he visited recalled his unique approach: "[H]e would twist around to Africa very quickly from wherever he began..." Whatever motives lay behind Nkrumah's ministerial endeavors, they facilitated travel and provided opportunities to articulate African aspirations to African American audiences. In 1941, while enrolled at the Lincoln seminary, Nkrumah earned a master's degree in education from the University of Pennsylvania. That same year, Lincoln hired Nkrumah as a part-time philosophy instructor. Nkrumah joined the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a radical pacifist organization whose leadership included Bayard Rustin and Bill Sutherland. Classmates at Penn recalled his voracious reading in philosophy and above all his enthusiasm for the cause of African freedom.32

Nkrumah never received his doctorate from the University of Pennsylvania. He had insisted on writing his dissertation on colonialism, which the philosophy department deemed unacceptable. While at Penn, he assisted the new section on African studies by teaching a course in the Fanti language and compiling a guide to Fanti grammar, and he worked part time in a Philadelphia shipyard, which landed him in the hospital with acute bronchitis. He continued to teach philosophy and "Negro civilization and history" at Lincoln, where one student remembered his magnetic personality, his grounding in Marxist thought, and his conviction that socialism should be the basis of independent African societies.33

While in Philadelphia, Nkrumah participated in the public activities of the Africa-conscious segment of the African American intelligentsia. The wartime interest in African affairs bolstered Nkrumah's efforts at forging intellectual and political links with African Americans and African students in the
instructed Drake to read and study Marx, Lenin, Engels, Trotsky, and Stalin and to interpret and apply their writings in accordance with the needs of black peoples. "Ideas don't know no color line, man. Black man would be stupid not to learn from them because they white." Padmore advocated studying the organizational methods of communist parties but not joining them. "Build the Black Man's international. But don't red bait the others either." The Russian Revolution and its rapid achievements in industrial development was a model for Africa, "If but don't let no Russians, or Chinese or anybody else tell you how to run your business. And don't sign no military alliances with them." Nonmilitary alliances were fine, but Padmore insisted that blacks' most natural allies were other black people.

The tenor of Drake's reflections on Padmore's advice appeared to have been occasioned in part by the contentious separatism Drake had encountered as a founding member of the black studies program at Stanford University during the 1970s. According to Drake, Padmore ranked those with whom it was possible to have alliances: pan-Africanism came first, followed by other colored peoples everywhere who had experienced white racism and finally by the white working class, some of whom had interests or ideological commitment in common with blacks. Don't be a racist by rejecting potential allies, Padmore counseled, but don't trust them to liberate you. "If Africans free themselves they'll force the European working-class to the left." Newly independent African and West Indian states should be organized as socialist states. Capitalism was useless, outdated, and unjust, and black exploiters must not be allowed to replace white ones. Federate the West Indies and unite the new African nations. If such unity were not achieved, a "lot of little black banana republics will be the result." Finally, "Afro-Americans can't organize no nations because the man ain't gonna let them. But they got people and knowhow to give to Africa, and a strong Africa's gonna help them too. Study Israel and the Jews scattered all over the world." For African Americans, a transnational identification with African and West Indian nationalism provided an antidote to subordinate status in the United States. Drake believed that Nkrumah followed Padmore's teachings to the letter, though federation and regional unity were also objectives of West African nationalism during the 1950s.44

Drake would later adopt Padmore's advice as well as his collaborative method of building a worldwide public relations network for non-African liberation and nonalignment. Though not as prolific (or as combative in print) as Padmore, Drake published numerous anti-Imperialist articles during the 1950s that sought to educate American and African American audiences
On nationalism in Africa. In England, Drake spent much time in the company of Padmore and Makonen.

Drake's interest in Africa was rooted deeply in his background. Born in Virginia in 1931 to a Barbadian Baptist minister father and an African-American mother, Drake attended Hampton Institute, the first Kikuyu to study in the United States and a future Kenyan nationalist leader. At Hampton, Drake learned that Afro-Americans held the duty of "uplifting" Africans; serving as secular missionaries of a sort. These experiences, combined with his father's membership in the Garvey movement and Drake's later work with the pan-African federation, led him to select African studies as means of combining his academic career with his pan-African connections and commitments.

After graduating from Hampton in 1951, Drake became involved in Quaker organizations working for peace and international harmony, an affiliation that shaped his subsequent political outlook. Drake moved on toillard University in New Orleans, where he worked as a research assistant to social anthropologist Alphonso Davis. During the late 1950s and the early 1960s, Drake divided his time among graduate study at the University of Chicago, political activism in the National Negro Congress and the peace movement, and a Works Progress Administration-sponsore research project on Chicago's black community, which led to the publication (with coauthor Horace Cayton) of a classic sociological study, Black Metropolis (1945).

Drake married in 1947 and served during the war in the nonsegregated Merchant Marine. After the conflict ended, he resumed his graduate studies at the University of Chicago at his own expense since members of the Merchant Marine were ineligible for the GI Bill benefits. In 1946, Drake joined the faculty of Roosevelt University in Chicago, where he taught until 1968. In 1947, with funding provided by the Julius Rosenwald Foundation, Drake traveled to England to study race relations in the British Isles, rendering his field research in Cardiff. During this stay he met Padmore, Nkrumah, Richard Wright, C. L. R. James, and other pan-Africanist activists and intellectuals.

Drake and his black expatriate associates shared not only a deep interest in African freedom but also an anticommunist outlook. To Wright, Drake reported that he and Padmore had organized a demonstration in Trafalgar Square in the wake of the uprisings in the Gold Coast sparked by the shooting by British troops of Ghanaian ex-service men marching in peaceful protest against high-priced imported goods. The Gold Coast's accelerating nationalist movements, which served as the catalyst for Nkrumah's return to the colony, sparked a similar flurry of activity from Padmore, Makonen, and other members of the pan-African federation in London.

Drake's anticommunism ultimately was more pragmatic than ideological, as he believed that red-baiting could be used in opposition to fighting these "responsible for racist practices." Another factor explaining Drake's anticom- munism was the government persecution of a black anticolonial organization, the Council on African Affairs, and its leading proponent, Paul Robeson and W. E. B. Du Bois. Sharing Wright and Padmore's view of the Communist Party's opportunism with respect to African American and African anticolonial struggles, Drake insisted that the party intervene to maintain its independence from the organized Left as a pragmatic necessity. At an alternative to the left-wing Council on African Affairs, Drake cofounded with fellow Chicagoan-longtime unionist George McCly and attorney Edith Sargent the Afro-World Fellowship, which sought to generate popular interest in African affairs.

Drake also worked closely with African American journalists in Chicago. He was a close associate of Claude Barnett, founder of the Associated Negro Press, a national news service that placed articles in black newspapers. Another journalist with whom Drake enjoyed a cordial relationship was John Johnson, the African American publisher of Chicago-based Ebony magazine. A flood of writing on political change in Africa and the international implications of U.S. racism issued from Drake's pen during the 1950s. Drake's ver- satility was evidenced by his ability to produce the sort of detailed political reportage associated with Padmore while contributing pieces tailored to African American audiences' identification with the continent and its peoples. Drake contributed to Ebony during the early 1950s. One article concerned racism against black West Indian migrants in Britain. An unsigned article on Nkrumah and Gold Coast problems was also among his contributions. Recently appointed the first Afri- can prime minister in modern history, as a solemn act of action, a "socialist with a small 's.' The only capital letter ideology he announce is National- ism." Nkrumah's movement was described as the vanguard of aspirations for self-rule for the African continent. The writer added that "many Africans look to him for nonviolent leadership." Alluding to the high-stakes times, not just of modernity imposed on African peoples and indigenous readers' hunger for black achievement (a subheadline read "Nkrumah is Highest Ranking Negro in All British Empire"), the article masked the "Colonel Blimps," doom-sayers who claimed that public health would revert to witch doctors.
"So far nothing dreadful has happened. Trade flourishes, and the crop disease which was ruining cocoa farmers in ... being brought under control."

As further illustration of Padmore's influence, when Drake returned to Roosevelt, he sought to merge his political activism and research agenda by becoming a specialist on Africa. Drake and his friends and fellow academic Reddick and Horace Mann Bond enjoyed a long-standing association with Padmore, Nkrumah, and other African nationalist leaders. Indeed, they were among Nkrumah's guests at Ghana's independence ceremonies. Bond, who as president of Lincoln University had presided over Nkrumah's triumphal return to receive an honorary degree as the Gold Coast's leader of government business, was a founding member of the American Society of African Culture and received Drake to that organization patterned after the Paris-based Society of African Culture. All three had been inspired by the New Negro radicalism of the 1920s and 1930s, which combined antiracist militancy with leftist perspectives and politics. As insiders within the fraternity (an apt description of what, despite the contributions of Maida Springer, Una Marsen, and Amy Jacques Garvey, was a community of men) of African anticolonial politics, Drake and Bond hoped to institutionalize these linkages in African studies programs based in historically black colleges such as Lincoln. As applicants for the foundation support earmarked for the establishment of university African studies programs, Drake and Bond became known to these philanthropic auxiliaries of the U.S. foreign policy establishment. But they failed to obtain a share of the resources being poured into these new programs. The victorious programs in this competition included Northwestern University under Melville Herskovits and Boston University under William O. Brown. Drake's Roosevelt University, Bond's Lincoln, and Howard University were all left out in the cold, in large part because the scholars associated with these historically black institutions were regarded as politicized and lacking the requisite objectivity for knowledge production in the national interest. Throughout the early 1950s, the repeated failures of Drake's pursuit of individual foundation grants left him wondering if his past affiliations with such radical and by then proscribed organizations as the National Negro Congress had disqualified him.

Drake's experience demonstrates that mobility remained a struggle for politically engaged black scholars and intellectuals during the early 1950s. Unable to rely on their underfunded institutions to support field research in Africa, Drake was at the mercy of the foundations. This dependency undoubtedly led many people to welcome the resources provided by the American Society of African Culture, even as some observers raised questions—presciently, as it turned out—about the organization's possible covert funding by the U.S. government.

With the electoral success of the Convention People's Party having propelled Nkrumah from prison to leadership in the Gold Coast, Drake set his sights on West Africa. A part-time position with Boston University's African studies program facilitated an exchange that landed Drake at the University of Liberia, whose president was Max Bond, Horace Mann Bond's brother. Demoralized by an onerous teaching schedule and the struggle to maintain the university entered by foreign companies and the Americo-Liberian elite, Drake sought deliverance in the form of a position in the sociology department at the University of the Gold Coast. In 1954, his luck transformed by the timely receipt of a Ford Foundation grant of ten thousand dollars to study the mass media in West Africa, Drake moved his wife, Elizabeth, and two small children to the Gold Coast. Elizabeth Drake, a sociologist also trained at the University of Chicago, and her husband conducted a study of the role of mass communications and
literacy among urban youth in political change in the Gold Coast. The Drakes focused on that crucial group of young people with some schooling, which the Drakes termed a "transitional elite." Members of this group were crucial disseminators to the illiterate masses of ideas gleaned from books, magazines, and newspapers. The Drakes also conducted research on the audience reception of selected movies, including Something of Value, a Hollywood rendition of the conflict between white settlers and African nationalists.

Drake divided his time between Ghana and Roosevelt University in Chicago, where he was a member of the sociology department. At Roosevelt, Drake was part of a community of Africanists with strong ties to the international labor movement. Moreover, as a Quaker, Drake joined those members of the interracial peace movement who were involved in African freedom movements, including Bill Sutherland, Bayard Rustin, and George Houser, the founder and director of the lobbying group American Committee on Africa. In casting their lot with the future of Africa, Drake and his pacifist colleagues hoped to internationalize the peace movement. They were inspired by the examples of nonviolent social change provided by Gold Coast nationalism and the Defiance Campaign in South Africa. Indeed, Nkrumah's invocation of nonviolence sought to emulate the success of Gandhi's satyagraha in achieving Indian independence. For his part, Drake also led the campaign to block the deportation of Mugad Gachuru, a Lincoln University student whom the Justice Department had investigated for possible involvement in the Kenyan Mau Mau movement. During the 1950s, Drake remained in close contact with Padmore and other Ghanaian nationalists who relied on the African American scholar's wide contacts, an authoritative grasp of the African scene, and a gregarious personality to recruit talented African Americans and West Indians to help build the emergent nation.

Drake was one of several African Americans whom Padmore steered toward Africa and the Gold Coast. Padmore did the same for African American novelist Richard Wright, whom Padmore had befriended in the late 1940s after Wright moved to Paris to escape the political repression and conservatism of Cold War America. Padmore had suggested that Wright, at the height of his international renown, visit the Gold Coast and write an account of the nationalist movement. Padmore had advised Wright throughout the latter's involvement in France's Présence Africaine grouping of anticolonial Francophone African and Caribbean intellectuals. Padmore undoubtedly served as a sounding board for Wright's reflections on modernity and anticolonialism. During the early 1950s, Wright learned of the growing number of West Indian writers who had emigrated to London to refine their craft, men such as George Lamming, whose reflections on the condition of black peoples within Western culture paralleled those of Wright. For Wright and Lamming, the paths to African freedom blazed by Padmore and Nkrumah proved irresistible, as they would for many more intellectuals and activists in the years to come.